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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

1901-1902:

TOGETHER WITH

ADDRESSES AT ANNUAL MEETINGS, MEMORIALS, AND
MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS.

EDITED BY GEO. W. MARTIN, SECRETARY.

VOL. VII.

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TOPEKA:
W. Y. MORGAN, STATE PRINTER.
1902.

OFFICERS.

FOR THE YEAR 1901.

JOHN FRANCIS, Colony.....	PRESIDENT.
WILLIAM H. SMITH, Marysville.....	FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT.
W. B. STONE, Galena.....	SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT.
GEO. W. MARTIN, Kansas City.....	SECRETARY.
JOHN GUTHRIE, Topeka.....	TREASURER.

FOR THE YEAR 1902.

WILLIAM H. SMITH, Marysville.....	PRESIDENT.
W. B. STONE, Galena.....	FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT.
JOHN MARTIN, Topeka.....	SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT.
GEO. W. MARTIN, Kansas City.....	SECRETARY.
JOHN GUTHRIE, Topeka.....	TREASURER.

DIRECTORS.

For three years ending December 2, 1902.

Anthony, D. R.....	Leavenworth.	Kingman, Miss Lucy D.....	Topeka.
Baker, F. P.....	Topeka.	Leis, George.....	Lawrence.
Barnes, Chas. W.....	Topeka.	Madden, John.....	Emporia.
Bigger, L. A.....	Hutchinson.	McVicar, P.....	Topeka.
Bush, W. E.....	Fort Scott.	Meridith, Fletcher.....	Hutchinson.
Capper, Arthur.....	Topeka.	Montgomery, F. C.....	Topeka.
Carruth, W. H.....	Lawrence.	Morphy, J. W.....	Smith Center
Coburn, F. D.....	Kansas City.	Nelson, W. H.....	Smith Center.
Conway, John W.....	Norton.	Riddle, A. P.....	Minneapolis.
Doster, Frank.....	Marion.	Seaton, John.....	Atchison.
Greene, A. R.....	Lecompton.	Speer, John.....	Wichita.
Hamilton, Clad.....	Topeka.	Veale, Geo. W.....	Topeka.
Harris, E. P.....	Lecompton.	Ware, E. F.....	Topeka.
Herbert, Ewing.....	Hiawatha.	White, William Allen.....	Emporia.
Hodder, Frank H.....	Lawrence.	Wilder, D. W.....	Hiawatha.
Howe, E. W.....	Atchison.	Wright, John K.....	Junction City.
Junkin, J. E.....	Sterling.		

For three years ending December 1, 1903.

Adams, Miss Zn.....	Topeka.	Lane, V. J.....	Kansas City.
Blackmar, Frank W.....	Lawrence.	Lowe, P. G.....	Leavenworth.
Butterfield, J. Ware.....	Topeka.	Martin, Geo. W.....	Kansas City.
Chase, Harold T.....	Topeka.	Milliken, J. D.....	McPherson.
Connelley, Wm. E.....	Topeka.	Moore, Horace L.....	Lawrence.
Dallas, E. J.....	Topeka.	Morrill, E. N.....	Hiawatha.
Fulton, E. R.....	Marysville.	Popenoe, F. O.....	Topeka.
Gleed, Chas. S.....	Topeka.	Randolph, L. F.....	Nortonville.
Griffing, Wm. J.....	Manhattan.	Shelden, Alvah.....	El Dorado.
Guthrie, John.....	Topeka.	Sims, William.....	Topeka.
Harrington, Grant W.....	Hiawatha.	Smith, W. H.....	Marysville.
Haskell, John G.....	Lawrence.	Stewart, Samuel G.....	Topeka.
Hopkins, Scott.....	Horton.	Vandegrift, Fred L.....	Kansas City.
Horton, A. H.....	Topeka.	Wellhouse, Fred.....	Topeka.
Humphrey, Mrs. Mary V.....	Junction City.	Williams, A. L.....	Topeka.
Johnson, A. S.....	Topeka.	Wright, R. W.....	Dodge City.
Johnson, Mrs. Elizabeth A.....	White Rock.		

For three years ending December 7, 1904.

Adams, J. B.....	El Dorado.	Remington, J. B.....	Osawatomie.
Brown, W. L.....	Kingman.	Rice, Harvey D.....	Topeka.
Clark, Geo. A.....	Junction City.	Richey, W. E.....	Harveyville.
Cowgill, E. B.....	Topeka.	Rockwell, Bertrand.....	Junction City.
Davies, Gomer T.....	Concordia.	Royce, Mrs. Olive I.....	Phillipsburg.
Dawson, J. S.....	Hill City.	Scott, Charles F.....	Iola.
Francis, John.....	Colony.	Semple, R. H.....	Ottawa.
Grimes, Frank E.....	Leoti.	Smith, Ed. R.....	Mound City.
Hoch, E. W.....	Marion.	Smith, F. Dumont.....	Kinsley.
Hudson, J. K.....	Topeka.	Stanley, W. E.....	Wichita.
McCartier, Mrs. Margaret Hill.....	Topeka.	Stone, W. B.....	Galena.
Mack, J. C.....	Newton.	Taylor, Edwin.....	Edwardsville.
Martin, John.....	Topeka.	Thompson, Mrs. Fannie G.....	Topeka.
Murdock, M. M.....	Wichita.	Valentine, D. A.....	Clay Center.
Nelson, Frank.....	Lindsborg.	Whiting, A. B.....	Topeka.
Park, H. Clay.....	Atchison.	Whittemore, L. D.....	Topeka.
Prentiss, Mrs. Caroline.....	Topeka.		

KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

CONSTITUTION. 1214023

As amended January 21, 1902.

I. This association shall be styled the Kansas State Historical Society. The object of this Society shall be to collect, embody, arrange and preserve books, pamphlets, maps, charts, manuscripts, papers, paintings, statuary and other materials illustrative of the history of Kansas in particular, and of the country generally; to procure from the early pioneers narratives of the events relative to the early settlement of Kansas and of the early explorations, the Indian occupancy, overland travel and immigration to the territory and the West; to gather all information calculated to exhibit faithfully the antiquities and the past and present resources and progress of the state, and to take steps to promote the study of history by lectures and other available means.

II. This Society shall consist of active, life, honorary and corresponding members, who may be chosen by the board of directors of the Society at any regular or special meeting, except at their meeting next preceding the annual meeting of the Society—the active members to consist of citizens of the state, by the payment of one dollar annually; the life members, by the payment at any one time of ten dollars; the honorary and corresponding members, who shall be exempt from fee or taxation, shall be chosen from persons in any part of the world distinguished for their literary or scientific attainments, and known especially as friends and promoters of history. County or city historical societies may elect one delegate member, who shall have all the privileges of the State Society, and who shall be exempt from the payment of annual dues: *Provided*, That not more than two such delegate members from one county shall be admitted. That the income from membership fees shall be devoted to special historical research, or to the purchase of historical books, documents, or manuscripts. Editors and publishers of newspapers and periodicals who contribute the regular issues of the same to the collections of the Society shall be considered as active members of the Society during the continuance of such contribution.

III. There shall be a board of directors of the Society, to consist of ninety-nine members, who shall be elected from among the members of the Society; or, if any person be elected who shall not at the time be a member of the Society, he shall become such by payment of the annual membership fee of one dollar; and he shall then become qualified to act as a member of the board of directors upon taking the oath of office as such. The members of the board of directors shall be of three classes, to serve for terms of one, two and three years respectively. Any person elected a member of the board of directors who shall fail to qualify within twenty days after being notified of his election shall be deemed to have declined the office, and the same shall thereby be considered vacant. Any vacancy in the board of directors, or in any office of the Society, may be filled by the executive committee at any meeting subsequent to the occurring thereof. Any number not less than five shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of

business. No member of the board of directors, or other officer, except the secretary, shall receive pay for any of the ordinary duties of his office.

IV. The elective officers of the Society shall consist of a president and two vice-presidents, who shall hold their offices for the term of one year, and until their successors shall be chosen; and a secretary and a treasurer, who shall hold their offices for the term of two years, and until their successors shall be chosen; said officers to be chosen by the board of directors from their members, their election to be made at the first meeting of the board subsequent to the annual meeting of the Society, and their terms of office shall begin at the date of their election and qualification in office. And in addition to these elective officers, all donations of money or property (if accepted by the board of directors) to the amount or value of \$500 shall constitute the donors life directors of the Society during their natural lives; but such life directors shall never exceed in number the regularly elected directors; and all moneys from life directorships or from donations or bequests, unless specifically directed otherwise by such life directors, donors, or devisors, shall be invested to the best advantage, and the accruing interest only shall be used, and shall be employed in such manner, for the benefit of the Society, as the board of directors may direct.

V. The annual meeting of the Society shall be held in Topeka, on the first Tuesday in December; and those members, not less than ten, who meet at any annual or special meeting of the Society upon the call of the board of directors, shall be a quorum for the transaction of business.

VI. The president, or in his absence one of the vice-presidents, or in their absence any member of the Society selected on the occasion, shall preside at the annual or any special meeting of the Society. Such presiding officer shall preserve order, regulate the order of proceedings, and give a casting vote whenever the same is required.

VII. The secretary shall preserve a full and correct record of the proceedings of all meetings of the Society and board of directors, to be entered on his book in chronological order. These records shall always be open for the inspection of any member of the Society. He shall conduct the correspondence of the Society; shall preserve for the Society the official communications addressed to him, and keep copies of important official letters written by him; he shall collect, or cause to be collected, moneys due to the Society, and pay the same to the treasurer; he shall give notice of the meetings of the Society and of the board of directors; he shall edit and supervise, under the direction of the publication committee, the publications of the Society, direct the literary exchanges, and shall write out and cause to be published, in one or more of the Topeka papers, the proceedings, or a synopsis thereof, of the meetings of the Society and board of directors; he shall have charge of the books, manuscripts and other collections of the Society; he shall keep a catalog of the same, together with all additions made during his official term; in case of donation, he shall specify in his record the name of the book, manuscript or article donated, with the name of the donor and date of the gift; he shall make an annual report of the condition of the library, and respond to all calls which may be made upon him touching the same, at any annual or special meeting of the Society.

VIII. The treasurer shall receive and have charge of all dues and donations, and bequests of money, and all funds whatsoever of the Society, and shall pay such sums as the board of directors may from time to time direct, on the warrant of the chairman of said board, countersigned by the secretary; and he shall make an annual report of the pecuniary transactions of the Society, and also exhibit a

statement of the funds and property of the Society in his hands, at any stated or special meeting, when thereto required.

IX. The secretary and treasurer shall give satisfactory bonds, in such sums as the board of directors may deem proper, for the faithful performance of their respective duties, and for the faithful preservation of property of every kind in custody of the Society; and such bonds shall be filed with the secretary of state after approval by the board of directors.

X. The president, or in his absence one of the vice-presidents, shall preside at the meetings of the board of directors, and in their absence the members present may select a chairman from their number to preside, and to perform such duties as may be prescribed for him. The directors shall supervise and direct the financial and business concerns of the Society; may augment the library, cabinet, and gallery, by purchase or otherwise; may make arrangements for a single lecture or a course of lectures, for promoting historic knowledge and increasing the pecuniary resources of the association. They shall have power to fill any vacancies occurring in their number. They shall audit and adjust all accounts of the Society. They may call special meetings when necessary; appoint the annual orator; make suitable arrangements for the delivery of the annual address; use their discretion as to the publication of any communications, collections, transactions, annual or other addresses, or other written matters of the Society; and they shall annually make a full report of their transactions, accompanied by such suggestions as may seem to them appropriate and worthy of attention. They may appoint an executive committee from their own number, to perform such duties as may be prescribed for such committee.

XI. The Secretary is hereby authorized and directed to cause the bills for the annual dues of active members to be made out and sent to the address of such members on or before the 1st day of July of each year, with a copy of this article, and if the amount of such dues is not paid to the treasurer of this Society after the third notice of the secretary, those members in arrears shall be dropped from the roll of membership. The term of annual membership shall begin from and after the 1st day of July of each year.

XII. The board of directors may adopt by-laws for their own government and guidance, not inconsistent with this constitution.

XIII. This constitution may be amended at any annual meeting of the Society: *Provided*, That the proposed amendment shall have been reduced to writing and entered on the minutes of the Society at least three months previous to a vote being taken on the same: *And provided also*, That a majority of the members present shall concur in the adoption of the amendment or amendments proposed.

XIV. The fiscal year of this Society shall commence on the 1st day of July in each year and close on the 30th day of June next succeeding.

BY-LAWS OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

1. There is hereby created an executive committee of the board of directors of the Society, to consist of five members, to be appointed subsequent to the annual meeting of the Society, and to hold their office until the next annual meeting.

2. The executive committee shall audit all accounts presented against the Society, and all warrants drawn on the treasurer shall be upon sworn vouchers approved by a majority of the members of the executive committee.

3. The executive committee shall examine and audit the accounts and vouchers of the treasurer annually before the time of the annual meeting, and at the annual meeting they shall make a written report to the board of directors.

4. The executive committee shall determine the character of the published reports of the Society, and shall decide what papers from its transactions and collections the biennial report shall contain.

5. The executive committee shall take such action as the interests of the Society shall from time to time demand in relation to providing and furnishing suitable rooms for its collections, and shall consult with the secretary, and with him decide upon the purchasing of books to augment the Society's library.

6. There shall be a committee on program and addresses, to consist of five members of the board; and it shall be the duty of the committee to provide for the addresses and proceedings of annual and other meetings, and to take such action as may be deemed advisable in reference to the delivery from time to time of lectures and addresses on historical subjects at the state capital or elsewhere.

7. There shall be a committee on legislation, to consist of three or more members of the Society; and it shall be the duty of the committee to confer with the members and committees of the legislature, and present for their consideration and action the matters of legislation which the board of directors shall recommend.

8. There shall be a committee on nominations, to consist of five members of the board; and it shall be the duty of the committee, annually, at some time previous to the annual meeting of the Society, to make a selection of persons whom they deem proper to recommend for members of the board of directors, and shall present the same for the action of the Society at the annual meeting.

9. All committees shall be appointed by the president.

STATE LAW GOVERNING THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

SECTION 1. The State Historical Society, heretofore organized under the incorporation laws of the state, shall be the trustee of the state, and as such shall faithfully expend and apply all money received from the state to the uses and purposes directed by law, and shall hold all its present and future collections and property for the state, and shall not sell, mortgage, transfer or dispose of in any manner or remove from the capital any article thereof, or part of the same, without authority of law; provided, this shall not prevent the sale or exchange of any duplicates that the Society may have or obtain. There shall continue to be a board of directors of said Society, to consist of as many members as the Society shall determine, and who shall have the same powers as the present board of directors.

SEC. 2. It shall be the duty of the Society to collect books, maps and other papers and materials illustrative of the history of Kansas in particular, and the West generally; to procure from the early pioneers narratives of events relative

to the early settlement of Kansas, and to the early explorations, Indian occupancy and overland travel in the territory and the West; to procure facts and statements relative to the history and conduct of our Indian tribes, and to gather all information calculated to exhibit faithfully the antiquities and the past and present condition, resources and progress of the state; to purchase books to supply deficiencies in the various departments of its collections, and to procure by gift and exchange such scientific and historical reports of the legislatures of other states, of railroads, reports of geological and other scientific surveys, and such other books, maps, charts and materials as will facilitate the investigation of historical, scientific, social, educational and literary subjects, and to cause the same to be properly bound; to catalogue the collections of said Society for the more convenient reference of all persons who may have occasion to consult the same; to biennially prepare for publication a report of its collections, and such other matters relating to its transactions as may be useful to the public; and to keep its collections arranged in suitable and convenient rooms, to be provided and furnished by the secretary of state, as the board of directors shall determine; the rooms of the Society to be open at all reasonable hours on business days for the reception of the citizens of this state who may wish to visit the same, without fee; provided, that no expenditure shall be made under this act or expense incurred except in pursuance of specific appropriations therefor, and no officer of said Society shall pledge the credit of the state in excess of such appropriation.

SEC. 3. The board of directors shall keep a correct account of the expenditure of all money which may be appropriated in aid of the Society, and report biennially to the governor a detailed statement of such expenditure. To enable the Society to augment its collections by effecting exchanges with other societies and institutions, sixty bound copies each of the several publications of the state, and of its societies and institutions, except the reports of the supreme court, shall be and the same are hereby donated to said Society as they shall be issued—the same to be delivered to the Society by the secretary of state or other officer having custody of the same—to include also for deposit in its collections one set of all the publications of the state heretofore issued, not excepting the supreme court reports. The Society shall not expend its resources in procuring duplicates of such publications as may be in the state library.

Approved March 10, 1879.

STATE LAW RELATING TO LOANING DOCUMENTS THAT BELONG TO THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

SECTION 1. The secretary of the State Historical Society is hereby prohibited from permitting or allowing any of the files, documents or records of said Society to be taken away from the building where its office and rooms are or shall be located: *Provided*, That the secretary in person, or by any duly authorized deputy, clerk or employee of his office, may take any of said files, documents or records away from said building for use as evidence or for literary or historical purposes; the same to be kept while so away in the personal custody of said secretary, deputy, clerk, or employee: *Provided further*, That this shall not prevent the sale or exchange of any duplicates that said Society may have or obtain.

CERTIFIED COPIES.

SEC. 2. A copy of any file, document or record in the custody of said Society, duly certified by the secretary under the seal of the Society, may be received in evidence with the same effect as the original.

Approved March 2, 1901. Published May 1, 1901.

PAST PRESIDENTS OF THE
HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

1876.....	SAMUEL A. KINGMAN.
1877.....	GEORGE A. CRAWFORD.
1878.....	JOHN A. MARTIN.
1879-'80.....	CHARLES ROBINSON.
1881-'82.....	T. DWIGHT THACHER.
1883-'84.....	FLOYD P. BAKER.
1885-'86.....	DANIEL R. ANTHONY.
1887.....	DANIEL W. WILDER.
1888.....	EDWARD RUSSELL.
1889.....	WILLIAM A. PHILLIPS.
1890.....	CYRUS K. HOLLIDAY.
1891.....	JAMES S. EMERY.
1892.....	THOMAS A. OSBORN.
1893.....	PERCIVAL G. LOWE.
1894.....	VINCENT J. LANE.
1895.....	SOLON O. THACHER.
1896.....	EDMUND N. MORRILL.
1897.....	HARRISON KELLEY.
1898.....	JOHN SPEER.
1899.....	EUGENE F. WARE.
1900.....	JOHN G. HASKELL.
1901.....	JOHN FRANCIS.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

NOVEMBER 27, 1900.

A meeting of the executive committee of the Kansas State Historical Society was held at two o'clock P. M., November 27, 1900, to consider the question of rooms for the Society. There were present: John Martin, William Sims, A. B. Whiting, Geo. A. Clark, and E. F. Ware. The following resolution was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, By the executive committee of the Kansas State Historical Society, that the proposition of the executive council to assign for the use of the Society all of the south wing of the fourth floor of the state capitol, except two rooms in the northwest corner, is hereby accepted, and all claims of the Historical Society under concurrent resolution No. 22, adopted by the legislature of 1895, are waived.

The executive committee then adjourned.

MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS.

JANUARY 15, 1901.

The board of directors of the Kansas State Historical Society held its twenty-fifth annual meeting in "Newspaper Hall," one of the new rooms recently assigned to the Society on the fourth floor of the capitol building. Pres. John G. Haskell being confined to his bed with malarial fever, E. B. Cowgill, first vice-president, presided.

The following members of the board were present: E. L. Ackley, J. B. Adams, E. B. Cowgill, John Francis, D. W. Houston, John Martin, J. B. Remington, Harvey D. Rice, Chas. F. Scott, R. H. Semple, Ed. R. Smith, A. B. Whiting, L. D. Whittemore, F. P. Baker, F. D. Coburn, E. P. Harris, F. H. Hodder, Lucy D. Kingman, Geo. Leis, Fletcher Meridith, John Madden, John Seaton, John Speer, Geo. W. Veale, P. G. Lowe, Geo. W. Martin, Horace L. Moore, L. F. Randolph, William Sims, W. H. Smith, Samuel G. Stewart, Fred L. Vandegrift, Fred. Wellhouse, R. W. Wright, Zu Adams, J. Ware Butterfield, Wm. E. Connelley, E. J. Dallas, Wm. J. Griffing, John Guthrie, and Mrs. Elizabeth A. Johnson.

F. P. Baker, for the committee on nominations, reported a list of

officers and members of the board of directors for election in the evening. His report was unanimously adopted.

The following persons were then nominated for election as members of the Society :

Active members: Capt. William Mitchell, of Wabaunsee county, and Samuel J. Reeder, of North Topeka, on nomination of Harvey D. Rice; W. B. Stone, Mrs. W. B. Stone, and Miss Irene Stone, of Galena, by Secretary Martin; Geo. W. Crane and C. C. Baker, of Topeka, A. H. Ellis, of Beloit, and R. A. Burch, of Salina, by W. H. Smith; W. M. Davidson, of Topeka, by Wm. E. Connelley; W. H. Rossington, of Topeka, by P. G. Lowe; Mrs. A. H. Thompson, of Topeka, by Lucy D. Kingman; Prof. Geo. H. Faillyer, of Manhattan, by Secretary Martin; Mrs. E. M. Fisher, of Topeka, by John Guthrie; Miss Lizzie E. Wooster, of Topeka, by Wm. E. Connelley; Lane Johnson, of Kansas City, by John Speer; J. C. Carpenter, of Chanute, by W. H. Smith.

Honorary members: Mrs. Caroline Prentis, of Topeka, by Fred L. Vandegrift; Mrs. S. S. Prouty, of Topeka, by John Speer; John H. Shimmons, of Lawrence, by John Guthrie.

Corresponding members: J. Lee Knight, of Topeka, T. D. Bancroft, of Kansas City, and G. A. Streeter, of Junction City, by Secretary Martin.

Wm. E. Connelley read the report of the committee on fees and membership, as approved for adoption by the meeting of the Society held May 1, 1900, and published in the twelfth biennial report, in the proceedings of that meeting. The report was accepted as an amendment to the constitution.

Miss Kingman reported for the committee on the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Society, that no action had been taken, and suggested that the removal of the Society into its elegant quarters on the fourth floor would be a fitting occasion for that celebration. The suggestion met with favor, and on motion Miss Kingman, Miss Adams and John Martin were appointed a committee on the celebration, and instructed to fix the date. The secretary was added to the committee, on motion of W. H. Smith.

Horace L. Moore reported for the committee on genealogy that a bill had been prepared and introduced in the legislature to compel proper registration of marriage certificates. On motion of Wm. E. Connelley, the report was accepted, and the committee directed to press the adoption of the bill by the legislature.

Letters of regret from the following members of the board were read: John G. Haskell, J. E. Junkin, S. H. Dodge, E. F. Ware, J. W. Conway, and F. C. Montgomery.

E. J. Dallas presented the Society with a copper cent of 1801.

W. H. Smith moved that a committee of three be appointed by the chair on needed amendments to the constitution, chiefly the revision of portions relating to the date of holding the annual meetings and of the closing of the fiscal year of the Society. The motion was adopted, and the committee was instructed to report on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary.

On motion of Secretary Martin, a committee, to consist of Prof. S. W. Williston, Wm. J. Griffing, Mrs. Elizabeth A. Johnson, and Prof. Frank W. Blackmar, was appointed to examine and collect for the museum of the Society archaeological relics from the mounds and deserted village sites of the aborigines of Kansas. The committee is expected to make careful notes of their examinations. It was also voted that the fee fund of the Society could be drawn on in payment for the manual labor required in the investigations.

After considerable discussion and amendment of a motion of W. B. Stone, a committee, consisting of John Martin, together with the president and secretary of the Society, was appointed to prepare a memorial for the legislature to present to congress, requesting that the ruins of the old capitol at Pawnee, situated upon the Fort Riley military reservation, be ceded to the state, together with a sufficient tract of land surrounding the building. The committee was also instructed to take steps for the preservation of other historic spots in Kansas, such as the ruins of Constitution hall, Lecompton, Pike's Pawnee Indian village, in Republic county, and the placing of tablets marking the sites of such buildings as the territorial capitol at Lecompton, Free State hotel at Lawrence, etc.

The meeting then adjourned.

MEETING OF THE SOCIETY.

JANUARY 15, 1901.

Immediately after the close of the meeting of the board of directors the Society assembled to listen to the following papers:

"Wardens of the Marches," by John Madden, Emporia. "Frontier Experiences on the Plains of Western Kansas," by R. W. Wright, of Dodge City. "Development of the Gypsum Interest of Kansas," by Erasmus Haworth, of the state university. "Southwestern Kansas," by T. A. McNeal. "Expositions in the History and Development of States and Peoples," by Miss Mary E. Frost, of Topeka.

The two other papers given on the program of the meeting, viz.: "The Genesis of a Metropolis," by Frank H. Betton, of Kansas City, and "Recollections of Fort Riley," by P. G. Lowe, of Leavenworth, were not read, but filed for publication in the seventh volume of Collections of the Society.

On motion of John Martin, all the papers read before the meeting were requested to be filed for publication.

The Society then adjourned, to meet in Representative hall in the evening.

The regular twenty-fifth annual meeting of the Society convened in the hall of the house of representatives and was called to order by the vice-president, E. B. Cowgill, at 7:30 p. m.

Rev. J. D. Countermin, D. D., pronounced the invocation.

On motion of John Guthrie, a copy of Fred L. Vandegrift's paper on Noble L. Prentis, published in the *Kansas City Star*, was requested for publication.

Thirty-three members of the board of directors for the three years ending December 1, 1903, were then elected, as follows: Miss Zu Adams, Topeka; Frank W. Blackmar, Lawrence; J. Ware Butterfield, Topeka; Harold T. Chase, Topeka; Wm. E. Connelley, E. J. Dallas, Topeka; E. R. Fulton, Marysville; Chas. S. Gleed, Topeka; Wm. J. Griffing, Manhattan; John Guthrie, Topeka; Grant W. Harrington, Hiawatha; John G. Haskell, Lawrence; Scott Hopkins, Horton; A. H. Horton, Topeka; Mrs. Mary V. Humphrey, Junction City; A. S. Johnson, Topeka; Mrs. Elizabeth A. Johnson, Courtland; V. J. Lane, Kansas City; P. G. Lowe, Leavenworth; Geo. W. Martin, Kansas City; J. D. Milliken, McPherson; Horace L. Moore, Lawrence; E. N. Morrill, Hiawatha; F. O. Popenoe, Topeka; L. F. Randolph, Nortonville; Alvah Shelden, El Dorado; William Sims, Topeka; W. H. Smith, Marysville; Samuel G. Stewart, Topeka; Fred L. Vandegrift, Kansas City; Fred. Wellhouse, Topeka; A. L. Williams, Topeka; R. W. Wright, Dodge City.

On motion of John Guthrie, a vote of thanks was extended to John H. Shimmons, of Lawrence, for the loan to the Society for this occasion of the plaster bust of Gen. James H. Lane, and to John Speer, through whose instrumentality the loan was secured. John Guthrie also included in the motion a request that Mr. Shimmons donate to the Society the bust, which is considered a very correct representation of General Lane. John Speer expressed a hope that the bust would be given the Society. It was made during General Lane's term as United States senator, and was one of twenty-five; he knew of the existence of but one other, that belonging to Mrs. Annie Lane Johnson, of Kansas City.

T. D. Bancroft, of Kansas City, then presented the Society with a memento of Abraham Lincoln, a drop of the president's blood, which fell on a program as he was being carried from his box at the theater. Mr. Bancroft saw it fall, and preserved the paper. He had

it framed for the Society. On motion of W. B. Stone, a rising vote of thanks was given the donor.

On motion of W. H. Smith, the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That the Historical Society regrets the illness of the president, John G. Haskell, and his enforced absence from this meeting, and tenders him our wishes for speedy restoration and for many years of health.

The address of President Haskell, on "The Passing of Slavery in Western Missouri," was omitted because of his illness, as was also that of F. C. Montgomery, on "Northwestern Kansas," for the same reason. The other papers on the printed program were read, as follows:

"An Omitted Chapter in the History of the Second Missouri Compromise," by Prof. F. H. Hodder, of the state university.

The paper on Lorenzo D. Lewelling was read by the secretary, because of the enforced absence of the author, W. J. Costigan.

"Capt. Henry Kuhn," a memorial paper by C. E. Foote, who prefaced the reading by remarks in appreciation of the relic of President Lincoln, which had just been presented.

"Discovery and Development of Natural Gas in Kansas," by Chas. F. Scott, of Iola.

"The Sources of the Constitution of Kansas," by Miss Rosa M. Perdue, of the state university.

Music was furnished by the Little Prim quartette.

On motion of W. H. Smith, copies of the papers read at the evening meeting were requested for publication.

The meeting then adjourned.

MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS.

JANUARY 15, 1901.

At the close of the annual meeting of the Society, a meeting of the board of directors was called to order by E. B. Cowgill.

The names presented by the nomination committee to the morning meeting of the board for officers, active and corresponding memberships were elected.

President, John Francis, of Colony; first vice-president, W. H. Smith, of Marysville; second vice-president, W. B. Stone, of Galena; treasurer, John Guthrie, of Topeka; secretary, Geo. W. Martin, of Kansas City.

President Francis announced the following committees:

Executive committee: W. E. Stanley, John Martin, Geo. A. Clark, William Sims, A. B. Whiting.

Legislative committee: R. H. Semple, Geo. W. Veale, Arthur Capper, J. W. Morphy, John Seaton.

Committee on program: Chas. F. Scott, Frank W. Blackmar, Lucy D. Kingman, W. L. Brown, D. A. Valentine.

Nomination committee: E. B. Cowgill, E. F. Ware, J. E. Junkin, F. P. Baker, L. D. Whittemore.

Committee on twenty-fifth anniversary: Miss Lucy D. Kingman, Miss Zu Adams, John Martin, Geo. W. Martin.

Committee on the revision of the constitution: Wm. E. Connelley, Clad Hamilton, L. F. Randolph, J. B. Adams, Geo. W. Martin.

Committee on historical sites and buildings: John Martin, P. G. Lowe, John Francis, F. H. Hodder, Geo. W. Martin.

Committee on mounds and deserted village sites of the aborigines: S. W. Williston, Wm. J. Griffing, Mrs. Elizabeth A. Johnson, Frank W. Blackmar, R. W. Wright.

Classifications of directors by departments:

Archæology: Frank W. Blackmar, J. W. Conway, E. B. Cowgill, J. K. Wright, E. N. Morrill, W. H. Smith, R. H. Semple.

Historic Relics: A. R. Greene, W. E. Bush, W. A. White, E. W. Howe, E. J. Dallas, J. K. Hudson, Ed. R. Smith.

Explorations: E. F. Ware, A. B. Whiting, Mrs. Elizabeth A. Johnson, J. A. Bigger, P. G. Lowe, A. L. Williams, John Madden.

Indian History: John Guthrie, V. J. Lane, A. S. Johnson, Wm. J. Griffing, W. W. Padgett, R. W. Wright, Wm. E. Connelley.

History of the Territory: D. W. Wilder, M. M. Murdock, John Speer, John Martin, J. D. Milliken, J. B. Remington, A. P. Riddle.

History of the State: F. H. Hodder, D. R. Anthony, W. E. Stanley, F. P. Baker, Geo. W. Veale, E. W. Hoch, B. Rockwell, E. L. Ackley.

Geography (including maps, views of buildings and scenery): F. D. Coburn, J. B. Adams, J. W. Conway, W. H. Carruth, F. O. Popenoe, J. W. Morphy, James A. Troutman.

Origin of Local Names: F. C. Montgomery, E. P. Harris, John S. Gilmore, W. L. Brown, John G. Haskell, Scott Hopkins, Frank W. Blackmar.

Journals, Diaries, Manuscripts: John Madden, L. D. Whittemore, J. E. Junkin, Frank Doster, Fred. Wellhouse, Alvah Shelden, Harvey D. Rice.

Local History, Interviews, and Chronicles: Wm. E. Connelley, Harvey D. Rice, D. A. Valentine, Grant W. Harrington, John Seaton, E. R. Fulton, J. W. Morphy.

Organization of Local Historical Societies: A. P. Riddle, Mrs. Elizabeth A. Johnson, Samuel G. Stewart, W. H. Nelson, Geo. Leis, Fletcher Meridith, Geo. W. Martin.

Biography: John Martin, D. W. Houston, T. J. Anderson, J. B. Remington, Chas. W. Barnes, P. McVicar, W. E. Wilkinson, J. Ware Butterfield.

Portraits: Chas. F. Scott, Frank E. Grimes, J. R. Mulvane, William Sims, Clad Hamilton, Miss Zu Adams, T. J. Anderson.

Genealogy and Directories: H. L. Moore, John Francis, Edwin Taylor, E. D. McKeever, E. B. Cowgill, A. H. Horton, M. M. Murdock.

Newspapers, Periodicals, and Scrapbooks: Fred L. Vandegrift, Geo. A. Clark, S. H. Dodge, L. F. Randolph, Arthur Capper, Harold T. Chase, J. E. Junkin.

Literature: W. H. Carruth, Ewing Herbert, Frank Nelson, Miss Lucy D. Kingman, Mrs. Mary V. Humphrey, Wm. A. Peffer, C. S. Gleed.

MEETING OF THE SOCIETY.

DECEMBER 17, 1901.

A called meeting of the Society, for the consideration of amendments to the constitution, was held in the new room of the directors, beginning at three o'clock P. M., Tuesday, December 17, 1901. There were present: John Francis, president; Mrs. Elizabeth A. Johnson, John G. Haskell, Miss Lucy D. Kingman, F. P. Baker, Wm. E. Connelley, John Guthrie, J. Ware Butterfield, L. F. Randolph, Clad Hamilton, W. H. Carruth, William Sims, D. R. Anthony, Geo. W. Martin, F. D. Coburn, Fred L. Vandegrift, Chas. W. Barnes, and Miss Zu Adams.

President Francis explained the object of the meeting to be for consideration of amendments to the constitution relative to the closing of the fiscal year and the time of holding the annual meeting of the Society.

Wm. E. Connelley, chairman of the committee on amendments, presented a report which, after amendment and approval, is as follows:

It is recommended by the special meeting of the Society, held in the directors' room, Tuesday, December 17, 1901, at three o'clock, that the following amendments be made to the constitution:

1. That section V of the constitution be amended so as to read as follows, to wit: "V. The annual meeting of the Society shall be held in Topeka on the first Tuesday in December, and those members, not less than ten, who meet at any annual or special meeting of the Society upon the call of the board of directors, shall be a quorum for the transaction of business."

2. That section IX of the constitution be amended so as to read as follows, to wit: "IX. The secretary and treasurer shall give satisfactory bonds, in such sums as the board of directors may deem proper, for the faithful performance of their respective duties, and for the faithful preservation of property of every kind belonging to the Society; and such bonds shall be filed with the secretary of state after approval of the Society."

3. That section XI of the constitution be amended so as to read as follows, to wit: "XI. The secretary is hereby authorized and directed to cause the bills for the annual dues of active members to be made out and sent to the address of such members on or before the 1st day of July of each year, with a copy of this article, and if the amount of such dues is not paid to the treasurer of this Society after the third notice by the secretary, those members in arrears shall be dropped from the roll of membership. The term of annual membership shall begin from and after the 1st day of July of each year."

4. The said constitution be amended by the addition of section XIV, as follows, to wit: "XIV. The fiscal year of this Society shall commence on the 1st day of July of each year and close on the 30th day of June next succeeding."

On motion of the secretary, W. B. Stone, of Galena, was elected a member of the board to fill the vacancy caused by the death of E. L. Ackley, of Concordia.

The secretary then presented his bond in the amount of \$2000 for the approval of the board. On motion of John Francis, the bond was accepted.

TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SOCIETY.

DECEMBER 17, 1901.

The twenty-fifth anniversary celebration of the founding of the Kansas State Historical Society was held in the senate chamber, Tuesday evening, December 17, 1901. The following program was had:

Invocation, by the Rev. H. D. Fisher, D. D.

"The Occasion," by John Francis, president.

Piano solo, by Miss Helen Thompson.

Reminiscences, by Samuel A. Kingman, first president of the Society.

A song by the Ladies' quartette.

"Historical Societies in the United States," by D. W. Wilder (read by Wm. E. Connelley, in Mr. Wilder's absence).

Violin solo (original composition), by Mrs. Frank Foster.

The audience then adjourned to the new rooms of the Society, on the fourth floor of the capitol, where a reception was held, with the assistance of the Topeka Society of the Sons and Daughters of the Revolution.

MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS.

JANUARY 21, 1902.

The board of directors met in twenty-sixth annual session in the hall of the house of representatives at 1:30 o'clock P. M. The following directors were present:

John Francis, president, L. D. Whittemore, William Sims, Fred. Wellhouse, Lucy D. Kingman, John Guthrie, W. H. Smith, J. Ware Butterfield, Fred L. Vandegrift, John G. Haskell, L. F. Randolph, Clad Hamilton, Mrs. Elizabeth A. Johnson, F. H. Hodder, Geo. W. Martin, Miss Zu Adams, Wm. E. Connelley, Arthur Capper, E. B. Cowgill, Harvey D. Rice, Frank W. Blackmar, W. H. Carruth, Chas. W. Barnes.

The report of the secretary was read and approved.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY.

The year 1901 has been an eventful one with the Kansas State Historical Society. The ambition and the hope of the fathers have been realized, and the history of Kansas and of this people has at last an orderly and reputable abiding-place.

There have been added to the collection during the year 743 books, 2590 pamphlets, 191 manuscripts, 115 maps, atlases, and charts, 324 pictures, 80 scrip, coin and miscellaneous relics, 1412 volumes of newspapers and magazines, and 61

single newspapers. Of these, 4380 have been procured by gift and 136 by purchase. Herewith is the total, by years, since the beginning:

YEAR.	Volumes books.	Volumes newspapers and maga- zines.	Pamphlets.	Total yearly accessions.	Yearly total of the library.
1876.....	280	54	74	408	408
1877.....	115	150	501	766	1,174
1878.....	1,237	710	1,184	3,131	4,305
1879.....	290	275	491	1,056	5,361
1880.....	448	448	1,146	2,042	7,403
1881.....	414	375	1,127	1,916	9,319
1882.....	1,669	513	2,721	4,903	14,222
1883.....	307	403	1,088	1,798	16,020
1884.....	732	807	2,763	4,302	20,322
1885.....	1,088	678	2,033	3,799	24,121
1886.....	1,772	1,573	7,975	11,320	35,441
1887.....	753	1,007	1,543	3,303	38,744
1888.....	866	988	7,707	9,561	48,305
1889.....	1,269	1,053	2,248	4,570	52,875
1890.....	991	1,100	2,960	5,051	57,926
1891.....	719	1,280	4,591	6,590	64,516
1892.....	1,464	1,219	3,119	5,802	70,318
1893.....	709	1,197	1,968	3,874	74,192
1894.....	751	1,579	3,378	5,708	79,900
1895.....	1,020	1,248	1,462	3,730	83,630
1896.....	1,444	1,566	4,852	7,862	91,492
1897.....	854	1,337	2,351	4,542	96,034
1898.....	1,835	1,321	3,135	6,291	102,325
1899.....	951	1,545	4,932	7,425	109,753
1900.....	1,073	1,481	2,069	4,623	114,376
1901.....	743	1,412	2,590	4,745	119,121
Totals.....	23,794	25,319	70,008	.....	.....

The legislature of 1899 directed the executive council to prepare rooms for and remove the material in the custody of this Society, the expense of the same to be paid out of the capitol-building fund. Accordingly, in March, 1901, a contract was made for shelving, and in August the removal from the ground floor to the fourth floor was begun. All the space definitely assigned to the Society was shelved and otherwise placed in order. This leaves us at this writing with books unprovided for sufficient to fill another room. There are two rooms unoccupied adjoining, but they lack the shelving. The Kansas newspapers have been properly cared for in the large room assigned for that purpose and in the annex, or waste space over the south portico of the building. In these newspaper shelves there is provision for three and possibly four years' growth. The duplicates of the Society, or rather the accumulations of the entire state government, will be gathered in a fine, large concreted room in the cellar. These surplus books have been dumped in the cellar, and stowed in all manner of out-of-the-way places, and thus rendered wholly unavailable and useless. I remembered seeing several wagon-loads in the garret of the east wing twenty-five years ago.

In the completion of the capitol building, the manual construction of the various parts was not the only responsibility placed upon the executive council. The readjustment of space, and the suitable preparation of apartments for given uses, has been quite a serious one, involving an arbitrary expenditure of money upon their own judgment and responsibility often perplexing. They are not dealing with current needs. They are placing in order the uncared-for labors of

forty years, and in some instances repeating work which has been done time and again. In the work they have done for this Society they have been compelled to face and provide for a lifetime of accumulations, and from now on the current annual care will cost less than the constant patching and pulling about unavoidable in the condition of the building for twenty years past. In their preparations for this Society they have been careful and prudent, but patriotic and liberal.

The task of removal afforded an opportunity to assort the collections to some extent and, in a general way, to take an inventory. All foreign newspaper files were left in the cellar, and only the Kansas papers, the Kansas City papers and three or four newspaper publications of a national character placed on the shelves on the fourth floor. The pictures have been placed upon the walls with judgment and taste—thanks to the courtesy and assistance of Mr. George M. Stone—the guns, flags and banners properly displayed, and, in several handsome new show-cases, the relics and curios have become objects of interests to hundreds of daily visitors. The newspaper files are arranged by counties, alphabetically, so that every single volume is easy of access.

I think the collections gathered by this Society most remarkable in completeness and in quality, with a minimum of what critics—who have never seen it and who have no idea of its use—call trash. Considering the years it covers, and the activity of the people whose doings have made it, the breadth of the foundation on which it was started, the fact that it is the only institution of the kind, and that it does all this work, whereas in some states several organizations cover the same field, this collection is none too large. Of course, there is trash in it. There is trash everywhere. If the Society had always been as well located as it is to-day, the quantity of its material would have been larger, with the result of lowering the per cent. of trash. The question of trash has existed since the world began. Trash abounds in all collections, and in all books, and, if unnecessary, it is at least harmless. It is not near as annoying to the investigator as the thing he wants and cannot find. It is maintained and perpetuated because, after all, what is trash is a matter of personal judgment. Everybody who gives any thought to the subject of trash runs up against the same stump. We are told that there is two-thirds trash and one-third useful, but the objector adds, "Who will pick out the one-third?" And there you are.

After hearing this talk, and observing what men and women call for, their different desires, and the singular and important uses they have for what I fail to see anything in, it is my judgment that if a committee of the legislature, or a committee of citizens, were to attempt to cull out of this collection, or any other collection of books and papers, what is called trash, they would soon explode in a row or be subjects for the insane asylum. The national government keeps everything, and aims to keep them always. Great business institutions are careful about the preservation of all papers used in their transactions representing money or property. Ninety individuals out of a hundred are as loth to destroy an old paper of their own as they are to stick their hands in the fire. So I conclude that the judgment of wise men in all ages, and of men of to-day who have an instinct in this line of work, that a proper collection of historical material must embrace everything, is the safest course. The importance of keeping old papers is emphasized here every week and every day.

The collection will also continue to grow and need more room from year to year. There is no doubt of this, because the world is moving faster, and the state of Kansas will surely keep in the front and in sight of the flag. The state will continue to do business; it will grind out books, pamphlets, and papers, and the people, in their various avocations and organizations, will continue to keep

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

the flies off, conceiving, discussing, stirring, and accomplishing, as the years roll on. Here, within the collections of this Society, all efforts close up. Here we have the results, whether of success or failure. The Society was organized for this purpose, and with every session of the legislature its work has been heartily indorsed. As far as it is possible for it to reach, from the man of the most prominence and fame down to the humblest, the biography of the citizen is secured, and histories of men in all lines of usefulness are here preserved. The average annual increase henceforth may not be as great, because, in addition to current work, in the past, many back years had to be brought up. But that this library will continue to grow, and its contents to become more valuable and interesting with age, is as sure as that this people will continue active and earnest.

Indeed, when we consider the stupendous figures which stand for the development of Kansas since the beginning—and this is the greater history and not the political scraps and battles which waste and do not build—it strikes me that this collection is quite modest in its proportions. From starvation and beggary in 1861, with four years of the destructiveness of war before work began, we have reached a grand total of \$348,292,384 of agricultural and live-stock products for the year 1901. Manufacturing establishments in 1861 numbered 344, paying \$880,346 in wages; while in 1901 we had 7830 manufactures, paying wages to the amount of \$19,573,375. We have \$66,827,362 invested in manufactures, and they produced, in 1900, \$172,129,398 in manufactured articles. We have 10,193 miles of railroad, and during the year 1901 one single line received 4500 new freight-cars and 75 new locomotives, at the rate of two a day, with an order out at end of year for 120 more locomotives. About all the complaint before the board of railroad commissioners is that the companies cannot get cars fast enough to haul our products out of the state. In 1863 the state had 564 school-teachers, who drew salaries to the amount of \$24,845. Now we have 12,400 teachers, drawing salaries aggregating about \$5,000,000 annually. We have \$7,021,958 in our permanent school fund, and, in public schools, academies, denominational schools and universities we have invested \$20,386,158. The legislature of 1861 expended \$46,735.29, while the legislature of 1901 appropriated \$5,371,754.58. The supreme court has just issued its sixty-second volume of reports, besides ten volumes for the appellate courts, and we now have seven judges busy all the time. The constitution started the state off with ten state officers, and some of them scarcely needed a desk; in fact, one desk would have sufficed for all of them. To-day there are eighteen additional officers, boards, and commissions, and these twenty eight officers, with a horde of clerks and employees, are all busy, occupying a \$2,500,000 building, with nine acres of floor space, and it is pretty near full. Who then dreamed of a mineral development for Kansas? And yet the output of mineral in 1900 was \$14,193,946. In a score of other lines of business development the figures are as startling. It is really questionable, in view of such wonderful results, and the political scrapping for which we have been famous, whether the Society has gathered too much trash or any trash, or whether it has not been negligent and overlooked something.

The feature of this collection which raises the greatest question is the extent and care of the newspaper files. These files are of great value, and their bulk seems quite large. But here again the question of discrimination is as impossible of solution, short of saving none or all. Kansas was a leader in this style of historical collection, and now that much older states are vigorously engaged in doing the same, it is not likely that Kansas will, at the present at least, call a halt. These files are now all on shelves, with room for three years' growth. Nearly half of them are in a waste place over the south corridor of the building.

The same waste place exists at the north end of the building, fourth floor, which will provide room for newspaper files for twelve years to come. So that there need be no worry about the newspaper files for fifteen years yet. We have ceased binding foreign papers, excepting four or five of a national character, and during the year many contributions of this character were rejected. Each year facts are obtained from these newspaper files, to be found nowhere else, of sufficient importance to more than repay to the individual property-holder and the public the cost of their keeping.

A proper exhibit of the duplicates of the Society, and the surplus books of the state now mixed up as a debris in the cellar, on shelves in a comfortable work-room, such as has been provided, will enable us to relieve the congestion to a considerable extent. We have constant calls for Kansas books, and we are confident we can place from 8000 to 10,000 volumes in the next six months in places where they will be preserved. In the last six weeks we have shipped 1700 Kansas books and pamphlets to five different institutions, and about 700 copies of government publications to one institution.

The legislature of 1901 did much in the interest of this Society. A bill became a law forbidding the loaning of newspaper files, books, manuscripts, etc., out of the state-house, and making certified copies of the records competent evidence in the courts. The senate and the house of representatives each created a standing committee on the Historical Society. One additional employee was voluntarily given, and salaries were raised. Without a dissenting vote, \$3000 was given to mark the site of Pike's Pawnee village. A concurrent resolution was unanimously adopted asking the general government to cede to the state one acre from the Fort Riley military reserve on which is located the first capitol building. Pending action by congress, the war department has issued to the Society a revocable license, giving temporary charge of the building, and there has been placed upon each end of the building a sign, in large letters, indicating that it was the first capitol of Kansas.

The demonstrations in Republic county in honor of Pike and the flag will stand among the most interesting events in the history of the state. A large concourse of people gathered on the 4th of July to participate in a corner-stone laying by the Masonic lodge of Belleville, when instructive and patriotic speeches were made by Gov. William E. Stanley, Hon. Henry L. Mason, of Garden City, Mrs. Margaret Hill McCarter, of Topeka, and Hon. John W. Haughey, of Wellington. On the 30th of September the monument was unveiled, when double the number of the previous crowd attended. It was a gala-day for the people of Republic, Cloud and Jewell counties. Col. John C. Carpenter, of Chanute, Hon. Noah L. Bowman, of Garnett, Hon. F. Dumont Smith, of Kinsley, Hon. William T. Short, of Concordia, Miss Helen Kimber, of Parsons, and Hon. W. A. Calderhead, of Marysville, entered earnestly into the spirit of the occasion, and talked inspiringly to the people. The Sixth Battery of field artillery, United States army, Capt. Granger Adams commanding, from Fort Riley, attended and participated in the exercises. Hon. C. E. Adams, of Superior, Neb., on both occasions represented the sister state of Nebraska, and contributed much to the spirit of patriotism. The deed by Mrs. Elizabeth A. Johnson and George Johnson was modified so as to require only that the visible remains of the village be enclosed with fence. Accordingly, but six acres of the eleven deeded the state were enclosed with an iron fence, costing \$1150, and a Barre, Vt., granite shaft, twenty-six feet high, was put up, at a cost of \$1750.

The line of Coronado's march in 1541 and the location of the province of Quivira are of increasing interest. The number of archaeologists and explorers

studying the matter enlarges as time passes; they are industrious and persistent, and it seems with each year that the results of their labors are more definite in establishing Kansas as the location of the mysterious country to the north from whence came only stories of gold, silver, and great cities. A majority of those who have investigated and written upon this first exploration of the interior of the continent agree that Kansas was visited by Coronado, but there are those who are becoming definite and are giving much local zest to the matter. Mr. J. V. Brower, an eminent archaeologist, explorer, and author, has published two volumes of surpassing interest, "Quivira," and "Harahey," in which he locates the villages of Quivira, visited by Coronado, along the south side of the Kansas and Smoky Hill rivers, from Mill creek, in Wabaunsee, to Lyon creek, in Dickinson, principally. He locates villages as follows: In Pottawatomie county, eleven; Wabaunsee, ten; Riley, eleven; Geary, twenty; Dickinson, four; Marion, one; McPherson, six; Rice, one; Barton, one. Mr. Brower has visited this region once and twice a year, beginning with 1896. He has gathered thousands of the stone implements on the sites represented by him, after the most patient investigation, and he has enlisted the greatest interest among the people in the localities named. He has been assisted by J. T. Keagy and E. A. Kilian, of Alma, J. W. Griffing, of Manhattan, and Robert Henderson, of Junction City; and so confident are they of their work, that they propose to erect a monument in honor of Coronado's march, in Logan grove, south of the Smoky Hill, opposite Junction City. Mr. Brower's researches and publications will have a far-reaching effect among explorers and students in establishing Quivira in the heart of Kansas. He is a Minnesota man, and hence is operating without bias, being influenced solely by his own investigation and judgment, and paying his own bills, including the handsomest of publications.

For the first time in years our historical library proper is shelved so as to admit of easy reference. It will enable us to fill incomplete sets of historical society publications and state records, where early volumes are still obtainable. Many of these will necessarily be purchased, being out of print, and in the hands of retail dealers. The Southern states, in very recent years, have revived the work of their historical societies or established new ones. These publications can only be obtained by purchase, as the societies are supported by subscription, and sell their prints to pay for publication.

The New England Historical and Genealogical Society proposes to publish the vital statistics of 190 towns in Massachusetts not already printed, giving the births, marriages and deaths from the settlement until 1845, at a cost of about one cent a page, bound. Such material is invaluable, and is obtained mostly from parish records. As the editions will be limited, we hope to purchase the volumes as issued.

We have many calls from Kansas people for the local historical and genealogical records of the more eastern states. Our book fund is too limited to do all we could wish in the purchase of such material. It would be gratifying if Kansans whose family histories have been printed would donate the volumes to the Society and thus supplement the genealogical library we are anxious to secure.

Horace L. Moore, of Lawrence, prepared a bill providing for more perfect records concerning births and marriages, in line with discussions had in this Society for some years past concerning vital statistics. The bill was introduced in the senate and the house. It not only failed to receive the slightest consideration, but the title and the numbers were lost, so that copies of the bill were beyond identification and recovery. I can only account for it by a lack of interest, and the overwhelming amount of business crowded into fifty days. I know of Colonel

Moore's persistent work along this line, and all must regret that no attention was given it. Some day such a law will be enacted, but years are being lost.

George J. Remsburg, of Atchison, has a very valuable archaeological collection, now boxed up and stored away, which he offers to deposit with the Society conditionally; but we are without suitable cases. Kansas has furnished the world some of the most remarkable of such evidences of antiquity, while our own people have been negligent or perhaps sneering at the "cranks" who have taken elsewhere collections held by Eastern universities and institutions as of rare value.

During the year the Society received from John H. Shimmons a handsome bust and crayon picture of James H. Lane, and some very rare newspaper files. We are also to have a marble bust of F. B. Sanborn, of Concord, Mass., a devoted friend of early Kansas. Mrs. John J. Ingalls writes that, upon her death, according to her distinguished husband's will, a fine oil painting of the senator will come to the Society. Mrs. Mary L. Stearns, of Boston, since the year closed, and a few weeks prior to her death, sent to the Society a large number of letters written by Kansans to her husband during the years 1857 to 1861. These letters pertain to public questions, and afford interesting light on how the state was started on a certain course. We have several promises of like material; procrastination, however, is not only the thief of time, but it often permits death to intervene between good intentions and their performance.

The Society prepared a chronology of the territory and state for Harper's Encyclopedia of United States History, and a very complete statistical and descriptive article about Kansas for a United States gazetteer. We have prepared for the geographer of the United States geological survey statements of the origin of the names of counties and towns of Kansas. These articles called for more than three months of careful investigation and necessitated the writing of hundreds of letters.

The service of the collection to the public and the work in the rooms were greatly embarrassed by the task of removal. In the historical and genealogical department, our experience is that a greater number of people call to consult books along this line and of a reference nature than previously in our old quarters down-stairs, and we take it it is because things are now in order. We are not able to make accurate statements of visitors, because of the interruptions. In the newspaper room, a count, with at least three months omitted, shows 5700 visitors, and that 2752 patrons called for 4481 volumes of newspaper files. This is a greater number of patrons than for the whole of the last year, but it shows only half the number of volumes used, which may be accounted for by the lesser time and the fact that in the previous year there was a presidential campaign. The number of people examining the cases containing relics and curios has increased largely.

There are still several of the "first things" in Kansas to be gathered, and as rapidly as we can find suitable parties to work them up, we solicit and urge. Two papers by members of the history class of the state university attract much attention because of their originality and practical value. The paper by Miss Rosa M. Perdue on "The Sources of the Constitution of Kansas," on file with us, is the subject of much favorable comment from lawyers. Miss Anna Heloise Abel, of the university, has been at work for a year or more on a paper entitled "The Establishment of Indian Reservations in Kansas and the Extinction of their Titles," and all regret that she has been unable to complete it for this meeting. This paper will be of infinite value, involving an amount of labor that but few would attempt. Hon. Eugene F. Ware has promised a paper on the first legisla-

tion for Kansas, discovered by him "in boring for water in the great Arkansas valley"; that is, in the law case for water rights between the states of Kansas and Colorado. Hon. A. R. Greene is at work on a paper concerning the first land-offices in Kansas, the bounds of the districts, how they were merged, and how our first land titles came. Hon. E. J. Dallas, from his large experience in the post-office department, has given us a list of the first post-offices in Kansas.

The most astounding incident in our history came to my attention during the year, and that is the gradual, constant and most remarkable decrease in freight-rates, and the improvement in our railway service. This is a rare chapter of our history, wholly lost in the selfishness and bitterness of political campaigns, so that few know of the wonderful development in the means and cost of our transportation. I have solicited from the railway companies like figures from the start down to the end of the century. I know of nothing that would be more astonishing and instructive to our people.

Mr. E. L. Ackley, a director of this Society, died at his home, in Concordia, during the year. He was a young man, an enthusiastic Kansan, and was greatly interested in the work of the Society, contributing much to its usefulness. His friends have promised to furnish a sketch of his life.

John Guthrie presented his report as treasurer, which was accepted.

William Sims, of the executive committee, then approved the financial report, as follows:

Receipts.

November, 1901, balance of appropriation to June 30, 1901..:	\$3,256 02
Balance in hands of treasurer of Society—fees.....	75 94
July, 1901, appropriations to June 30, 1902.....	6,640 00
Receipts from membership fees.....	37 00
Total.....	\$10,008 96

Expenditures.

Salaries and clerk hire.....	\$4,640 00
Purchase of books.....	483 42
Postage, freight, and contingent.....	441 12
Treasurer, account membership fees.....	42 25
	5,606 79
Total balance.....	\$4,402 17

Active members were then nominated, for election at the evening meeting of the board.

L. D. Whittemore, for the committee on nominations, presented a list of thirty-three members for the board of directors for election at the annual meeting of the Society, and a list of officers for election at the evening meeting of the board. The report was accepted.

Prof. Frank W. Blackmar reported for the committee on archæology, that Wm. J. Griffing and himself had made a careful examination of a large burial mound on McDowell creek, Geary county, in June, 1901, being rewarded by a small flint ax, found near the surface. In the same month Dr. S. W. Williston and Mr. Griffing, accompanied by Mrs. Elizabeth A. Johnson, visited the site of Pike's Pawnee Indian village, in Republic county. Here were found many small fragments of Indian pottery, a few flint and limestone implements, fragments of

the bones of animals, and some relics of their intercourse with white men, consisting of bits of copper vessels and scraps of iron. During the summer Mr. Griffing gathered pottery and flint implements on his farm on Wild Cat creek, Riley county, some rusted steel knives from the site of the Kaw village abandoned in 1830, at the junction of the Blue and Kansas rivers, on the Welcome Wells farm. On the edge of this old village he also found, about two feet below the surface, fragments of smooth pottery, which evidently belonged to an earlier period. These relics, found at different times and places, are now in the Society's rooms.

The report was accepted and the committee continued.

The board then adjourned.

MEETING OF THE SOCIETY.

JANUARY 21, 1902.

Immediately upon the adjournment of the board of directors the Society convened.

Wm. E. Connelley, presented the reports of the committee on the revision of the constitution. The amended sections were read and approved separately, and the whole adopted, as follows:

It is recommended by the special meeting of the Society, held in the directors' room, Tuesday, December 17, 1901, at three o'clock p. m., that the following amendments be made to the constitution:

1. That section V of the constitution be amended so as to read as follows, to wit: "V. The annual meeting of the Society shall be held in Topeka on the first Tuesday in December; and those members, not less than ten, who meet at any annual or special meeting of the Society upon the call of the board of directors, shall be a quorum for the transaction of business."

2. That section IX of the constitution be amended so as to read as follows, to wit: "IX. The secretary and treasurer shall give satisfactory bonds, in such sums as the board of directors may deem proper, for the faithful performance of their respective duties, and for the faithful preservation of property of every kind in custody of the Society; and such bonds shall be filed with the secretary of state after approval by the board of directors."

3. That section XI of the constitution be amended so as to read as follows, to wit: "XI. The secretary is hereby authorized and directed to cause the bills for the annual dues of active members to be made out and sent to the address of such members on or before the 1st day of July of each year, with a copy of this article, and if the amount of such dues is not paid to the treasurer of this Society after the third notice of the secretary, those members in arrears shall be dropped from the roll of membership. The term of annual membership shall begin from and after the 1st day of July of each year."

4. That said constitution be amended by the addition of section XIV, as follows, to wit: "XIV. The fiscal year of this Society shall commence on the 1st day of July in each year and close on the 30th day of June next succeeding."

Papers were read as follows:

"History of Lead and Zinc Mining in Southeastern Kansas," by

Miss Irene G. Stone, Galena. "Mother Bickerdyke," by Mrs. Julia A. Chase, Hiawatha. Prof. J. D. Walters, of the state agricultural college, presented a history of that institution which had been prepared and published for the use of the Columbian Exposition of 1893, and since amended. From this manuscript he read extracts relating to the foundation of the college and the works of its earlier presidents. G. Webb Bertram, of Oberlin, presented his paper on "Reminiscences of Northwest Kansas," unread.

The meeting then adjourned until evening.

The evening meeting was held in Representative hall. Rev. H. D. Fisher pronounced the invocation. The thirty-three members of the board of directors nominated at the afternoon meeting of the board were elected, as follows:

J. B. Adams, El Dorado; W. L. Brown, Kingman; Geo. A. Clark, Junction City; E. B. Cowgill, Topeka; Gomer T. Davies, Concordia; J. S. Dawson, Hill City; John Francis, Colony; Frank E. Grimes, Leoti; E. W. Hoch, Marion; J. K. Hudson, Topeka; Mrs. Margaret Hill McCarter, Topeka; J. C. Mack, Newton; John Martin, Topeka; M. M. Murdock, Wichita; Frank Nelson, Lindsborg; H. Clay Park, Atchison; Mrs. Caroline Prentis, Topeka; J. B. Remington, Osawatomie; Harvey D. Rice, Topeka; W. E. Richey, Harveyville; Mrs. Olive I. Royce, Phillipsburg; Bertrand Rockwell, Junction City; Chas. F. Scott, Iola; R. H. Semple, Ottawa; Ed. R. Smith, Mound City; F. Dumont Smith, Kinsley; W. E. Stanley, Wichita; W. B. Stone, Galena; Mrs. Fannie Geiger Thompson, Topeka; Edwin Taylor, Edwardsville; D. A. Valentine, Clay Center; A. B. Whiting, Topeka; L. D. Whittemore, Topeka.

The following program was then had: Annual address of president, "An Incident of the War in 1862," by John Francis. "In at the Birth," by E. C. Manning, Winfield. "Slavery in Kansas," by C. E. Cory, Fort Scott. "Horticulture in Kansas," by Mrs. Cora Wellhouse Bullard, Tonganoxie. "Early Life of Quantrill in Kansas," by W. A. Johnson, Garnett.

At the close of the papers, Rev. H. D. Fisher presented to the Society the portraits of himself and wife, taken shortly after the Quantrill raid. On motion of E. B. Cowgill, the thanks of the Society were extended to Doctor Fisher for the gift.

John Guthrie moved that a vote of thanks be given the ladies and gentlemen who had presented papers at both sessions of the Society, and that they be requested to give the Society copies of their papers.

MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS.

JANUARY 21, 1902.

On the adjournment of the annual meeting of the Society the board of directors convened.

The following officers were elected for the ensuing year: President, W. H. Smith,* Marysville; first vice-president, W. B. Stone, Galena; second vice-president, John Martin, Topeka.

The following persons, nominated at the afternoon meeting, were then elected members of this Society:

Active members: Dr. J. A. Read, Tecumseh; John M. Meade, Topeka; Mrs. John M. Meade, Topeka; Rev. D. M. Fisk, Topeka; Gurdon Grovenor, Lawrence; Dr. E. T. Metcalf, Colony; Geo. U. S. Hovey, White Church; Mr. and Mrs. J. O. Fife, Kansas City, Kan.; Mr. and Mrs. G. W. W. Yates, Topeka; Capt. Geo. W. Weed, Topeka; Prof. E. Haworth, Lawrence; Hill P. Wilson, Hays City; J. C. Ruppenthal, Russell; G. Webb Bertram, Oberlin; E. C. Manning, Winfield; W. A. Johnson, Garnett; E. W. Cunningham, Emporia; Capt. A. C. Pierce, Junction City.

Corresponding members: Frank H. Bailey, lieutenant commander, United States navy, Washington, D. C., nominated by Mrs. Johnson.

President Smith appointed the following committees:

Executive committee: W. E. Stanley, John Martin, Geo. A. Clark, William Sims, A. B. Whiting.

Legislative committee: F. Dumont Smith, R. H. Semple, Geo. W. Veale, Arthur Capper, John Seaton.

Committee on program: E. F. Ware, E. B. Cowgill, Frank W. Blackmar, Mrs. Fannie G. Thompson, D. A. Valentine.

Nominating committee: William Sims, John G. Haskell, J. S. Dawson, Clad Hamilton, L. D. Whittemore.

The president also assigned the members of the board to departments, as follows:

Archæology: Frank W. Blackmar, J. W. Conway, E. B. Cowgill, J. K. Wright, E. N. Morrill, R. H. Semple.

Historic Relics: A. R. Greene, W. E. Richey, W. E. Bush, W. A. White, E. W. Howe, E. J. Dallas, J. K. Hudson.

Explorations: Wm. J. Griffing, E. F. Ware, A. B. Whiting, J. A. Bigger, P. G. Lowe, A. L. Williams, John Madden.

*W. H. SMITH was born in Indiana county, Pennsylvania, December 3, 1841. In 1861 he enlisted in Company D, Sixty-second Pennsylvania regiment. He was mustered out in 1865. He was sergeant of his company, and took a prominent part in many battles. After the war he came to Kansas, settling in Marshall county. In 1868 he was elected a representative in the legislature, and reelected in 1870. He served fourteen years as postmaster at Marysville, and four years as county treasurer of Marshall county. He is now secretary of the state board of railroad commissioners. He has always been active in Grand Army circles and fifth district Republican politics.

Indian History: W. E. Richey, John Guthrie, V. J. Lane, A. S. Johnson, Wm. E. Connelley.

History of the Territory: D. W. Wilder, H. Clay Park, M. M. Murdock, John Speer, J. B. Remington, A. P. Riddle.

History of the State: F. H. Hodder, Mrs. Fannie G. Thompson, D. R. Anthony, W. E. Stanley, F. P. Baker, E. W. Hoch, B. Rockwell.

Geography (including maps, views of buildings and scenery): Gomer T. Davies, F. D. Coburn, J. B. Adams, J. W. Conway, W. H. Carruth, F. O. Popenoe, J. W. Morphy.

Origin of Local Names: F. C. Montgomery, E. P. Harris, J. S. Dawson, W. L. Brown, John G. Haskell, Scott Hopkins, Frank W. Blackmar.

Journals, Diaries, and Manuscripts: Mrs. Olive I. Royce, John Madden, L. D. Whittemore, J. E. Junkin, Frank Doster, Fred. Wellhouse.

Local History, Interviews, and Chronicles: Wm. E. Connelley, W. B. Stone, Harvey D. Rice, D. A. Valentine, Grant W. Harrington, John Seaton, J. W. Morphy.

Organization of Local Historical Societies: Mrs. Caroline Prentis, A. P. Riddle, Mrs. Elizabeth A. Johnson, W. H. Nelson, George Leis, Geo. W. Martin.

Biography: John Martin, F. Dumont Smith, J. B. Remington, Chas. W. Barnes, P. McVicar.

Portraits: Chas. F. Scott, Frank E. Grimes, J. C. Mack, William Sims, Clad Hamilton, Miss Zu Adams.

Genealogy and Directories: H. L. Moore, John Francis, Edwin Taylor, E. B. Cowgill, A. H. Horton, M. M. Murdock.

Newspapers, Periodicals, and Scrap-books: Fred L. Vandegrift, Geo. A. Clark, Arthur Capper, Harold T. Chase, J. E. Junkin.

Literature: Mrs. Margaret Hill McCarter, W. H. Carruth, Ewing Herbert, Frank Nelson, Miss Lucy D. Kingman, Charles S. Gleed.

Historical Sites and Buildings: Mrs. Fannie G. Thompson, P. G. Lowe, John Martin, John Francis, J. C. Mack.

The meeting then adjourned.

ADDRESSES AND PAPERS DELIVERED AND READ AT ANNUAL MEETINGS.

THE PASSING OF SLAVERY IN WESTERN MISSOURI.

Address by the president, JOHN G. HASKELL,* before the twenty-fifth annual meeting of the Society, January 15, 1901.

THE history of Kansas is incomplete until after all conditions in western Missouri preceding and during the great civil struggle have been fully discussed. Western Missouri was strictly in the Kansas struggle from 1854 to 1861, and furnished its quota of facts to the contest which soon after became national in character. It is not the purpose of this paper to consider the institution of slavery further than to set forth such facts as thus far have not found their way into print, but which must be reckoned with in making a full history of the Kansas struggle.

More than a generation has passed since the close of the armed contest between slavery and freedom, in which Kansas bore so conspicuous a part. This part borne by Kansas can never be diminished or dimmed; but there are still large areas of facts which, as yet, have never been published. In Kansas, there is little in the memory of living men concerning the stormy times which has not found its way into print. In Missouri, the resources of living men have not been explored for testimony as to the period under consideration with anything like the enterprise and thoroughness which have characterized the explorations in Kansas. The reasons for this are manifest, viz.: The schemes of the slavery propagandists of South Carolina and other radical Southern states failed forever with the close of the civil war, and there is therefore no reason why the internal struggles of a stupendous failure should be written.

The agitation which resulted in the repeal of the "Missouri compromise" did not originate in western Missouri. So far as the former slave states are concerned, the heat of the "late unpleasantness" is not yet sufficiently abated to leave living Southern men entirely free to express themselves upon all phases of the great controversy.

How minorities were turned to majorities, and how majorities tyrannized over

*JOHN GIDEON HASKELL is the seventh in genealogical line from Roger Haskell, who came from England in 1632, and settled in Beverly, Mass. Four descendants of this family served in the revolutionary war, two of them being killed in battle. John G. Haskell was born at Milton, Chittenden county, Vermont, February 5, 1832. He was educated at the Wesleyan Academy, Wilbraham, Mass., and at Brown University. In 1855 he entered an architect's office in Boston. He came to Kansas in 1857, and settled at Lawrence. During the civil war Mr. Haskell was assistant quartermaster-general of Kansas. He served as quartermaster of the Third Kansas volunteers, and, later, as quartermaster of the Tenth Kansas. In June, 1862, he was made captain and assistant quartermaster, and assigned to the staff of Brig. Gen. James G. Blunt. He was chief quartermaster of the army of the frontier. In 1866 he was made architect of the state-house, and built the east wing. He has three times since, as state architect, had charge of the construction of the state-house. The state university, Snow hall, the insane asylums at Topeka and Osawatimie, the reform school at Topeka and the reformatory were all designed and largely constructed by him.

minorities, in the interest of the great propaganda which gave us the Mexican war and the annexation of Texas, followed by the repeal of the "Missouri compromise," have not yet been written so as to include the testimony of the quiet, unobtrusive, conservative men now living, who hesitate before telling us what they know.*

The time is rapidly passing when the witness of these men can be had, and since Kansas needs the testimony of this class of men in western Missouri, for the completion of her own historical work, I have undertaken to gather up a more or less imperfect outline of conditions in western Missouri from the class of men above referred to.

If it shall seem to turn out that western Missouri was less excited and believed herself more secure, during the great anti-slavery movement which culminated in the settlement of Kansas, than the people of Kansas were led to suppose was the case, it will in no wise diminish the brilliancy of the Kansas campaign, but simply demonstrate the courage of the small boy with his sling who dared face the giant in armor. The giant was slain, not because he was weak or cowardly, but because the well-directed pebble found a joint in the harness.

Western Missouri did not know, long beforehand, that she was elected to be the frontier of the slavery contest, and was not foremost in placing herself in the van. She had not been an affirmative, aggressive leader in the plans of the South for the extension of slavery into new territory, but preferred the policy of conservatively "letting well enough alone." She was not an enthusiast for the repeal of the so-called compromise of 1820; and if permitted by her fire-eating neighbors, would have been far less conspicuous in slavery-extension movements than she was. She was not by any means devoid of the radical, fervid slavery-extension element among her own people; but these were at first so conspicuously in the minority, that it took pressure from the outside to "fire her heart," and still more to keep it fired.†

* The following quotation is from the *Charleston Courier*, about July, 1856: "This community is extremely tolerant of opposing opinions, especially upon the subject of slavery. But it must be remembered that there are limits when toleration becomes weakness. Now, upon the proposition that the safety of the institution of slavery in South Carolina is dependent upon its establishment in Kansas, there can be no rational doubt. He, therefore, who does not contribute largely in money now, and largely in his efforts in the October election, proves himself criminally indifferent, if not hostile, to the institution upon which the prosperity of the South and of the state depends. Let the names, therefore, be published daily, that we may see who are lukewarm in this vital issue; then we may see who are the people in this community who require to be watched. To secure this end, we will add, as a suggestion, that the finance committee of the Kansas association be also a committee of assessment, and that each individual be informed of this amount before his subscription be taken. We also suggest that the Kansas association appoint a large vigilance committee, whose consultations shall be secret, and who shall take in charge the conduct of the delinquents, and adopt such secret measures in reference to them as the interests of the community demand. In this way the contributions will doubtless be adequate, and the cause of Kansas will prosper."

† From the *Mobile Advertiser*, April, 1854: "The South has the advantage of proximity; let it be wisely improved. The border slave states were quite anxious for the bid, and the planting states yielded to their solicitation and aided its passage; let them, the former, which are more immediately interested, 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."

Extract from a speech by W. W. BOYCE, November 7, 1855, in the court-house, at Sumterville, S. C.: "Since the passage of the Kansas bill, I have at all seasons and on all occasions, preached Kansas! Kansas! Kansas! I have not language to convey my sense of the importance of this question to the South, and the necessity of aiding our friends in Kansas. The policy I would recommend is briefly this: Organize associations in every district in the state, raise men

The fact that, throughout the South, years of preparation had been made for the permanent establishment of slavery, as a national institution, had not early been discussed in Missouri. The Mexican war had occurred and Texas annexed. The supreme court had wheeled into line and the Southern radical element was clearly in the ascendency. All these, however, did not assure western Missouri that her local interests would be greatly aided by the extreme measures proposed. Western Missouri expected some day to divide Kansas and Nebraska between the North and South, taking Kansas to herself and giving Nebraska to the North. This was to be the next step in compromise, and its prospect looked more promising than the results of the proposed repeal of the Missouri compromise.

Western Missouri had more to fear from agitation in the North than to gain from agitation in the South. It was held to be a grave mistake to open an agitation which was certain to inflame the entire North, when it was easily practicable and wiser to prepare the proposed territory in advance for slaveholding occupancy; for slavery could not move as rapidly as freedom. Owners of slaves would not hazard their property on insecure conditions, such as an agitation would produce. The law, however, was clear enough and would protect the invasion, if carried forward without excitement. The territory was truly north of 36° 30', but it was adjacent to Missouri and could fairly be included under the compromise, if adroitly managed. Western Missouri believed the Eastern managers were urging the repeal of the compromise with too much haste. It will thus be seen that western Missouri rested securely in the rights she possessed, and was not anxious to open up a new and possibly dangerous controversy.*

It is not strange, therefore, that the early settlers of Kansas underestimated the difficulties in front of them when they undertook the settlement of a section held in sacred reserve for the institution of slavery.

There are men now living in western Missouri who, in looking back over the agitation which preceded the repeal of the famous compromise, with all that followed, fully believe that, if the South had been temperate and conservative, standing on undebatable rights, and willing to accept slavery as a local instead of a national institution, the war would have been avoided, slave property would have been as secure as it ought, and peace would have continued to prevail.

and money, and colonize Kansas. Let us set the South on fire, if possible, and have a universal concert of action to secure this empire for the South."

Correspondence in the *Charleston Mercury*, dated Washington, January 5, 1856: "The touchstone of our political existence is Kansas—that is the question. The supineness of your state (South Carolina), and the South generally, on this subject, is absolutely astounding. I understand you are building a magnificent state-house, and cutting through mountains to increase your trade; but I have not heard that you have given a dollar to the great cause of the South in Kansas. What are you people thinking about? Have they never heard how Massachusetts and Connecticut have forwarded many boxes of Sharp's rifles to their abolition friends in Kansas? These rifles are the best of the modern inventions, and they are not sent to Kansas to kill deer or buffalo, but the men of the South who dare to go there. Why was not the contingent fund increased, so that your executive might have had the power of doing something?"

*Speaking of the turning back of the Chicago emigrants, the Weston (Platte county, Missouri) *Reporter*, June 27, 1856, said: "The treatment of these Northern men raises a grave question for the consideration of every man who has an interest in the welfare of this country. Are the citizens of other states to be deprived of their right to emigrate to Kansas? Are the principles of the Kansas bill to be nullified, and bands of men stationed along the border to demand a password before the citizens of a neighboring state can have the privilege of going into that territory? If this be the principle of the Kansas bill, we shall be the last man on the green earth to indorse it. The whole proceeding is an outrage, and cannot be defended upon any correct principle, and the consequence will be most disastrous to the whole country. Against such a course of policy we enter our protest, and appeal to the good men of all parties to rebuke this wild and blind folly of a few men, whose acts are doing more to abolitionize Kansas than even the Kansas aid societies of Boston."

I invite your attention, for a few moments, to the facts as they existed on the western border of Missouri when the free-state migration into Kansas opened, in 1854. I will confine myself to what is popularly known as the "border," meaning one, two or three counties deep along the western frontier of Missouri. Not that these only were concerned, for the whole state was involved; but these border counties will illustrate the conditions referred to.

Slavery in western Missouri was like slavery in northern Kentucky—much more a domestic than commercial institution. Family servants constituted the bulk of ownership, and few white families owned more than one family of blacks. The social habits were those of the farm and not the plantation. The white owner, with his sons, labored in the same field with the negro, both old and young. The mistress guided the industries in the house in both colors. Both colors worshiped at the same time, in the same meeting-house, ministered to by the same pastor.

These conditions cultivated between the races strong personal and reciprocal attachments. The negroes were members of the family; the blights of ownership were at a minimum. In case of good behavior on the part of the blacks, there was little or no danger of sale into a distant market; and the oldest inhabitant remembers no such thing as a market auction block. The blacks were not menaced into good behavior by threat of sale, nor provoked to bad conduct by invasions of what would be called personal rights and privileges.

On the other hand, sales of slaves were largely confined to such exchanges of members of negro families as would produce the most satisfactory negro family life; and thus a ministry to contentment would be cultivated. These conditions reduced runaways to a minimum and gave solidity and permanence to the domestic conditions. The mingled family relationships drew together in strong bonds of sympathy with each other the members of the two races.

The custom of other slaveholding communities, in raising for household service extra-skilled servants, was the universally prevailing habit among the slaveholders of western Missouri. There was, however, no classification of "domestic servants" and "field hands." All performed domestic service, and all labored in the field when necessary; all were extra skilled in all the necessary domestic arts.

The early western Missouri slaveholder was a poor man. His wealth at date of settlement consisting mainly in one small family of negro slaves, with limited equipment necessary to open up a farm in a new country. The inducements to seek a new country were then, as later, an abundance of cheap land in a country so sparsely settled as to enable several members of the same family to secure contiguous locations and supply, with a closely related family life, what ordinarily came with the community life of the larger settlement. The tardy settlements often permitted children to grow up and settle upon vacant properties around the central homestead. Under such conditions the increase of the slave population hardly kept pace with the increase of the whites; so that, instead of slaves being sent away to be sold, fresh importations were necessary.

It must not be understood that these western slaveholding communities were solid units on the right or wrong of the institution of slavery, or that the question was not debatable at home, or that the wisdom of slavery as a domestic institution was not discussed; for there was an ever-increasing number of men born, raised and trained slaveholders who never had in blood or habit a Northern anti-slavery taint, but who had become conscience bound in their own reflections upon the morals of the institution.

These men were exceedingly conservative in tone and conduct. They made few criticisms and no open attacks upon slavery. In the main, they were men of character and influence in the community. Some of them had shown their sin-

cerity of conviction by setting their slaves free; and, in addition to this, had shown by their successful business management, that slavery was neither necessary nor profitable. The presence of these men, however, was a provoking commentary upon the claims of the more radical propagandists. They were thoroughly Southern in taste and breeding, belonging to old-time slaveholding families, and therefore could not be ostracized or driven out; and yet they were a two-edged sword upon the radical expansionists—a standing demonstration that the institution over which so much fury was being expended would harmlessly crumble upon its own ground, if so permitted.

The movements of these men were met with legislation in some of the Southern states as a means of stamping out the dangerous tendency to set slaves at liberty. For some contended that it was more profitable to employ than own the labor of the negroes. (Cases in point could be cited if necessary, and if we had the time. The question of the "free negro" was not unimportant, but entered largely into the consideration of the institution, both morally and politically.)

From an economic standpoint, the early history of slavery in western Missouri was more or less of a disappointment. It was too far north for cotton, and the actual, practicable products were subjected to a sharp competition. The markets were remote and prices so low as to challenge profitableness. The added cost for food, clothing and shelter of a negro laborer in a comparatively rigorous climate was far above the Gulf states, and higher even than Kentucky or Tennessee. This extra cost was not reckoned in cash, for there was little in circulation, but in the extra time taken by the negro laborer to produce the actual necessities for his own use and that of his dependent family.

All food, clothing and shelter was of local home production, and it took a larger percentage of the products of the forest, the field and the loom to protect life and health in Missouri than in other and warmer Southern states. Not only these, but the season, the period of profitable out-of-door labor, was greatly shortened, and the products themselves possessed less earning power than the cotton fields farther south. (Exception must be made here of the hemp-producers on the river bottoms convenient to a navigable stream.)

So that it came to pass in the early days that strong, shrewd pro-slavery men, who cared nothing for the added luxuries of domestic service incident to slave owning, but only estimated the value of a slave by what he could earn over and above his living, refused all slave ownership, and employed the neighbors' negroes when wanted on the best terms practicable. There are wealthy men now living who have acted upon this principle from the start; and hence, while intensely pro-slavery in sentiment, were nevertheless anti-extensionists. In the race for wealth these men were a match for their slaveholding neighbors. Time, however, furnished remedies for the conditions just noticed. While these earliest settlements in western Missouri were going forward, the region now called Kansas was a pasture for buffalo, with few Indians to disturb the herds. The Indian tribes were mainly east of the Mississippi river. The wonderful trails and travel thoroughfares across the "Great American Desert" were unestablished. The military posts were not built, and only an occasional band of explorers disturbed the primitive solitudes.

The emigration of the Indian tribes from east of the Mississippi river to the territory west of the Missouri opened the way to a more or less permanent and growing market for the animals and field products of western Missouri. The erection of agency and mission buildings for the various tribes in the new settlements greatly enlarged the local industries, and not only gave employment to

large numbers, but furnished markets for the products of the forests and fields, and the introduction of new lines of industry. Machinery came into vogue and the Missouri river became a veritable highway. Money began to circulate, and it was possible for the residents of the Missouri frontier to realize that new markets had been established at their doors.

Following the new location of the Indian tribes came the establishment of the military posts by the United States government; and with these a greatly enlarged market for all the products of a western Missouri farm, so near at hand as to save excessive transportation charges. The extra demand for transportation—animals, oxen, horses, and mules, created almost a new industry, hastened migrations, and enlarged the area of cultivated land. The construction of buildings and furnishings at the government posts stimulated industry in all directions, and gave to slave labor a new value. Following these came the war with Mexico and the opening up of trade with the territories recently acquired, as the result of this war. Western Missouri now became the very center of a commercial activity unknown elsewhere in the West. Every farm, large or small, bristled with new activity. Every bushel of grain and every animal found a ready and profitable market with the recently developed demands. The well-drilled, industrious slave servant became a profitable investment; all the more so because raised as a member of his master's family, and both skilled and reliable beyond the incidental employment of ordinary frontier labor.

I once knew a slave owned in western Missouri whose master permitted him to seek his fortune where he chose. He attached himself to a military headquarters, and received large wages on account of his ability and trustworthiness. He accompanied the United States army in its great variety of frontier experiences, traveling to the Indian Territory, to New Mexico, and what is now Colorado. But each year he returned to his Missouri home and handed over to his master \$150 in gold, as the agreed master's share of the annual earnings. I know this to be an exceptional but not an isolated case, and it gives accurately the economic value of a first-class slave under conditions we are considering. It is not difficult to see that such enlarged business activities and opportunities might furnish strong temptations for the slaves to escape. Such, however, was not the case, for, prior to the settlement of Kansas, runaways were of rare occurrence. A wholesome dread of the Indians operated as a deterrent in some cases; and an approach to the military posts by a negro slave, unauthenticated, meant detention and investigation.

It will be noted that the profitableness of slavery had marvelously increased between 1835 and 1854. But the profitableness of all labor had similarly increased, so that on this account there was no increase of pro-slavery sentiment from economic causes. The slaveholder was getting rich and the non-slaveholder was enjoying the same privilege. Nevertheless, the obstacles of climate, remote and commonplace markets were practically removed, and under the new conditions western Missouri offered as fine a field upon which to exploit the advantages of slavery as the cotton-raising states. In less than twenty years conditions had entirely changed. The slave-owners had leaped from poverty to wealth. They were well satisfied with existing conditions and in position to deplore the agitation of the slavery question; in fact, not a few believed that only harm could come of agitation.

The opening of Kansas to settlement again enlarged market opportunities and still further increased the wealth of the western Missouri farmer. It may seem strange to the average Kansan, to be told that the western Missouri slaveholder was not concerned for the safety of his slaves on account of the rush of free-state

settlers into Kansas. It will instantly be asked, Why this furious opposition to the movement into the newly opened territory? The answer is ready. It was desired to make Kansas a slave state, and the promise was that the eastern Southern states would supply the emigrants, if only time was given to make the change.

The Northern movement was overwhelmingly sudden and strong, and threatened disaster to Southern hopes. It was a disappointment to lose a neighbor so important as Kansas; but the menace to the slave-owner, as to the security of his property, would be no greater in western Missouri than in eastern or northern Missouri, or in northern Kentucky, and in point of fact created no alarm. Run-aways did not increase to any appreciable extent. No apprehension was felt over the danger of loss of constitutional rights by the slaveholders. A few far-seeing men saw in the movements ultimate dangers. A few knew enough to believe that secession of the slave states would follow the failure of Southern squatter sovereignty and the success of Northern squatter sovereignty in Kansas. These few quietly shipped South their surplus labor and such as were liable to doubtful behavior. Negro-buyers were held in jealousy, however, and compelled to do their work with great quietness, through fear of causing alarm among the blacks. The negro-buyer was greatly dreaded, and the presence of one in the neighborhood caused a flutter of fear.

The thorough domestication of the slaves attached them to the old homes and the family friends with intense and loyal tenacity. It must not, however, be forgotten that the general state of society on the frontier, at the period referred to, was far from esthetic. Notions of obligation, conduct, citizenship, justice and wise policy were far from the modern standards. It was not rare that a man must carry his personal possessions and honor at the muzzle of a rifle or revolver; and sometimes an offensive interloper dangled on a limb by the roadside. Neighborhood sentiment, right or wrong, was law. The dictator of a black man's liberty and privileges became, by the logic of the situation, the dictator of the white man's rights.

The conditions hitherto recited would lead us to suppose that slavery in western Missouri was so thoroughly entrenched as not to be shaken or dislodged by any outside agitation, no matter how severe; and as to the rank and file of slaveholders this was true. The average possessor of negro slave labor lived on a farm, remote from centers of business or information. A weekly newspaper, if any newspaper at all, was the only means of general information.

All newspapers in circulation were proslavery, of course, and mainly were slavery extensionists, guided in expression by a secret secession propaganda. This propaganda was not an organization, as moderns term organizations, but rather a political agreement on the part of leading Southern politicians, by which it was understood that the institution of slavery required a certain line of political action. The line of action was given forth verbally from mouth to mouth, wherever safe, and withheld where unsafe. Only safe statements, accompanied with threats and intimidations, were given forth in print. *

* The Parkville *Luminary* was destroyed by a mob April 14, 1855. The Western (Platte county) Missouri *Republican* in May 1855, said it was destroyed because of abolitionism, in the following language: "We have occupied conservative and rational ground, promptly opposing the measures and men who have brought on this crisis. Will the President meet it? Surely he cannot longer follow counsels from among abolitionists and nullifiers! The country demands that sound, firm, energetic men have the direction of public affairs - who will impress and enforce justice and law. There is virtually no law in Kansas, and no security for life and property, save in the sense of honor and justice cherished by every true pioneer. This may save the country from the bloodshed but the government is held up to ridicule and contempt, and its

Great leaders in the nation, state, county and township were expected to guide public and private action, and these were followed with unswerving loyalty. It is doubtful if America ever possessed a political organization so powerful in its hold upon all who surrendered to its influence. The rank and file listened to directions and voted as ordered, but, with rare exceptions, were admitted to the inner circles. Campaigns were conducted along directed lines, calculated to tempt the strong and alarm the timid. The "dissolution of the Union," so often a campaign cry in the East, was neither desired nor feared in western Missouri. The people were directly interested in Indian supplies and military equipment, in great lines of travel across the plains, and in no mood to believe hastily in remote or threatened dangers to an institution constitutionally secure. Radical men on either side were not popular, and agitation was deplored.

There was no disloyalty to the institution of slavery, and no compromise with those who by word or act rendered it insecure. But peace and money-getting held larger influence with the masses than agitation of remote contingencies in public affairs. The stability of the government, and hence safety in business affairs, was uppermost in the minds of the people. The whole frontier glistened with government patronage. Every Indian agency and military post was a home market belonging to the people nearest at hand. Every possible industry, from the hand loom to the rude sawmill found a ready market for its products. Every output from the farm and herd was a strong cord binding the people to established conditions. Why then discuss the extension of slavery on the one hand, or the dissolution of the Union on the other.

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It was anticipated that the admission of Missouri as a slave state moved the parallel (36° 30') to the northern boundary of Missouri, and that this parallel would continue westward with the settlements under such domination as the settler demanded. For the present, however, all available territory was occupied by the Indians, whose occupancy would probably continue for a long time to come. Agitation could only do harm, for it would excite Northern hostility, without adding to the strength or durability of the institution of slavery. It is clear then that there was normally no place for disunion sentiment in western Missouri. The strong proslavery men were neither slavery extensionists nor disunionists. The doctrines of Benton met with ready response. Agitation was harmful, extension unnecessary; and yet Benton and his adherents were forced to meet the fire-eaters in every campaign; and the border slaveholder was compelled to participate in discussions in which he had no faith and saw only harm.

Meanwhile the breach between the radical disunion fire-eater and the conservative unionist was gaining. The debates became hotter and hotter. The conservative was charged with disloyalty to slavery and being no better than the abolitionists. Every effort was made to drive him into the radical ranks. Nevertheless a large number of strong, conservative men challenged the wisdom of the slavery-extension movements, and resisted in speech and act the aggressions of the extension propagandists. The admission of Texas promised to relieve the pressure upon western Missouri, but it was early discovered by far-seeing men that the national-extension-of-slavery movement had passed beyond the bounda-

authority disregarded. Judges of elections have been displaced and others appointed—the polls have in some instances been guarded with pistols and bowie-knives—and some of those elected are going to the governor swearing that, if he does not give a certificate of election immediately, they will 'cut his throat from ear to ear.' Is the flag of our country to be no longer a protection? or are individuals or companies of men to declare we will and it must be so, without regard to law? Is this what the authors of the Nebraska-Kansas bill meant by squatter sovereignty?"

ries of local influence, and soon there must be national recognition of slavery as a national institution, or, in case of refusal, a dissolution of the Union.

It will thus be seen that western Missouri was dragged into a position she had for years resisted with all her power. Her best advisers were handicapped and her best interests sacrificed. Verily she had troubles of her own, entirely removed from the contests over Kansas.

Without going further into detail than necessary to show the general status of affairs in western Missouri prior to and up to the movements into Kansas, I have aimed to show that conditions were such as to be little affected by the migrations into Kansas. And except that the civil war followed closely upon the Kansas settlements, the domestic affairs of Missouri would not have been seriously disturbed. Slavery had been woven into warp and woof of the social web. It was there by constitutional right and needed no defense. Social, economic and political conditions protected its rights and privileges. Even with Kansas a free state, the risks offered to slavery were no greater than those experienced from Iowa or Illinois. The business disturbances incident to the new settlements, were greater than the social. The loss of trade with Indian tribes and military posts threatened to inflict greater damages than the loss of slaves. The failure to make and hold a slave state of Kansas, when offered an equal opportunity by law and a more than equal opportunity by circumstances, was an exasperating disappointment and humiliation.

The conservative unionist slaveholder never expected to move over into and occupy Kansas. In the main, these men were non-extensionists, satisfied to remain where they were and allow new settlements to be made by natural processes. The men who passed the Kansas-Nebraska law promised to supply the proslavery squatters, and then utterly failed to keep the promises. Western Missouri had a right to expect the eastern slave states would take care of the new territory just opened in obedience to clamor for more slave territory, and was disgusted at the failure. Conservative slaveholders in western Missouri had a right to expect her own noisy propagandists to enter in and possess the land so opportunely opened and so convenient at hand, and were disgusted with the nerveless manner in which these prophets and patriots had marched up the hill, and then marched down again.

Conservative unionist slaveholders were disgusted with the Missouri-Kansas legislature, because elections to it had been made on the promise of members to make permanent residence in Kansas, while immediately upon adjournment of the legislative session these same members returned to Missouri with the announcement that no permanent residence was intended.*

*A correspondent of the Boston *Atlas*, writing from Lawrence in 1854, says: "The public proclamation of the governor of Kansas awakened the citizens of Independence, Mo., to the importance of holding a public meeting to take some means of raising money to pay the expenses of poor men coming into the territory, depositing their votes, and returning to their homes in Missouri; and \$1000 was raised for this purpose. Hurrah for squatter sovereignty!"

Extract from a letter dated Weston, Mo., December 14, 1855, and published in the *St. Louis Democrat*: "The recent excursion to Lawrence was gotten up chiefly by statements calculated to foster prejudice and lash the passion of anger to fury. Now the excitement has, in a measure, died away, and the smoke and mist in which the whole appeared to be enveloped are dispersed, we may hope that the people of Missouri, and the members of the proslavery party in particular, will look at this affair in its true light, and reflect coolly whether anything is to be gained by the state or party by such excursions as the last one."

The New Orleans *True Delta*, January 1, 1856, said, approved by the *St. Louis Intelligencer*: "The true mode of making Kansas a slave state, as it seems to be the almost universal wish of Missouri that it should be, is for Missouri and other Southern emigrants to remove in good faith their household goods to Kansas, there to rest, remain, and abide, as their future home. This will make Kansas a slave state—no other course will."

The so-called "bogus" legislature, composed of temporary emigrants from Missouri, was as bogus in Missouri as in Kansas. The movement was openly denounced and was undefended by the best citizens. It was at first urged and defended on the claim that the Northern movement into Kansas was stealthy and insincere, and this invasion was necessary to meet the Northern hordes. But when the participants returned to Missouri, confessing that the whole movement was a fake, they forever destroyed the opportunity to repeat the experience. The rush of Northern people into Kansas was an astonishment, but not a greater astonishment than the failure of the South to make the Southern promise good to them, and possess Kansas for slavery. Missouri did her best to stay the Northern tide, but gave it up when the South failed to keep her promises.* It will be a surprise to some that all the commotion, uproar, contest and unrest of the years from 1854 to 1861 created in western Missouri no widespread alarm for the safety of the slaves. Kansas supposed a good many slaves were escaping;

*Immediately upon the passage of the act of May 30, 1854, creating the territories of Kansas and Nebraska, the free-soil and the slaveholding sections of the country began to agitate and organize for the colonization of Kansas. A list of the Northern societies will be found in an article by William H. Carruth, in volume 6 of the Collections of this Society, pages 90-96. The Massachusetts Emigrant Company was organized in April, 1854; while the first in the South, the Kansas Emigration Association, was formed in Charleston, S. C., March 5, 1856. The New England Emigrant Aid Society, the successor to the Massachusetts company, and which did so much business, assumed the work in the spring of 1855. Talk of organization and of work to establish proslavery settlement in Kansas was common in nearly all the Southern states, notably in South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Arkansas, while North Carolina and Tennessee also sent squads of men. The most noted movement in the South was that of Colonel Buford. He canvassed the states of Alabama and Georgia for several months in the winter and spring of 1856. He issued his proclamation for men and money November 26, 1855, which he said was "the cheapest and surest chance to do something for Kansas—something toward holding against the free-soil hordes that great Thermopylæ of Southern institutions." January 7, 1856, Buford sold forty plantation slaves, at an average price of \$700, and put the money into defraying the expenses of the expedition. Buford's party, about 400, started from Montgomery, Saturday, April 5, 1856, and on May 2 passed over the line into Kansas. The Northern aid societies were handled in a businesslike way, while the Southern enterprises were out of luck all the time—probably because there was more bluster and froth down there. On the boat coming up the Missouri, Buford's trunk was broken open and \$5000 of money stolen. The *St. Louis Herald* of April 26, 1856, said that one of the emigrants stole it. A letter in the *Alabama Journal* of July 2, 1856, dated Westport, June 15, says: "Nearly the last man of us is flat broke. . . . Major Buford is preparing a statement of expenditures to show to the South. He has spent his fortune on this enterprise and will not have one cent left for his children." His financial statement was: Cost of enterprise, \$24,625.06; contributions, \$13,967.90; loss, \$10,857.16. Buford died August 28, 1861, of heart disease. The correspondent of the *New York Tribune* says he met some of Buford's men on the road between Lawrence and Westport, and they were very much disgruntled—said Buford was too smart financially. The correspondent of the *New York Times*, Lawrence, May 8, 1856, said: "Buford's company, while at Kansas City, were a tax of several hundred dollars on the people; while the New Haven party, of less than one-half the number, paid out in St. Louis, for groceries, farming and culinary utensils, over \$6000; and at Kansas City, \$4000 more." The *St. Louis News*, July, 1856: "Major Buford passed through this city, not long ago, on his way to Alabama, and it is said he is so disgusted with his Kansas business that he will have nothing more to do with it. He tried to get his men to settle on pre-emption claims, become steady citizens, so as to secure him for the sums of money he had paid out for them. But the men could not be induced to do it. They preferred roaming over the country in organized bands, depending on their too hospitable friends in Kansas and Missouri for the means of support. These friends are becoming tired of them, and no doubt desire their departure. They have done nothing for themselves, nothing for their commander, and nothing for the cause of the South in Kansas." Colonel Buford, a month or so later, published a stirring appeal in the *Charleston Mercury* for funds to carry more men to Kansas. He wanted a colony of 100 men, but—"I want only men who, as long as required, will abstain from liquor, and will implicitly obey orders." This last party never materialized. A pamphlet was issued from Boston March 17, 1845, urging the colonization of Texas to prevent it becoming a slave state. So the emigrant-aid business dated further back.

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

western Missouri noticed only a few. Kansas supposed that during these years a good many negro slaves were shipped South for safety; western Missouri missed only a few.

In December, 1858, I boarded a boat at Leavenworth for Jefferson City. I soon discovered that the boat was taking on a cargo of slaves *en route* to St. Louis and the lower Mississippi. By the time the boat reached Jefferson City there were 350 slaves on board. Men now living do not remember this exodus, or any state of alarm which would lead to so large a movement as this single cargo would indicate. The conservatism which hitherto had characterized the slaveholders of western Missouri, held them placid in the midst of exciting conditions in Kansas. The movements of John Brown on the one hand and Doc. Hamelton on the other were better advertised in Kansas than in Missouri. Both created much less alarm in Missouri than we in Kansas were led to suppose.

The clash across the border between Kansas and Missouri was the clash of two giant principles, and was not personal between the men of two states.* Kansas did little to disturb slavery in western Missouri; and western Missouri did little toward making Kansas a slave state. Kansas encountered the radical, fire-eating element from western Missouri, and saw next to nothing of the conservative, non-extension-of-slavery unionists, which constituted the bone and sinew of the population. The questions at issue were settled on the battle-fields. Missouri did not secede. A good proportion of her sons were mustered into the Union army, and those now living are honored Grand Army veterans. Most of the men who were foremost in the bitterness of forty-eight years ago are now dead or have migrated. If still remaining, the bitterness has gone.

Both Kansas and Missouri are now free states, and the people in both states are actively engaged in the cultivation of good neighborhood. It was a mistake on the part of the people of Kansas to suppose that all western Missouri was backing such men as Doc. Hamelton and Wm. Quantrill; and in like manner it was a mistake on the part of the people of Missouri to suppose that all Kansas was backing John Brown and his lieutenants. Kansas did not know how large a percentage of slaveholders in western Missouri were at heart opposed to the extension of slavery on the plans of the propaganda;† and Missouri did not

* New York *Courier and Enquirer*, June 23, 1854: "Excited public meetings have been held at Booneville, Independence, and in all the chief places in Missouri along the Kansas frontier, at which resolutions have been adopted in favor of the immediate formation of slaveholding communities in both territories (Kansas and Nebraska), and recommending companies to be organized, well armed, and fully prepared to defend their slave property, wherever it may be carried. The Northern companies will also be well armed, and it would not be surprising if during the ensuing fifteen or twenty years Kansas would be the theater of exactly such scenes as occurred between the French and English in Ohio, in the attempted joint occupation previous to the war of 1754, and between the Spaniards and French in Florida, in the early history of the peninsula. Kansas may be the Flanders of the continent."

† Letter from Crawford county, Missouri, dated March 6, 1856, in the St. Louis *Intelligencer*, signed "SOUTHWEST MISSOURI": "There are certain papers published in the state that are doing Missouri an injury by their unkind warfare upon another part of the Union. And if it was not for being met by a few such conservative papers as your *Intelligencer*, they would eventually cause Missouri to be set apart, by the world at large, as a foul spot of earth. They hail from all quarters of the state, and may be known by the course that all of them pursue in regard to Kansas affairs. (1) When they undertake to defend Missourians, they only defend Missouri mobs. (2) They labor to conceal the wrongs in Kansas, and deny their existence. (3) They name Eastern men cowards, and banter them to 'come out' and fight. When it was first known that men from Missouri went into Kansas to vote, all natives of Missouri in these parts gave in their disapproval to as great an extent as do sober men in free states. When it was known that some bad men crossed over with arms, destroyed property, and imposed upon and abused individuals, we of Missouri were the first to pronounce them 'border ruffians,' setting them down as part of a lawless class that have long been scattered throughout this state and other states,

know how large a percentage of the people of Kansas were opposed to the methods of John Brown, and were here to build a free state, and not to fight the institution of slavery in Missouri.

The people of both states have now adopted Mr. Carlyle's ethical statement as true, that "the right will assert itself if given time enough; and in like manner the wrong will disappear if granted sufficient time." Time has been granted, results are accepted; common interests are uppermost, and mutual respect is now genuine and fixed.

and who, after collecting together at a whisky shop in numbers sufficient, can do almost any crime under the head of a 'spree,' even to the mobbing of good men, disturbing worshipping assemblies, etc. But all of a sudden here come these papers applauding 'brave Missourians,' and we now must side with unprincipled men, if we would receive a part of the powerful defense. They make a display as though all Missouri was in arms and enlisted on their side, when, as a general thing, slaveholders do not require such agitation, are sick of party strife, and disapprove of the above-named outrages in Kansas and Missouri."

In an article condemning the "blue lodges," the Weston (Platte county) *Reporter*, April 21, 1856, said: "Platte county, the headquarters of the Proslavery Emigrant Aid Society's operations, is the most populous in Missouri, with the exception of St. Louis, and lies on the very border of Kansas. It will strike the reader as a very singular fact that these people, who by two or three days' travel could transport themselves and all their movables into the territory of Kansas, should still require the aid of a joint-stock company to get there. There is certainly more excuse for the organization of emigrant aid societies in Massachusetts and other Eastern states to furnish those who have already determined to settle in Kansas with a cheaper means of getting there, and afterwards to aid them in developing its resources. Perhaps there is an explanation of the necessity for the Proslavery Emigrant Aid Society, which transports men to Kansas upon the condition that they will vote for the introduction of slavery, in the fact that of the 16,854 inhabitants of Platte county, only 2798 are slaves, and consequently a very large majority of them must be non-slaveholders, and, at heart, indifferent to the extension of slavery. If the extension of the 'peculiar institution' depends upon such poor creatures as can settle in Kansas, by the consideration offered them by the Proslavery Aid Society, its prospects are by no means encouraging. Experience has shown that most of the emigrants from slave states have become free-state men in Kansas, and if this society should succeed in sending one-seventh of the white population of Platte county to Kansas, we suspect the stock of this sort of experience will be perceptibly increased. This county, in 1850, produced more hemp than any other county in the Union; but if 2000 of its voters should remove to Kansas, and by taking their families diminish its population by about 10,000 persons, where would it stand when the next census is taken? It is very plain that the census returns five years hence would not say that Platte county produced more hemp than any other county in the Union. In short, could anything be clearer than that the accomplishment of the Proslavery Emigrant Aid Society's scheme, as announced in the *Reporter*, would involve Platte county in ruin? We therefore cannot believe that this society will prove successful, or that any considerable amount of its stock will ever be taken."

Letter from Weston, Mo., in the Boston *Traveller*, dated January, 1856: "Look at President Shannon, of the state university. Knowing that his seat was in danger, he sought to mend his failing fortunes during his college vacation by lecturing in favor of the institution of slavery. He traversed the state, giving utterance to what he thought, no doubt, were very popular doctrines. But what was the consequence? The legislature, at its late session, terminated his reign with the close of the present collegiate year. And—what is suggestive—his very course on slavery was brought forward as a conclusive reason why he ought to be considered as unworthy the office. These are but samples selected because they are the most conspicuous. But a long list of political aspirants might be named who thought to increase their popularity by taking the side of slavery and advocating its claims to confidence, every one of whom has utterly failed. The truth is, the people of Missouri do not respect the man who volunteers as a champion of slavery." The other sample was David R. Atchison. This writer said the people of Missouri despised him for his conduct toward Kansas.

Newark *Daily Mercury*, March 3, 1856: "A proposition being recently before the Georgia legislature to appropriate \$50,000 for the purpose of sending men from that state to settle in Kansas, and thus save it from becoming free in its institutions, a long debate ensued, in the course of which some curious facts came out. It was stated, on the authority of a gentleman from Kansas who had lately lectured in the Representative hall, that out of eighty-nine men who were transported from Tennessee to Kansas—at the expense, we suppose, of their slaveholding neighbors—eighty proved false, and voted against the South—that is, we suppose, against slavery; and further, that of nine men from the county of Groton, in the state of Georgia, eight proved false. In the face of such facts, it is scarcely necessary to say that the legislature refused to make the appropriation proposed."

WARDENS OF THE MARCHES.

An address delivered by JOHN MADDEN,* of Emporia, before the Kansas State Historical Society, at its twenty-fifth annual meeting, January 15, 1901.

"Thro' the centuries vast and olden,
Thro' the hazeland dim and golden,
Comes the name of Coronado, and his gallant Spanish train,
Who in search of famed Quivira
Traversed weary leagues of prairie,
Filling all the woodland vistas with the songs of sunny Spain."

WITH the growth of English civilization, the warden was the man charged with maintaining peace and order along the marches of hostile lands and races. In a day when all men were soldiers, he was selected by the crown as the most fitted to take such a great responsibility, and his large estates and splendid family name drew to him a large body of warriors, who found pride in serving under his banners, and many a young man won his spurs of knighthood—in fight or foray—along some conquered border. In time, a scion of some ancient house, as he looked over his broad acres from his moated castle, could stand in the presence of his peers and boast,

"Who can deprive me of mine heritage?
The titles borne at Palestine and Crecy,
The seignory ancient as the throne it guards."

The new world, rich in men and heroic deeds, has failed in some of the essentials so common to the old world, and so, many a great man has been lost in the rapidly shifting scenes of the early days of the Spanish explorations; for the Anglo-Saxon is jealous, and does not like to accord to men of other races anything that would dim the luster of his own conquests. So, as we view it, De Soto was cruel and rapacious; De Narvaez was a flat failure and unfortunate; De Vaca was a nondescript, and a wanderer; and the heroic Coronado was a sort of a Don Quixote, searching for a mythical land, known as Quivira. I shall try in this paper to give what I conceive to be a proper estimate of some of these men, who were the wardens of the early marches, and did much to open up the pathway of the great civilization that was to follow them. The cross of Spain has passed away from the western world, but it blazed the way for us to follow, and the adelantado, in armor and plume, yielded his territory at last to the American governor, who somehow has cherished the memory of the dusky-browed men of the trail, over which passed the stout hearts of an early day.

Panfilo de Narvaez, after his defeat and consequent humiliation by Cortez, whom he had been sent to supersede, was granted a patent from Charles the Fifth to explore and colonize the country on the Gulf of Mexico from Rio de Palmas to Florida. He received the title of adelantado, and was empowered to enslave all Indians who did not submit to the Spanish king and embrace the Catholic faith. He sailed from San Lucar de Barrameda on June 17, 1527, with a fleet of five ships, carrying 600 persons—mechanics and laborers, secular priests, and five

*JOHN MADDEN was born at Muncietown, Ind., in 1856. His father was a soldier in the civil war, and in 1865 moved to Kansas. Here the boy grew to manhood, educating himself in the common schools and at St. Benedict's College. He taught school and read law. In 1878 he was admitted to the bar, and four years later formed a partnership with his brother, at Cottonwood Falls. He served one term as county attorney of Chase county, and one term as superintendent of public instruction for Marion county. In 1888 he was a republican presidential elector. In 1893 he was appointed a member of the board of regents of the State Normal School. He was the democratic and populist nominee for congress in the fourth district in 1896. He has resided in Emporia since 1893.

Franciscan friars, the superior being Father Juan Xuarez. The treasurer of this expedition was Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca, who comes in for our special attention, being claimed by some historians as the first white man to touch the present territory of the state of Kansas. After the destruction and loss of the expedition of De Narvaez, De Vaca and two companions, and a negro named Stephen, after six years of captivity among the Indians, made their escape, and after a long and adventurous journey reached San Miguel, in Sinaloa, Mexico, April 1, 1536.

In this long journey, it is claimed, though on very meager historical authority, that he traversed a portion of what was afterward known as the Santa Fé trail, crossing it where it intersects the Arkansas river, a little east of Bent's Ford, and went thence to New Mexico, as far as what is now Las Vegas. The part taken in the expedition of the unfortunate De Narvaez, must rest wholly upon the narrative of De Narvaez himself, which was published at Zamora in 1542, and of this Bancroft has said: "Cabeza has left an artless account of his recollection of the journey, but his memory sometimes called up incidents out of their place, so that his narrative is confused."

Mr. Buckingham Smith is the chief authority relied upon to trace the journey taken by De Vaca and his three companions; but the completion of the work of Mr. Smith was left to others, as he died before arranging the matter of his second edition, leaving a mass of undigested notes, not very intelligible. In three successive editions, different theories are given as to the route pursued by De Vaca in his nine-year journey. The writing of the narrative was done after, and not during the journey, and hence the statement of the wanderer of the plains is not very explicit, and admits of different interpretations of his itinerary. Mr. Smith, in his translation of 1851, has him cross the Mississippi, and so to pass along the Canadian, and then along that river to New Mexico, crossing the Rio Grande in the neighborhood of thirty-two degrees. In his second edition, he tracks the adventurous Spaniard nearer the Gulf of Mexico, and has him cross the Rio Grande near the mouth of the Conchos river, in Texas, which he follows to the mountains. Mr. Bancroft finds no ground for the northern route. Either route would have failed in reaching Kansas, and so I conclude, from my investigation, that he never even touched our southern boundary line, and we must turn to a later period, and give to another that honor.

The story told by De Vaca was soon communicated to Viceroy Mendoza, who, in turn, transmitted it to Francisco Vasquez de Coronado, the governor of New Galicia. He was a gentleman of good family, of the ancient city of Salamanca, who had married a daughter of Alonza d' Estrada, former governor of the province, who was reputed to be the natural son of Ferdinand the Catholic. Coronado repaired to his province to fit out a temporary exploration of the country. He had with him the two companions of De Vaca and the negro, Stephen. He selected Friar Marcos, of Nice, who had been with the famous Alvarado in Peru, to head the expedition, which was undertaken in the spirit of humanity, and to spread the Catholic faith. The good friar took with him the black man, Stephen, to act as guide, seven natives who had come with De Vaca, and a brother of his order, Friar Honoratus, and on the 7th of March, 1539, set out from San Miguel on their mission. The negro was a great source of worry, on account of his avaricious and sensual nature, but they hoped to reap some benefit from his ability to communicate with the natives. This guide, the first of his race in the new world, was killed by the natives of Cevola, because he demanded their property and women. His taking off was no doubt creditable to the sense of the Indians,

and certainly must have been a relief to the good Father Marcos, for the chronicler is silent as to the number of masses said for the repose of his black soul.

Upon the return of the expedition, Coronado, acting under the order of the viceroy, rendezvoused his army at Compostello, in New Galicia, and on February, 1540, with a force of 300 Spaniards, and 800 Indians of New Spain, set out upon one of the most memorable marches in the history of the new world—to explore, and bring into subjection to his sovereign, the territory of Cevola. Soon the difficulties and rigors of march began to tell on the soldiers, so that when they reached Chimetla they were compelled to halt for a few days to procure food. From here they proceeded to Culiacan, where the expedition was kindly received by the Spanish residents of this ancient town. Here Coronado left the main body under the command of one of his cavaliers, Tristan d'Arellano (who afterwards was one of the famous captains who, with 1500 men, in June, 1559, left Vera Cruz for the Florida expedition, and cast anchor in Pensacola bay), with orders to follow him in a given time, and on the 22d of April, 1540, with fifty horses and a few foot soldiers, and the monks, he set out on his journey northward. After more than a month he came to Chichiticulli, or the "Red House," in the valley, called by De Vaca the "Corazones," or the "Valley of Hearts." He found, instead of a great town, as reported by the romancing Friar Marcos, a single dilapidated structure, that had been at some time a strongly fortified place, constructed of red earth, by a people who were civilized, but it had been destroyed in former times by barbarous enemies. This ruined structure is now generally supposed to be the Casa Grande,* in southern Arizona, near Florence, a little south of the Gila river. Here he entered upon the desert, and traveling in a northeastern direction, in a fortnight came to a river, which he called the Vermeja, on account of its turbid waters. This, now supposed to be the Colorado Chiquito, was about twenty-four miles from Cevola, where they arrived on the following day, and almost fell into an ambuscade of hostile natives.

Modern antiquarians place this in the region of the present Zuni pueblos, and Mr. Frank M. Cushing has made the discovery that the Zuni Indians have the tradition among them of the visit of Friar Marcos, and the killing of the negro, Stephen, whom they called "the Black Mexican," at the ruined pueblo of Quaquima. Cevola turned out a great disappointment. Friar Marcos came in for the abuse of the tired and weary band of adventurers, and he rightly deserved their maledictions. Many, no doubt, wished he had shared the same fate as the negro, Stephen, at this place, more than a year before. Coronado gave the name of Granada to the village, and the name of Cevola to the whole territory containing the seven fabled cities, the whole being so general and undefined as to leave us in doubt as to the exact location of the district. He came near losing his life in an assault upon this miserable village, and was saved only by the devotion of one of his officers, who shielded him, when down, with his own body. At this place he waited for the arrival of the main body of the army, and, while waiting,

*"About the time of the noon halt (November 10, 1846), a large pile, which seemed the work of human hands, was seen to the left. It was the remains of a three-story mud house, sixty feet square, pierced for doors and windows. The walls were four feet thick, and formed by layers of mud two feet thick. Stanley made an elaborate sketch of every part; for it was, no doubt, built by the same race that had once so thickly peopled this territory and left behind the ruins. . . . No traces of hewn timber were discovered; on the contrary, the sleepers of the ground floor were round and unhewn. They were burnt out of their seats in the wall to the depth of six inches." Emory's Notes of a Military Reconnoissance from Fort Leavenworth to San Diego. Wash., 1848, p. 82. The Historical Society has recently received from N. A. Clark, formerly of Shawnee county, a fragment of one of these sleepers which he found still embedded in the adobe walls of the Casa Grande. It is twenty inches in length by four inches in diameter, of pine.

was visited by a very remarkable Indian chief, who wore a long mustache, and hence was dubbed by the Spaniards, who evidently had a fine sense of humor, "Bigoles." He was from the village of Cicuye, 210 miles east of Cevola, and was very friendly, inviting the wanderers to visit his country. He sent Alvarado, who found an Indian slave, a native of the region toward Florida, who told him marvelous stories about the gold and silver to be found in the great cities of his own country. This man Alvarado called "the Turk," and "Turk" he was, if evasion and deceit can make a "perfidious Turk."

D'Arellano, having arrived at Cevola from Sonora, Coronado entrusted him again with the command of the main body of the army, with the direction to proceed to Tiguex, he setting out to explore the province of Iutahaco, with the hardiest of his followers. For two days and a half they were without water, and were forced to seek it in a chain of snow-covered mountains. After eight days they reached this place, when they heard of more villages down the river. It will be seen that this point was on the Rio Grande, in New Mexico. Subsequently he sent one of his officers southward eighty leagues to explore the country, and this part of the expedition, no doubt, went as far as the present Socorro.

The winter of 1540 was spent at Tiguex, and in April, 1541, the army left there and entered upon its long journey across the mountains and plains of New Mexico, passed over a portion of Oklahoma, and entered the present state of Kansas, in search of Quivira, the ancient and mythical kingdom, as alluring and fleeting as the fabled "Fountain of Youth," sought by Ponce de Leon. In his letter to the king of Spain, Coronado says:

"The province of Quivira is 950 leagues from Mexico. Where I reached it, it is in the fortieth degree.* The country itself is the best I have ever seen for

* HON. J. V. BROWER, of St. Paul, Minn., an archaeologist and explorer of much repute, has recently published two volumes, entitled "Quivira" and "Harahey," the result of explorations in Kansas, showing that the Quivira sought for by Coronado was located along the south side of the Kansas and Smoky Hill rivers, from Mill creek, in Wabaunsee county, to Lyon creek, in Dickinson county. Mr. L. R. Elliott, of Manhattan, but now deceased, first called Mr. Brower's attention to some unusual indications of an extensive Indian village on the Briggs farm, on McDowell creek, in Geary county. In the autumn of 1896 Mr. Brower made a journey to investigate this field. Up to 1898 he made three trips to the neighborhood mentioned, exploring a country 150 miles from east to west and sixty miles from north to south. These investigations Mr. Brower has continued up to the spring of 1902. He arrives at the conclusion that at least three, and possibly four, races of people had successively inhabited this field.

E. E. BLACKMAN, an archaeologist in Nebraska, says: "That the question of location has been definitely and indisputably solved by Mr. Brower, does not preclude the necessity of further study and classification by other students or by himself, but it surely marks an era in the field of history, when the exact geographical location of the country explored by Coronado is definitely settled for all time, as it surely was before the close of the nineteenth century. This fact should only open the way for a better study of the archaeology of this field, and I suspect that another century will as firmly establish the identity of these people and their connection with other branches of the human family as the question of location was established at the close of the last century." Mr. Blackman, July 12, 1901, says there are many flints of the Harahey and Quivira type to be found in Nebraska.

E. A. KILIAN, of Alma, Wabaunsee county, who has been greatly interested in this study, says "that Friar Juan de Padilla, of the Franciscan order, who accompanied Coronado on his remarkable march to Quivira, was the first religious martyr whose blood was shed by Indians on the soil of the United States within the borders of the present state of Kansas. . . . Mr. J. V. Brower thinks he found his death west of Reckon Springs, in Dickinson county, Kansas."

W. E. RICHEY, of Harveyville, Wabaunsee county, an ardent and intelligent investigator along this line, in volume 6 of the Historical Collections, page 483, says: "My conclusion is that Quivira extended from 'those ravines' formed by the upper courses of Deep, Mill, Humboldt and McDowell creeks, and from a point on the Kansas river north of them toward the southwest as far as Great Bend. To the landmarks already cited, Reckon Springs and Hickory Springs might, almost with certainty, be added. The Quiviras dwelt on the smaller

producing all the fruits of Spain, for, besides the land itself being very fat and black, and being very well watered, by the rivulets, springs, and rivers, I found prunes like those of Spain. I remained twenty-five days in this province of Quivera both so to see and to find out whether there was anything beyond which could be of service to your majesty, because the guides who had brought me had given an account of other provinces beyond this. And what I am sure of is that there is not any gold or any other metal in all that country, and the other things of which they told me are mostly but little villages, and in many of these they do not plant anything, and do not have any houses, except of skins and sticks, and they wander around with the cows. So that the account they give me was false, because they wanted to get me to go there with the whole force, believing that as the way was through such uninhabited deserts, and from lack of water they would get us where our horses and we would die of thirst. And the guides confessed this, and said they had done it by the advice of the natives of these provinces."

Juan Jaramillo, one of the expedition (who was at a later time one of the Florida army, under Tristan d'Arellano, mentioned at another place in this paper, who aided one of the Alabama tribes against the Natchez), has left an account of the journey of this great warden of the early Spanish marches, this stout heart under a coat of mail, who lighted his camp-fires on the boundless prairies of the

streams rather than on the larger ones. In my collection of flint implements of the Quiviras I have axes, hoes, picking implements, hammers, knives, drills, scrapers, arrow-points, spear-heads, sledges, and other things. These are all rough, and differ from the implements of the neighboring tribe, Harahey, those of the latter tribe being shaped and finished in a better manner. The Quivira implements are found along streams from McDowell's creek to Great Bend, and are easily distinguished from implements of other tribes." Mr. Richey has made frequent trips over the region designated in central and northern Kansas, southern Nebraska, and the Indian Territory, and other localities that might throw light on the route of Coronado, and conducted by correspondence a number of lines of investigation in Kansas, Nebraska, Indian Territory, New Mexico, and Texas. He has searched principally for Spanish evidences and the landmarks described by the Spanish narrative of the expedition, and he considers Indian relics only as secondary evidence, because they can be found in many places. Mr. Richey has been on the trail of Coronado for thirty years, and all this time he has been a student of general history and archeology. He has a famous numismatic collection, having coins running back 700 years before Christ, the date of the most ancient silver coinage, including more than forty coins of the Roman empire, and pieces of nearly all great rulers since. Mr. Richey was born in Lee township, Athens county, Ohio, June 1, 1841. He was educated at Muskingum College, at New Concord, Ohio; enlisted as a private in company A, Fifteenth Ohio infantry, August, 1861, and mustered out December 27, 1865, participating in many engagements. In June, 1863, he came to Kansas and located at Manhattan, and a few months later settled on a farm in Wabauensee, near the line of Osage. He served two terms as county superintendent of public instruction, each time receiving the support of both parties. During his service in the army he was a correspondent for several newspapers, and holds a medal of honor voted him by Congress for special heroic service between lines of battle at Chickamunga. Mr. Richey's latest researches show from the narratives of the Coronado expedition that from the point on the great plains whence Coronado, with a detachment of thirty men, left his main army, he proceeded toward the north thirty days, and then along a river toward the northeast for about eighty leagues, occupying six or seven days' march. This river could have been no other than the Arkansas, and Great Bend is eighty miles northeast of the bend below Fort Dodge, near which the Spaniards must have crossed. The thirty-seven days thus accounted for by two of the narratives would have brought the Spaniards to the vicinity of Great Bend, where the first Quivira village was seen, and where some writers locate the beginning of the Quivira settlements. But Mr. Richey shows from Coronado's official report to the king that from the point whence he left his main army it was forty-two days' march to Quivira, instead of thirty-seven. Mr. Richey also shows from the narratives that the country was level as far as Quivira, where it became rough. Great Bend is in a level country, and five days' march northeast, added to the thirty-seven, would have carried the explorers to the hills of the Smoky Hill river near Lindsborg, exactly the forty-two days officially reported by Coronado. Mr. Richey also shows that Coronado states that he marched over the desert or plains seventy-seven days to reach Quivira. The narratives show that up to the point where he started northward he had marched across the plains thirty-five days, which, added to the forty-two days from that point to Quivira, would have made seventy-seven days of desert marching, the

West seventy-eight years before the Pilgrim Fathers landed at Plymouth Rock. Among other things, after they had reached the great river, which was the Missouri, near the Nebraska line, in Kansas, he says of "the Turk," who was the Indian that Alvarado found in New Mexico, and who acted as guide: "Since, as I said, this was the last point which we had reached, here 'the Turk' said he had lied to us, and called upon these people to attack us one night and kill us. We learned of it, and put him under guard, and strangled him that night, so that he never waked up." So perished "the Turk," within the boundary of the territory that was to furnish in after-times the brave souls and courageous hearts who, under a new and strange banner, were to drive the power of Spain from the western world. "With the plan mentioned," says the quaint Jaramillo, "we turned back, it may be two or three days, where we provided ourselves with picked fruit and dried corn for our return. The general raised a cross at this place, at the foot of which he made some letters with a chisel, which said that Francisco Vasquez de Coronado, general of that army, had arrived here."

It is recorded, on what I conceive to be good authority, that Luis de Moscoso, one of De Soto's men, in 1542, followed the Arkansas river into Kansas. He failed to meet Coronado, who at that time was moving eastward. De Soto having died

exact number given in his other statement. Both statements are official. The approximate distance through the Quivira settlements is given in the narratives as twenty-five leagues (about sixty-six miles.) This distance would have carried the explorers from Lindsborg to the Kansas river near McDowell's creek. He shows from the narratives that the village found near the site of Great Bend was merely that of a Quivira hunting party, and that the hills, valleys, streams, springs, and even the varieties of timber, and the distances between Lindsborg and McDowell's creek, are precisely the same required by the narratives to definitely locate the main settlements of the long-lost land of Quivira. These evidences are strongly confirmed by the Spanish relics Mr. Richey has gathered. He has the greatest Coronado relic ever found. This is nothing less than a Spanish sword bearing the name of one of Coronado's officers. Besides this, the material, the style and the motto of this sword show it to be of Coronado's time. When found it was deeply covered with dust and partially concealed. It was afterward rubbed with brick dust until the letters appeared. The sword is double-edged. This style was used before the year 1600, about which time armor disappeared. The motto on this sword is, *No me saques sin razon, No me enbaines sin honor*, which, translated, is: "Draw me not without reason, Sheathe me not without honor." This motto was put on the swords of Toledo in Coronado's time. The sword is a most precious relic, and Mr. Richey has kindly promised to deposit it and his other Coronado relics in the rooms of the Kansas Historical Society. Among the proofs he has gathered bearing on this subject are the following: The plain marks of an ax near the center of an oak tree about five feet in diameter; the bones of a horse found with muck and cat-tail flags in the bottom of a stock well near a hill; a bar of lead with a Spanish brand on it. Mr. Richey is confident that the ax marks were made by Coronado's men, and that the horse mired where its bones were found, and the hill afterward caved in on it. The ax marks, bones and bar of lead were found in McPherson county, and the facts concerning them are fully established by Mr. James T. Hanna and other reliable parties in that county. Mr. S. E. Miller, of that county, has also furnished important information. Mr. Richey has recently made another exploration along Coronado's route almost to the south line of Kansas, and has gathered fresh evidence. It is but just to him to state that his latest researches herein mentioned were not published in time to give students of this subject an opportunity to judge of their importance in comparison with the statements of any other investigator. Mr. Richey also shows that the Quivira settlements were found (first), along good river bottoms, near high hills; and (second), good streams which flow into another "larger than the others." He is positive that the good river bottoms and high hills where the settlements began were the valleys and hills near the big bend of the Smoky Hill just south of Lindsborg; that the river where the settlements ended was the Kansas, near McDowell's creek; and that the intervening settlements were on the streams which flow into the Smoky Hill from the south side between Lindsborg and McDowell's creek. As indisputable proof, Mr. Richey calls attention to the fact that the beginning of the settlements as located by the river bottoms and hills of the Smoky Hill near Lindsborg is the distance required by the narratives from the site of the Indian village near Great Bend, from the crossing of the Arkansas, from the point where Coronado started northward, from the point where he entered the desert or plains, and also from the river and settlements at the end of Quivira.

in May of the previous year, Moscoso endeavored to reach Mexico with a remnant of the adelantado's force, and while he was searching for Coronado, and was near to him at one time, it is quite certain they did not meet. "His journey to the mountains," says the chronicler, "was a trail of fire and blood," and he endeavored, by almost superhuman energy, to extricate his men from the dreadful situation in which they found themselves. They evidently reached far westward, as his historian says: "They saw great chains of mountains and forests to the west, which they understood were uninhabited." He retreated down the river and found the hot springs of Arkansas. "When they saw the foaming fountain," says the historian, "they thought it was the long-searched-for 'Fountain of Youth,' reported by fame to exist somewhere in the country, but when ten of the soldiers died from excessive drinking they were soon convinced of their error." The idealistic Spaniard could hardly be brought to understand the awful realism that confronted him in a new and strange land, where romance died on the rude hunting spear of the barbarian, and where the echoes of the horn of Roland at Roncesvalles sank into faint whispers on the prairies between the mountains and the sea.

We can look back through the historic mist of 360 years, and in a blazing August sun see the little band of Spanish knights turning their backs upon Quivira. Friar Marcos, in the weather-beaten habit of St. Francis, is there; Juan Jaramillo, in armor and plume, rides beside the leader on his lean and hungry steed; the ghost of "the Turk" walks like a bronze specter at the head of the column. What account shall be given to his "Holy Catholic Cæsarian Majesty" of Spain of this fruitless expedition? What will Viceroy Mendoza say when the knights-errant of the plains stand unhelmeted in his presence in the famous capital that Cortez won? What story will the wild tribes tell, when the old men chant the weird war dance on the banks of the Kansas? What will Coronado say when he sees the halo of adelantado fall from his coronet, while the women of New Galicia mourn for their dead? What will the new men of northern stock say when they hail Quivira as a new star on their battle-flag? The answer and the finale of it all can be summed up in a few lines. The Spaniard and the Frenchman came and passed away; the tribes still hunted the buffalo on the boundless prairies; the American pioneer with gun, ax and plow crossed the rivers and settled down upon the plains. Slowly cities, beautiful villages, quiet homes and a mighty commonwealth rose to crown their labors, while history still records, and good men and women still cherish the memory of the stately Spaniard, who, in the dawn of western civilization, marched and fought and won and lost.

PERSONAL REMINISCENCES OF FRONTIER LIFE IN SOUTHWEST KANSAS.

An address delivered by R. M. WRIGHT,* of Dodge City, before the Kansas State Historical Society, at its twenty-fifth annual meeting, January 15, 1901.

You have honored me by asking that I submit to your honorable Society a paper treating of my personal reminiscences of frontier life in southwest Kansas, and I now give myself up to the pleasant task. As I look back and endeavor to recall the events of that period, a kaleidoscopic panorama presents itself to my mind—a picture ever changing, ever restless, with no two days alike in experiences. In those days one lived ten years of life in one calendar year. Indians, drought, buffaloes, bad men, the long-horn, and in fact so many characteristic features of that time and locality present themselves, that I am at a loss where to begin.

I have often thought that did I possess but an atom of the genius of a Kipling, what an interesting narrative might I write of the passing events of that period. It would be but another proof of the trite saying that "Truth is stranger than fiction." Had I but kept a diary of each day's events as they occurred, from the first time I entered the great West, what rich food it would be to the novelist, and how strange to the present generation would be the stories.

If you wish to listen to the sweetest strains of music, and imagine yourself more comfortable than a king, come in after being out in the cold and storm for a month or two, never during that time being near a house or a cheerful habitation—where every moment you were in terror of being attacked by Indians—when the cold and storm were really more terrible than an Indian attack—when you had to sit up the greater part of the night to keep from freezing, and ride hard all day on the morrow—then come back into a warm, pleasant house, with the comforts of life and a cheerful, open wood fire to sit by, and you will imagine yourself in the heaven of heavens. How many of us have often experienced these feelings on the frontier of Kansas in the early days! Yet this kind of a life gives one a zest for adventure, for it is a sort of adventure to which he not only becomes accustomed but attached. In fact, there is a fascination about it difficult to resist, and, having felt its power, one could not permit himself to give it up.

I will now relate a few of the incidents of the early days in the state of Kansas as they present themselves to my mind.

*ROBERT M. WRIGHT was born at Bladensburg, Prince George county, Maryland, September 2, 1840. His father was born at Alexandria, Va., in 1800, and when a mere boy was on the battle-field of Bladensburg, administering to the wounded soldiers. His great-grandfather was a Presbyterian minister, and during the revolutionary war raised a regiment of militant plowboys at Elizabethtown, N. J., of which he had command at the battle of the Meadows. The British set a price on his head and destroyed all his property. His wife was shot by a Hessian soldier as she sat at her window with a babe in her arms. Her husband was killed by Tories. His grandfather on his mother's side was Elias Boudinot Coldwell, for many years clerk of the United States supreme court, whose residence, and private library, which had been loaned to Congress, were destroyed by the British in the war of 1812. When sixteen years old, Robert M. Wright took a notion to come West. He settled in Missouri, and worked on a farm near St. Louis until 1859. He made an overland trip with oxen in that year, reaching the town of Denver in May. He crossed the plains four times by wagon and twice by coach. He worked for three years for Sanderson & Co., and then became a contractor for cutting hay, wood, and hauling grain. He was appointed post trader at Fort Dodge in 1867. He has been farmer, stockman, contractor, postmaster, and merchant. He has four times represented Ford county in the legislature. In 1899 he was appointed commissioner of forestry, and was reappointed in 1901. He resides at Dodge City.

In making my second trip across the plains, in the spring of 1863, I noticed that the country was dotted with bare chimneys and blackened ruins of houses along the old Santa Fe trail, from a few miles west of Westport to Council Grove. The day we reached Council Grove two men rode in on fine horses and, dismounting, one of them said: "I expect you know who we are, but I am suffering the torments of hell from the toothache, and if you will allow me to get relief we will not disturb your town; but if we are molested, I have a body of men near here who will burn your town." These men I learned afterward were Bill Anderson and Up. Hays. A friend by the name of Chatfield with his family and I with my family were traveling together. We drove about ten miles from Council Grove that day and camped with an ox train going to Santa Fe. Chatfield and I had a very large tent between us. That night about midnight, during a heavy rain-storm, these two men with about fifty others rode up and dismounted, and as many of them as could enter our tent crowded in and asked for water. We happened to have a large keg full. After they drank, they saw that our wives as well as ourselves were much frightened, and they said: "Ladies, you need not be frightened; we are not making war on women and children, but on 'blue coats.'"* When we reached Diamond Springs we saw what their purpose was. They had murdered the people and burned their houses. The place indeed presented a look of desolation and destruction. Not a living thing could be seen about the premises, and we were too scared to make an investigation. We learned afterward it was an old grudge they had against these people.

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The ranches in those days were few and far between. Beyond the Grove were Peacock's ranch, at Cow creek, Alison's ranch, at Walnut creek, and also that of William Griffinstein, with whom I afterward had the pleasure to serve in the house of representatives. The following is a true story of the fate of Peacock, as related to me a few years after his death. Peacock kept a whisky ranch on Cow creek. He and Satank, the great war chief of the Kiowas, were great friends and chums, as Peacock knew the sign language well. He had quite a large ranch and traded with the Indians, and, of course, supplied them with whisky. In consequence, the soldiers were always after him. Satank was his confidential friend and lookout. He had to caché his whisky and hide it in every conceivable manner, so that the troops would not find it. In fact, he dreaded the incursions of the soldiers much more than he did the Indians. One day Satank said to him: "Peacock, write me a nice letter that I can show to the wagon bosses and get all the chuck I want. Tell them I am the great war chief of the Kiowas, and ask them to give me the very best in the shop."

Peacock said, "All right, Satank," and sat down and penned this epistle: "This is Satank, the biggest liar, beggar and thief on the plains. What he can't beg of you he will steal. Kick him out of your camp, as he is a lazy, good-for-nothing Indian."

* On the night of July 3, 1862, Bill and Jim Anderson killed Judge Baker and his father-in-law, George Segur, at Baker's home on Rock creek, a few miles east of Council Grove. Baker kept a supply store near the Santa Fe trail. The Andersons were hard characters from Missouri. At the commencement of the war they took to the brush. On one of their marauding expeditions in the spring of the year they stole two horses from Mr. Segur. Baker and friends gave chase, and, overtaking the party west of Council Grove, recovered the horses. Baker swore out a warrant for the arrest of the Andersons. Old man Anderson, hearing of this, swore he would take Baker's life, and, arming himself with a rifle, started for Baker's home. Baker had been informed, met him prepared, and, getting the first shot, killed Anderson. July 2 the Andersons skulked around Baker's home, but the latter was at Emporia. He returned on the night of the 3d. Baker and Segur after dark were called out, both were wounded, and, retreating into the house, took refuge in the cellar. The house was fired, and Baker burned to death, and Segur, who escaped, died the next day.

Satank presented his letter several times to passing trains, and, of course, got a very cool reception, or rather a warm one. One wagon boss blacksnaked him, after which indignity he sought a friend, and said to him: "Look here; Peacock promised to write me a good letter, but I do n't understand it. Every time I present it the wagon boss gives me the devil. Read it, and tell me just what it says." His friend did so, interpreting it literally. "All right," said Satank, and the next morning at daylight he took some of his braves and rode to Peacock's ranch. He called to Peacock, "Get up; the soldiers are coming." The summons was quickly obeyed. Seizing his field-glass, Peacock ran to the top of his lookout, and the instant he appeared, Satank shot him full of holes, exclaiming as he did so, "Good-by, Mr. Peacock; I guess you won't write any more letters."

Then they went into the building and killed every man present, except one, a sick individual, who was lying in one of the rooms, gored through the leg by a buffalo. All that saved him was that the Indians were very superstitious about entering apartments where sick men lay, for fear they might have the smallpox, which disease they dreaded more than any other.

* * * * *

The site for the location of Fort Dodge* was selected because it was where the wet route and the dry route intersected. The dry route came across the divide from Fort Larned,† on the Pawnee, while the wet route came around by the river, supposed to be about fifteen miles further. The dry route was often without water the whole distance, and trains would lay up to recruit after making the passage, which caused this point on the Arkansas river to become a great camping-ground. Of course the Indians found this out, to their delight, and made it one of their haunts, to pounce down upon the unwary emigrant and freighter. Numerous were their attacks in this vicinity, and many were their victims. Men were butchered in the most horrible manner, stock was killed, and women taken into captivity more terrible than death, and even trains of wagons were burned. Some of the diabolical work I have witnessed with my own eyes, and will speak of some of it later.

The government was obliged to erect a fort here, but even then the Indians struggled for the mastery, and made many attacks, not only on passing trains, but on the troops themselves. I witnessed the running off of over 100 horses, those of Capt. William Thompson's troop of the Seventh United States cavalry. The savages killed the guard and then defied the garrison, as they knew the soldiers had no horses on which to follow them. Several times have I seen them run right into the fort, cut off and gather up what loose stock there was around, and kill and dismount and deliberately scalp one or more victims, whom they had caught outside the garrison, before the soldiers could mount and follow.

Early one very foggy morning they made a descent on a large body of troops, mostly infantry, with a big lot of transportation. At this time the government was preparing for a campaign against them. It was a bold thing to do, but they made a brave dash right into and among the big mule trains. It was so dark and foggy that nothing was seen of them until they were in the camp, and they made a reign of bedlam for a short time. They succeeded in cutting about fifty

*Fort Dodge was located in 1864, by Gen. G. M. Dodge, United States volunteers, the site being an old camping-ground for trains going to New Mexico. It is in latitude $37^{\circ} 50'$ north, longitude 100° west. A Colorado regiment camped there before the establishment of the post. It was a four-company post, and was abandoned in 1882.

†Fort Larned was established October 22, 1859, for the protection of the Santa Fe trade, on the right bank of the Pawnee Fork, about seven miles above its mouth, $38^{\circ} 10'$ north latitude, longitude 22° west. It was named, June, 1860, for Col. B. F. Larned, then paymaster-general, though first called Camp Alert.

mules loose from the wagons and getting away with them, and killing, scalping and mutilating an old hunter named Ralph, just as he was in the act of killing a coyote he had caught in a steel trap, not 300 yards from the mule camp. Of course they shot him with arrows, and then speared him, so that no report should be heard from the camp. "Boots and saddles" was soon sounded, and away went two companies of cavalry, some scouts following, or at least acting as flankers, I among the latter. The cavalry kept to the road while we took to the hills. In the course of time we came up to the Indians—the fog still very heavy—and were right in among them before we knew it. Then came the chase. First we ran them, and then they turned and chased us. They outnumbered us ten to one. More than once did we draw them down within a mile or two of the cavalry, when we would send one of our number back and plead with the captain to help us; but his reply was that he had orders to the contrary, and could not disobey. I did not think he acted from fear or was a coward, but I told him afterward he lost an opportunity that day to make his mark and put a feather in his cap; and I believe he thought so, too, and regretted he had not made a charge regardless of orders.

In the fall the Indians would come in, make a treaty, and draw rations, and break the treaty as soon as the grass was green in the spring. I have seen the Arkansas bottom for miles above and miles below Fort Dodge covered with Indians' tepees and ponies—thousands of the former and many thousands of the latter—the Indians all drawing rations, and the whole country full of game, black with buffalo and large bands of antelope, with deer on the islands and in the brush, and not a few elk in the breaks and rough country. I have indeed traveled through buffaloes along the Arkansas river for 200 miles, almost one continuous herd, as close together as it is customary to herd cattle. You might go north or south as far as you pleased and there would seem no diminution of their numbers. When they were suddenly frightened and stamped they made a roar like thunder and the ground seemed to tremble. When, after nightfall, they came to the river, particularly when it was in flood, their immense numbers, in their headlong plunge, would make you think, by the thunderous noise, that they had dashed all the water from the river. They often went without water one and two days in summer, and much longer in winter. No one had any idea of their number.

One day a Mexican Indian, or at least a Mexican who had been brought up by the Indians, came in and said his train had been attacked at the mouth of Mulberry creek, the stock run off, and every one killed but him. This was the first outbreak that spring. We afterward learned this Mexican had been taken in his youth and adopted by the Indians, and had participated in killing his brothers. In fact, he had been sent to the train to tell them that the Indians were friendly. They captured the train and murdered every one in it, without giving them the ghost of a show. The Mexican was then sent to Fort Dodge to spy and find out what was going on there, because he could speak Spanish. Major Douglas sent a detachment down, and true enough there lay the train and dead Mexicans, with the mules and harness gone. The wagons were afterward burned. The train had passed over the old Fort Bascom trail from New Mexico, a favorite route, as it was much shorter than the Santa Fe trail and avoided the mountains, but scarce of water and very dangerous. At last it became so dangerous that it had to be abandoned. The trail which came into the Arkansas four miles west of the town of Cimarron had to be abandoned for the same reason.

Many attacks were made along the route, and three trains that I know of

were burned, and several had to be abandoned and stock driven into the Arkansas river on account of the scarcity of water. The route was called the "Hornado de Muerti" (the journey of death; very significant was its name). At one time you could have followed the route, even if the wagon trail had been obliterated, by the bleaching bones. There are two places now in Grant or Stevens county, on the Dry Cimarron, known as Wagon Bed Springs and Barrel Springs. One was named because the thirsty freighters had sunk a wagon-bed in the quicksand to get water; and in the other place because they had sunk a barrel. Sixty miles above where this route came into the Arkansas, there was another called the Aubrey route, which was less dangerous because less subject to Indian attacks and water was more plentiful. Col. F. X. Aubrey, a famous freighter, established this route, and it became more famous on account of a large wager that he could make the distance on horseback from Santa Fe to Independence, Mo., in eight days. He won the wager, and had several hours to spare. Colonel Aubrey had fresh horses stationed with his trains at different places along the whole route. He afterwards made his famous trip down through the wilds of Arizona and California, accompanied by a single Indian, and came back to Santa Fe, after a six months' journey, with marvelous stories of the rich finds he had made. He had the proof with him in the shape of quartz and nuggets. When some gentleman questioned his veracity, immediately a duel was fought, in which the colonel was killed.* No money, bribe, threats or coaxing could induce that Indian to go back and show where these riches lay. He said: "No, I have had enough. Nothing can tempt me again to undergo the hardships I have endured from want of food and water and the dangers I have escaped. Death at once would be preferable."

A few miles east of where the Aubrey trail comes into the Arkansas is what is known as the "Gold Banks." Old wagon bosses have told me that along in the early fifties a party of miners, returning from California richly laden, was attacked by Indians. The white men took to the bluffs and stood them off for several days and made a great fight; but after a number were killed and the others starved out for water, they buried their treasure, abandoned their pack animals, and got away in the night, and some of the party came back afterwards and recovered their buried riches. Another version of the story says that they were all killed before they reached the States. At any rate, long years ago there were many searches made, and great excitement was always going on over these bluffs. In 1859 I saw a lot of California miners prospecting in the bluffs and along the dry branches that put into the Arkansas; and I was told they got rich color in several places, but not enough to pay. In this vicinity, and east of the bluffs, is what is named Choteau's island, named after the great Indian trader of St. Louis, the father of all the Choteaus. Here he made one of his largest camps and took in the rich furs, not only of the plains, but of the mountains also.

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In the fall of 1862 I was going back East with one of Majors, Russell & Waddell's large ox trains. I think we had thirty or forty wagons, with six yoke of oxen to the wagon. Our wagons were strung five or six together and one team of six yoke cattle attached to each string. It was the latter part of November, and we were traveling along the Arkansas river bottom about ten miles west of where Great Bend is now located. It was a very hot afternoon, more like sum-

*Aubrey was a French Canadian by birth, and made two trips on horseback between Santa Fe and Independence, the first in eight days, in 1850, and the second, on a wager of \$1000, in five days, in 1852. He was killed by Maj. R. H. Weightman, once editor of the Santa Fe *Herald*. See "The Overland Stage to California" (by Frank A. Root, 1901), pages 54 and 425.

mer than winter—one of those warm spells that we frequently have in the late fall on the plains. I was driving the *cavayado* (cave-yard—that is, the loose cattle). The Mexicans always drove their *cavayado* in front of their trains, while the Americans invariably drove theirs behind. I had on a heavy linsey-woolsey coat, manufactured from the loom in Missouri, lined with yellow stuff, and the sleeves lined with red; and, as I said, it was very warm; so I pulled off my jacket, or coat, and in pulling it off turned it inside out. We had an old ox named Dan, a big, old fellow with rather large horns, and so gentle we used him as a horse in crossing streams, when the boys often mounted him and rode across. Dan was always lagging behind, and this day more than usual, on account of the heat. The idea struck me to make him carry the coat. I caught him and by dint of a little stretching placed the sleeves over his horns and let the coat flap down in front.

I hardly realized what I had done until I took a front view of him. He presented a ludicrous appearance, with his great horns covered with red and the yellow coat flapping down over his face. He trudged along unconscious of the appearance he presented. I hurried him along by repeated punches with my *carajo* pole, for in dressing him up he had gotten behind. I could not but laugh at the ludicrous sight, but my laughter was soon turned to regret, for no sooner did old Dan make his appearance among the other cattle than a young steer bawled out in the steer language, as plain as good English, "Great Scott! what monstrosity is this coming among us to destroy us?" and, with one long, loud, beseeching bawl, put all the distance possible between himself and the terror behind him. All his brothers followed his example, each one seeing how much louder he could bawl than his neighbor, and each one trying to outrun the rest. I thought to myself, "Great guns! what have I done now!" I quickly and quietly stepped up to old Dan, fearing that he too might get away, and with the evidence of my guilt, took from his horns and head what had created one of the greatest stampedes ever seen on the plains, and placed it on my back, where it belonged. In the meantime the loose cattle had caught up with the wagons, and those attached to the vehicles took fright and tried to keep up with the *cavayado*. In spite of all the drivers could do, they lost control of them, and away they went, making a thundering noise. One could see nothing but a big cloud of dust. The ground seemed to tremble.

Nothing was left but Dan and me after the dust subsided, and I poked him along with my *carajo* pole as fast as possible, for I was anxious to find out what damage was done. We traveled miles and miles, and it seemed hours and hours, at last espying the wagon boss still riding like mad. When he came up he said: "What caused the stampede of the *cavayado*?" I replied that I could not tell, unless it was a wolf that ran across the road in front of the cattle, when they took fright and away they went, all except old Dan, and I held him, thinking I would save all I could out of the wreck. There stood old Dan, a mute witness to my lies. Indeed, I thought at times he gave me a sly wink, as much as as to say: "You lie out of it well, but I am ashamed of you." I thought that God was merciful in not giving this dumb animal speech, for if he had they certainly would have hung me. As it was, the wagon boss remarked: "I know it was the cussed wolves, because I saw several this afternoon, while riding in front of the train. Well," he continued, "that wolf did n't do a thing but wreck six or eight wagons in Walnut creek, and from there on for the next five miles, ten or twelve more; and the most of them will never see the States again, they are so completely broken up. Besides, one man's leg is broken and another's

arm, and a lot of the men are bruised up. Three steers have their legs broken, and the front cattle were fifteen miles from where we are now, when I overtook them."

I have seen many stampedes since, but never anything to equal that. I have seen a great train of wagons heavily loaded, struggling along, drivers pounding and swearing to get the cattle out of a snail's pace, and one would think the train too heavily loaded, it seemed such a strain on the cattle to draw it, when a runaway horse or something out of the usual would come up suddenly behind them, and the frightened cattle in the yoke would set up a bawl and start to run, and they would pick up those heavily loaded wagons and set off with them at a pace that was astonishing, running for miles and overturning the wagons. The boss in front, where he was always supposed to be, would give the order to rough-lock both wheels, which would probably be done to a few of the front wagons. Even these doubly locked wagons would be hurled along for a mile or two before the cattles' strength was exhausted, and apparently the whole earth would shake in their vicinity.

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I came from the mountains in the spring of 1864 to Spring Bottom, on the Arkansas river. The Cheyennes, Arapahoes and Kiowas were committing many depredations along the Arkansas that summer.

Shortly after our arrival, my partner, Joe Graham, went to Fort Lyon* after supplies to stand a siege, as we expected daily to be attacked, the hired man and myself remaining at the ranch to complete our fortifications. On the night of Graham's return I started for Point of Rocks, a famous place on the Arkansas, twenty miles below our ranch, to take a mule which he had borrowed to help him home with his load.

The next morning at daylight our ranch was attacked by about 300 Indians, but the boys were supplied with arms and ammunition, and prepared to stand a siege. After they had killed one Indian and wounded a number of their ponies, the savages became more careful; they tried by every means in their power to draw the boys outside; they even rode up with a white flag and wanted to talk. Then they commenced to tell in Spanish, broken English, and signs, that they did not want to hurt the boys; they simply wanted the United States mail stock; and if it was given up they would go away. When this modest demand was refused, they renewed their attack with greater fury than ever before.

My wife and two children were with me at the ranch at the time, and, at the commencement of the fight, Mrs. Wright placed the little ones on the floor and covered them over with feather beds; then she loaded the guns as fast as the boys emptied them. She also knocked the clinking from between the logs of the building, and kept a sharp lookout on the movements of the Indians. Often did she detect them crawling up from the opposite side to that on which the boys were firing. Upon this information the boys would rush over to where she had seen them, and by a few well-directed shots make them more than glad to crawl back to where they had come from. This was long before the days of the modern repeating rifle, and of course they had only the old-fashioned muzzle-loaders.

For about seven hours the Indians made it very warm for the boys; then they got together and held a big powwow, after which they rode off up the river.

*Fort Lyon, Colorado, was originally established August 29, 1860, near Bent's Fort, on the Arkansas river, and called Fort Wise. The name was changed June 25, 1862. June 9, 1867, the post was newly located at a point twenty miles distant, on the north bank of the Arkansas, two and one-half miles below the Purgatory river, in latitude 38° 5' 36", longitude 26° 30' west.

The boys watched them with a spy-glass from the top of the building until they were satisfied it was not a ruse on the part of the savages, but that they had really cleared out.

Graham then took my wife and two children, placed them in a canoe, and started down the Arkansas, which was very high at the time. The hired man saddled a colt that had never before been ridden, and left for the Point of Rocks. Strange as it may seem, this colt appeared to know what was required of him, and he ran nearly the whole distance—twenty miles—in less than an hour and a half. He was the only animal out of sixteen head that was saved from the vengeance of the Indians. He was a little beauty, and I really believe that the savages refrained from killing him because they thought they would eventually get him. He was saved in this manner: After the attack had been progressing for a long time and there came a comparative lull in the action, my wife opened the door a little to see what the Indians were up to, while the boys were watching at the loopholes; the colt observed Mrs. Wright, made a rush toward her, and she throwing the door wide open, the animal dashed into the room and remained there quiet as a lamb until the battle was over.

The Indians killed all our mules, horses, and hogs—we had of the latter some very fine ones—a great number of our chickens, and shot arrows into about thirty cows, several of which died. The majority of them recovered, however, although their food ran out of the holes in their sides for days and weeks until the shaft of the arrows dropped off, but, of course, the iron heads remained in their paunches; still they got well.

I had just saddled my horse, ready to start back to the ranch, when the hired man arrived, bringing the terrible news of the fight. He told me that I would find my wife and children somewhere on the river, if the savages had not captured them. "For my part," he said, "I am going back to my people in Missouri; I have had enough." He was a brave man, but a "tenderfoot," and no wonder the poor fellow had seen enough. His very soul had been severely tried that day. I at once called for volunteers, and a number of brave frontiersmen nobly responded; there were only two or three, however, who had their horses ready; but others followed immediately, until our number was swelled to about a dozen. A wagon and extra horses brought up the rear, to provide means of transportation for my wife and little ones.

When we had traveled thirteen miles, having carefully scanned every curve, bend and sand-bar in the stream, we discovered Graham, Mrs. Wright and the children about two miles ahead, Graham (God bless him!) making superhuman efforts to shove the boat along and keep it from upsetting or sinking. They saw us at the same moment, but they immediately put to cover on a big island. We shouted and waved our hats, and did everything to induce them to come to us, but in vain, for, as they told us afterward, the Indians had tried the same maneuvers a dozen times that day, and Graham was too wary to be caught with chaff. At last Mrs. Wright recognized a large, old, white hat I was wearing, and she told Graham that it was indeed her husband, Robert. When they reached the bank, we took them out of the canoe more dead than alive, for the frail, leaky craft had turned many times, but Graham and Mrs. Wright, by some means, had always righted it, and thus saved the little children.

A party went with me to our ranch the next day, and we witnessed a scene never to be forgotten; dead horses, dead hogs, dead cows and dead chickens piled one upon another in their little stockade. Two small colts were vainly tugging at their lifeless mothers' teats; a sad sight indeed, even to old plainsmen like ourselves. Both doors of the building were bored so full of bullet holes

that you could hardly count them, as they lapped over each other in such profusion. Every window had at least a dozen arrows sticking around it, resembling the quills on a porcupine. The ceiling and walls inside the room were filled with arrows also. We thought we would follow up the trail of the savages, and while *en route* we discovered a government ambulance, wrecked, and its driver, who had been killed, with two soldiers and citizens, so horribly butchered and mutilated that the details are too horrible and disgusting to appear in print. They had also captured a woman and carried her off with them, but the poor creature, to put an end to her horrible suffering, hung herself to a tree on the banks of a creek northeast of where the Indians had attacked the ambulance. In consequence of her act, the savages called the place White Woman. The little stream bears that name to-day; but very few settlers, however, know anything of its sad origin. (It was on this creek, some years later, that the gallant Major Lewis met his death wound at the hands of the Indians, while bravely doing his duty.)

After the fight at Spring Bottom, I moved down to Fort Aubrey, where, in conjunction with Mr. James Anderson, I built a fine ranch. At that place we had numerous little skirmishes, troubles, trials, and many narrow escapes from the Indians. In 1866 I went to Fort Dodge. Now, one might be inclined to think that the kind of life I had been leading—the hard experience—that a person would be anxious to abandon it at the first favorable opportunity; but this is not so. It gives one a zest for adventure, for it is a sort of adventure that you become accustomed to; you get to like it; in fact, there is a fascination about it no one can resist. Even to a brave man—God knows I make no pretension to that honor—there is a charm to the life he cannot forego, yet I felt an irresistible power and could not permit myself to give it up.

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Mr. A. J. Anthony and I bought out the Cimarron ranch, twenty-five miles west of Fort Dodge. The company of which we purchased were heartily tired of the place, and eager to sell, for two of their number had been brutally murdered by the Indians while attempting to put up hay. Anthony was an old "Overland stage messenger"; had seen lots of ups and downs with the Indians on the plains, and rather enjoyed them. So we got together some of the old-timers and went to making hay. Right there our troubles commenced. We both had seen a great deal of the Indians and their methods before; but we did n't realize what they could and would do when they took the notion. If we did n't see some of the savages every day it was a wonder; and once that summer they actually let us alone for four weeks. I remarked to my partner: "There is something wrong in this; they must be sick." So they were. When they came in that winter and made a treaty, they told us the cholera had broken out among them, and the reason for their remaining away for so long a time was on account of the scourge. The cholera was perfectly awful that summer on the plains; it killed soldiers, government employees, Santa Fe traders, and emigrants. Many new graves dotted the roadsides and camping places, making fresh landmarks.

I remember of two soldiers coming up with the mail escort one night who were severely reprimanded by their sergeant for getting drunk, at which they took umbrage, stole two horses, and deserted the next day. One of them returned on foot about noon, stating that the Indians had attacked them early in the morning, got their animals from the picket line, shot his partner through the right breast; that he had left him on an island twelve miles up the river. Our cook had been complaining a little that morning, and when I went to his room to see him he said that he had dinner all ready, and would like to go along with us after the wounded soldier. I told him no; to stay at home, go to bed, keep quiet, and above

all else to drink very little cold well-water. The sergeant took six men and the escort wagon with him, and I followed on horseback.

When we arrived opposite the island we hailed the soldier, and he came out of the brush. He walked up and down the river bank, and made signs to us that his right arm was useless, and he seemed to be in great pain. The sergeant called for volunteers, but not a man responded. The Arkansas was swimming full and the current was very swift in one place for about 300 yards. It appeared that none of his comrades liked the fellow very well, one of them saying, when the sergeant asked for some one to go over, "If he don't swim, or at least make an effort, he can stay, and I hope the Indians will get him." I said, "Boys, this won't do; I will get him," and after him I went. When I reached the island I sat down and reasoned with him; told him exactly what I required him to do. He seemed very grateful, and knew that I was risking my own life on him. He was a powerfully built fellow, and his wound had almost paralyzed his right side. He said: "Mr. Wright, I appreciate what you have done for me, and what you are about to undertake; now, before God, I will let go my hold if I see you cannot make it." He stayed nobly by his promise. When we had gone under water several times, and the current was bearing us down, and it appeared that every minute would be our last, he said, in the despair of death: "I am going; let me go." I replied, "For God's sake, no; hold on." I then felt inspired. I said to myself, this man has a grand nature; I am going to save him or sink with him. Indeed, all these thoughts flashed through my mind, and, as God is my judge, I would have done it, as at that moment I had no fear of death whatever. When I reached the bank I was completely exhausted and had to be helped out of the water. I was awfully sick; it seemed that my strength had left me absolutely. It was fully an hour before I was strong enough to ride.

Strange to say, I lay side by side with this poor man in the hospital at Fort Dodge, after his rescue. He was excessively kind and attentive, and when I began to convalesce—for the same night I was stricken down with cholera—we exchanged drinks; he took my brandy, I his ale. He would insist in saying that the cause of my sickness was the terrible exertion I had made that day in his behalf; but it was not so. When I got back to the ranch, after our ride up the river, our poor cook was in a terribly bad fix. I knew that he was gone the moment I saw him, although he was still sitting up and appeared cheerful, except when the cramps would seize him. I asked him what he had been drinking. He replied that his thirst was so intolerable that he drank a whole bucketful of canned lemonade. I said to him, "My poor boy, make your peace with God; tell me the address of your parents or friends." He answered: "I have none; it makes no difference; I think I will pull through all right." In an hour he was dead. We were laying him out in the shade on the east side of the house, and I was in the act of tying up his jaws, when a breeze from the south seemed to enter his mouth and was wafted back into mine. I said then, "There, boys, I have tasted the cholera from this poor fellow," and at once set about making my preparations as to my business affairs and other matters. Before two o'clock in the morning I was down with the dreadful disease. Barlow, Sanderson & Co., the proprietors of the "Overland Stage," to whom I had shown many favors, the moment they heard of my illness, sent an ambulance and escort of soldiers, and I was conveyed to the hospital at Fort Dodge. There, under the kind and careful treatment of Doctors De Graw and Wilson, I recovered.

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I must go back to the haymaking at the ranch. Day after day the Indians would harass us in some manner, but they had not yet succeeded in killing any

of our men, although they repeatedly ran off our stock, fired into and broke up our camp, until even the old-timers, men in whom we had placed the utmost confidence and depended upon in case of emergency, began to grow tired. They said it was too monotonous for them. I do n't think they really understood the true definition of the word. Still we persisted, were hopeful, and continued to hire new men at from \$75 to \$100 a month for common hands: we had to have hay. We considered it no more than just to tell these new men, when we hired them, they would have to take desperate chances, and that was the reason we were paying such large wages. Well, the Indians finally exhausted us of our horse stock, and we had to resort to ponies; but they were too small and we got along very slowly. We were compelled to purchase a big span of mules of the United States mail company, for which we paid \$600. Mr. Anthony was very proud of them, as he had often sat behind them when he was a messenger on the overlaid routes. They were named Puss and Jennie. The first morning they were sent to the haystack Anthony was in the corral stacking. After a while he came to the house, looking as proud as a peacock, and said to me: "Hear that machine? Ain't Puss and Jennie making it hum?" But the sound did not seem natural to me, so I grabbed a spy-glass and ascended to the lookout on top of the building. Sure enough, just as I expected, I saw two Indians come up, one on each side of the mules, pounding them over the back with their bows, and they were making it hum, while the boys in the camp were shooting as fast as they could load and fire, protecting the poor driver, who was running toward them for his life, with about two dozen of the red devils after him, whooping, yelling and shouting as they charged upon him. The two Indians who attacked the driver of the mowing-machine had watched their opportunity, rushed out of the brush on the bank of the river, and were upon him before he had the slightest idea of their presence, and running off with the mules. His two revolvers were strapped upon the machine, and he could do nothing but drop off behind from his seat, leave his weapons, and run for his life.

The government had ten men and a sergeant stationed at the ranch, on escort duty with the United States mail. One day while the men were at dinner, and a soldier was on guard outside, whom I suspected was asleep at the time, two Indians, who had stolen a couple of old mules from the stage station forty miles above rode by and fired at the sentinel, just for fun, I believe, or at least to wake him up, and then dashed down to the river, crossing close to a Mexican train. Quicker than thought they unsaddled their mules, threw them upon the backs of two freight horses that were picketed near, mounted them, and jumped off a steep bank five feet deep into the Arkansas and were over on the other side before the astonished Mexicans really knew what was going on.

The day before the same train had left a lame steer out in the sand-hills, and the wagon boss sent one of the hands back after it that morning. As soon as the two Indians crossed the river they spied the Mexican with the lame ox and immediately took after him. From the top of my building, with an excellent glass, I could plainly see their whole maneuverings. The savages circled around the poor "greaser" again and again; charged him from the front and rear and on both sides, until I actually thought they had ridden over him a dozen times, emptying their revolvers whenever they made a charge. They would only halt long enough to reload, and then were after him again. During all these tactics of the Indians, the Mexican never made any attempt to return their fire; that saved his life and scalp. They wanted to compel him to empty his revolvers, and then they could run up and kill him. Of course, from the distance, nearly two miles, I could not hear the report of the Indians' weapons, but I could see the

smoke distinctly, and I knew that the Mexican had not fired a shot. Presently the poor fellow's horse went down, and he lay behind it for a while. Then he cut the girth, took off the saddle, and started for the river, running at every possible chance, using the saddle as a shield, stopping to show fight only when the savages pressed him too closely; then he would make another stand, with the saddle set up in front of him. After a few more unsuccessful charges, the Indians left him. When he had arrived safely at the train, they asked him why he had not fired a shot when the Indians rode so close to him. He stated if he had had a thousand shots he would have fired them all, but in crossing the river that morning his horse had to swim and his revolver got wet. (The cartridges were the old-fashioned kind, made of paper, and percussion caps the means of priming.) It was fortunate, perhaps; for if the Indians had surmised that his revolver would not go off, they would have had his scalp dangling at their belts in short order.

I have seen with my glass from the lookout on top of my building at the ranch 200 or 300 wagons and 2000 head of mules and oxen, all waiting for the river to go down, so that they could cross; and I have watched a band of Indians charge upon them like an avalanche, kill the poor panic-stricken Mexican drivers as easily and unmercifully as a bunch of hungry wolves would destroy a flock of sheep. Then the savages would jump off their horses long enough to tear the reeking scalps from their victims' heads and dash away after fresh prey. They, of course, drove off many of the horses and cattle. Sometimes the owners would succeed in getting the majority of their stock into the corrals, and for days and weeks afterward the miserable mutilated oxen would struggle back to the river for water, some with their tails cut off close, some with ears gone, some with great strips of hide stripped from their bodies, others with arrows sticking out of them, the cruel shafts sunk deep into their paunches half way up to the feathers. The Indians did not care anything for the cattle as long as there was plenty of buffalo; they mutilated the poor creatures to show their damnable meanness. The horses, of course, they valued.

Once, while a train of wagons was waiting to cross, three or four of them having already made the passage, leaving the Mexican drivers on this side with the wagons loaded with loose wool, a lot of Indians swooped down upon them. When the men saw the savages, the poor defenseless wretches made for their wagons and concealed themselves under the wool, but the Indians followed them in and killed the last one with an old camp ax belonging to the train, afterwards mutilating their bodies in their usual barbarous manner.

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The Indians had given us a respite at the ranch for a while. (I refer to the time I have mentioned when they were attacked by the cholera.) We had recruited up considerably, were in high hopes, and had started in fresh, as it were, when one morning they swooped down upon us again to the number of 2000, it appeared to me; but there was not that many, of course; still they were thick enough. It looked as if both of the banks of the Arkansas were alive with them, as well as every hill and hollow. There were Indians everywhere. Our men were all in the hay-field, with the exception of two, and my partner, Mr. Anthony, was with them. Anthony was a cool, brave man; knew exactly what to do and when to act. I think that his presence saved the party. I could see the whole affair from the lookout. As soon as the firing began we could see our watchman, who was stationed on a bluff, and his horse ran away and threw him, but he managed to get to the boys in the field. We were using two wagons with four yoke of cattle to each. The wagons were about half loaded, and the boys had to fly and leave them standing. The Indians set the hay on fire, then opened with

a shower of arrows upon the steers, and started them on a run, scared out of their senses. We found them after the thing was over, all dead in a string, chained together as they had been at work. The savages had lots of fun out of their running the poor brutes around the bottoms while the hay on the wagons was burning. At the first attack the men all got together as quickly as possible and made for the camp, which was on the bank of the river. A hundred or more Indians charged them so close that it appeared they would ride over them, but whenever our boys made a stand and dropped on their knees and began to deliberately shoot they would shy off like a herd of frightened antelope. This, they kept up until they reached the river, over half a mile from where they started in the field, then they made for a big island covered with a dense growth of willows; there they hid, remaining until after dark. We at the ranch formed little parties repeatedly and tried to go to their relief by hugging the river bank, but at every attempt were driven back by an overwhelming number of savages.

The Indians charged upon our men in the willows many times during the day, in their efforts to dislodge them, and so close did some of them come on their ponies that any of the boys by a single spring could have grabbed their bridle-reins. Although they might have killed several of the savages, the latter would have eventually overpowered them, and cruelly butchered the last one of them. To show how cool and brave a man old Anthony was, and what stuff the men were made of, he passed many a joke around among the boys. There was a stern, reticent veteran in the group, whose pipe was seldom out of his mouth excepting when he was asleep. Anthony would repeatedly hand him his pipe and tobacco, and say: "Brother Tubbs, take a smoke; I am afraid there is something wrong with you; have you given up the weed?" Tubbs would reply: "If we don't be getting out of here, we won't be making those ten loads of hay to-day, and you will lose your bet." Anthony had wagered with some one that they would haul ten loads of hay that day. These and similar jokes passed between them all the while, while they were surrounded by hundreds of savages, many of them within five or six steps very frequently: the least false move on the part of the besieged, and none of them would have lived as long as it takes me to write this. About three o'clock that afternoon we heard firing both above and below us. The Indians had attacked the United States paymaster coming up the river, and several companies of soldiers coming down, and gave them a hot fight, too, compelling them to go into corral, and holding them for several hours.

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These constant skirmishes kept up till late in the fall; in November and December, 1868, the Indians made a treaty. I then sent for my family, who were in Missouri. A short time after their arrival, one Sunday morning, during a terrible snow-storm, and no help at the ranch but two stage-drivers and a Mexican boy, I threw open the large double doors of the storeroom, and, before I could even think, in popped forty Indians, all fully armed, equipped, and hideous with their war paint on. I thought to myself: "Great God, what have I done; murdered my wife and little ones!" We had to use stratagem; resistance would have been useless. The stack of guns was in the corner behind the counter, in a passageway leading to the dwelling-house, or in the part of the building in which I lived. I called to the Mexican boy, in an adjoining apartment, to get his revolver and hold the door at all hazards; to put the guns one at a time inside of the sitting-room, and to shoot the first Indian who attempted to get over the counter; to tell the savages what I had ordered, in Spanish, and that I would remain with them and take my chances. Everything worked to a charm, except that the Indians commenced beating the snow off of them and

laying aside their accouterments. I said to the boy: "Tell them, in Spanish, this won't do; they could not stay in here; this is the soldiers' room; but they must follow me out into a larger, warmer room where we would cook them some "chuck." This he accomplished by signs and in Spanish, as rapidly as God would let him. I said: "When the last one is out, jump quickly and double-bar the door: it is our only chance." I thought the reason why the Indians acted so coolly was that they believed they had a "dead cinch" on us, and were in no hurry to commence action.

As soon as the boy had finished talking to them they turned and followed me out. One of them took hold of me with many a sign and gesture, but as I could only understand the sign language a little, barely enough to trade with the Indians, I was at this moment so excited that I hardly understood English. The savage then led me back to the door and signed for me to open it. I shook my head and said: "Oh, no, old fellow; not for all the gold in the Rocky Mountains would I open that door again; my dearest treasures on earth are in there, and as long as these doors are closed that long they are safe; but God only knows how long they will remain so." At my refusal he immediately began to abuse me most outrageously; spat in my face, and went on like a madman; more than once he reached for his revolver, and, of course, I thought my time had surely come. The Mexican boy, having heard the rumpus, slipped out of the back door and came around the house to see what was up. I said to him: "Placido, what does he mean?" Placido commenced to smile (the first beam of sunshine I had seen since the entrance of the savages), and he replied: "Oh, that is all right; he left his bow in there, and because you won't open the door thinks you want to steal it." "Tell him I will get it; and, now you have got him in good humor, ask him what they all want and what they are after, and tell me." When I returned Placido and the savages were talking like old chums. The boy said: "No danger; we are all right; this is a party of young bucks going to the mountains to steal horses from the Utes." This intelligence was a burden lifted, and I felt as if I could fall down and worship the great God who created me. I said: "Bring out the fatted calf; feed them to their hearts' content, and until their bellies pop out like pizened pups; until their very in'ards are made to cry 'Enough!' and want no more." Instead of the fatted calf we cooked them several camp-kettles full of bacon and beans, many of the same full of coffee, two gallons of black molasses, plenty of sugar, and a box of hardtack. They feasted, and went on their way rejoicing.

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The ultimate fate of the old ranch was, that the Indians burnt it, together with several hundred tons of hay, the day after Mr. Anthony abandoned it, by order of Major Douglass, commanding Fort Dodge. Upon the loss of our ranch, Mr. Anthony and I thought we would take our chances again, and burn lime on the Buckner, or middle branch of the Pawnee, about thirty miles north of Fort Dodge. We were well aware that the government could not furnish us with a guard. But the Indians were now supposed to be peaceable and not on the war-path. They had only captured a few trains, burnt a number of ranches, and murdered small parties of defenseless emigrants on the trail; still they were not considered at war. All the whites were forbidden to kill or molest an Indian in any manner, although it was perfectly legitimate for them to murder us.

Under such conditions we started to work to fill our public lime contracts; we were receiving big prices for it, however, comparable to the supposed risk, getting three or four dollars a bushel. Our positive instructions from the commandant at Fort Dodge were: "Under no circumstances, no matter how aggra-

vated, you must not kill an Indian first: let them kill you; then it will be time enough to retaliate."

Late one night, the quartermaster, Lieutenant Bassett, and his chief clerk rode into our camp, and told us that the Indians were killing everybody over in the Smoky Hill country. They had traveled all night, and laid by during the day, as they were unable to get any escort, all the troops being out in the field after savages. They left for Fort Dodge early the next morning, warning us to take the utmost precaution against surprise and attack. After the departure of Lieutenant Bassett and his clerk, Jim Wrighting, an old wagon boss, and I started for load of wood. We had to go about four miles down the creek for it, but still in plain view of our camp. Suddenly we saw a dozen bucks, each with a led horse, rise over the top of the hill. The creek was between us, and we knew it was exceedingly boggy; it could only be crossed at certain places; if these places were missed, it would mire a saddle-blanket. I said to Jim: "What shall we do? There are some of the very lads who have been murdering the women and children over on the other river; shall we try to make it back to camp, or go right ahead, and pretend that we do n't see them, or do n't care for them if we do see them?" He replied: "We will take our chances, and go ahead. I hate to run, and have the boys laugh at us." "Here 's with you," I answered.

We had only revolvers with us, and away they came lickety brindle. I thought: "Laddie bucks, you are tenderfeet, or young ones, or you would not come tearing down the hill that way. You do n't know the creek like your forefathers, and if you keep at that gait, and do n't tumble into a mire-pit up to your necks, never to get out again, then you can call me a horse thief. Then Jim Wrighting and I will go down and chop off your heads just even up with where the mire strikes them, as did Jack the Giant Killer." They left their led horses back on the hill with two guards, so they were free to ride at will. But when they arrived at the creek, they stopped short with a little jerk-up, and I think one or two of them—those in the lead—got a taste, and the others had to pull them out. Now they began to slowly and carefully hunt a crossing, which was difficult to find. Then they tried other tactics; they rode along and commenced yelling and gesticulating; motioning for us to stop, but our eyesight was not very good in that direction, and then we lost them altogether. I said: "Jim, these fellows have given us up, or else have tumbled into one of these mire holes, and we will have a time chopping their heads off when we go back." Jim answered: "No; them 'ere fellows was born on the prairie, and is as true to instinct as a buzzard is to scent carrion. They are sure to find a crossing, and be down on us in a holy minute, like a hawk on a chicken, and we are bound to have fun." You see I was beginning to get very ticklish myself—scared nearly to death—but did not want to let on for fear Jim would get scared too. I knew I must try to keep my courage up by keeping up his, and I said to him: "Jim, maybe they are only youngsters, and do n't know how to shoot; they appear to be by the way they charged the creek." Jim replied: "Youngsters! nothing; them is the worst kind." Said I: "Jim, perhaps they only want to pay us a friendly visit, and want us to go to camp with them and help eat their grub; what you think?" Jim answered: "More than likely they will take us into camp, but I will be at the taking."

This was just what I wanted. Jim's metal had "riz," and I knew he was ready to fight a stack of bobtailed wildcats. As the savages reappeared, I turned to Jim and said: "Here they come." "I knowed it," he replied. "Do n't waste any ammunition; we have got twelve loads apiece, and there are only eight of them." Four of their number had remained in the rear to guard the

led horses, and the eight had only delayed to find a crossing; but they trimmed themselves up besides, to be ready for any emergency. Four of them now dashed ahead, two to the right of us and two to the left, making a detour wide enough to keep out of range of our pistols, which they could plainly see in our hands. Then the first four came in, while the others closed up behind. We kept right on, however, until they finally surrounded us, and we were obliged to stop. They held their six-shooters in front of them, but we had a decided advantage of them, for we were in a thick, heavy wagon box. They wanted to know where the main big camp of the Indians was. We told them that they had been camped at the Cimarron crossing, but the soldiers had got after them and they had gone south. Then we pointed out our tents—we had five of them and they made quite a respectable figure at a distance—and told them it was the soldiers' camp. They evidently did not believe us, for they went over to the camp, bound the cook securely, whom they found asleep (why they did not kill him is a mystery), cut open every valise and took several revolvers from our tenderfeet, who had left them in their grips instead of strapping them on their persons. They carried off all the ammunition they could find, all the horses, mules, ropes, and everything else that seized their fancy. Mr. Anthony and the remainder of our men were quarrying rock up in the bluffs, and had their rifles with them.

These young bucks were certainly of those who had been concerned in the murder on the other river, for we noticed dry blood on their hands and clothing, and, as there was not an antelope or buffalo in the country then, it could not have been the blood of game in which they were ensanguined. They had evidently strayed away from the main band and were very anxious to find them, or get back south of the Arkansas river, where they were better acquainted with the country. They were a little out of their regular beat where they now found themselves, and that fact undoubtedly deterred them from committing further acts of devilry.

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Many times, in the early days of Fort Dodge, I have picked up little bunches of cattle wandering on the plains aimlessly that had been run off by the Indians, as well as horses and mules, and turned them over to some Mexican train from which they had been stampeded. Once I found a buggy all smashed to pieces in the timbered breaks of Duck creek, but we could never discover whom the unfortunate occupants had been. They had been killed and dumped out, no doubt, miles from where the vehicle was wrecked. One day I found one of the most beautiful horses I ever saw, with a fine saddle on his back. The saddle was completely saturated with blood.

In 1863, the fall before Fort Dodge was established, on the bluffs where you first get a sight of the Arkansas on the dry route from Fort Larned, a little Mexican train of ten or twelve wagons loaded with corn, groceries, and other goods, many sacks of flour, together with a feather bed or two, camped one day to get dinner. Soon after they had corralled a band of Indians rode up, with their customary "How-how," "Heaphungry," and wanted some "chuck-a-way." After gorging themselves, and had sat around the small fire of buffalo chips smoking, they arose, shook hands all around, mounted their ponies, and, as they arrived at the rear of the corral, suddenly turned and killed every one of the Mexicans, excepting the day herder, who had started off in advance to his animals that were quietly grazing in the grassy bottoms. The moment he heard the firing he lit out mighty lively for Fort Lyon, closely followed by the red devils, but he managed to escape; the only one left to tell the horrid tale.

We camped with the mail *en route* several times that winter, and fed our

mules on corn and ourselves ate of the canned goods that were scattered all over the trail. It was certainly a curious spectacle, and could be seen for quite a distance, where the savages had cut open feather beds and scattered their contents around, which had caught in the weeds and grass of the prairie. They also emptied many sacks of flour to get the sacks for breech-clouts. In nearly the same spot, and in the vicinity, have I many times helped bury the mutilated and scalped remains of men who had been ruthlessly murdered there by the Indians.

On the bottom immediately opposite is where Colonel Thompson's horses of the troop of the Seventh cavalry were run off by the Indians. One of the herders on duty jumped into the river and was killed; the other unfortunately or fortunately was chased by the savages right into the parade-ground of the fort before the last Indian leaving him, grabbing at his bridle-rein in his determined effort to get the soldier's horse. The persistent savage had fired all his arrows at the trooper, and the latter, when taken to the hospital, had two or three of the cruel shafts stuck in his back, from the effect of which wounds he died in a few hours.

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Of course, it was not always fight and run, and run and fight; we had our fun, too. One day a stage-driver, Frank Harris, and myself started out after buffalo. They were very scarce, for a wonder, and we were very hungry for fresh meat. The day was fine, and we rode a long way, expecting sooner or later to rouse up a bunch. Late in the afternoon we gave it up, and started for home. Of course, we did not care to save our ammunition; so we shot away at everything in sight—skunks, rattlesnakes, prairie-dogs, and so on—until we had only a few cartridges left. Suddenly up jumped an old bull that had been lying down in one of those sugar-loaf-shaped sand-hills, with the top hollowed out by the action of the wind. Harris emptied his revolver into him, and so did I, but the old fellow stood suddenly still on top of the sand-hill, bleeding profusely at the nose, but persistently refusing to die, although he would repeatedly stagger and nearly topple over. It was getting late, and we could not wait for him, so Harris said: "I will dismount, creep up behind him, and cut his hamstrings with my butcher-knife," the bull by this time having laid down. Harris commenced his forward movement, but it seemed to infuse new life into the old fellow; he jumped to his feet, and, with his head down, away he went around the outside of the top of the sand-hill. It was a perfect circus ring, and Harris, who had gotten him by the tail, never let go his hold; he did not dare; it was his only show. Harris was a tall, lank fellow, and his legs were flying higher than his head, as round and round he and the bull went. I could not help him in the least, but had to sit and hold his horse and judge the fight. I really thought that the old bull would never weaken. Harris said to me, after it was all over, that the only thing he feared was that he would pull the bull's tail out by the root, and if he did he was a goner. Finally the ring performance began to grow slower and slower, and Harris at last succeeded in cutting his hamstrings, when down went the bull. We brought in his tongue, hump, and hind quarters, and, at a glorious feast that night, had a big laugh with the boys over Harris's comical adventure.

One time, before the fort was established, we had to abandon a big Concord coach, at the foot of Nine-mile ridge, on account of the muddy condition of the trail, and went on to the stage station with a light spring wagon. On the way we met a band of friendly Indians who were going to Fort Larned, and we told them to haul the coach in. Of course they did n't follow the trail, but struck across the country on to Pawnee Fork. After a long time had elapsed, Little

Raven, the chief, rode into the fort and told us he had left the coach twenty miles up the creek, and blessed if he could get it any farther, as he had pulled the tails out of nearly every one of his herd of ponies to get it that far. You see their method of hauling the coach was by tying it to the tails of their ponies.

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The creeks, when the fort was first started, were all heavily wooded with hackberry, ash, box-elder, cottonwood, and elm. We cut 1500 cords of wood almost in one body on a little creek six miles north of the fort, all hackberry. There were a good many thousand cords cut on the Sawlog, which stream is properly the south fork of the Pawnee, but the soldiers would go out to the old Hays crossing, chop down a big tree, hitch a string of large mules to it, haul it up on the bank near the ford, and, after stripping off its top and limbs, leave its huge trunk there. In consequence thousands of immense logs accumulated, making the place look as if a sawmill had been established; and these great trunks were sawlogs ready to be cut into lumber. The early buffalo-hunters called the creek Sawlog, which name it bears to this day.

Just above the crossing was a great resort and covert for elk. I have seen as many as fifty in a single band at one time. Every spring we would go out there and capture young ones. That region was also the heart of the buffalo range as well as that of the antelope. I have seen 2000 of the latter graceful animals in a single bunch driven right into Fort Dodge against the buildings by a storm. I have shot buffalo from the walls of my corral at the fort, and so many of them were there in sight it appeared impossible to count them. It was a difficult problem to determine just how many buffalo I saw at one time. I have traveled through a herd of them days and days, never out of sight of them; in fact, it might be correctly called one continuous gathering of the great, shaggy monsters. I have been present at many a cattle round-up, and have seen 10,000 head in one herd and under complete control of their drivers; but I have seen herds of buffalo so immense in number that the vast aggregation of domestic cattle I have mentioned seemed as none at all compared with them.

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Just before I moved from Aubrey, J. F. Bigger and I had a subcontract to furnish hay at Fort Lyon, seventy-five miles west of Aubrey. While we were preparing to move up to go to work a vast herd of buffalo stampeded through our range one night and took off with them about half of our work cattle. The next day the stage-driver and conductor told us they had seen a few of our cattle about twenty-five miles east of Aubrey. This information gave me an idea in which direction to hunt for them, and I started after the missing beasts, while my partner took those that remained and a few wagons and left for Fort Lyon.

I will interpolate here the statement that the Indians were supposed to be peaceable, although small war parties of young men, who could not be controlled by their chiefs, were continually committing depredations, while the main body of the savages were very uneasy, expecting to go out any day. In consequence of this threatening aspect of affairs, there had been a brisk movement of troops stationed at the various military posts, a large number of whom were supposed to be on the road from Denver to Fort Lyon.

I took along with me some ground coffee, filled my saddle-bags with jerked buffalo and hardtack, a belt of cartridges, my rifle and six-shooter, field glass and blankets, and was ready for any emergency. The first day out I found a few of the lost cattle, and placed them on the river bottom, which I continued to do as fast as I recovered them, for a distance of about eighty-five miles down the

Arkansas, where I met a wagon train. The men told me I would find several more with the train that had made the crossing of the Cimarron the day before. I came up to this train in a day's travel south of the river, got my cattle, and started next morning for home. I picked up my cattle on the river where I had left them, as I went along, and, having made a tremendous day's travel, about sundown concluded to go into camp. I had hardly stopped before the cattle began to drop down, so completely tired out were they, as I thought.

Just as it was growing dark, I happened to look toward the west, and saw several fires on a big island near what was called the Lone Tree, about a mile from where I had halted for the night. Thinking they were camp-fires of the soldiers I had heard were on the road from Denver, and anticipating and longing for a good cup of coffee, as I had had none for five days, and besides feeling very lonesome, knowing, too, the troops would be full of news, I felt good, and did not think or dream of anything else than my fond anticipation; in fact, was so wrapped up in my thoughts I was literally oblivious to my surroundings. I was wild to hear the news and wanted a good supper, which I knew I would get in the soldiers' camp.

The Arkansas was low, but the bank was steep, with high, rank grass growing to the very water's edge. I found a buffalo trail cut through the steep bank, very narrow and precipitous. Down this I went, and arrived within a little distance of my supposed soldiers' camp. When I got in the middle of a deep cut I looked across to the island, and saw a hundred little fires and something less than a thousand savages huddled around them.

I slid back off my horse and by dint of great exertion worked him up the river bank as quietly and quickly as possible, then led him gently away out on the prairie. My first impulse was not to go back to the cattle; but we needed them very badly; so I concluded to return to them, putting them on their feet mightily lively, without any noise. Then I started them, and, oh, dear, I was afraid to tread on a weed lest it would snap and bring the Indians down on my trail. Until I had put several miles between them and me I could not rest easy for a minute; and tired as I was, tired as were my horse and the cattle, I drove them twenty-five miles before I halted. Then daylight was upon me and I lay down and fell asleep. I was at what is known as Choteau's island, a once famous place on the old Santa Fe trail.

Of course I had to let the cattle and my horse rest and fill themselves until the afternoon, but I did not sleep any longer myself. As I thought it was dangerous to remain too near the cattle, I walked up a big, dry-sand creek that ran into the river at that point, and, after I had ascended it a couple of miles, found the banks very steep; in fact, they rose to a height of eighteen or twenty feet, and were sharply cut up by narrow trails made by the buffalo. The whole face of the earth was covered with buffalo; they were grazing slowly toward the river. As it was a warm day, and getting on in the afternoon, all at once they became frightened at something and stampeded pell-mell toward the very spot where I was. I quickly ran into one of the precipitous little paths and up on the prairie to see what had scared them. They were fairly making the ground tremble, as in their mighty multitude they came on running at full speed; the sound of their hoofs resembled thunder, only a continuous peal. It appeared to me that they must sweep everything in their path, and for my own preservation I ran under the banks; but on they came like a tornado, with one old bull in the lead. He held up a second to descend the deep, narrow trail, and when he got half way down the bank I let him have it—I was only a few steps from him—and over he tumbled. I don't know why I killed him—out of pure wantonness, I expect; or

perhaps I thought it would frighten the others back; not so, however; they only quickened their pace over the dead bull, and others fell over them. The top of the bank was actually swarming with them; they leaped, pitched and rolled down. I crouched as close to the bank as possible, but numbers of them just grazed my head, knocking the sand and gravel in great streams down my neck; indeed, I was half buried before the last one had passed. The old bull was the last buffalo I ever shot wantonly, excepting once from an ambulance, to please a distinguished Englishman who had never seen one killed. Then I did it only after his hard persuasion.

* * * * *

The day after I arrived at home I was obliged to start to Fort Lyon with fourteen or fifteen yoke of cattle and four or five wagons. A Mr. Ward volunteered to accompany me; and let me say right here, he was as brave a young man as it has ever been my fortune to know. He was true blue; a chip of the old block; a nephew of General Shelby; he might well be proud of his pluck. I coupled all the wagons together and strung all the fifteen yoke of oxen to them, and as young Ward could not drive the cattle he went along for company and helped me yoke up. We made eighteen miles the first day and stopped at Pretty Encampment, one of the most celebrated camping places on the old Santa Fe trail, located at the foot of Salt Bottom. We yoked up the next morning several hours before daylight, as the moon was shining brightly; we wanted to cross the bottom before we ate breakfast. A few miles from the head of the bottom the trail diverges, one cutting across the bluff and the other following the Arkansas; we were on the lower one. Presently the stage came along, lumbering over the bluff, stopped, and called to us. I went to it, only a few hundred yards over to the other trail, when who should I see but my partner, Mr. B. F. Bigger, and four or five other men in the coach, besides the driver. They all at once cried out, Bigger leading: "Go back with us, go back with us, or you will both be killed." I said: "Bigger, be a man; stop with us and defend your property; a lot of these cattle here belong to you; and besides you have a splendid rifle." He replied: "No, I must go to Aubrey to protect my wife and child." I answered: "My wife and children are there too, in one of the strongest little forts in the country, six or eight men with them, and plenty of arms and ammunition; all the Indians on the plains cannot take them." He said: "You don't know how many Indians there are; they stopped the coach, took what they wanted in the way of blankets and ammunition, two or three six-shooters they found on the front seat, besides other things." I asked him why they did not take his rifle, and he replied: "I reckon they would have done so, but we hid it." I said: "I wish they had; if you won't stop with us, loan us your gun; we have only one rifle and a six-shooter." He said: "No; leave the cattle and go back with us; they will be down on you in a little while." "Well, wait until I see Ward," I answered. "Be quick about it then," replied he.

I went back to Ward and asked him what he wanted to do. I said: "You have nothing to gain and all to lose. The people in the coach yonder say there are several hundred Indians above the bend; and while they are not actually on the war-path, they stopped the coach and robbed it, whipped the mules with their quirts until they got them on a dead run, then fired at them, and shot several arrows into the coach; some are still sticking into the back of it." Ward asked me what I was going to do. I said that a man might as well be dead as to lose his property, and I proposed to stay with it; maybe we won't see an Indian. He replied: "I am going to stay with you." "God bless you for it," I said, "but it is asking too much of you." "Well, I am going to stay with you, any-

how." Then I motioned to the stage-driver to go on, and he did so right quickly. The cattle had all laid down in the yokes while we halted, but we soon hustled them up and started, feeling pretty blue. We first held a little consultation, and then moved all the ammunition to the first wagon, on which Ward was to sit. I gave him the rifle; I had on a six-shooter and a belt full of cartridges, and we agreed to let the Indians take the grub and the blankets if they came, but that we would stay by our guns and ammunition. Ward said he would never get off the box containing the ammunition.

We had proceeded about two miles, were awfully tired and hungry, had just driven out of the road to make a temporary camp, congratulating ourselves that we had missed the Indians, when here they came, two on their ponies at first. I said to Ward that we would lick these two; they dare not tackle us, but we had better keep right on and not go into camp. Ward raised his gun and motioned for them to keep off. They circled and went to the rear, when just over a little rise the whole business of them poured. I pounded away and yelled at the cattle to keep them moving, but there were so many Indians they blocked the road, and we came to a standstill. They swarmed around us, and on the wagons, but the front one; this Ward kept them off of. They took all of our grub and rope, but nothing else. After stringing their bows and making lots of threats and bluffs at us they dropped a little behind and we drove off and left them. We hustled the cattle along five or six miles, when we came to a good place to water. Ward ran up on a bluff to see what had become of the savages, while I drove the cattle chained together to the river. Ward commenced to shout just as I reached the bank. The oxen got no water that day. I turned them around in a hurry, hitched on, and started. Ward said that the Indians were not more than three miles off, coming our way. We never made another halt until we were in sight of the lights on Commissary hill, at old Fort Lyon, which we reached about one o'clock that night. I reported to the commanding officer the next morning, and we learned afterwards that these Indians had been on Sand creek to bury the bones of their dead who were killed in the Chivington fight several years before.* Only a week after our escape there was a general outbreak and war.

*In the summer of 1864 a band of Cheyenne Indians, under the control of Black Kettle and White Antelope, about 450 in all, together with about fifty Arapahoes, under Left Hand, known to be friendly Indians, came to the vicinity of Fort Lyon, Colorado, in compliance with the order of Governor Evans, acting superintendent of Indian affairs. This was done with the understanding that they were to be protected from the soldiers who were to take the field against hostiles. They remained in this camp for some time, giving up their arms, and depending upon rations for their food. Their weapons were then restored to them by Maj. Scott J. Anthony, who had in the meantime superseded Maj. E. W. Wynkoop in the command of that military district, and they were told to go into camp on Sand creek, about thirty-five miles from Fort Lyon. This they did, relying on the hunt for food, and maintaining friendly relations with the whites. On the morning of November 29, about daybreak, they were surprised by United States troops, under Col. J. M. Chivington, the commander of that district. An indiscriminate slaughter of men, women and children followed. The three principal chiefs were killed. Many of the Indians escaped on horseback and on foot, though followed by the mounted soldiers. Of the 500 in camp, about 150 were supposed to have been killed, two-thirds being women and children. (See U. S. Spec. Com. on Indian Tribes. Report, 1867, B. F. Wade, chairman; Official Records, War of the Rebellion, vol. 41, pt. 1, page 948.)

Rev. John M. Chivington came to Denver in May, 1860, having been assigned, the previous March, to the Rocky Mountain district by the Kansas and Nebraska conference. He had already served that conference in Nebraska. In the fall of 1861 the first regiment of Colorado volunteers was organized; John P. Slough, colonel; Sam'l F. Tappan, lieutenant-colonel; and John M. Chivington, major. April 13, 1862, Colonel Slough resigned, and Major Chivington was appointed to the command of the regiment, in recognition of his efficient service in New Mexico. In June, 1862, he was placed in command of the southern district of New Mexico, from which

I think it was in 1867 our government got a very liberal streak, and sent the Indians thousands of sacks of flour, pantaloons in abundance, and a big lot of stiff-rim hats, bound around the edge with tin or German silver, to hold the rim in shape. They also sent them a few light-running ambulances. The savages, to show their appreciation of these magnanimous gifts from the "Great Father," threw the flour on the prairie in order to get the sacks for breech-clouts. They cut out the seats of the pantaloons, as they said an Indian's posterior was too warm anyhow; they cut the crown off the hats and used them as playthings, shying them in the air like a white boy does a flat stone, to see them sail away. The ambulances they were very proud of. The government neglected to send any harness with them, so the Indians manufactured their own. They did not understand anything about lines, and, instead, they drove with a quirt or short whip; when the near horse would go too much gee, they whipped up the off horse, and when he would go too much haw, they pounded away at the near horse again, and *vice versa*, all the time. This unique manner of driving kept the poor animals in a dead run most of the time. I remember taking a ride with Little Raven, chief of the Arapahoes. At first we started off gently; but the ponies did not go straight, so he kept tapping them, now the off horse, then the near, until finally he got them on a rapid gallop, and I thought, at one time, that my head would surely pop up through the roof of the ambulance. The country was very level, fortunately, or I do n't know what would have been the outcome.

Satank was chief of the Kiowas when I first knew him, but was deposed because he ran away from camp and left the women and children. Satanta took his place. The Indians were camped in a large bottom called Cheyenne bottom, about eight miles north of old Fort Zarah,* and the same distance from where the town of Great Bend now is. All of the bucks were out on a hunt, or on the war-path, excepting Satank. The soldiers from Fort Larned suddenly surprised them in their camp, when Satank and the other bucks jumped on their ponies and skipped. They certainly would have been killed or captured had they remained; so Satank, deeming discretion the better part of valor, lit out. His tribe, however, claims that it was his duty to have died at his post in defense of the women and children, as they had left him back for that purpose.

Major Kidd, or Major Yard, I do not remember which just now, was in command at Fort Larned, and had received orders from department headquarters not to permit less than a hundred wagons to pass the fort at one time, on account of the danger from Indians, all of whom were on the war-path. One day four or five ambulances from the Missouri river arrived at the fort filled with New Mexico merchants and traders on the way home to their several stations. In obedience to his orders, the commanding officer tried to stop them. After laying at Larned a few days, the delay became very wearisome; they were anxious to get back to their business, which was suffering on account of their prolonged ab-

his regiment was relieved at his own request and returned to Colorado the following January. November 29, 1864, he led the Colorado troops in the massacre of Black Kettle's band of Cheyenne Indians at Sand creek, Colo. In 1858 and 1859 there lived in Lecompton a harness-maker by the name of John Fribley. Years after the war the writer met Fribley, who said he was with Chivington at that massacre. He was asked why the soldiers committed such an awful thing. He responded that on their march from Denver to Lyon the command called at the house of a popular ranchman, where travelers and soldiers frequently stopped, and they found the whole family murdered, the wife and mother lying on the floor with her entrails covering her face. He said the soldiers took an oath to kill every Indian they came across.

* Fort Zarah was established September 6, 1864, by Gen. Samuel R. Curtis, then in command of the military district, and named in honor of his son, Maj. H. Zarah Curtis, who was killed at the Baxter Springs massacre, while on General Blunt's staff, October 6, 1863. Fort Zarah was about five miles east of Great Bend, in the present Barton county.

sence. They went to the commanding officer several times, begging and pleading with him to allow them to proceed. Finally he said: "Well, old French Dave, the guide and interpreter of the post, is camped down the creek; go and consult him; I will abide by what he says." So, armed with some fine old whisky and the best brand of cigars, which they had brought from St. Louis, they went in a body down to French Dave's camp, and, after filling him with their elegant liquor and handing him some of the cigars, they said: "Now, Dave, there are twenty of us here, all bright young men who are used to the frontier; we have plenty of arms and ammunition, and know how to use them; don't you think it safe for us to go through?" Dave was silent; they asked the question again, but he slowly puffed away at his fine cigar and said nothing. When they put the question to him for a third time, Dave deliberately, and without looking up, said: "One man go troo twenty time; Indian no see you. Twenty mans go troo one time and Indian kill every one of you."

Satanta was considered the worst Indian on the plains, and for a long time the most dreaded. He was war chief of the Kiowas. There were many stories afloat about his doings at Fort Dodge, some of which are true, others not. In 1866 a committee was sent from Washington to inquire into the causes of the continued warfare on the border, and what the grievances of the Indians were. Of course Satanta was sent for and asked to talk his mind freely. He was very pathetic. He had "no desire to kill the white people, but they ruthlessly killed off the buffalo, and let their carcasses rot on the prairie, while the Indian only killed from necessity. The whites had put out fires on the prairie and destroyed the grass, which caused their ponies to die of starvation, as well as the buffalo. They cut down and destroyed the timber and made large fires of it, while the Indian was satisfied to cook his 'chuck' with a few dry limbs. Only the other day," continued he, "I picked up a little switch in the road and it made my heart bleed to think that small limb so ruthlessly torn up and thoughtlessly destroyed by the white man would have in the course of time become a grand tree, for the use and benefit of my children and my grandchildren." After the pow-wow, and when he had a few drinks of red liquor in him, he showed his real nature, and said to the interpreter: "Now, did n't I give it to those white men in good style? The switch I saw in the road made my heart glad instead of sad, for I knew there was a tenderfoot ahead, because an old plainsman never would have anything but a quirt or a good pair of spurs. I said, 'Come, on boys; we have got him,' and we came in sight of him, pressing him closely on the dead run; he threw his gun away and held tight onto his hat, for fear he might lose it."

Another time, when Satanta had remained at the fort for a long time and had worn out his welcome, so that no one would give him anything to drink, he went up to the quarters of his friend, Bill Bennett, the stage agent, and begged him for liquor. Bill was mixing a bottle of medicine to drench a sick mule, and the moment he sat the bottle down to do something else Satanta picked it up and drank most of its contents before stopping. Of course it made the savage dreadfully sick, as well as angry. He then went up to a certain officer's quarters and again begged there for liquor, to cure him of the effects of the previous dose, but the officer refused. Still Satanta persisted; he would not leave; and after a while the officer went to his closet and took a swallow of balsam copaiba, placing the bottle back. Satanta watched his opportunity and, as soon as the officer left the room, seized the bottle and drank its contents. That, of course, was a worse dose than the horse medicine, and the next day the wily Satanta called his people together, crossed the Arkansas, and went south. Before leaving, however, he burnt all of Mr. Coryell's hay, which was stacked opposite

the fort. He then continued on to Crooked creek, where he killed three wood-choppers, all of which he said he did in revenge for trying to poison him twice at Fort Dodge.

General Sheridan was at Fort Dodge in the summer of 1868, making every preparation to begin an active and thorough campaign against the Indians. One day he perceived, at a long distance south, something approaching the post which, with the good field-glass, we took to be a flag of truce—the largest flag of the kind, I suppose, that was ever employed for a like purpose. Little Raven had procured an immense white wagon-sheet and nailed it to one of his long, straight tepee poles, and lashed it upright to his ambulance. He marched in with a band of his warriors to learn whether he was welcome, and to tell the big general he would be in the next sleep with all his people to make a treaty. Sheridan told him that maybe he could get them in by the next night, and maybe he had better say in two or three sleeps from now. Little Raven said: "No; all we want is one sleep." The time he asked for was granted by the general, but this was the last Sheridan ever saw of him until the band made its usual treaty that winter. The wary old rascal used this ruse to get the women and children out of the way before using hostilities. The first time he came after peace was declared he was minus his ambulance. I asked him what had become of it. He replied: "Oh, it made too good a trail for the soldiers; they followed us up day after day by its tracks. Then I took it to pieces, hung the wheels in a tree, hid the balance of it here and there, and everywhere, in the brush, and buried part of it."

During the same expedition, after the main command had left the fort with all the guides and scouts, there were some important dispatches to be taken to the command. Two beardless youths volunteered to carry them. They had never seen a hostile Indian, or slept a single night on a lonely plain, but were fresh from the states. I knew that it was murder to allow them to go, and I pitied them from the bottom of my heart. They were full of enthusiasm, however, and determined to go. I gave them repeated warnings and advice as to how they should travel, how they should camp, and what precaution to take, and they started. They never reached the command, but were captured in the brush on Beaver creek about dusk one evening—taken alive without ever firing a shot. The savages had been closely watching them, and when they had unsaddled their horses and gone into the brush to cook their supper (having laid down their arms on their saddles), the Indians jumped them, cut their throats, scalped them, and stripped them naked.

Drunken Tom Wilson, as he was called, left a few days afterward with dispatches for the command, which he reached without accident, just as French Dave had intimated to the New Mexico merchants about one man going through safely. It made Tom, however, too rash and brave. Give him a few canteens of whisky and he would go anywhere. I met him after his trip at Fort Larned one day when he was about starting to Fort Dodge. I said: "Tom, wait until to-night and we will go with you," but he declined; he thought he was invulnerable and left for the post. On the trail that night, as I and others were going to Fort Dodge, under cover of the darkness, our horses shied at something lying in the road as we were crossing Coon creek. We learned afterwards that it was the body of drunken Tom and his old white horse. The Indians had laid in wait for him there under the bank of the creek, and killed both him and his horse, I suppose, before he had a chance to fire a shot.

Two scouts, Nate Marshall and Bill Davis, both brave men, gallant riders, and splendid shots, were killed at Mulberry creek by the Indians. It was sup

posed they had made a determined fight, as a great many cartridge shells were found near their bodies, at the foot of a big cottonwood tree. But it appears that was not so. I felt a deep interest in Marshall, because he had worked for me for several years; he was well acquainted with the sign language, and terribly stuck on the Indian ways—I reckon the savage maidens, particularly. He was so much of an Indian himself that he could don breech-clouts and live with them for months at a time; in fact, so firmly did he think he had ingratiated himself with them, that he believed they would never kill him. Ed Gurrier, a half-breed and scout, had often written him from Fort Lyon not to be too rash; that the Indians would kill any one when they were at war; they knew no friends among the white men. Marshall and Davis were ordered to carry dispatches to General Sheridan, then in the field. They arrived at Camp Supply, where the general was at that time, delivered their dispatches, and were immediately sent back to Fort Dodge with another batch of dispatches and a small mail. When they had ridden to within twenty miles of Fort Dodge, they saw a band of Arapahoes and Cheyennes emerging from the brush on the Mulberry. They quickly hid themselves in a deep cut on the left of the trail as it descends the hill going southwest, before the Indians got a glimpse of them, as the ravine was deep enough to perfectly conceal both them and their horses, and there they remained until, as they thought, the danger had passed.

Unfortunately for them, however, one of the savages, from some cause, had staggered a long way behind the main body. Still the scouts could have made their escape, but Marshall very foolishly dismounted, called to the Indian, and made signs for him to come to him; they would not hurt him, not to be afraid; they only wanted to know who were in the party, where they were going, and what they were after. Marshall imposed such implicit confidence in the Indians that he never believed for a moment that they would kill him, but he was mistaken. The savage to whom Marshall had made the sign to come to him was scared to death; he shot off his pistol, which attracted the attention of the others, who immediately came dashing back on the trail, and were right upon the scouts before the latter saw them. It was then a race for the friendly shelter of the timber on the creek bottom. But the fight was too unequal; the savages getting under just as good a cover as the scouts. The Indians fired upon them from every side until the unfortunate men were soon dispatched, and one of their horses killed; the other, a splendid animal, was captured by the Cheyennes, but the Arapahoes claimed him because they said there were twice as many of them. Consequently, there arose a dispute over the ownership of the horse, when one of the more deliberate savages pulled out his six-shooter and shot the horse dead. Then he said: "Either side may take the horse that wants him." That is generally the method employed by the Indians to settle any dispute regarding the ownership of live property.

In the fall of 1869 Mr. Anthony and I were filling a hay contract at Camp Supply. Our camp was about ten miles up the Beaver. One afternoon I started from Camp Supply for my own camp, after having partaken of an excellent dinner at the officers' mess. It was issuing day to the Indians; I think the first time that live beef was ever distributed to them. Several hundred big, wild Texas steers were turned over to them, but the Indians did n't care for the meat; they could always get plenty of buffalo, which they infinitely preferred, but they took great delight in the sport of killing them after their manner of hunting buffalo. They ran the frightened creatures on horseback, lanced them with their spears, and shot them full of arrows, until the last one was dead. The whole trail was strewn with dead steers, though scarcely one of them was touched for food. Oc-

casionally I would notice one whose skin was covered with pretty white spots, and this fact having struck the savage fancy, they had peeled off the most beautiful of them to make quivers for their arrows.

As I was approaching my camp, yet some two miles distant, a large, fat Indian rode out of the brush on a peculiar piebald pony, and by signs indicated to me that he wanted to swap. I asked if he meant that pony; he answered, "Not my pony." "What is it, then?" said I. He tried hard to make me understand, but I could not talk. He finally motioned for me to ride into the brush, but I said: "Here, old fellow, none of your tricks; I don't want any squaws." He said: "No squaw," so I rode in, and saw a fine dog with his hind quarters gone. I said to him: "You go to —; what do you take me for?" He replied: "You're a fool; you don't know what is good." I answered him: "Eat it yourself, if you think it is so nice." He then said he had just traded the saddle to some white folks, and wanted to trade me the other part. The skin was still hanging on, attached to the body of the dog where he had stripped it from the saddle, but I looked at him in disgust and rode off.

When I arrived at my camp, Mr. Anthony and the boys were eating supper.* I threw my bridle-reins over the front standard of a wagon and walked up to the fire where they were eating. They said to me, "Come and get some supper." I told them no; I had partaken of a hearty dinner at the officers' mess just before I left Supply. Anthony said: "You better have some; I bought the saddle of an antelope from an Indian this afternoon; its the sweetest and juciest meat I ever tasted." So did all the men urge me to try it. Indeed, they were lavish in the praise of their antelope meat. I said: "Are you sure that is antelope meat? Antelope are very scarce; I have n't seen one for a long time." They were certain it was antelope; it tasted like antelope; they knew it was antelope, and remarked it was a good one. After they had finished supper, I said: "Fellows, do you know what you have all been eating so heartily?" They all answered antelope, of course; nothing else. I told them *it was dog!* They would not believe me, and I jumped on my horse, rode back, threw my lariat over the dog's head and pulled it into camp. "Now," said I, "a big, fat Indian, on a piebald pony, tried to trade me the balance of this carcass." Anthony said: "That's him, sure," and then he tried to vomit. The others poked their fingers down their throats to coax up the obnoxious meat, but I interrupted them with: "It's no use, boys; he is down deep in your stomachs; let him stay there."

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In the winter of 1869 I made a contract with the sutlers at Camp Supply to freight a train-load of goods from Dodge to that point. I hurriedly caught up my cattle, and picked up what drivers I could find. So little time had I to prepare, and so scarce were hands, that I was glad to get any one that could handle a whip. Of course I had a motley crew—some good men and a few very worthless. Among the latter was one Jack Cobbin. Now Jack had been a scout during the war, down around Fort Gibson and Fort Smith, and was as great a drunkard as ever drank from a bottle. The first night out we camped at Mulberry, about fifteen miles from Dodge. A little snow had fallen, and the night herders lost about half the cattle. Of course the cattle drifted back to Dodge. Next morning I sent my extra hand and night herder back on the only two horses I had, and pulled one wing of the train ten miles on the divide half way between Mulberry and Rattlesnake creek, and went back and pulled the other wing up about nightfall. That night these cattle got away, but I found them next day and drove them over on a little spring creek three miles from the main road, where there was plenty of water, grass, and shelter, and placed a guard with them.

I will here have to anticipate a bit. I was loaded with several wagons of liquor. Jack Cobbin had been drunk ever since we had left Dodge, and I had broken every pipe-stem, quill or straw I could find, as this was the only means he could use to get the liquor out of the barrels, after drilling a hole in the top, so I concluded that I would take him along that night to relieve the guard and keep him sober. About two hours before sundown he and I started out to the cattle. The Indians were at war and killing everybody; so I supplied each man with a dozen rounds of cartridges, in case of a sudden attack, to be used until our ammunition could be got out of the mess wagon, with strict orders not to fire a gun, under any circumstances, unless at an Indian. Well, we had gone about two miles in the direction of the cattle when Jack began to lag behind, and pretty soon a jack-rabbit jumped up and Cobbin blazed away at it. I went back to chide him, when I found he had something slushing in the coffee-pot he was carrying with his blankets. I asked him what it was, and he said water. I said: "Throw it out; you are a bright one to carry water to a creek." He said, "Maybe we won't find any creek." I told him that if we did not find the creek we would not find the cattle. So he went on with the coffee-pot slushing, slushing, and I cursing him, and ordering him to throw it out. At last we reached the creek and relieved the other boys. I went at once to round up the cattle.

When I got back it was late and very dark and the fire nearly out. Jack was sound asleep. I built up a big fire and sat down to enjoy it. After sitting some time I awakened Jack, but he refused to go out to the cattle. I felt very uneasy and went again myself. I found that the cattle had stopped grazing and wanted to ramble. I stayed with them several hours, until it was almost impossible to hold them alone, and then went back after Jack, but found him too drunk to be of any assistance. Then I found out what was in the coffee-pot. It was whisky which he had drawn with his mouth out of the barrels and spit into the coffee-pot. I kicked the pot over, which very much enraged him and he tried to kill me, but I was too quick for him and disarmed him. I went back to the cattle, and after a while got them quiet and they lay down. I then went back and rebuilt the fire. When I had my back turned to get some more wood the devil threw a handful of big cartridges on the fire. Part of them exploded almost in my face, and the creek being situated in a little canyon with high rocky walls on each side, it sounded like heavy cannonading. I was frightened, for I thought if there were Indians in five miles they would certainly hear this and pounce down upon us next day. I did not feel like killing Jack when he tried to shoot me for kicking his pot of whisky over, but I was sorely tempted then. I said to him: "My hearty, I won't kill you now, but I will surely get even with you."

Next morning we drove in by daylight and strung out one wing of wagons for Rattlesnake creek. When they were about three miles away, Major Dimond came along, in command of several companies of the Nineteenth Kansas cavalry and asked for whisky. I said: "You are too late; yonder go the wagons containing all the whisky. I sent them off on purpose to keep my friend Jack Cobbin sober," pointing to Jack, who replied: "Major Dimond, how are you? I was your old scout at Fort Gibson. If you will loan me your horse and canteen I will get you some whisky." Nearly a dozen of the officers unstrung their canteens and handed them to Jack, and the column was halted until his return, and he came back with every canteen loaded. Each officer took a hearty pull and asked me to join them, but I said I never drank when I was out in the cold. I thought "Where ignorance is bliss, 't is folly to be wise."

We drew up the other wing that afternoon in a nice little, sheltered, heavily

wooded grove, under the bank of the creek, where the cook had stretched wagon-sheets and prepared a nice dinner, in the midst of a terrible snow-storm. The lost cattle arrived at the same time we did; so I put Cobbin on one of the horses and sent him out on day herd, while we sat down to dinner. Along in the afternoon I sent a man to relieve him. One of the men saw him coming and dropped a couple of cartridges in the fire just where he thought Jack would hover over to warm; and sure enough he hardly spread his hands to the cheering fire when one cartridge went off, and as he turned, the other gave him a parting salute. That night, just as supper was ready, Jack retaliated by throwing another handful of cartridges into the fire, and blew our supper all to flinders. We held a council of war, and a majority decided to kill him. The extra hand and cook swore they would. The extra said he would take it upon himself to do the shooting, but I finally persuaded them out of the notion.

That night it cleared off, and we pulled over to Bluff creek, at the foot of Mount Jesus, only a few miles away. I again put Cobbin on night herd. The clouds had rolled away and the new moon was shining brightly. The air was balmy and springlike. My extra hand and I were sitting up, smoking and enjoying the fine night, with a nice fire on the side of the bank, and the creek below us, when we heard a disturbance at one of the whisky wagons. The extra hand went to see about it, and brought in Cobbin pretty full, as usual. I upbraided him for not being with the cattle, but to no use, and finally he lay down in front of the fire on the bank above and went to sleep. The extra said: "Now is the time." Jack wore a long, blue, homespun coat, which reached nearly to his heels, with pockets as far down as the coat, in which he kept his cartridges. We gently pulled the tails out from under him and built a fire of dry cottonwood chips on top of his cartridges, and placed a big wet rag above this, so that the fire would be cut off from the balance of his clothing. In course of time the chips were live coals, and then the cartridges began to explode and awaken him. He rolled from the top of the bank right through that fire and plump into the creek. Scrambling out, he said, "I reckon I laid most too close to the fire." The extra hand told him, "He reckoned he did," and what was more, "if he ever caught him at those barrels again he would kill him"; and the extra being a very determined man, Jack knew he would. We had no more trouble with him on the trip.

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Hays City was the point from which the West and Southwest obtained all supplies, until the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe railroad reached Dodge. All the freighters, buffalo hunters and wild and woolly men for hundreds of miles gathered there. It was a second Dodge City, on a smaller scale. Getting drunk and riding up and down the sidewalks as fast as a horse could go, firing a six-shooter and whooping like a wild Indian were favorite pastimes, exciting, innocent, and amusing. At this place lived a witty Irishman, a justice of the peace, by the name of Joyce. One day, near Hays City, two section-hands (both Irish) got into an altercation. One came at the other with a spike hammer. The other struck him over the head with a shovel, fracturing his skull and instantly killing him. There was no one present. The man who did the deed came in, gave himself up, told a reasonable story and was very penitent. Citizens went out and investigated, and concluded it was in self-defense. When the Irishman was put on trial, Justice Joyce asked the prisoner the usual question, "Are you guilty, or not guilty?" "Guilty, your honor," replied the prisoner. "Shut your darned mouth," said Joyce; "I discharge you for want of evidence." Many couples did Justice Joyce make man and wife, and several did he divorce. He went on the principle that one who had the power to make had also the power

to unmake. Many acts did he perform that, although not legal, were witty, and so many snarls were made in consequence that, after the country became civilized, the legislature was asked for relief, and a bill was passed legalizing Justice Joyce's acts.

Dodge City* was established in 1872, upon the advent of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe railroad. Dodge was in the very heart of the buffalo country. Hardly had the railroad reached there, long before a depot could be built (they had an office in a box car), business began; and such a business! Dozens of cars a day were loaded with hides and meat, and dozens of car-loads of grain, flour and provisions arrived each day. The streets of Dodge were lined with wagons, bringing in hides and meat and getting supplies from early morning to late at night.

Charles Rath & Co. ordered from Long Brothers, of Kansas City, 200 cases of baking-powder at one order. They went to Col. W. F. Askew, to whom we were shipping immense quantities of hides, and said: "These men must be crazy, or else they mean 200 boxes instead of cases." They said there were not 200 cases in the city. Askew wired us if we had not made a mistake. We answered, "No; double the order." Askew was out a short time after that and saw six or eight car-loads of flour stacked up in the warehouse. He said he now understood. It was to bake this flour up into bread.

I have been to several mining camps where rich strikes had been made, but I never saw any town to equal Dodge. A good hunter would make \$100 a day. Every one had money to throw at the birds. There was no article less than a quarter—a drink was a quarter, a shave was a quarter, a paper of pins a quarter, and needles the same. In fact, that was the smallest change.

Of course every one has heard of wicked Dodge; but a great deal has been said and written about it that is not true. Its good side has never been told, and I cannot give it space here. Many reckless, bad men came to Dodge and many brave men. These had to be met by officers equally brave and reckless. As the old saying goes, "You must fight the devil with fire." The officers gave them the south side of the railroad-track, but the north side must be kept respectable, and it was. There never was any such thing as shooting at plug hats. On the contrary, every stranger that came to Dodge City and behaved himself was treated with politeness; but woe be unto the man who came seeking a fight. He was soon accommodated in any way, shape or form that he wished. Often have I seen chivalry extended to ladies on the streets, from these rough men, that would have done credit to the knights of old. When some man a little drunk, and perhaps unintentionally, would jostle a lady in a crowd, he was soon brought to his senses by being knocked down by one of his companions, who remarked, "Never let me see you insult a lady again."

Governor St. John was in Dodge once, when he was notified that a terrible cyclone had visited a little town close to the Kansas line, in Nebraska. In two hours I raised \$1000, which he wired them. Our first calaboose in Dodge City was a well fifteen feet deep, into which the drunkards were let down and allowed to remain until they were sober. Sometimes there were several in it at once. It served the purpose well for a time.

A cattleman by the name of Peppard was one whom the officers disliked to see come to Dodge. Invariably rows began then, and he was in all of them.

*The Dodge City Town Company was organized in 1872, with R. M. Wright, president; Col. Richard I. Dodge, commanding Fort Dodge; Maj. E. B. Kirk, post quartermaster; Maj. W. S. Tremaine, post surgeon, and Capt. T. C. Tupper. The county of Ford was organized in 1873. Dodge City, according to the census of 1901, had 2199 population, and the county of Ford, 5302. The town is four miles west of the site of the fort.

While driving up a bunch of beeves to Dodge, so the story goes, Peppard's boss killed the negro cook. It has been said that the boss and Peppard were great friends and chums, and the boss killed the cook because Peppard wanted him killed. Anyway, a short time after they arrived at Dodge, Peppard and his boss fell out. The next morning Peppard saw him behind a bar in one of the saloons, and straightway procured a shot-gun loaded with buck, and turned it loose at the boss, who dodged behind the ice-chest, which was riddled. A very narrow escape for the boss it was. Peppard then took a man and dug up the dead negro, chopped off his head with an ax, brought it in a sack to within thirty miles of Dodge, when nightfall overtook them and they had to lay out. The negro had been dead two weeks, and it was very warm weather. Wolves were attracted by the scent, and made a most terrible racket around the camp-fire, and it was decidedly unpleasant for the two men. Peppard's man weakened first and said they must remove the head or the camp. Inasmuch as the head was the easier to remove, they took it a mile or two away. Then the wolves took it and the sack several miles further, and they had much difficulty in finding it. At last it was produced in court with the bullet-hole in the skull, and the perplexing question was sprung on the court as to its jurisdiction to hold an inquest when only a fractional part of the remains was produced in court. The case was ably argued, *pro* and *con*. Those in favor of holding the inquest maintained that the production of the head in court included the other necessary parts of the anatomy, and was the best evidence on earth of his demise, and that the bullet-hole was a silent witness of his taking-off. The opposition argued that if the court had jurisdiction to hold an inquest on the head, there was no reason why the courts of Comanche county and other localities could not do the same on any other fractional part of the anatomy which might be found scattered over their bailiwick. The court, after mature deliberation, decided to give continuance until such time as the rest of the remains could be produced in court. Peppard left the town disgusted with the decision, and, for all I know to the contrary, the case is still docketed for continuance.

Above Dodge, and nearly adjoining thereto, was a large marsh grown up with brush and high grass. Many times was the unsuspecting stranger and the young unsophisticated traveling man invited to a snipe hunt, and with sack and lantern trudged away with bounding hopes and a stomach fairly yearning for the delicious feast awaiting him next morning at breakfast, instead of the tough buffalo meat. Some of the hunters would find their way back that same night; others came in in the morning. Our boys were in possession of a great many Indian trophies which they had captured at the adobe wall fight. Among them were war-bonnets, shields, bows and arrows, and quivers; and when twenty or more of them would don these costumes and mount their horses, also decorated with Indian fixings, at a short distance they appeared like the Simon-pure stuff.

If a young man came to Dodge, bragging that he would like to participate in an Indian fight, he would surely get it. Once a young man, who is now a merchant in Kansas City, arrived, and expressed himself as eager to meet hostile Indians. The boys invited him to an antelope hunt. Antelope were plentiful then. Young men in Indian costume quietly slipped out ahead. A dozen or more went along with the visitor. After proceeding ten or twelve miles his companions commenced to brace the stranger up by saying: "We had better keep a sharp lookout. Indians have been in this vicinity lately, and they say they are the 'dog soldiers,' the worst on the plains." Then they told him a few blood-curdling stories about horrible atrocities, just to keep up his courage. At this juncture from out of the arroyo came the most unearthly yells, and at the same

time the twenty men dashed out. The boaster fled precipitately, coming into town on the dead run, yelling to every one he saw to get his gun; the town would soon be attacked by a thousand Indians; all the other boys were killed and he had a narrow escape; to send at once to the fort for the Gatling gun and the soldiers to defend the town, as he was sure they would take it if they did n't get assistance. This young man was easily scared; but one time they got the wrong rooster. When they ran up close to him and commenced firing at short range, (and this man Peppard, of whom I spoke before, was one of those who did it,) he found his horse could not outrun the others and stopped and commenced firing back. Peppard said he heard one bullet whiz right by his head, and had enough and quit. After Peppard got in, he said it was a put-up job to get him killed, and wanted to murder the whole outfit.

The greatest excitement ever caused in Dodge was the advent of an Indian, one of the principal chiefs of the Cheyennes. In the winter of 1872, W. D. Lee, of the firm of Lee & Reynolds, doing a large business at Supply as freighters, government contractors, sutlers and Indian traders combined, brought this Indian to Dodge City to show him the wonders of the railroad and impress upon him how civilization was advancing. There happened to be several hunters in town at that time, driven in by a heavy storm and snow. No sooner did the Indian make his appearance on the street than the excitement began. Most of the hunters hated an Indian, and not a few of them had suffered more or less from their depredations. Among the latter was one Kirk Jordan, a very desperate man, whose sister, brother-in-law and whole family had been wiped out by the savages, and their home and its contents burned and every vestige of stock stolen. This had happened in the northwest part of the state. Jordan had sworn to kill the first Indian he saw, no matter what the consequences might be. He was a leader and a favorite with the hunters, and, together with his companions, being inflated with liquor, had no trouble in getting followers. We ran the Indian into a drug-store and locked the doors. There was no egress from the rear, but two families occupied houses adjoining the drug-store, and some one quickly tore off one of the upright partition boards that separated the drug-store from the dwellings containing the families, and the Indian squeezed through. The board was quickly and neatly replaced, leaving no trace of its having been removed; so when the crowd of excited hunters burst into the store and could not find the Indian, they were as puzzled a lot as ever lost a trail upon open prairie.

That afternoon I thought things had quieted down, and I saddled one of Lee's finest horses (Lee had brought up a magnificent team), and led it around to the back door—of course the Indian had been previously instructed to mount and make for his tribe as fast as the horse would carry him; but before I rapped at the door I looked around, and from the back of the dance hall, a hundred yards distant, there were fifty buffalo guns leveled at me. I knew those fellows had nothing against me, but I was afraid some of the guns might go off by accident, and wished right there that the ground would sink down deep enough to cover me from the range of their guns. I led the horse back to the stable as quickly and quietly as possible, feeling relieved when inside. I at once dispatched a courier to the commander at the fort, with the request that he send up a company of cavalry, but he would n't do it. As soon as it got dark, Lee and I got in his carriage, loaded with buffalo-robcs, had the Indian rushed out, robes piled on top of him, and went out of Dodge on the run. We met Captain Tupper's troop of the Sixth United States cavalry about a mile out, coming after the chief. There were no more Indians seen in Dodge except under big escort.

At this side of the Point of Rocks, eight miles west of Dodge City, used to

be the remains of an old adobe fort. Some called it Fort Mann, others Fort Atkinson.* Which is correct I do not know. When I first saw it, in May, 1859, the walls were very distinct and were in a good state of preservation, excepting the roofs gone. There had been a large corral, stables, barracks for troops, and a row of buildings which I supposed were officers' quarters. Who built it, or what troops had occupied it, I do not know. There were many legends connected with old Fort Mann. Some say that a large Mexican train, heavily loaded with Mexican dollars, took shelter there from the Indians, and finally lost all their cattle, and buried their money to keep it out of the hands of the Indians, and got back to Mexico as best they could. When they returned, the river had washed all their *caché* away, and it was never recovered; but the following is the best information I could gather, and I think it is the most plausible story: In the '50's, and a long while before, the government did its own freighting with ox teams. Many a horn have I seen branded "U. S." One of these trains was on its way back to the States, loaded with ox chains, for the simple reason that the government usually sold its wagons after they had delivered their loads of supplies at their respective destinations to the miners, hunters, and trappers, and turned the cattle over to the commissary for beef. This would naturally leave a large accumulation of ox chains. Now, this train loaded with chains met with a heavy snow-storm in or near Fort Mann, and they *cachéd* their chains at the fort, and went in with a few light wagons, and the river washed the chains away; for the banks have washed in several hundred feet since I have known the place.

There was some inquiry made from Washington about Fort Mann, about thirty years ago, and I remember going with an escort, and, on the sloping hillside north of the fort, finding three or four graves. Of these, one was that of an officer and the others of enlisted men; also two lime-kilns in excellent condition and a well-defined road leading to Sawlog. In fact, the road was as large as the Santa Fe trail, showing that they must have hauled considerable wood over it. This leads me to believe that the fort had been occupied by a large garrison.

General Sheridan and Major Inman were occupying my office at Fort Dodge one night, having just made the trip from Fort Supply, and called me in to consult as to how many buffaloes there were between Dodge and Supply. Taking a strip fifty miles east and fifty miles west, they had first made it 10,000,000,000. General Sheridan said, "That won't do." They figured it again, and made it 1,000,000,000. Finally they reached the conclusion that there must be 100,000,000; but said they were afraid to give out these figures; nevertheless they believed them. This vast herd moved slowly toward the north when spring opened, and moved steadily back again from the far north when the days began to grow short and winter was setting in.

Charles Rath and I shipped over 200,000 buffalo hides the first winter the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe railroad reached Dodge City, and I think there were at least as many more shipped from there, besides 200 cars of hind quarters and two cars of buffalo tongues. Often have I shot them from the walls of my corral, for my hogs to feed upon. Several times have I seen wagon trains stop to let the immense herds pass; and time and time again, along in August or September, when putting up hay in the Arkansas bottom, would we have to put out men, both night and day, to keep them out of our herd of work cattle. We

* Fort Atkinson, a government post on the Arkansas river, twenty-six miles below the crossing of the Arkansas; established August 8, 1850; abandoned October 2, 1854. According to Gregg's "Commerce of the Plains," issued in 1845, Point of Rocks was 610 miles out from Independence, Missouri, and the crossing of the Arkansas was about Cimarron station, on the Santa Fe railroad.

usually hunted them on horseback; that is, we would single out one animal in a herd, and ride along by the side of it, and shoot it with a six-shooter. Sometimes we would kill several buffalo on a single run, but very few white men killed them wantonly.

Jack Bridges, a scout of some fame in eastern Kansas during the war, said to me one day: "I see you always hunt buffaloes on horseback. If you will take a needle-gun (that was an improved Springfield), and go with me, you will never hunt on horseback again." And I never did. We usually hunted the calves only in the fall and winter, as all we cared for was the meat. It was wonderful to see how strong the mother's instinct was to protect her young. The calf would invariably run on the opposite side of its mother. One day I had taken a knee rest, and waited and waited for the calf to run ahead of its mother as they ascended a hill together. At last I saw a dark spot just ahead of the cow's breast and fired, killing both cow and calf, breaking the cow's neck as she had it distended ascending the hill, and shooting the calf dead, as I supposed. Just then a soldier came along and asked permission to have their tongues. We told him yes. On coming back with a wagon, picking up the dead calves, we found this one gone. Bridges said to me: "See, the d—— soldier has stolen the calf." We saw the soldier soon after coming to us. He said: "After I cut the tongue out of the calf he got up and ran over the hill a quarter of a mile." Sure enough, there he lay dead, with his tongue cut out. Two other soldiers verified this one's story.

I want to say something of the buffalo and its habits. The buffalo-wallow is caused by the buffalo pawing and licking the salty alkali earth, and when the sod is once broken the dirt is wafted away by the action of the wind; then, year after year, by more pawing and licking and rolling or wallowing by the animals, more wind wafts the loose dirt away, and soon there is a large hole in the prairie. Now there is a much more curious spectacle to be seen every year when the grass starts up; is even plainly to be seen yet when springtime arrives. These are rings on the prairie; and there are thousands of them—yes, millions. From the first of April and until the middle of May was our wet season on the plains; this was always the case; you could depend upon it with almost the certainty of the sun and moon rising at the proper time. This was the calving season of the buffalo; the buffalo, not like our domestic cattle, only rutted one month, neither more nor less, then it was all over. I want to interpolate a statement here, that no man living I ever heard of or saw ever witnessed the act of copulation by the buffalo. It was all done after night. Then was the only time that the buffalo made any noise or fuss; but at this season they would keep up a low roaring sound all night, and, as a consequence, the cows all calved in a month. This was the wet month. At that time there were a great many gray wolves in the country as well as the little coyote. While the cows were in labor, the bulls kept guard to drive off the wolves, and, in their beat, made the rings referred to. I have had people argue to me that they were caused by lightning striking the earth; but it is certainly strange that lightning should only strike at these breeding places and nowhere else. Others would argue that the Indians had their war-dances there, which is just about as absurd a statement as the other. Others even say that two bulls get their heads together in battle and push each other round and round in a ring until a circle is formed. Buffaloes live to a great age. I have heard it from best authority that some of them live to be seventy-five or eighty years old, and it is quite common for them to live thirty or forty years; in fact, I think I have seen many a bull's head that I thought to be over thirty years old. After a storm, when we would go in search of our lost cattle, we could tell the buffalo

tracks from our cattle tracks because the buffalo tracks would be going against the storm every time, while our domestic cattle would invariably go with it. You see the buffalo is much more thinly clad behind than in front; nearly all of his coat is on his head, shoulders, and hump, and, when our cattle would turn tail, the buffalo would naturally face the storm.

Another terror of the plains was mad wolves. Several times were the different forts visited by them, and they not only did great damage to stock, but frequently to human beings. One ran into Fort Larned one night, bit the officer of the day, Lieutenant Thompson, and two soldiers, and I think two or three employees of the government. Thompson went East and put himself under treatment, but he never was the same man afterward. It is doubtful whether it was the treatment he underwent that affected him, or the continual dread. The others all died.

Not among the least of the hardships and dangers incident to the early pioneer of the Southwest was the "Kansas blizzard"; like all the storms in the arid belt, a great majority of them were local, but nevertheless severe and terrible in their destructive fury. A blizzard is defined as "a fierce storm of bitter, frosty wind, with fine, blistering snow." No definition, however, save that of actual experience, can define its terrible reality. I have witnessed a change in temperature from seventy-four degrees above zero to twenty degrees below in twenty-four hours, and during this time the wind was blowing a gale, apparently from the four points of the compass. The air was so full of the fine, blistering snow and sand that one could not see ten feet in advance. Turn either way, and it is always in front. The air is full of subdued noises, like the wail of lost spirits; so all-absorbing in its intensity is this wailing, moaning, continuous noise, that one's voice cannot be heard two yards away. The historical blizzards of 1863, 1866, 1873 and 1888 were general, embracing a very large area of country. The early pioneers were, of necessity, nomadic, and were in no way prepared for these sudden changes; and hundreds have lost their lives by suffocating in blizzards when the temperature was not zero, it being a physical impossibility to breathe, the air being so full of fine, blistering snow and sand.

As illustration of the terrible nature of a Kansas blizzard in the pioneer days, I will narrate one of the many experiences I have had with them. In the summer and fall of 1872 I was freighting supplies from Fort Dodge to Camp Supply, I. T. Up to the middle of December we had had no cold weather—plenty of grass all along the route. I loaded some twenty mule wagons with corn, along about the 20th of December, and the outfit crossed the river at Fort Dodge and went into camp that night at Five-mile hollow, about five miles from Fort Dodge. It had been a warm, pleasant day, and the sun disappeared in a clear sky. Along in the night the wind whipped around in the north, and a blizzard set in. By morning the draw that they were camped in was full of snow, and the air so full that one could not see from one wagon to the other. The men with the outfit were all old, experienced plainsmen, but the suddenness and severity of the storm rendered them almost helpless. They had brought along only wood enough for breakfast, and that was soon exhausted. They then tried burning corn, but with poor success. As a last resort they began burning the wagons. They used economy in their fire, but the second day saw no prospect of a letting up of the storm; in fact, it was getting worse hourly. It was then that P. G. Cook, now living at Trinidad, and another whose name escapes me, volunteered to make an effort to reach Fort Dodge, only five miles distant, for succor. They bundled up in a way that it seemed impossible for them to suffer, and, each mounting a mule, started for the fort. The first few hours, Cook has told me,

they guided the mules, and then recognizing that they were lost, they gave the animals a loose rein and trusted to their instinct. This was very hard for them to do, as they were almost convinced that they were going wrong all the time, but they soon got so numbed with the cold that they lost all sense of being. They reached the fort in this condition, after being out eight hours. They each had to be thawed out of their saddles. Cook, being a very strong, vigorous man, had suffered the least, and soon was in a condition to tell of the trouble of his comrades. Maj. E. B. Kirk, the quartermaster at the fort, immediately detailed a relief party, and, with Cook at their head, started for the camp. The storm by this time had spent itself, and the relief party, with an ample supply of wood, reached them without great hardship, and the entire outfit, minus the three wagons which had been burned for fuel, were brought back to the fort. Cook's companion was so badly frost-bitten that amputation of one of his limbs was necessary to save his life.

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In the fall of 1874 I went to Texas, and when I came home I found my partner, Mr. H. L. Sitler, who was interested with me in a government hay contract, laid up with a bad flesh wound he had received in a fight with the Indians only the day before, and the men in camp thirty miles west of Fort Dodge badly demoralized, as the Indians had jumped them a time or two very recently. I mounted a good horse, taking with me a fine rifle and two revolvers, and started for camp, where I arrived about sundown that night. I had a long talk with the boss, and I promised to stay right with them, which promise and my cheering conversation soon placed them in good humor, and they declared their intention to keep on at work. In the night there came on one of our late, cold, misty, drizzling rains. The tent was leaky and the next morning we all got up feeling wet and generally miserable. The storm looked as if it had set in for the week. Of course, I did not want to remain there, but the only compromise, after my promise of the evening before, was to leave with the boss my fine rifle, as well as my horse, and ride back in its place an old, worn-out one. I thought that anything was better than staying there; so I exchanged horses, left my rifle, and started for Fort Dodge.

The misty rain was constantly beating in my face, so that it almost blinded me. I left the main road and took the trail, or near cut-off, around by the river, and when I got about ten miles from camp, and at nearly the place where Mr. Sitler was shot, up jumped, as I thought, a lot of Indians, yelling and shouting. They seemed to be traveling in Indian file, one right behind the other, as I had often seen them. Thinks I to myself, I will just fool you; I will make a long detour around the hollow and come back into the trail about two miles below here, and you fellows are trying to cut me off. When I do n't come out below, as you expect me to do, you will go over to the main road and watch there. So I carried out my plan and came back to the place two miles below, but they were again running and yelling ahead of me, it seemed, worse than before. I tried it again, with the same result. Then I went out to the main road, chose my position and waited for their coming, intending to shoot my old horse and then lie behind him. How many times I wished I had not left my good horse in camp, as I could easily have run away from the Indians; and I further cursed my luck that I was so foolish as to give up my rifle also. After waiting and waiting in the rain, until I was completely soaked and tired out, expecting them to be on me every minute, I thought I would go back to the trail along the rough breaks by the river and take my chances. When I got back the last time, up they jumped again; but the wind and rain had let up a little and I saw what I

had taken for Indians was nothing but a flock of blue cranes. You see the wind and rain were so blinding—one of those awfully cold, misty storms—that when I approached the river the birds would rise and merely skim along through the willows, one after another, and so I kept chasing them down stream a mile or more every time I scared them up; but they scared me worse than I scared them; they chased me back to the main road nearly frightened to death. We had many a hearty laugh over my flight from the cranes.

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I would feel that these sketches were incomplete did I not give at least a brief account of the "battle of the adobe wall," in which the handful of brave men who fought so valiantly against the Indians were all Kansans.

Long years ago, before Gen. Sam. Houston led the Texans on to victory, before their independence was achieved, while the immense territory southwest of the Louisiana purchase was still the property of Mexico, a party of traders from Santa Fe wandered up into northwestern Texas and constructed a rude fort. Its walls, like those of many Mexican dwellings of the present day, were formed of a peculiar clay, hard baked by the sun. At that time the Indians of the plains were numerous and warlike, and white men who ventured far into their country found it necessary to be prepared to defend themselves in case of attacks. Doubtless the fortress served the purpose of its builders long and well. If the old adobe wall had been endowed with speech, what stories might it not have told of desperate warfare, of savage treachery, and the noble deeds of brave men. However, in the '70's, all that remained to even suggest these missing leaves of the early history of the plains were the outlines of the earthen fortifications.

In 1874 a number of buffalo-hunters from Dodge City took up headquarters at the ruins. The place was selected, not only because of its location in the very center of the buffalo country, but also because of its numerous other advantages, and the proximity of a stream of crystal, clear water which flowed into the Canadian river a short distance below. After becoming settled at the trading post, and erecting two large houses of sod, which were used as store buildings, the men turned their attention to building a stockade, which was never completed. As spring advanced and the weather became warm, the work lagged and the hunters became careless, frequently leaving the doors open at night to admit the free passage of air, and sleeping out-of-doors and late in the morning, until the sun was high.

Among the Indians of the plains was a medicine-man, shrewd and watchful, who still cherished the hope that his people might eventually be able to overcome the white race and check the progress of civilization. After brooding over the matter for some time, he evolved a scheme, in which not only his own nation, but the Arapahoes, Comanches and Apaches were interested. A federation was formed, and the Indians proceeded against the settlements of northwestern Texas and southwestern Kansas. Minimic, the medicine-man, having observed that the old Mexican fort was again inhabited, and being fully informed with regard to the habits of the white men, led the warriors to attack the buffalo station, promising them certain victory, without a battle. He had prepared his medicine carefully, and in consequence the doors of the houses would be open and the braves would enter in the early morning, while their victims were asleep, under the influence of his wonderful charm. They would kill and scalp every occupant of the place without danger to themselves, for his medicine was strong, and their war paint would render them invisible.

On the morning of the fight, some of the hunters who were going out that day were compelled to rise early. A man starting to the stream for water suddenly discovered the presence of Indians. He ran back and aroused his com-

rades; then rushed outside to awaken two men who were sleeping in wagons. Before this could be accomplished, the savages were swarming around them. The three men met a horrible death at the hands of the yelling and capering demons, who now surrounded the sod buildings. The roofs were covered with dirt, making it impossible to set fire to them, and there were great double doors with heavy bars. There were loopholes in the building, through which those within could shoot at the enemy.

The Indians, sure of triumph, were unusually daring, and again and again they dashed up to the entrances, three abreast, then suddenly wheeling their horses, backed against the doors with all possible force. The pressure was counteracted by barricading with sacks of flour. The doors were pushed in by the weight of the horses, until there was a small crevice through which they would hurl their lances, shoot their arrows, and fire their guns as they dashed by. Now they would renew their attack more vigorously than ever, and dash up to the port-holes by the hundreds, regardless of the hunters' deadly aim. Saddle after saddle would be empty after each charge, and the loose horses rushed madly around, adding to the deadly strife and noise of battle going on. At one time there was a lull in the fight; there was a young warrior, more daring and desperate than his fellows, mounted on a magnificent pony, decorated with a gaudy war-bonnet, and his other apparel equally as brilliant, who wanted perhaps to gain distinction for his bravery and become a great chief of his tribe, made a bold dash from among his comrades toward the buildings. He rode with the speed of an eagle, and as straight as an arrow, for the side of the building where the port-holes were most numerous and danger greatest, succeeded in reaching them, and, leaping from his horse, pushed his six-shooter through a port-hole and emptied it, filling the room with smoke. He then attempted a retreat, but in a moment he was shot down; he staggered to his feet, but was again shot down, and, whilst lying on the ground, he deliberately drew another pistol from his belt and blew out his brains.

There were only fourteen guns all told with the hunters, and certainly there were over 500 Indians, by their own admission afterwards. The ground around, after the fight, was strewn with dead horses and Indians. Twenty-seven of the latter lay dead, besides a number of them had been carried off by their comrades. How many wounded there were we never knew, and they (the Indians) would never tell, perhaps, because they were so chagrined at their terrible defeat. After the ammunition had been exhausted, some of the men melted lead and molded bullets, while the remainder kept up the firing, which continued throughout the entire day. Minimic rode from place to place with an air of braggadocio, encouraging his followers and making himself generally conspicuous. A sharp-shooter aimed at him, in the distance, possibly a mile, and succeeded in killing the gaily painted pony of the prophet. When the pony went down, Minimic explained to his followers that it was because the bullet had struck where there was no painted place. In the midst of the excitement, while bullets were flying thick and fast, a mortally wounded savage fell almost on the threshold of one of the stores. Billy Tyler, moved with pity, attempted to open the door in order to draw him inside, but was instantly killed. The struggle lasted until dark, when the Indians, defeated by fourteen brave men, fell back, with many dead and wounded. The hunters had lost four of their number, but within a few days 200 men collected within the fortifications, and the allies did not venture to renew the conflict. Old settlers agree that the "battle of adobe wall" was one of the fiercest fought on the plains.

HISTORIC SKETCH OF THE GYPSUM, CEMENT AND PLASTER INDUSTRY IN KANSAS.

An address by ERASMUS HAWORTH,* of the State University, before the Kansas State Historical Society, at its twenty-fifth annual meeting, January 15, 1901.

THE gypsum industry in its entirety probably is hardly begun in Kansas. The natural material, gypsum, occurs in such a variety of forms, and is manufactured in so many different ways, and used for such a diversity of purposes, that one must conclude the final termination of its use will be reached when the wants of man are all supplied, or when the great storehouses of nature have been emptied of this most important mineral treasure. Its oldest use is as a soil fertilizer. We know such application was made of it more than 2000 years ago, but how much longer history saith not. It has enriched and vitalized the soils of Greece, Italy, and all Europe, giving subsistence to the almost countless millions who have lived and died, and by thus living have given us our history, our development, our advancements, our civilization. It has served no small part in making these same soils upon which kingdoms and empires have subsisted retain their fertility, so that to-day, after continuous cultivation for more than 2000 years, they are as productive as in the days of their virgin freshness, when first reclaimed from the wilderness.

Gypsum is used for making plaster of Paris, a product named after the city of its discovery, or rather of the discovery of a method by which it could be made; a product, further, which is as extensive in its application as almost any other one product known to man. It is used for making stucco and whitewash, with which to prepare the outside finish or white coating of our plastered walls, and recently it is used for the manufacture of a plaster itself with which walls of dwellings, business houses, hotels, depots, and all brick, frame and stone structures are plastered—a product which is replacing rapidly the old-fashioned and time-proven lime-and-sand plaster. By processes of recent discovery, the “setting” qualities of plaster of Paris are retarded, so that time is given the workman properly to spread the plaster on the wall, or to mold it into ornamental cornices or other devices giving beauty and pleasing effects to the walls and ceilings of our buildings. It is also used for making the so-called “staff,” of which mammoth buildings are constructed, with all manner of architectural styles and beauty, lending itself in every possible way to the handicraft of man. The

*ERASMUS HAWORTH was born in Warren county, Iowa, 1855; moved to Kansas with his parents October, 1866; entered Kansas State University, preparatory department, September, 1876; graduated with degree of B. S. June, 1881; entered Johns Hopkins University as graduate student October, 1881, remaining one year; principal of Empire City schools, Cherokee county, Kansas, year 1882-'83; elected professor of natural science Penn College, Oskaloosa, Iowa, 1883; October, 1887, returned to Johns Hopkins University for one year, receiving the degree of Ph. D. June, 1888. He then returned to Penn College, where he remained until September, 1892, at which date he came to the Kansas University as professor of mineralogy and physical geology, which position he still holds. In 1894, partially through his recommendation, the regents of the university organized the University Geological Survey of Kansas, in connection with which he has been working ever since. In the spring of 1900 the regents organized the department of mines and mining at the university and placed him nominally at the head. Mr. Haworth is married to Miss Ida E. Huntsman, of Oskaloosa, Iowa, daughter of Maj. H. C. Huntsman, a physician, who, at the time of his death, in 1887, was a member of the board of regents of Iowa State University. Professor Haworth has written and published about forty scientific articles, mostly pertaining to the geology of Missouri and Kansas.

"white city" by Lake Michigan, commemorating the discovery of America, which sprang into existence in a day, which shone forth with architectural symmetry and grandeur surpassing anything the world has ever witnessed, and which as suddenly disappeared, was a possibility, financially and mechanically, on account of the great diversity of uses to which gypsum in one form or another can be applied.

When properly prepared, gypsum can be molded into any form, like clay or wax; it can be nailed to the frames of structures of any size and description, and the joints cemented by a whitewash of the same material, producing a solid wall with a solid effect, free from all marks of tool or methods of appliance. The highest class of art can be manifested in frieze and pillar and dome; statues may be reproduced in stencil-like order, imitating, yes, rivaling and surpassing, the temples of Greece and Rome, with a degree of cheapness that places it within the reach of all, and yet with a beauty and fineness of texture and touch rendering it as pleasing to the eye as though the great domes and gilded cornices and mammoth arches of the World's Columbian Exposition had been chiseled from the finest Parian marble.

Kansas is supplied with unlimited quantities of this natural material, gypsum. The industrial development of its uses, or rather of its commerce, is the theme of this paper. Eleven years ago, so far as our statistics show, the first merchantable material was sent into the markets, although we have satisfactory evidence that much of it was marketed throughout the decade of years immediately preceding the statistical records referred to. According to government statistics, during the calendar year 1889, Kansas produced over 17,000 tons of marketable material, which had a value at the factory of nearly \$5.50 per ton, yielding almost \$100,000 in value. From that time to 1895 the output gradually increased, so that for the last year named about 73,000 tons were produced, with a value approximating \$275,000. These same statistics show that more than one-half million tons have been sent into the market from our Kansas factories, and that more than two and a quarter millions of dollars have been received by the companies operating the mills.

Gypsum occurs in Kansas in two distinct forms, sufficiently different in essential properties to make a marked difference in the industrial methods of operation. It occurs as rock gypsum—that is, as great bodies of a light colored material, interstratified with limestones and shales, making it in the true sense of the term a genuine rock, which constitutes an integral part of the earth. This is the form in which it is generally found in other parts of the world. Again, it occurs in the form of a fine powder or sand or dirt, here and there in valleys and marshes and creek beds, in different parts of the state. This latter occurrence is not common, and the methods of manufacturing plaster from such deposits are followed only in Kansas, the Indian Territory, and Texas.

The discovery of gypsum in Kansas was made at different times in different parts of the state. I have a very interesting letter from my friend, H. G. Fowler, of Blue Rapids, detailing the history of the discovery of gypsum along the Blue river, from which the following extracts are made:

"The first discovery of gypsum in this county was made by Thomas C. Palmer, who, in the summer of 1857, used a rock of a grayish-white color to support some faggots of a camp-fire. After the fire burned out he noticed the rock had slaked like lime. This he used in plastering his cabin, and discovered its value for that purpose.

"In 1858, when Gen. Frank Marshall* was building his house in Marysville, he sent teams down here and had several wagon-loads brought to Marysville, and there burned it in log-heaps, which crude material was used to good effect in plastering his house, at that time the finest in Marysville.

"In 1871, Judge J. V. Coon, of Elyria, Ohio, came to Blue Rapids, then in its infancy, and burned some gypsum, and carried it to Cleveland, where it was pronounced good plaster material. In 1872 he returned, with his brother, and erected a shed on the east bank of the river, a short distance below the dam, and commenced to 'cook' gypsum. He afterwards put up a stone building on the west bank and extended his operations, and continued in business about twelve years."

Dr. G. P. Grimsley, in his excellent description of Kansas gypsum, in volume V of the University Geological Survey of Kansas, gives some additional history of the Blue Rapids gypsum which is of interest. On page 51 of his report we find the following: "In November, 1869, the commissioners laid out the site for the town of Blue Rapids. They carefully investigated the natural resources of the region and recognized the value of the water-power of the Blue, and also the value of the gypsum deposits which had been known for some time to exist on the Big Blue about two miles northwest of the town. On selling their various properties they made a reservation along the Blue of 100 rods, including the known outcrop of the beds, and extending back from the river for a distance of 320 feet."

He further states that in 1872, when Judge Coon and his brother returned to Blue Rapids from Cleveland they erected a mill with one kettle, which held about five barrels, and which was heated by a stove; thus they commenced the manufacture of plaster of Paris. Quoting from him further, we read: "Prosperity seems to have attended their work, for in 1875 a stone mill was built by Coon & Son on the west side of the river, and the water-power of the river was now used for grinding. This mill is still standing, a monument to the commencement of a great Kansas industry. The town, for purpose of encouragement of the new departure, granted them the north half of their reservation, described as extending from a point at the middle of the outcrop and thence north. This mill was operated for nearly twelve years, and then the firm unfortunately failed. The mill property and the gypsum grant of fifty rods of outcrop and twenty rods back in the hill, came into the hands of Mr. Sweetland, a business man of Blue Rapids. It was leased to several parties, and the mill was run to the year 1889, when the flood of that year caused considerable damage, resulting in the abandonment of the mill."

Previous to this time, however, other parties, attracted by the large amount and fine quality of the Blue Rapids gypsum, bought land and erected mills. In the spring of 1887, Messrs. H. G. and F. W. Fowler organized the Blue Rapids Plaster Company, which has been in continuous successful operation to the present time. They were the first to import skilled laborers from other plaster factories, and likewise were the first to abandon the primitive method of mining

*FRANCIS J. MARSHALL was born April 3, 1816, in Lee county, West Virginia, and finished his education at William and Mary College. In 1842 he removed to Ray county, Missouri, and in 1847 married Miss Mary Williams. He established a ferry on the Big Blue river, in Kansas territory, in 1849, and in the following year another, nine miles up the river, at the government crossing, where he established a trading house and blacksmith shop. He served as a member of the first territorial council, in 1855, and again in 1857. The first legislature incorporated his town, which he named, in honor of his wife, Marysville. He was the democratic candidate for governor, under the Lecompton constitution, at the election held January 4, 1858. In 1859 he removed to Denver and engaged in freighting, later in mining. He died in that city, November 25, 1895.

the gypsum by "stripping"; that is, they were the first to tunnel into the bluff and quarry out the gypsum in regular mining fashion.

Also, in the year 1887 a third company was organized at Blue Rapids, by Mr. Hayden, of New York, who bought the remaining portion of the old town reservation and likewise the adjoining Robinson farm.

There are at present, therefore, in the vicinity of Blue Rapids three strong companies operating plaster mills, viz.: The Great Western Plaster Company; the Blue Rapids Plaster Company; the Blue Valley Plaster Company. These companies manufacture plaster of Paris, cement plaster (which is essentially plaster of Paris, properly mixed with a retarder), and land plaster (which is the raw gypsum ground, but uncalcined). These Blue Rapids companies shipped large quantities to Chicago during 1892, which was used in the construction of buildings for the World's Fair. They produce annually an aggregate of from 40,000 to 50,000 tons of marketable products.

It was also in 1887 that a company was organized under the name of the Kansas Cement Plaster Company, which built a mill at the little town of Hope, in the southeastern part of Dickinson county. Here they began quarrying gypsum rock, which was exposed on the hilltop northwest of town. The mill was constructed on general principles about the same as those described at Blue Rapids. In 1894 the company abandoned this quarry, and sank a shaft west of town on the main upland to a depth of eighty feet, striking a bed of gypsum fourteen feet thick. The shaft is located immediately beside the Missouri Pacific railway line. A switch is put in and flat cars are stationed at the shaft. The quarry operations are conducted similar to that of mining coal or salt; undercuttings are made and the rock gypsum blasted down, hoisted to the surface, and loaded on board the flat cars so that the local freight-trains may pull them to the mill a quarter of a mile away. This mill has been enlarged a time or two and is still in operation, producing good material. Likewise a factory was established some distance north, within about five miles of Solomon, which operated on rock gypsum, making stucco and whitewash, and finally, by the use of retarders, making a plaster serviceable for plastering walls, operated under the name of the Crown Plaster Company.

If we follow a chronological order in considering the development of geographic areas we must next go to Barber county. On the south side of the Medicine river, in that rough and rugged country to the southwest of Medicine Lodge, vast quantities of rock gypsum are found capping the hilltops, in a manner similar to the way limestone is frequently found on the hilltops and bluffs in other parts of the state. An interesting story is connected with the development here. The late Prof. Robert Hay* wrote a magazine article for *Harper's Magazine*, which was published in June, 1888, in which he described and illustrated

* ROBERT HAY was born May 19, 1835, at Ashton-under-Lynn, in Lancashire, England, and died at Junction City, Kan., December 14, 1895. He was of Scotch ancestry; completed his education in the College of London; pursued a special scientific course under Professor Huxley, and took honors. A brother living in Geary county mailed him the Junction City *Union*, and for this paper he wrote letters from Wigan. It resulted in his coming to Kansas in 1871, when he settled on a farm in Geary county. He engaged in teaching and normal-institute work. He was principal of the school at Ogdensburg, in Riley county, also at Holton, and later at Che-topa. For several years he was employed exclusively in literary and scientific work. He was a voluminous and attractive writer, a diligent explorer, and a thoughtful student. For three years he traveled over Kansas as a field geologist, and there is scarcely a township in the state that he had not visited. The publications of the agricultural board and the transactions of the Academy of Science abound in the most practical papers written by him. In 1895 he prepared a special report on the underground waters of western Kansas for the United States Geological Survey. See Kan. Acad. of Science, Trans., vol. 15, p. 131.

the mansard-like hills of Barber county, and gave a good description of the gypsum rock found there in such great quantities. The magazine chanced to fall into the hands of English capitalists, who at that time manufactured what is known in England as Keene's cement, a variety of cement known throughout England and Europe as being superior to anything else of foreign make for use as a high-grade plaster for costly buildings. A delegate was sent to Barber county to investigate the gypsum described by Professor Hay. He found it as described, or rather, as one of the company expressed it to the writer, the "half was not told." The final outcome was that a branch factory of the Keene Cement Company was established at Medicine Lodge, which began operations in 1891, and has continued ever since, under the management of Mr. Thomas Best, producing a plaster known as Best's Keene's cement, that is generally recognized throughout eastern United States as being superior to the famous Kiege's Windsor, a brand that is considered by architects of Boston and New York fully equal to any imported cement.

The Medicine Lodge factory does not produce as large quantities as some of the other factories located in the state, but the quality of the goods, prepared by secret processes, is so superior that the selling price is nearly three times as great as that of any other gypsum plaster made in the state.

Turning now to the other variety of gypsum, that is, the fine-grained gypsum, or the gypsum earth, or gypsum "dirt," as it is generally called, we have an equally interesting history. The first discovery of such a deposit was made at Gypsum City in 1873, by John Tinkler, while running a fire-guard around a field, according to the historical sketch given by Grimsley. Two years later he calcined some of the gypsum and used it in plastering his cellar. For fourteen years, however, this valuable material remained unworked. It was as late as 1889 that a company was formed, principally of Salina men, with Judge J. H. Prescott as president, which resulted in the building of a mill at Gypsum City, and the manufacture of a high grade of gypsum plaster from the material. A few years later the Acme Cement Plaster Company was formed, with Mr. Watson, of Salina, as president. The Acme company bought the mill at Gypsum City and leased the mines and began operations on a large scale. It is reported that 7000 tons of plaster was shipped from this factory to Chicago during 1892, to be used in the erection of the buildings of the World's Fair.

About this time, or possibly a little earlier, Mr. Gotlieb Heller discovered a similar gypsum-earth deposit near Dillon, and he with Mr. L. Kefferlie purchased the rights of the deposit from John Linderman, paying for the same \$100 and a team of mules, and erected a one-kettle mill at that place, and manufactured the "Excelsior" brand of cement plaster. Shortly after this they discovered a similar deposit on the farm of Mr. John Rhodes, in the northern part of Marion county, some five or six miles south and a little west of Dillon. This latter deposit was sold to the Acme Cement Plaster Company, which built a mill and operated it in connection with their mill at Gypsum City, hauling the manufactured products to Dillon or Banner City for shipment.

Near the same time the Salina Cement Plaster Company was formed, with Mr. F. H. Quincy, of Salina, as president, and Messrs. Wellslager, Reece, Gebhard and Briggs as directors. They bought out the Heller company at Dillon, and manufactured what was known in commerce as "Agatite" cement plaster. Also, they came into possession of a similar deposit at Longford, in southwestern Clay county, where they erected a mill and made a similar grade of plaster, the product from the two mills being handled from the one office. This continued until the present year, when changes were made in the company, as mentioned later.

After selling the mill at Dillon, Mr. Heller discovered another deposit of gypsum earth three and a half miles southwest of Dillon, which was bought by a company organized in St. Joseph, Mo., with Mr. W. H. Carpenter as president, and Mr. Woodson and others as directors. This company erected a large mill, and manufactured plaster known as "Aluminite," the company being known at one time as the *Ætna* company, but later as the Aluminite company. The mills were shut down in 1896. In July, 1901, a new company was organized, with D. P. Thomas, of Kansas City, president. This company assumed the old name, the *Ætna Cement Plaster Company*, and began operations in October, 1901. In addition to making plaster from the gypsum earth, they also make whitening or plaster of Paris from rock gypsum, which they find in great abundance on their land a short distance under the surface. In drilling to a depth of 108 feet they report that no less than fifty-seven feet of gypsum was found, one bed of which was eighteen feet thick, lying seventy-eight feet below the surface.

The American Cement Plaster Company was organized in Lawrence, during the last half of 1898, with Mr. W. R. Stubbs, president; T. C. Scudder, secretary; and R. K. Moody, general manager. A two-kettle mill was built two and one-half miles northeast of Mulvane, which began operation in March, 1899, making the Eagle brand of gypsum cement plaster. The discovery of the deposit of gypsum earth at this place was made by Mr. A. W. Stubbs in a rather interesting manner. Some years before W. R. Stubbs purchased a farm at this place which was rented to his father. A cousin, A. W. Stubbs, went to Mulvane in 1891 to visit his uncle, and while there discovered gypsum earth on the Stubbs farm, and the farm adjoining it on the south, which was bought later by W. R. Stubbs before the plaster mill was erected. When the American Cement Plaster Company was organized it opened its head offices in Lawrence. A few months later Mr. Stubbs sold half of his interest to Messrs. A. and A. J. Henley,* of Lawrence, and still later sold his remaining half to Mr. T. A. Whitmore, of Chicago, who are the owners at the present time.

The Mulvane plant was successfully operated until about the middle of the year 1901, when it was closed. However, the company had secured large holdings of good gypsum-earth land at Quanah, Tex., at which place they are operating an extensive factory.

In 1896 Mr. Heller found a gypsum-earth deposit about five miles south of Burns, and in 1897 a company was formed, under the name of the Kansas Southern Cement Plaster Company, with Gotlieb Heller president, and Messrs. L. Kiefferlie, F. Kiefferlie, H. F. Brinkman and E. H. Bonesteel directors. The company built a mill at Burns in 1898 and began the manufacture of the "Samson" cement plaster, advertised with a picture of Samson breaking the lion's jaw as a trade-mark. In April, 1900, the name of the company was changed to the Samson Cement Plaster Company.

Some years ago a mill was built at Sun City, in the northwestern part of

*A. HENLEY was born near Newcastle, Ind., in 1854. He received a common- and high-school education. He left the farm and engaged in mercantile business at Ackley, Iowa, in 1870, and afterwards followed the same business in Marshalltown. In 1876 he drifted into the manufacture of wire. In 1878 he came to Kansas, settling in Lawrence, bringing with him four little barbed-wire hand machines. He took his kit of tools from his trunk and began work. Trouble with owners of patents came to him, and he spent twenty years fighting combinations and trusts. By his efforts wire was sold cheaper in this territory than in any other portion of the United States, but he was finally forced from his position, and the Lawrence Barb Wire Company, organized by him, had to sell. He then engaged in the manufacture of cement plaster. In 1888 he was elected mayor of Lawrence, and refused a second term. He was a member of the house of representatives two terms; in the session of 1889, being chairman of the ways and means committee. In 1900 he was elected to the state senate, of which body he is now a member.

Barber county, and plaster made for a short time, when the mill was shut down. Early in 1899 a new company was formed, with offices in Kansas City, which came into possession of the mill and mines, and began operations under the name of the Roman Cement Plaster Company.

A number of changes in ownership of cement properties were made during the year 1901. The Samson Cement Plaster Company, of Burns, was bought by Mr. A. D. Macky, of Lawrence, and is still being operated under the old name. The Salina Cement Plaster Company, which manufactured the Agatite brand at Dillon and Longford, changed hands, Messrs. A. and A. J. Henley, of Lawrence, and D. W. Mulvane, of Topeka, becoming the principal stockholders. A new board of directors was elected and the offices of the company moved to Lawrence, and business is being done practically under the same management as that of the American Cement Plaster Company. The mill at Dillon was closed and torn down, but the one at Longford is still in operation. Later in the year the Great Western Cement Plaster Company, of Blue Rapids, was bought outright by the Henley-Mulvane company, and offices moved to Lawrence, although the mill at Blue Rapids is still in operation and business is conducted under the old name.

The Kansas Cement Plaster Company, operating the mill at Hope, changed its name to that of Wymore Cement Plaster Company and moved its offices to Wymore, Neb. Rumors are current to the effect that still other changes will occur early in 1902 along the line of the general consolidation of many of the companies into one, but what the outcome will be cannot now be told.

The following tabulated statement represents the different companies, with location of offices and of mills, as they are in the state at the close of 1901:

Name of company.	Office.	Mills.
American Cement Plaster Company	Lawrence, Kan.....	Acme, Tex.
Salina Cement Plaster Company.....	Lawrence, Kan.....	{ Longford, Kan. Acme, Tex.
Great Western Cement Plaster Company	Lawrence, Kan.....	Blue Rapids, Kan.
Blue Rapids Cement Plaster Company.....	Blue Rapids, Kan.....	Blue Rapids, Kan.
Blue Valley Cement Plaster Company.....	Blue Rapids, Kan.....	Blue Rapids, Kan.
Wymore Cement Plaster Company.....	Wymore, Neb.....	Hope, Kan.
Etna Cement Plaster Company.....	Kansas City, Mo.....	Dillon, Kan.
Samson Cement Plaster Company.....	Burns, Kan.....	Burns, Kan.
Roman Cement Plaster Company	Kansas City, Mo.....	Springvale, Kan.

SOUTHWESTERN KANSAS.

An address delivered by T. A. McNEAL* before the Kansas State Historical Society, at its twenty-fifth annual meeting, January 15, 1901.

IF the state of Kansas was bisected by a line running through the center from east to west, and by another line running through the center from north to south, the point of intersection would be to the south and west of the center of Ellsworth county. Strictly speaking the southwest part of Kansas would be the territory lying between the east and west bisecting line and the south boundary of the state, and between the middle bisecting line and the west boundary of the state. This territory includes all of the counties of Barber, Pratt, Stafford,

*THOMAS A. McNEAL was born in Marion county, Ohio, October 14, 1853. He was a farmer and teacher in early life. He was educated at the Ohio Central College and at Oberlin, taking a classical course at Hinsdale, Mich. He settled in Barber county, Kansas, in March, 1879, and became interested in the Medicine Lodge *Cresset*. He served as mayor of Medicine Lodge. In 1887 he was a representative in the state legislature from Barber county. He removed to Topeka in 1894, where he still resides, the editor of the *Mail and Breeze*.

Pawnee, Edwards, Kiowa, Comanche, Clark, Ford, Hodgeman, Gray, Meade, Haskell, Finney, Kearny, Grant, Stevens, Morton, Stanton, Hamilton, and part of the counties of Ellsworth, Barton, Rush, Ness, Lane, Scott, Wichita, Greeley, Kingman, Reno, and Rice.

Physically southwestern Kansas varies from the slightly undulating and treeless plain to the surface broken by the often precipitous gypsum hills and deep canyons of Barber, Comanche, Kiowa and eastern Clark counties. There has been and probably is now an impression among the dwellers in the effete East that all of southwest Kansas presents a scene of treeless, dreary monotony, but this is a mistaken impression. There are in southwest Kansas plenty of landscapes that would please the artistic eye of the most fastidious painter. In the spring, after the grass has grown green and the trees are in full leaf, I know of no more charming scenic effects that can be witnessed from almost any point on the crest of the gypsum hills that overlook the Medicine valley. Skirted on either side by groves of elm and cottonwood, the shallow river appears from the point of view on the top of the gypsum hills like a broad ribbon of silver, as its waters gleam in the unclouded sunlight. It may not be generally known to those who have not visited this region that along the streams in the eastern part of southwest Kansas grow at least six varieties of timber in considerable profusion: cottonwood, elm, walnut, ash, hackberry, and mulberry. In former years there was a great deal of cedar, but the age of the post-hauler exhausted the most of this.

In prehistoric times there is no doubt that southwest Kansas was the bed of a vast inland sea, where the ichthyosaurus and various other saurusus sported in the warm and sun-kissed waters. The geological formations, showing the attrition of water, the vast numbers of fossils found in some parts of the country, all tell the story of an inland ocean that at one time probably covered most of the Mississippi valley and lapped with its waves the bases of the Rocky Mountains. In Barber county there are to be found even yet in certain localities large numbers of petrified oyster shells, showing that at some time the oyster made that region his habitat and stayed too long for his own good, as was the case with various other inhabitants of that prehistoric sea, whose petrified remains are still found, sometimes lying on the surface and sometimes buried in the soil or embedded in the rocks. This would seem to indicate that in prehistoric times, as now, hope sprang eternal in the breasts of the dwellers, even the fishes of southwest Kansas. No doubt, as the waters began to gradually decrease, the saurians and oysters cast anxious eyes about for signs of rain, but they did n't leave, feeling sure that while the season seemed unfavorable times would be better in the spring. Finally there was n't enough water left to get away on, and as a result of their faith in the outcome of the country the fishes, the saurians and the oysters left their remains to bleach on the unwatered sands at last. Later along in this paper I will call your attention to the fact that this same inclination to hang on and hope, carried to an extreme, has ruined many a human inhabitant of southwest Kansas, even as it ruined the oysters and fishes of prehistoric times.

The first written notice regarding southwest Kansas is found in the report of the travels of Coronado, in 1541, in search of the fabled Quivira and land of gold. Coronado's line of march ran through the counties of Barber, Pratt, Reno, and McPherson.* He found the sand-hill plums and wild mulberries which abounded in Barber county, and all along the line he found the crooked-backed cattle as thick as sheep in the mountain Serena, Spain. The plums Coronado referred to as prunes; they were about the first thing in the fruit line that he and his fol-

* See foot-notes on pages 43, 44, 45.

lowers had found on their trip, and the taste was pleasant to them. I have no question of doubt they filled up on these supposed prunes. This is the first account, so far as I know, of any one in Kansas getting full of prunes, but the precedent has been extensively followed since that time. For 330 years after the journey of Coronado, from which he returned a wiser but badly disappointed man, southwest Kansas continued to be the favorite feeding ground of the buffalo. In no other part of the country were the grasses sweeter or the waters of the rivers more palatable to the bison. To this day it can be said that after any kind of stock, that I have ever seen tried, has been permitted to drink of the waters of Medicine river and other streams in southwest Kansas whose waters are similar to the waters of the Medicine, that stock is never content to drink again of any other waters, and in no other country have I seen grasses that seemed to me to be more nutritive than the rich buffalo-grasses of southwest Kansas. As late as 1874, the crooked-backed cattle spoken of by Coronado were still so plentiful that an early resident told me he had stood on the top of Cedar mountain, in Barber county, from which point there is an uninterrupted view for at least twenty miles in every direction, and that so far as the eye could look there seemed to be a moving mass of buffalo. At a conservative estimate, the whole number that could be seen from that point was not less than two million.*

In view of the abundance of game in southwest Kansas, the salubrity of the climate, and the medicinal properties of the waters of the streams, it is not to be wondered at that the Indian tribes were loath to give up possession to the white man; that it was on the plains of southwest Kansas where the last and hardest battles were fought between the Anglo-Saxon and the red men; and it was fitting that in southwestern Kansas was held the last, greatest and most important peace council ever held in the United States.† Where is now located the town of Medicine Lodge was once the favorite gathering place of the red men. It was there that they gathered to hold their annual powwows, dances, and religious rites, and incidentally cleanse their systems by potations of Medicine river water or the still more searching fluid of Bitter creek.

In the early '70's speculators turned their eyes toward southwest Kansas as a fruitful field for plunder and an easy mark for the designs of the rascal. In the summer of 1874 the counties of Barber, Comanche, Ford and Ness were organized for bond-voting purposes. The law required that there should be at least 600 *bona fide* inhabitants in a county before organization. There may have been 600 genuine, *bona fide* inhabitants in all the counties named at that time; there was not the fourth of that number in any one county; but a paucity of inhabitants offered no serious obstacle to organizers, who were strangers to anything that resembled in the most remote degree a conscience. Old hotel registers were easy to obtain and names were soon copied by the enumerator. If the law had required 1000 inhabitants the enumerator would have found them; the only difference being, so far as he was concerned, the additional length of time required to copy the names. Men who lived in other states of the Union, who had never even contemplated a residence in the state of Kansas, much less in the southwest part of it, among the coyotes and buffalo, but who had happened at some time to inscribe their autographs on the hotel registers used by the enumerators of Barber and Comanche counties, would be surprised if they should sometime dig up the ancient records of the secretary of state of Kansas and find that

*For an estimate of buffaloes, see page 78.

†See volume VI of the Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society, page 344.

in the years 1873 and 1874 they were *bona fide* residents near the head waters of Bitter creek, in the county of Barber.

Immediately following the organization these financiers began to work the mine they had opened. They issued bonds on school districts that never had an existence except in the fertile imaginations of the scoundrels who issued the bonds; voted scrip to build bridges over streams that, except in times of sudden and heavy rains, did not carry sufficient moisture to make a respectable-sized dew-drop. They issued scrip by the thousands of dollars for the support of the poor, and there being no poor, they took it on themselves to represent the unfortunate citizens who were supposed in theory to reside in the county in a condition of abject and helpless poverty. Forty thousand dollars of debt was saddled on the county of Barber, and a like amount on the county of Comanche, ostensibly for the purpose of building court-houses in those counties, but never a brick was laid nor a foundation stone for either temple of justice. In the county of Barber \$100,000 in bonds were voted for a railroad that was supposed to begin somewhere in the neighborhood of the *aurora borealis* and terminate where it would collide with the tropic of Capricorn. As a matter of fact, the road originated in the minds of the boodlers and terminated in their pockets; and to this day the innocent inhabitants of those counties are paying the obligations created by this gang of as shameless scoundrels as ever cheated a halter.

When the few real inhabitants of the county of Barber found out what had been done they proceeded to try to right the things after the fashion of the bounding West. They captured the board of self-constituted and rascally commissioners and intimated that within a few brief moments they, the commissioners, would all be swinging from a convenient cottonwood. The mistake the committee of vengeance made was to allow those commissioners to talk. Kansas has never produced smoother or more seductive liars than the early organizers of county governments in the southwest. They did not claim that they were innocent; that would have simply irritated their captors and insulted their intelligence. They simply assured the committee of regulators that if they were let alone they would quietly leave the county. They intimated that if they were killed it would do the killers no good, and might get them into more or less trouble, while if they were let off there would be a chance to get back some of the stealings. The talk prevailed. The commissioners and county clerk were allowed to go away. They went, took with them the county seal, and, at the safe distance of Hutchinson, they organized themselves into a board and proceeded to issue thousands of dollars of fresh indebtedness against the county—obligations which the county, after years of weary and fruitless litigation, has been forced to assume. These organizers of fraudulent county governments had cheeks of brass and gall that passed understanding. One Andrew J. Mowrey, who had loaded on the school fund of the state thousands of utterly valueless bonds on mythical school districts in the fraudulent county of Comanche—districts that had neither schoolhouses nor children; districts in which there was no property, either personal or real, and whose only inhabitants were the buffalo, coyotes, prairie-dogs and rattlesnakes—had the hardihood to go to Topeka with a pretended certificate of election as representative of Comanche county. It is some little satisfaction to know that not one of the scoundrels who planned all this iniquity has ultimately prospered from his ill-gotten gains. At least two of them died in poverty and fugitives from justice, while the man who really planned the whole business has been a bankrupt for years, without credit or respect among his neighbors.*

*The legislature met in special session September 15, 1874, to consider the destitute condition of the settlers in the western counties on account of the grasshoppers. At this session a

After the first fraudulent organization of Barber, Comanche, Ford and Ness counties, it was nearly twelve years before the organization of other counties in southwest Kansas was attempted. With the boom there came a craze for settling the vacant lands in western Kansas. People got the insane notion into their heads that the rain belt had slipped some way, and extended out into Colorado. The legislature was asked to cut up the country into counties, as they are now; thousands of people immigrated to southwest Kansas and took up homesteads and timber claims. In the course of a single season, the number of inhabitants in the thirty-two counties embraced, in whole or in part, in the southwest quarter of Kansas, increased from a few thousand inhabitants to more than 250,000 people. Towns sprang up like magic, and each town was determined to have the latest improvements. Water-works, lighting plants and even street-car systems were common. In the future some archæologist, digging about the suburbs of one of these southwestern towns, will discover some scraps of iron and the half-petrified humerus of a defunct mule, and will begin to speculate on the number of ages that have elapsed since the possessor of the humerus was a living reality. He will be wrong, however. The things that he will find will be the relics of a once flourishing street-car system whose gilt-lettered bonds are still held in the vaults of some credulous Eastern capitalist or his descendants. The inhabitants of the new land were crazy to vote bonds on themselves for all conceivable purposes—school bonds, railroad bonds, court-house bonds; bonds for the purpose of raising funds to pay for digging holes in the earth; bonds to build sugar-mills; bonds to aid manufacturing enterprises. If some enthusiastic and glib conversationalist had come to one of those southwestern towns and asked a bonus as an inducement for him to erect a manufactory to make whistles out of pigs' tails he would undoubtedly have met with prompt encouragement.

The great industry of the southwest, however, was the making and unmaking of county-seats. If a new town could only become the county-seat its founders assumed that its future was assured. The county-seat established, the price of choice corner lots at once rose to \$5000 each, while the price of outlying lots ran up into the hundreds. The county-seat contest dwarfed all other interests; in its full glare, political, religious and social lines faded or became entirely obscured, even as the lesser lights become invisible in the heavens on account of the greater and overpowering light of the sun.

There was a peculiarity about a county-seat contest in that those who participated seemed to lose the power to distinguish between right and wrong. Moral obliquity became epidemic and fair dealing one of the lost arts. Men who had formerly been considered upright and reliable citizens, when once mixed up in a county-seat contest, would lie and cheat without any outward manifestations of contrition. They stuffed ballot-boxes with a shamelessness that excited the amazement of the disinterested spectator and without compunction or subsequent remorse, and adopted methods that would have put the ordinary highwayman to shame. It was a common practice to hire gangs of ruffians to assist one or the other of the contesting parties by discouraging the opposition from voting on the county-seat proposition. As one party would hire one of these gangs of desperadoes to look after its interests the friends of the rival town would employ the same tactics, and in that way dozens of notorious toughs and gamblers found

committee was appointed to investigate the condition of Barber, Comanche and Harper counties. The documents confirm the statements of Mr. McNeal. Attorney-general A. L. Williams advised the disorganization of Harper and Comanche, saying: "If this is done, the bond-brokers of these counties may be afforded an opportunity to become exemplary stone-breakers for a term of years under the watchful care of Warden Hopkins."

profitable and congenial occupation. As the contests warmed up, bare-faced fraud was accompanied or followed by violence and murder. During the two years in southwest Kansas when county-seat contests did most abound, not less than twenty men were shot to death on account of the contests, and on three different occasions the military forces of the state were called out to quell disorders with which the local authorities were either unable or unwilling to cope.

In view of present conditions and the value of property in many towns in southwestern Kansas, over which there was at one time hot and bloody contention, the person not familiar with the fever of speculation that was rife from 1886 to 1888 cannot understand the occasion for the bitter and conscienceless strife. He does not understand the intense fever that was stirred in the blood of men by hope and belief that a company of them, or possibly only one or two, could get together, take a tract of government land worth \$1.25 per acre and, simply platting it into lots and fastening on it the magic name of county seat, make it worth at once from \$1000 to \$3000 per acre. Southwestern Kansas county-seat boomers were a class of incipient millionaires—in their minds. The man among them who could not count his earthly possessions by the hundred thousand dollars' worth was not considered an individual of business push and gumption. The history of the world will show that the majority of men will fight harder for property than for personal rights, and that they will often fight harder for property whose value is largely imaginary and speculative than for value that is real and tangible. To these boomers the getting of the county-seat meant abundant wealth, as they firmly believed; and the losing of the county-seat meant financial ruin. For this reason they spent money to obtain the county-seat with lavish hand; they resorted to disreputable practices to win, and, as a final resort, they either participated in or connived at several varieties of heinous crime.

Traveling over southwest Kansas now, which section, by the way, is enjoying more real prosperity than it ever did before, one is struck with the short-sightedness and faulty judgment of men. Time has demonstrated what every thinking individual ought to have understood—that the town is a result and not a cause. Great towns cannot be built where the country does not justify and demand their building. Unless some system of irrigation not yet discovered can be put in operation in southwest Kansas, it cannot be anything except a grazing and stock-raising region, with sparse settlement and no demand for large towns. Hence the towns, even those which became county-seats, have shrunk both in size and value of property. A town once a county-seat, with three newspapers, a \$10,000 hotel, water-works, and lighted streets, has now almost entirely faded from the map. A single family now occupies what was formerly the pride of the town in the shape of a residence. The water-works and the \$10,000 hotel were abandoned long ago, and what few residences there are left in the town are vacant, except the single one mentioned, melancholy reminders of departed greatness and hopes unfulfilled. Corner lots that men were once ready to fight to the death over can now be had for the asking. Breaks in the sod mark the places where stood store buildings once spoken of by the local newspaper man as emporiums of trade. The merchant who kept the emporium left town some years ago with shattered finances to attempt somewhere else to recoup his fortunes; the newspaper man followed the merchant in search of other pastures. Desolation has taken the place of bustle and activity, and cattle carelessly graze on ground that was considered passing cheap at twenty-five dollars per front foot.

In southwest Kansas the era of wild and unreasonable speculation has passed. The present population, while comparatively limited, recognizes the purpose to which the country is adapted, and as a consequence the wealth per capita in southwest Kansas to-day is probably greater than in any other part of the great and prosperous state. Paupers and millionaires are alike unknown, while people in comfortable circumstances, with expanding herds of cattle, are the rule.

EXPOSITIONS IN THE HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF STATES AND PEOPLES.

An address by MISS MARY E. FROST, of Topeka, before the Kansas State Historical Society, at the twenty-fifth annual meeting, January 15, 1901.

"THOU shalt keep . . . the feast of harvest, the first fruits of thy labors, which thou hast sown in thy field: and the feast of ingathering, which is in the end of the year, when thou hast gathered in thy labors out of the field. . . . Thou shalt observe the feast of tabernacles seven days, after thou hast gathered in thy corn and thy wine: and thou shalt rejoice in thy feast, thou, and thy son, and thy daughter, and thy man servant, and thy maid servant, and the Levite, the stranger, and the fatherless, and the widow, that are within thy gates."

SO reads the divine proclamation of ancient Israel's harvest fair—the national exposition; a festival of thanksgiving, where all were to offer the tribute of praise to the Giver of all good; a festival of industry, in which both the fruits of the earth and the product of man's toil, both the corn and the wine, had part; a feast of progress, to be held every year anew, for each year's growth and increase; a feast of fraternity: priest and layman, master and servant, should dwell in booths together; a feast of hospitality: the stranger should be welcome; a feast of liberality: the widow and the fatherless also should have a place; a feast of beauty, wherein all should rejoice and be glad—thanksgiving, industry, progress, fraternity, hospitality, liberality, and beauty, the foundation principles upon which the exposition as an institution was, in the beginning, established.

But as, through commercial relations, the commercial instinct in man developed, the products of various tribes, peoples or cities were brought together, not for thanksgiving or even for purposes of exhibition, but rather for trade and gain; unless, indeed, it could be arranged (when in due time the festivals of the church played a great part in worldly affairs) that a fair should fall upon a saint's day, in which case it was considered a most worthy and fortunate thing to "kill two birds with one stone."

But in later days, since improved means of transportation and a highly developed commercial system have removed the occasion for these old-time fairs (except in some remote and sparsely settled districts), a partial return to first principles has come about. To trade and gain have been added industrial and social progress, civic and national liberality and hospitality, and the universal exposition has been evolved from the fair of the market-place.

The great industrial exposition—the exposition of landscape gardens; of broad avenues, white towers, and gilded domes; of courts, peristyles, and lagoons; of Eiffel towers, Ferris wheels, and midways—is a product of the lately departed nineteenth century, though the closing years of the eighteenth brought forth the first industrial exhibition of which an authentic record has been preserved. France, which from the beginning has been the great exhibitor among nations, was the first to bring forward this means of effecting industrial progress. This early exhibition, though very limited in scope—as was natural in the case of a first attempt—embracing only two or three branches of industry, was as yet a model of its kind. Established for a definite purpose, it was carried through in a thoroughly businesslike way and accomplished the definite, desired result. In 1797 the newly appointed commissioner of the royal manufactories of the Gobelins, Sevres and the Savournerie found that, while the storehouses of all three factories were full of the most beautiful wares, markets were so dull and business so decidedly unprofitable that the workmen were reduced to absolute

starvation. An exhibition of the products of these factories was projected, and held in the gardens and buildings of the *Maison d'Orsay*, in 1798. The missing link between supply and demand in this case, viz., the attention of the purchasing public, was hereby supplied. This immediate result, which had been definitely foreseen and for which the exhibition had been especially planned, was thus successfully accomplished, and a much larger and more far-reaching result, which had probably not been foreseen, was likewise brought about, for, owing to the success of this experiment, it was decided that another exhibition should be held, in the same year, under the authority of the government of France. Thus the system of expositions, which has had so large a part in the economic, social, scientific and industrial history of France, was established.

The original plan, as announced by the minister of the interior, was to hold thereafter annual exhibitions in Paris. Owing to some little governmental difficulties which have seemed really unavoidable with the French, it did not prove possible to carry out this plan. Within the century just past, Paris held fourteen great national and international expositions. The first plan would hardly have been practicable, even had the French government proved a little more like the far-famed laws of the Medes and Persians, for the exposition so increased in magnitude that it would soon have become impossible for even Paris to hold one every twelve months.

Among the Paris expositions, those of 1867, 1899 and 1900 are noteworthy for magnitude and for beauty, and in each of these the United States of America and the state of Kansas have had creditable part.

In France the exposition idea has had a fine field for experiment and development. France worked out the experiment, and has had marvelous success. Her excellence in manufacture, her eminence in scientific learning and in scientific invention, the national and social progress which she has been able to make against heavy odds, have been due in no small measure to the opportunities and the impetus offered by her great expositions.

The first international exhibition, though the international idea also originated with the French, was that of the Crystal palace, held in London, in 1851, under the management of a royal commission, and under the direct patronage of the prince consort.

Following, and in imitation of this, some citizens of our own country held a Crystal palace exhibition in New York in 1853. The enterprise was a private one, and therefore necessarily on a much smaller scale than its London predecessor, and, as it was coincident with a bad financial condition in New York, it was not financially successful, but as a display it was highly creditable.

In 1873 an exhibition was held in Vienna in which 42,584 exhibitors took part, 643 from the United States, in which number were some from the state of Kansas.

In our own land, the greatest of our expositions have been not only dedicated to progress but have been also commemorative of some great event, or some decisive step in national advancement.

The exposition of 1876 in grateful commemoration anew proclaimed "liberty throughout the land and to all the inhabitants thereof."

The World's Fair of 1893 paid a world-wide tribute to the memory of Christopher Columbus and gave an impetus to the study of the beginnings of our history which enriched our literature for all time.

The Louisiana Cotton Exposition, of 1884, celebrated the centennial anniversary of the first shipment of American cotton from our ports.

The idea of commemoration, when it has been present, has been one most inspiring object of expositions, but it has not been present in all cases, and as it is the rule of progress and civilization, Janus-like, always to look forward as well as back, it has never been the sole object in the mind of the promoters of a great exposition. Financial advancement, a motive which is so largely concerned in our modern life, is one which has a perfectly legitimate part in the promotion of expositions; not that the intention, or even the hope, has been that the exposition should prove an actual and direct money-maker—that the proceeds of the exposition, in cold cash, should exceed what it actually cost. If so, then most exhibitions have been failures; but that the way of the almighty dollar should be made a little smoother and a little wider, some oil should be poured on the great wheels of commerce, the products of labor should find more ready market, new economic avenues should be opened. If so, the exposition, though in a few instances one has appeared upon the scene just in time to serve as a scapegoat for the various elements that go to make up a bad economic condition, has, in general, been successful.

To represent the present state of modern civilization and the entire sphere of national economy and to promote its further development and progress was the aim of the Vienna Exposition, as proclaimed in the imperial decree of 1870, expresses in general terms, the object of great expositions. Progress in all lines of human activity, that watchword of civilization, has been the impulse and the result of the exposition institution. Note the following extract from an address by Judge Daly, delivered before the American Institute in the year 1863:

“The French writers attribute the wonderful progress of French industry to four causes: First, the diffusion of knowledge, scientific and practical, among the working classes, through the establishment of free local libraries, museums, drawing schools, and other means of practical instruction; second, inventions and discoveries; third, the repeal of restrictive laws; and lastly, the effect of the great industrial expositions. The effect of these expositions may be briefly stated. They have focalized the industry of the country, by bringing it under view as one spectacle, thus enabling all to know, from time to time, the exact state of it. They have afforded means of comparison which did not previously exist, not only to those engaged in a particular pursuit, but also to those employed in those pursuits which act reciprocally upon each other. They have created a mutual interest between the man of science, the manufacturer, the capitalist, and the working classes. The intelligent criticism to which they have given rise in the various industrial journals, not only from scientific men, but from manufacturers and workmen, has been of the greatest benefit. Their regular recurrence has kept up a spirit of emulation, in the desire to purchase something better and cheaper than before. They have served as a means of advertising new or superior productions, upon a scale the most extensive; and have led to the gradual development of the business theory of large sales and small profits. They have stimulated inventors, by keeping up the constant desire for new discoveries, improved methods, and better machinery; and lastly, they have dignified labor by giving it something more to struggle for than mere pecuniary compensation.”

The exposition has been an educator, not only in science, in invention, in sociology and economics, but in the finer arts, not only in the eminently practical, but in the so-called esthetic, which is none the less useful, and which is none the less needed in the full development of life. “A thing of beauty is a joy forever.” If the “white city” of 1893 had shown nothing but the dazzling purity of its walls, the classic symmetry of its towers and colonnades, the glory of its illumined fountains and its glittering domes—if it had taught no other lesson than

some slight sense of the vital connection between truth and beauty, some feeling of responsiveness to perfection in lines and curve and tint, some appreciation of the usefulness of beauty, it would yet have been a priceless boon to us and our generation. The ugly is not necessarily the practical.

The American people need lose no jot of their practical, western energy, of self-respecting democracy or a Puritan inheritance of the sterner virtues to learn what we have not yet learned, reverence; yes, the word is none too big, reverence for what is beautiful.

At the Paris exposition of 1867 Kansas took her place among the exhibitors of the world; a place which since that time has never been vacant in any exposition of the first class. By official representation, or through the enterprise of Kansas institutions, or the efforts of her public-spirited citizens, this place has been creditably filled. In Paris in 1867 the state of Kansas was officially represented. The legislature of that year authorized a commission and appropriated \$2500 for the purpose of representing Kansas at this exposition by appropriate exhibits. At Vienna, in 1873, exhibits were to be found from our neighboring towns of Wyandotte and Leavenworth. For our Centennial, in 1876, \$30,000 of state funds was appropriated for the purpose of representing the state, and the exhibits embraced farm and garden products, fruits, various manufactures, and specimens in the departments of forestry, zoology, ornithology, entomology, and geology.

In 1893 the appropriation of the legislature was \$65,000 (of which only \$43,764.02 was used), and the centennial list of exhibits was increased by displays of live stock, mining and dairy products, by exhibits made by the leading educational institutions of the state, and many unique features, as most Kansans well remember.

At the Transmississippi and International Exposition, held at Omaha in 1898, Kansas gave proof that she had made no backward step in the half decade in any of her many lines of production, while her live stock and fine dairy and creamery exhibits especially bore witness to great advancement in newer fields of industry.

The Paris exposition of 1900, but lately closed, brought added fame to the Kansas apple and Kansas corn.

Full reports of all the work of Kansas in the exposition world are not available, but from those at hand it is evident that beneficial results have been effected by such work along at least three distinct and definite lines: (1) By opportunities afforded for comparison and judiciously encouraged competition, improved methods of production and manufacture have been introduced, and accordingly better products have been made possible. The principles upon which expositions are founded naturally tend to such results, and that the results have been accomplished the ever-increasing extent and excellence of Kansas exhibits testify. (2) The preparation of displays has caused a valuable diffusion of knowledge of the state's resources within the state itself; has aroused interest in the achievements and the possibilities of our various departments of business activity; has shown wherein we have come short of those possibilities. (3) And it is none the less to our advantage that others should know us, and the exposition has afforded a means of "setting our light upon a hill." The state of Kansas received honorable mention in the catalogue of the Paris exposition of 1867, a catalogue which was published in several different languages. Of Kansas at the Centennial, says the report of our commission: "Most of the 8000 American and 400 foreign journals gave complimentary notices." The "Annual Encyclopedia" for 1881, a compilation of the information regarded as valuable concerning the im-

portant events of that year, contains flattering mention of the exhibit of Kansas grain and fruit at the Atlanta Cotton Exposition. At regular advertising rates, Kansas has almost had her money's worth. However, in this direction, there has been much to overcome, and the work is not done yet. But the outlook is encouraging, and if all opportunities be embraced for continuing the good work, the time may come when the world, or at least our own countrymen, will know us as we are and not as an ignorant romanticism and too sensational journalism have conspired to paint us.

Never in the history of Kansas has there been a time so ripe for the holding of a great exposition upon her own soil. Many times she has been a guest; now she is ready to act as host. Her recent prosperity and the marvelous expansion of her industries merit a celebration. Never had she so much in which to rejoice or so much to show. In 1904, the fiftieth anniversary year of the organization of Kansas as a territory, she will have an occasion for such a celebration as comes not often in the history of states.* Not to us alone will this anniversary bring stirring memories, for the whole land and the progress of freedom everywhere were vitally involved in the bitter struggle which attended the organization of this territory. But Kansas soil was baptized with heroes' blood, and to Kansas history belong the glorious annals of those crucial days, and to Kansas belong the privilege and the duty of honoring those who fought for her freedom in the '50's, and, with them, the band of unknown heroes who, through the long half-century, have waged a warfare none the easier because it has been bloodless; who, with undaunted courage and tireless persistence, have, one by one, struck off shackles which neither the border wars nor the emancipation proclamation could touch, until the desert is blooming into perennial flower, and the wilderness has been redeemed—to stay.

The principles of the great exposition in the ideal have been touched in reality, but only touched, for they are infinite. As new lands develop there is ever-increasing opportunity for the feast of thanksgiving, progress, industry, fraternity, hospitality, liberality and beauty to offer to its day and generation its memorial and its tribute, and to divine providence its praise and prayer.

“For art and labor met in truce,
For beauty made the bride of use,
We thank Thee, while withal we crave
The austere virtues, strong to save;
The honor, proof to place or gold,
The manhood never bought or sold.

“Oh, make us, through the centuries long,
In peace secure, in justice strong;
Around our gift of freedom draw
The safeguards of Thy righteous law;
And, cast in some diviner mold,
Let the new cycle shame the old.”

*A company was organized, known as the Kansas Semicentennial Exposition Company, with John E. Frost, president; H. M. Phillips, secretary; and F. D. Coburn, treasurer. The purpose was to celebrate, in 1904, the fiftieth anniversary of the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill of May 30, 1854, organizing the territory of Kansas. The legislature of 1901 was asked to appropriate \$300,000 to aid an exposition to be held at Topeka; but the measure failed, as did also the move for assistance to the Buffalo Exposition, the legislature preferring the Louisiana Exposition, at St. Louis.

RECOLLECTIONS OF FORT RILEY.

An address delivered by PERCIVAL G. LOWE* before the Kansas State Historical Society, at its twenty-fifth annual meeting, January 15, 1901.

LATE in the fall of 1852, Maj. R. H. Chilton, with his troop B, First dragoons, of which I was then first sergeant, escorted Maj. E. A. Ogden from Fort Leavenworth on an expedition to locate a new military post in the vicinity of the forks of the Kansas river—the confluence of the Smoky Hill and Republican. The site selected was afterwards named Fort Riley, now one of the finest military posts in America. Some buildings were erected in 1853 and 1854, most of them temporary, and the post was garrisoned by infantry. I quote the following from an address delivered by me before the State Historical Society, January 14, 1890: "Of all charming and fascinating portions of our country, probably there is none where nature has been so lavish as within a radius of 150 miles, taking Fort Riley as the center. In rich soil, building material, in beauty of landscape, wooded streams and bubbling springs, in animal life, in everything to charm the eye, gladden the heart, and yield to the industry of man, here was the climax of the most extravagant dream, perfect in all its wild beauty and productiveness; perfect in all that nature's God could hand down to man for his improvement and happiness."†

The congress that adjourned March 4, 1855, made an appropriation for preparing Fort Riley for a cavalry post by erecting new quarters, stables for five troops of cavalry, storehouses, etc., the plans of which were prepared in Washington; and Maj. E. A. Ogden, quartermaster, U. S. A., was ordered to take charge of the work. The buildings were all to be of stone, to be taken from quarries in the vicinity of the post. The major made contracts with Sawyer & McIlvain—or McIlwain—of Cincinnati, for the necessary woodwork, doors and frames, window-sash, etc., to be made at the factory in Cincinnati and shipped, with the necessary lumber, hardware, glass, etc., by boat to Fort Leavenworth, and thence by wagon to Fort Riley. Mr. Sawyer was employed as architect and superintendent. I was post wagon-master at Fort Leavenworth when the order came to furnish transportation for the men to Fort Riley, and a request from Major Ogden that I be placed in charge of it. With fifty six-mule teams, I met, on the Fort Leavenworth levee, about 500 men, mechanics, laborers, etc., just landing from steamboats, and camped them in Salt Creek valley. Excepting a few Mexican war veterans, none of these men had ever been in camp. They

*PERCIVAL G. LOWE was born at Randolph, Coos county, New Hampshire, September 29, 1828. His ancestors were active participants in the revolution and the war of 1812. He began life as a newsboy at the age of fourteen, and at sixteen shipped as a sailor, spending three years, filled with thrilling experiences, before the mast. From 1846 to 1854 he was a soldier in the First United States dragoons, campaigning against Indians from the North Platte to Mexico, and from the Missouri to the Rocky Mountains, the last half of this service as first sergeant of troop B. He was then for six years in the quartermaster's department. He organized trains for the Utah expedition in 1858. From 1859 to 1862 he was a merchant in Denver and a freighter across the plains. He was engaged in overland freight business until 1873. Since 1877 he has devoted himself to farming and stock. He served two terms as sheriff of Leavenworth county; was president of the city council, member of the school board of Leavenworth, and represented Leavenworth county in the state senate from 1885 to 1889. He has always been an ardent friend of the State Historical Society, serving as its president in 1893. He still lives, in Leavenworth.

† "Kansas, as Seen in the Indian Territory," an historical address by CAPTAIN LOWE. See page 360, volume IV, of the Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society.

were just from their homes in Cincinnati or St. Louis, and, as a large percentage of them were married men, this was a novel experience for them. Fortunately the day was fine and we got into camp early.

Without incident of much importance we arrived at Riley in four days, without a storm or other serious discomfort. The men cheerfully walked, turn about, in order to make time and get permanently settled. All were located in quarters or camped under canvas, and work in all branches commenced the first week in July. Excavations for foundations, quarrying rock, burning lime, making brick, cutting wood for burning them, hauling rock, sand, wood, etc., burning charcoal—in short, in a few days all of the gangs of mechanics and laborers were adjusted to their work and everything was moving as smoothly as possible. The messing was the most important and the most difficult feature. Some cooks had been brought, but most of them had much to learn about cooking in camp. The carpenters seemed to get along the best, and were from first to last a fine lot of men and gave no trouble. It fell to my lot, under Major Ogden's instructions, to look generally after all the camps, and from my experience to advise the cooks about preparing the food—the same as allowed to soldiers—and to see that the camps were well located.

By the end of July a kiln each of brick, lime and charcoal had been burned, and one two-story stone building finished, except hanging the doors and putting in the windows, and a number of others well under way. This completed building was taken possession of for offices, and two iron safes containing the funds for paying the men were put in the front room. By contract, the men hired to work until the 15th of November, and were to be paid half their wages at the end of each month and the balance at the end of the time for which they were hired. They were then to be returned by wagon to Fort Leavenworth, and thence by boat to St. Louis and Cincinnati, whence they came.

Major Ogden, on horseback or on foot, was conspicuous for his general supervision of everything, ready to call attention to any neglect of work that did not seem to be going on to the best advantage, and in that one month of July I learned more than I ever have during the same length of time. There was very little friction, as the major's experience with men and material was extensive, and his well-directed energy and good judgment made all of the departments move as nearly in harmony as was possible among men suddenly taken into camp from their city homes. More than half of them lived in tents. The teamsters probably lived better than any other class of men on the work, as they were accustomed to camp life; some had served in the army, and were therefore fairly well disciplined and well versed in cooking government rations. Towards the end of the month a few men became ill, and one or two men died of what was undoubtedly cholera. All hands received their half-month's pay on the 1st of August, and that evening Major Ogden and I rode from camp to camp inspecting all the messes and the manner of living. He talked freely and cheerfully, notwithstanding the feeling of unrest caused by the few cases of sickness, which had been promptly sent to the hospital. He dwelt carefully upon all the details and expressed the opinion that there would be little danger of cholera if the men lived well. He entered into the matter with his usual gentle earnestness, and restored courage and confidence in many whose homes and friends were far away. But this was his last effort; the last cheering words to the men he had brought to this new territory to build what was then considered a great military post. We also went through all of the quarters occupied by the men, accompanied by Mr. Sawyer, in whom the mechanics had great confidence.

When Major Ogden arrived to build the post, all of the troops had left for the

summer's campaign on the plains, so that of the military there was left only the army surgeon, Doctor Simmons, Chaplain Clarkson, Bandmaster Jackson, and a few other members of the band of the Sixth infantry, the hospital steward, whose name I am sorry I do not remember, and a young soldier whose term of service would expire in a couple of months. He acted as orderly for the major. During the night of the 1st of August cholera developed rapidly. The morning of the 2d dawned on a camp in great anxiety and distress. Major Ogden had been taken sick and, although every effort was made to keep this information from spreading, it flew like wildfire and caused a panic. A burial party and a gang of men to dig graves were organized. Several died that day. Work was generally suspended, though Sawyer tried to keep men at work, and a few did work, without stopping. I have no idea how many men were sick, but much of the illness was caused by mental anxiety. The slightest indisposition was attributed to cholera, and often resulted in bringing it on. All sorts of wild reports were afloat, and a stranger coming in would think half the garrison in a dying condition, everything was so exaggerated. Sawyer and Hopkins, the chief clerk, gave special attention to Major Ogden. Martin, whose business it was to keep the men's time, mingled with them in camp and quarters, including the hospital, and gave much attention to burying the dead and nursing the sick. I never saw a cooler or more intelligently nervy man.

I moved all the teams four miles up the Republican river to a fine, dry camp, partly for the safety of the men and partly to prevent mules being stolen to ride away on, several having been already taken. I instructed men not to leave camp or allow any one to approach it; built a corral of the wagons for present use; gave orders to corral the mules every night, and set the men to cutting cottonwood poles and building a large corral, which was needed. I knew that the distress was great enough to justify sending an express to Fort Leavenworth for medical assistance. The doctor was utterly unable to meet the demands upon him, and I told Mr. Orton, a wagon-master, to report to me, ready to go, and mounted on his best mule, but not to let any one know that he was going. I called to see Major Ogden in the fore part of the evening. There was no hope for him. Sawyer and Hopkins knew it, and asked me for a reliable man to carry letters to Fort Leavenworth. I told them that Mr. Orton was ready, and that I had selected him, much as I disliked to part with him, because I knew he would get there as quickly as it was possible to go. He left about ten P. M., August 2, and delivered his letters at Fort Leavenworth about two P. M., August 4, having ridden 130 miles on one mule in forty hours. He fed himself and mule several times, but did not sleep.

After Orton had gone, I went to the hospital with Martin. Sawyer had appointed nurses, with promise of extraordinary pay, and they seemed to be trying to do their best, but all the sick had not been brought there. Many were in the camps. The hospital steward was a good man, and stuck to his post cheerfully, but the doctor seemed to have given up, and had not been seen about the sick since morning. Murmuring and discontent were general, and it was known that many men had gone—struck off down the road on foot. About midnight Martin promised to keep moving about if I would lie down awhile, which I did on a buffalo-robe in the office where the safes were. I had scarcely closed my eyes when I heard groans in the room next to me. I looked in and found Hopkins in great agony, with a bad case of cholera. Two men were doing their best for him. I stayed with him a few minutes and then went to the steward, at the hospital, who gave me some brandy. On my way back I called at the doctor's quarters. He came to the door himself. I told him of Mr. Hopkins's illness, and asked if

he could go and see him. I saw that he was nearly a physical and mental wreck. He shook his head sadly and said, while he shoved up his sleeves and rubbed his arms and hands: "Mr. Lowe, I am unstrung—unfit for anything. I want to take my family to St. Mary's mission. I wish you would send me an ambulance. I want to get off as quickly as possible." I told him I had no ambulance under my immediate charge—in fact, there was not then an ambulance at the post. I returned to Hopkins with the brandy, and then went to Major Ogden's quarters. Sawyer was about receiving his last message to his wife. "Tell her," he said, "that I appreciated her love to the last."

The distress on August 2 was as nothing compared with the horrors of the 3d. Brevet Major Wood had gone to Fort Kearney with his company, leaving his wife and two children. All had cholera. Brevet Major Armistead, afterwards Major General Armistead of the Confederate army, had gone up the Smoky Hill with his company, leaving his wife and two children. His wife had cholera. Additional cases were noted all over the post. Thus the morning of the 3d opened. An ambulance had gone after Major Armistead. Reverend Mr. Clarkson, the post chaplain, with his wife and niece, were the only nurses for Mrs. Wood and her two children and Mrs. Armistead. I never saw braver or more devoted nurses and friends than the Clarksons. They took Mrs. Armistead's two children home, and did everything that could be done for the others. But Mrs. Wood and her two children and Mrs. Armistead died during the day. Mr. Sawyer wanted to use the messenger—the young soldier acting orderly for the major—but I found him in the room over the office where I had tried to sleep, dying of cholera. Sawyer procured the lead linings from the tea caddies in the commissary, and had Major Ogden's coffin made air-tight.

Fifteen in all died on the 3d of August—Major Ogden, Mrs. Armistead, Mrs. Wood and two children, the major's orderly, and nine workmen. A few men were at work all the time, and Mr. Sawyer encouraged them to continue, but their surroundings were distracting. A delegation waited on Mr. Sawyer and earnestly insisted that the balance due them should be paid and they allowed to go. Sawyer explained to them that, even if they were entitled to more pay, it could not be given to them, as there was no one to pay them, and the money was locked up in the safe, which could not be opened. A little after noon I galloped off to my camp on the Republican, found everything all right, and no sickness among the fifty men there. I did not dismount, nor did I allow any one to come near me. I returned to the post about three o'clock, and saw Mr. Sawyer and Rev. Mr. Clarkson sitting on the latter's front porch looking at a band of men in the middle of the parade-ground. Sawyer called to me, and I hitched my horse and joined them on the porch. Mr. Clarkson made the following statement: "Mr. Robert Wilson, the post sutler, who had a very large stock of goods in his store, had locked up everything and taken his family away in the morning, accompanied by one of Major Ogden's clerks. Soon after I left, about one o'clock, the store was broken into by a gang of men, some goods scattered about, a barrel of whisky rolled out, a head knocked in, and, with tin cups, the men helped themselves. When well liquored up, led by a big stone-mason, some of them broke open the building used for the post ordnance department, and armed themselves with guns, pistols, and ammunition."

And there they were, in a half-drunken condition on the parade-ground, airing their grievances, threatening to break open the safes and pay themselves, etc. But a small portion of the revelers armed themselves, about twenty-five, and they formed a circle, with their leader inside, while all sorts, drunk and sober, looked on. We could hear plainly most that was said, and they meant

that we should hear; and, if carried out, it looked serious. A committee headed by this fellow had waited upon Sawyer before they broke into the sutler's store and demanded the pay they claimed was due them. Sawyer was a man of good courage, but of quiet disposition, and not a very strong man. Seeing the apparent determination of the fellow and his following, Sawyer parleyed a little, and said that when I came we would consult about it. The man said that if I did not come d—d quick they would n't wait. And this violent demonstration on the parade-ground seemed to be a warning to accede to their demand. Of course, Sawyer's reference to me was a mere ruse to gain time and form some plan of action. I suggested that I go and talk to the men, since my name had been mentioned. I knew the leader pretty well, and thought he would listen to me; at any rate I might check him up until we had a little more time, and perhaps bridge over until he would sober up. I never was more anxious for a good company of soldiers under a good officer.

Sawyer rather demurred at my trying to pacify these men—it was against his judgment, and might precipitate trouble. I assured him that I would not make matters worse. The day was exceedingly hot and I took Sawyer's umbrella. As I approached, I saw that most of this valiant chief's followers were hopelessly drunk. The leader stood in the center of the crowd flourishing a pistol, which was apparently cocked. A drunken man noticed me, and cried out, "Hurrah for the mounted chief," a name given me, and by which I was generally referred to, because I was always moving about pretty lively on horseback, while others in charge of work or exercising any authority were on foot. I stepped into the circle and said to the leader, "What is the matter, Mr. —?" Quick as lightning he sprang back and leveled his pistol, and if it had been at full cock I would have been shot. Up to this time I had no definite plan of action—had no arms and no fixed notion of what I would do. Whatever I did dawned upon me instantly. The violent threats of the man caused me to act—the impulse was irresistible. Dropping the umbrella, I seized his pistol, gave him a trip and a quick jerk, and his huge body fell so heavily that the breath was knocked out of him. I had his pistol and threatened to kill him if he moved. As soon as he could get breath he begged for his life. The crowd seemed dumb. With my left hand I jerked a gun from the nearest man, who was so drunk that he fell over. Throwing the gun on the ground, I told the others to pile their guns and pistols on it. I never saw an order more promptly obeyed.

The mutiny, or rebellion, so far as these men were concerned, was over. I called to a lot of carpenters and asked them to carry the guns and pistols to the quartermaster's office, which they did, and put them by the two iron safes. Quite a quantity of ammunition was disgorged by the disarmed men, and a ridiculous part of it was that much of it was not suitable for the arms they had. But few of the guns were properly loaded, and some not at all. It was a drunken outfit all around. I said but little to them beyond the plain and emphatic statement that no government property should be molested; no noise or drunken rioting would be permitted; no misbehavior of any kind; and the man who broke one of these rules would do so at his peril, for henceforth the line was drawn, and this was to be considered a notice to all bad men. While I believed that nine-tenths of all men employed would do their best in this trying time, I exhorted them to stand by and help each other. The fallen and bruised leader protested his sorrow, laying it all to whisky. The indignation expressed by many good men reached the manhood that was trying to assert itself through the fumes of the whisky he had taken. He was a foreman, a fine workman, came to Mr. Sawyer highly recommended, and had a respectable family in Cin-

cinnati. The terrible condition so demoralized him that, with the heat and whisky, he became crazed. I learned afterwards that he had no hand in breaking into the store, but drank freely when he found the whisky. There had to be a severe check somewhere, to set the reckless element to thinking, and bring the better element to the front and establish leaders.

This was the turning-point. It happened oddly enough, but was effective. Men of different trades organized themselves into squads to keep good order and to assist each other. Nurses volunteered for the hospital and in the camps. Voluntary help came pouring in, though I found that many men had left the post. There was no way of stopping them, and under the circumstances perhaps it was well that they should go. But where could they go? There was no settlement in the immediate country. There was one family at the bridge across the Little Blue, nineteen miles east, and the Catholic mission and Pottawatomie village of St. Mary's,* fifty-two miles east, where good Father Duerinck had established a college and was gathering in the young Pottawatomes and teaching them, with admirable success, to become good citizens. Here Mrs. Bertram kept the only hotel worth the name between Riley and Leavenworth. Captain Alley's store at Silver Lake, the Pottawatomie homes, and the eating place at Hickory Point, finishes the list of settlements, save here and there at long intervals a squatter's shanty. (I do not say cabin, because that indicates a home built of logs, with a fireplace, where warmth, comfort and contentment abound in winter and cool restfulness in summer.) Such houses did exist at long intervals along the streams, but seldom on the high prairie. A shanty, boarded up and down, with a stovepipe through the roof, was the rule, and a decent man ought to have died alone rather than intrude himself on one of these poor families, under the circumstances.

A small steamboat had run up the Kaw to Manhattan, twenty miles east of Riley. (At the time I write of I had not seen Manhattan, and do not know what settlements were there.) A lot of the stampeters from Riley took possession of her and ran down the river for a few miles, got aground, and had to leave her. Martin told me of a raft of logs down in the river, tied to some trees. He learned that the men who had made the raft were waiting for night, when they would cover it with lumber from a pile of pine flooring near by. I went with him, cut all the ropes, and set the logs floating singly down the river. This saved the lumber. The men probably deserted.

Major Armistead's quarters were the second west of the quartermaster's office. Mrs. Clarkson and her niece had prepared the body of Mrs. Armistead for burial, but it was not to be coffined until the major's arrival. Entering the hall through the door from the south porch, one walked about ten feet north and entered a room through a door on the left. At the left of the door stood a bed, with head to the east. From the mantel at the west end of the room a candle shed a dim light over the room and the bed, on which lay Mrs. Armistead, the white bedclothes covering her as if asleep. Her face was not covered, and to one standing a little way from the bed she seemed to be sleeping peacefully, and no one not cognizant of the fact would have thought her dead—a lovely picture of a lovely woman. Mr. Clarkson informed me that his wife and niece were worn out, but would attend to Mrs. Wood's quarters, where she and her children

* St. Mary's mission, among the Pottawatomes, was originally established on Sugar creek, in Miami county, in July, 1841, by Father Christian Hoeken. When the tribe was removed to the reservation in northern Kansas, in the fall of 1847, the mission was transferred to the Kansas valley, and in the spring of 1848 permanently located at the present site, under the charge of Father Maurice Gailland. Father John B. Duerinck came to the mission in 1849. It continued as a mission school up to 1869.

were confined, ready for burial in the morning, and he asked me to take charge of the Armistead quarters, which I promised to do.

Counting the time that the ambulance had been gone, I expected the major some time before midnight. I knew that the faithful driver, K. B. Cecil, now a wealthy farmer of Platte county, Missouri, would spare no effort to bring him quickly. About ten o'clock I heard an ambulance rattling over the stony road, knew it was the major, and dreaded to meet him. As the ambulance stopped at the porch, I opened the door and the major sprang out, shook my hand, and inquired: "How about my family." I hesitated a little, which he interpreted as a bad omen and continued: "Are they all gone—wife, children, and all?" No, major, said I, your children are safe at Mr. Clarkson's. He said no more then. Taking hold of his left arm, we walked to and stepped inside the room. Taking off his hat, he cried out: "Oh, my poor wife! oh, my poor wife!" The agony of that minute during which he gazed on her was terrible. I led him gently away. When on the porch he said: "I will take my children on the plains with me. I will try to take them away to-morrow." I assured him that I would have his quarters cared for, and he went to Mr. Clarkson's, where his children, a boy and a girl, were located. Martin came to me about midnight, said he had gotten quite a nap, and would relieve me. I went to the office, put an unhung door on the two iron safes, two robes on that, and tried to sleep. I did not fear an attack on the safes, though I was well prepared for it. For two days and nights I had scarcely closed my eyes. I thought I had seen enough suffering and wickedness in this one day to haunt me a lifetime. In the room overhead was the dead soldier; Hopkins, in a critical condition, was in the adjoining room; Major Ogden, Mrs. Armistead, Mrs. Wood and her two children were dead—all within a short distance of each other. Others were still unburied and an additional one reported dead from time to time. Several new cases were reported to me while at Major Armistead's quarters. At the rate of increase the outlook was alarming.

How good comes of evil was illustrated here. The outrage of breaking into the sutler's store and of taking arms from the ordnance building created great excitement throughout the post. Disarming the rioters and their probable immediate departure soon after relieved the minds of the better element, gave new courage, cemented a brotherhood among those remaining, and created a determination to help—to assist instead of destroy; and I have always believed that if I had met nothing but the continued distress prevailing I should have collapsed. But this exciting episode cleared my head, stirred my energies to greater action, and many others were similarly affected.

I had not slept long when I was aroused by some loose animals rubbing against the front porch. It was three o'clock by my watch. I was surprised that I slept at all. I looked in at Hopkins and found him sleeping, and his nurse thought him better. I then went over to the Armistead quarters. Martin had fastened the door leading from the hall into Mrs. A.'s room, and he lay asleep in the hall. I mounted my horse, rode to my own tent, where the cavalry stables now stand, and got breakfast. I then went over to the hospital. The dead were being confined and carried out, while others took their places. Heroic efforts were being made to keep the hospital and bedding clean. Mr. Sawyer had made the best arrangements possible, under the circumstances, for nursing, washing, cleaning quarters, etc., and it was a surprise to me how well the attendants did. To change bedding and attend to the necessities of a long room full of men in the agonies of the fatal disease required attentive and intelligent work. Burial parties were under way, and I rode over to the cemetery and found

the grave-diggers already at work under a foreman. I am writing now of the morning of the 4th of August. The doctor and his family had gone; fifteen had died on the 3d, and probably fifty were under treatment.

In writing this I would like to refer less frequently to myself, but I only tell what came under my own observation—what I saw or knew of. I went to Mr. Sawyer, and reported the status of affairs as I saw them. He and Martin would attend to the burial of the major, Mrs. Armistead, Mrs. Wood, and her two children. Leaving Sawyer, I went to the dispensary in the hospital to get from the steward a bottle each of brandy and port wine to carry with me on my rounds among the camps. The steward introduced me to a young man who had just come in on horseback, Doctor Whitehorn. He came from Dyer's bridge, nineteen miles east, near which he had a claim. For fear of doubts of his being a doctor, he was showing the steward his diploma and other testimonials, including a letter from Mr. Dyer. He was a light-built, wiry, sunburned youth, and carried on his saddle the old-fashioned doctor's saddle-bags. I told him that Mr. Sawyer was now at the head of affairs, but that I would introduce him and then show him around, which I did, and he was warmly welcomed. Cholera was a new disease to the doctor, and he was very young; but he was cool, quiet, self-reliant, intelligent, and possessed good judgment. When he entered the hospital, word passed from one to another, "We have a doctor," and this had a good effect. He soon impressed them very favorably. A spoonful of brandy or port wine by the doctor's order would do more good than from me. I spent the forenoon with him, and showed him the quarters, camps, etc.

I then rode to my teamster camp on the Republican during the afternoon and found all well. Towards evening, while riding around, I stopped to talk with a young stone-cutter from St. Louis. I had often talked with him and liked him. Major Armistead had selected a stone to be put up at his wife's grave, and this young man was cutting the letters and figures on it. He seemed well and said that he felt so, but he was not as cheerful as usual and I tried to encourage him. The next morning this handsome young fellow joined those on the side of the hill beyond the deep ravine. I mention this instance to show how suddenly and unexpectedly the strongest and best were taken away. I do not know just how many died this day, but about the same number as on August 3. Miss Fox, step-daughter of Forage Master Lowe, was among those who died on the 4th. I am sorry that I do not remember the names of the men who worked day and night to help those who could not help themselves.

George W. McLain, a newspaper man of Weston, Mo., was driving through the country in a buggy, and came into Riley from Council Grove. On asking for the commanding officer, he learned that he was dead, and of the condition of things generally. He found me, and I advised him to drive on and to hold his breath until miles away. He seemed inclined to do that, but could not resist the temptation of getting items enough to write up the conditions. As we passed a small house on our way to his buggy we heard a female voice in great distress. On going in, we saw a woman, wife of a corporal who was away with his company, apparently in the agonies of death. On a bed, with hands, feet and limbs cramped, and a frenzied expression, she was a terrible picture. She had been ill but a short time. There was no one to help her—a woman could not be found to attend her. McLain took off his coat and hat, laid them on a chair, rolled up his sleeves, and went to the stove, where there was a kettle with warm water in it—in short, took an inventory of the surroundings. I went to the hospital for brandy and port wine, and when I returned McLain was rubbing the woman vigorously, and talking to her in the most cheerful manner; told her he was a

doctor, and would surely cure her. No woman could have handled her better than he did, and, being a strong man, he was not easily tired. He gave her some brandy, and turning to me said, in a low tone: "Lowe, my heart is in this thing. This woman, without a friend within reach, her husband serving his country in the army, must *not* be left here to die! She is going to live; I'll see that she does." Turning to her he said: "I'll wait on you all night and all day to-morrow, until you are well."

I left him in a few minutes, had his team cared for, sent him something to eat, and called early the next morning. The woman was asleep and McLain said that her symptoms were good. She got well. If she had not thought him a doctor the shock would have been fatal. This man afterwards became very prominent. He was known throughout the country as Gen. George Washington McLain, started various newspapers, and was always a correspondent. He was generous when plenty smiled, and patient when poverty stalked abroad, and after a life of ups and downs he balanced his accounts, paid off all his earthly debts and passed to his reward a few years ago in Leadville, Colo. He had lived much at the national capital, knew the prominent men from every state in the Union, and had friends everywhere. He possessed a brilliant mind, and, with an unlimited fund of information, was a most charming companion. I never knew his lineage, but the blood that coursed through his heart and fed his brain was not of the common sort. Whatever his faults, and he had them, he deserved a better fate than that which overtook him. His virtues covered his faults miles deep.

Hopkins improved. I firmly believe that much of the sickness was caused by mental trouble—the horrors of the surroundings. There were not so many deaths on the 5th as on the 3d or 4th, but a good many. The outlook was better. We had lost 150 or more men by desertion. All discordant elements were now gone, and we were getting used to working together.

We had a good deal of pine tar in barrels, brought to the post to mix with gravel as a covering for the stable roofs. Some one suggested that it was a good disinfectant, and on the evenings of August 4 and 5, when a gentle south wind favored, we had fires built where the fumes and smoke would float into the open windows, and burned tar at all of them. Whether this did much good or not, it counteracted offensive odors. The doctor thought well of it. The night of the 5th, I slept well on the top of the safes. There were not so many new cases reported the morning of the 6th, and every good report gave renewed hope. As the 6th wore on I thought it time to hear something from the message sent by Orton. Down the road I saw a four-mule government ambulance a mile and a half away. I knew it must contain a doctor and probably an officer, and I galloped down to meet it. Just before I met the ambulance my horse sprang suddenly to one side and came near throwing me. He was frightened by a dead negro, who had died of cholera and been buried in a shallow grave, and the wolves had dug him up and pulled him into a leaning posture, his body mostly uncovered and one arm raised above his head. He was a horrible-looking sight. This had been the camp of the government hay contractors, Messrs. Dyer & Co.; the negro was their cook. All the other members of the party had left for their homes in Clay county, Missouri.

The ambulance contained Lieutenant Carr, now General Eugene Carr,* re-

*EUGENE ASA CARR was born at Concord, Erie county, New York, March 20, 1830. He was a brigadier general and brevet major general; retired 1893. He graduated from West Point in 1850, and was assigned to the cavalry. Served on the frontier from the Missouri river to the Pacific, and from Montana to Texas, and was in thirteen Indian fights. He served through the rebellion; wounded three times, and awarded a medal of honor by Congress. He served in the West, beginning with Wilson Creek.

tired, and Dr. Samuel Phillips, my roommate at Fort Leavenworth, a young contract doctor. I never was more pleased to see a man in my life. Carr I knew as a young officer *en route* to New Mexico the year before. I was anxious for a commanding officer with authority. The discretionary power of the military commander is very great, no matter what his rank. If not hampered with instructions, he can often do what a man with less power would hesitate to do. I have always admired a man who would not hesitate to take responsibility. Lieutenant Carr was not sent to replace Major Odgen permanently, but to take charge in this emergency and do whatever a good officer could do under the stress of circumstances. These remarks apply to Phillips. No better man could have been selected for such an emergency. While Carr received from Sawyer an account of the situation, Phillips proceeded at once to the hospital, met Doctor Whitehorn, and went from place to place to examine the sick. The medical department was now under Phillips's control—it had a head, with authority. To show the effects of confidence in a doctor, good nursing, and encouragement, each day brought fewer cases, men settled down to work more cheerfully, until there was no more cholera. I do not know how many died, in fact, I think I never did know, but the number was not less than 75 nor probably more than 100. Of the men who left in the excitement, a few were known to have died. I presume the records show all who left, all who died at the post, and all who remained.

The post, since its establishment, had been supplied with water from the Kaw river, just below the junction of the Smoky Hill and Republican. The Smoky Hill was milky and brackish, the Republican clear. The two mingled where the water was dipped up. On the morning of the 2d I went with the water wagon and showed the men where they would get water until further notice. Surely the Republican was clear and pure; but feeling some delicacy about assuming authority in a matter of so much importance as the water supply, I took a jug full from each place, and one from a large spring, to Doctor Simmons, and asked him to examine and see which was best. He seemed in great distress about his family and said that he could give me no advice. Sawyer, Hopkins, Clarkson and Martin thought it a good move, and often afterwards expressed the opinion that, while the water formerly used did not cause the cholera, the Republican water was much safer and probably had something to do with restoring health. For several nights before the cholera broke out, and continuing to the night of the 3d, we had violent storms of rain, thunder, and lightning, lasting several hours, and ending about midnight. One would think that this would purify the air—perhaps it did. I do not suggest that the cholera grew out of it, but merely mention it as a peculiar circumstance. No doubt the germs of the disease were brought originally with the men.

Near a spring west of where Junction City now is, two men were attending a lime-kiln. On August 5 I sent a team over after a load of lime. A little German from Herman, Mo., (I cannot remember his full name—Henry, we called him,) one of the most faithful men I ever knew, drove the team. As he did not come in as soon as I expected, I rode down to the river about dark and met him coming across. He said that one man was "bad sick" when he got there. He helped the other man care for the sick one until he died. They put the dead man in the wagon and started, and the other one was now sick. The teamster had to stop many times to help the sick man, who "go died" just before the team reached the river. The poor teamster was greatly distressed, and apologized for not bringing the lime. He had volunteered to go because the lime-burners were his friends, and he wanted to see how they were getting along. He lived through and conveyed the dying messages of the two to their friends.

From day to day there was improvement, work went on in all departments, and more men were sent from Fort Leavenworth to take the places of those who died or deserted. Lieutenant Corley, Sixth infantry, relieved Lieutenant Carr, and by the 1st of September everything was in full blast and work progressing rapidly. Some building supplies were needed and work would be retarded unless they were brought quickly. I was ordered to take thirty six-mule teams and go after them. I got the order at three o'clock P. M. The wagons were all dismantled, covers and bows stored away, and the beds arranged for hauling stone, sand, lime, wood, brick, or any sort of building material. By sunset I had thirty wagons full rigged, thirty of the best mule teams ready to hitch to them, and rations and forage drawn, all ready to start.

An expressman started about that time with requisition for the supplies that I was to bring, and I told him to say to the shipping clerk at Fort Leavenworth that I would not be long behind him, and would start back as soon as I could load, and to please have the loading so arranged that there would be no delay. I wrote a note to my friend, Levi Wilson, general superintendent, requesting him to look a little after the requisition, because several hundred men might be delayed more or less on the work at Riley, and I wanted to make a trip that would beat any record for moving six-mule teams. The expressman laughed at the idea of my reaching our common destination soon after he did. I started at sunrise the next morning and camped in Salt Creek valley, three miles from Fort Leavenworth, the third evening—127 miles in three days—about forty-two miles per day. I rode to the post that evening, only twenty-four hours behind the expressman; and he had started eleven hours ahead of me on a good saddle mule. I spent the evening with friends talking over the exciting events at Riley, of which they had heard many exaggerated accounts. I had been reported dead of cholera at one time, and killed by a mob at another. I returned to camp at midnight, and at seven o'clock the next morning was loading at the warehouses and steamboat landing, and by four in the afternoon I was back in Salt Creek valley, heavily loaded. There was much talk that day about the quick trip I had made, and everybody expected to see the mules in bad condition, and was surprised to see a fine lot of mules and active, wide-awake teamsters—no one hanging back in a tired way, but all pushing and trying to help along. I rolled out of Salt Creek valley the next morning, and before sunset of the fourth day parked my train at Fort Riley, having made about thirty-two miles per day. The mules were turned into the herd up the Republican, tired but uninjured. We had been eight days and seven nights traveling 260 miles, including loading. No one expected me for two days more, and the fact that no mules were killed or injured, beyond being tired, which they would make up in a week's rest, was a surprise.

Government teams generally make one drive per day. I have seldom met an army man who did not insist upon doing his day's work, long or short, and then going into camp. I had learned on the Santa Fe trail how Aubrey, Bent, Maxwell and all the Mexican freighters worked their teams—two and three drives a day. To drive teams with empty wagons forty-two miles a day, or loaded thirty-two miles a day, would soon ruin them, if the drives were continuous. Having made about one-half of my day's drive, I halted, took off harness, and turned the mules loose with lariats on, but without picket-pins. They rolled, drank freely, and grazed an hour, while the men ate dinner. Arrived in camp for the night, the mules were turned loose again the same way, and before dark were caught up, fed corn, and picketed for the night. First thing in the morning they were watered, then fed corn, and, breakfast over, were hitched up and started, usually by sunrise. No corn was fed at noon, but the grass was fine and much better for them. On the evening of my return I showed the quartermaster and Mr.

Sawyer my memorandum of the contents of each wagon—each numbered and its contents put down under the number. From this they knew where each wagon should be unloaded.

From this time there seemed to be no check, deficit, or friction—a sort of steady discipline, rare among large numbers of men of various trades in civil life, prevailed all the way through, and all that could be expected was accomplished. Undoubtedly the retained pay had a steadying influence, but I think that after the exodus, during the prevalence of cholera, there was a remarkably good set of men left. I have always thought that sending the troops away during the building of the post was a mistake. Taking 500 men there who were governed only by self-interest, with no law to curb the bad element sure to exist in any body of men, seemed to be not a wise move, when Armistead and Wood, with their companies, could just as well have remained in the vicinity, changing camp from time to time, and been within call if needed.

I will now refer briefly to the Ogden monument. The original was designed by Mr. Sawyer, and was prepared and erected by quarry men, stone-cutters, laborers, and teamsters, under the direction of Mr. Sawyer and myself, without other cost to the government than the pay of the men while the work was being done. The stone was of the kind used in the buildings of Fort Riley. In time, neither the government nor any one else heeding it, cattle made of it a rubbing post, vandals chipped pieces from it and scratched their names on it, and it became a wreck. It was not expected to be permanent, the hope of the builders being that it would be replaced with something worthy of the man whose memory it was intended to perpetuate—commensurate with his ability and devotion to duty; a monitor to all entrusted with the care and control of others. Another shaft was afterward erected, much better than the original, but not what it ought to have been. I do not know how nor where the money was raised, nor under whose direction it was put up. This, too, was neglected—left a rubbing post for cattle after the wooden fence around it rotted down; and vain simpletons, who like to “see their names and faces in all public places,” defaced the stone.

In 1887 Gen. James W. Forsyth, then colonel of the Seventh cavalry, took command of Fort Riley. He had never known Major Ogden, and until I, while on a visit to Fort Riley, told him the story of the death of Ogden, and the erection of the shaft, he did not know its history. He then knew that it was in memory of a brother officer who died at his post in the discharge of duty under the most trying circumstances, and he took prompt measures to preserve it. He secured a small allowance from the quartermaster's department, with which, and some labor within his control, he had it repaired—scratches worked out and a permanent iron fence put around it.

In October, 1855, Maj. John Sedgwick of the artillery (Major General Sedgwick, who was killed in the battle of the Wilderness), came to Fort Riley to investigate matters connected with the cholera, and especially Doctor Simmons's conduct. Sawyer, Hopkins, Clarkson, Martin and myself made written statements. Quite a number were called on for verbal statements. On the information gained by Major Sedgwick, the doctor was court-martialed and dismissed the service. I believe he was reappointed at the foot of the list some years later. About the 1st of November Major Ogden's remains were disinterred and shipped to Unadilla, New York, where they now rest under a beautiful monument erected by his brother officers and friends. *Requiescat in pace.*

A part of the Second dragoons came up from Texas in October, 1855. Colonel Cooke came in from the Harney expedition against the Sioux, with more of the Second dragoons, to take command of the post. On the 15th of November, all

of the workmen who were entitled to be paid off and transported back to St. Louis and Cincinnati loaded their effects into wagons that I had ready for them—fifty six mule wagons—and in four days I landed them on the levee at Fort Leavenworth, where boats were waiting to take them away.*

In the fall of 1854 Col. Philip St. George Cooke,† *en route* from New Mexico to Fort Leavenworth with his command, of which I was a member, left the old Santa Fe trail a short distance west of Diamond Springs, now in Morris county, and came through Fort Riley, crossing the Smoky Hill on a ferry about a mile above its junction with the Republican. It was claimed that Fort Riley should be made a point on the road from Fort Leavenworth to New Mexico, and this was one reason for Colonel Cooke's coming that way; but it proved not to be quite as near as by Council Grove, and from Riley across to the old trail, including the poor ferry across the Smoky, not so good.

In September, 1862, I conducted, for the government, from Fort Leavenworth, 120 mule teams and more than 600 horses to New Mexico, and made Fort Riley a rendezvous *en route*. Starting each train as completed—five trains in all, and each string of horses, eighteen strings, in all—each train or string of horses camped in the vicinity of Riley until the arrival of the last one, when the trains and strings of horses were examined and refitted, wagons loaded with corn, and the entire outfit moved on together. Capt. D. W. Scott, who afterwards died at Fort Riley, was acting quartermaster, and John T. Price was chief clerk. There were no troops at the post at that time. Mr. Robert Wilson was post trader. I followed the trail used by the Kansas Stage Company, of which L. G. Terry, of Leavenworth, was superintendent, up the Smoky Hill to Salina, where there was a stage station; thence to another stage station called Ellsworth, near where Fort Harker was afterwards built, three miles east of the present town of Ellsworth, and where "Kanopolis" now claims a residence; thence across the Smoky, west to what is now called Cheyenne bottom, across Walnut creek, coming into the old Santa Fe trail a little east of Pawnee Rock. I returned the same way, and measured the road for the government from Fort Union to Fort Riley with an odometer, and for the government I was guide in chaining the military road from Fort Riley to Fort Leavenworth, in 1876.

*The Fort Riley built in 1855 has been, with the exception of a few of the stables, entirely obliterated. In 1889, upon the urgent solicitation of Gen. Philip H. Sheridan, the government began the reconstruction of the fort. It is now a beautiful place, a school of practice for cavalry and artillery, the cavalry portion being enlarged, while there has been added an artillery post as large as the cavalry. A bill is pending in Congress providing for annual inspection of the national guard, and four points have been designated by the war department for the guard to assemble once a year. Fort Riley has been designated as one of these camps. The militia from Iowa, Illinois, Missouri, Kansas, Colorado and other states will gather once a year at Fort Riley, at the expense of the general government.

For the subsequent history of Fort Riley and neighborhood, political and material, see paper entitled "The Territorial and Military Combine at Fort Riley," in the "Miscellaneous" portion of this volume.

†PHILIP ST. GEORGE COOKE was born near Leesburg, Va., June 13, 1809. He graduated from the United States Military Academy in 1827, and was assigned to the Sixth infantry. He was stationed on the frontier and served in the Black Hawk war. During the Mexican war he commanded a Missouri volunteer battalion. He was engaged in various Indian expeditions. He commanded in Kansas during the troubles of 1856-'57. He was lieutenant colonel of the second dragoons, under Col. Albert Sidney Johnson, in the Utah expedition in 1857-'58. In June, 1861, he published a letter in which he declared that he owed his allegiance to the general government, rather than to his native state of Virginia. He was made a brigadier general. October 29, 1873, he was placed on the retired list, after forty-five years of active service. He published three volumes of history and adventure.

THE GENESIS OF A STATE'S METROPOLIS.

An address delivered by FRANK H. BETTON* before the twenty-fifth annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society, January 15, 1901.

"The first faint wash of waves where soon shall roll a human sea."

IN tracing the growth of any old-time city of our Eastern seaboard, the marks of development are distinct, and the leisurely progress enables us to clearly note the changes wrought by each succeeding generation. The cities of Kansas have no "generations"; their perspective is limited; the pilgrims of 1856 are not yet wholly engulfed in the "human sea," and a general "round up" of these pioneers would still fill an average Kansas opera-house.

Here and there among our own fifty-odd thousand of population lingers a citizen who assisted at the birth of the city and helped prepare its swaddling clothes. They were here before Minnesota avenue was marked out, and when the slope from Fifth street to the river was occupied with meadows and corn-fields. From 1843 until the dawn of the year 1857 Wyandotte was simply a rallying point. Here the individual members of the nation, whose farms were scattered all over the reservation from Barker's tank to Muncie, gathered for consultation. Their council-house stood on Fourth street, near the location of Dunning's hall, for years after the city was started—a small one-story, frame building, utterly devoid of architectural pretensions.† A road, starting or ending near the only store—a two-story frame, still standing on the north side of Nebraska avenue, between Third and Fourth streets—wound its way around by the council-house, on past the Armstrong homestead, near the corner of Fifth and Minnesota, along the ridge to near the southern boundary of Huron Place; then, bending northward and passing to the north of the little frame church and parsonage of the South Methodists, located at the corner of Seventh and Minnesota, it passed on out through the reserve to the government road leading to Fort Leavenworth.

The house of Silas Armstrong, a large, substantial two-story brick farmhouse, stood near what is now the northwest corner of Fifth and Minnesota, and his farm lands surrounded it, stretching to the lands of his brother, John McIntyre Armstrong, whose old homestead yet stands just back of the Northwestern depot. Ike Brown's log house stood on the slope towards the river, east of Fourth and near State avenue. Across Jersey creek was the large log residence of Governor Walker, and on the site of the Fowler mansion was the rambling story-and-a-half brick residence of his brother Matthew. Uncle Charley Garrett lived just across the creek, on the road leading to Quindaro.

*FRANK HOLYOKE BETTON was born in Derry, Rockingham county, New Hampshire, August 1, 1835. His father's maternal grandfather, Mathew Thornton, was president of the colonial convention which met at Exeter in May, 1775, to organize a provisional government, the following year a member of the Continental Congress, and was one of the signers of the declaration of independence. At the age of fourteen Mr. Betton went to Boston, and, after some years spent as a clerk in stores there and at Petersburg, Va., he came to Kansas in 1856. He lived for a time in Pottawatomie, Jefferson and Leavenworth counties, and finally located in Wyandotte. He engaged in the lumber business, and for several years owned and operated sawmills. In 1885 he was appointed state labor commissioner. In 1874 he was elected grand master of the Odd Fellows of Kansas. He was also grand chancellor of the Knights of Pythias. His home is on a farm near Pomeroy, in Wyandotte county.

†See Connelley's "Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory."

Good, old Father Barnett lived in the South Methodist parsonage, near Seventh street and Minnesota avenue, and for some time had served the Wyandottes as the representative of his branch of the church. After the town started, as it was the only place of worship, the newcomers and the Wyandottes united, and on Sundays the little church was thronged. To most of the congregation English was the native tongue, but not to all, and I remember that Silas Armstrong would usually ascend the pulpit and act as interpreter for the few Wyandottes present who were unable to understand.

The line of Minnesota avenue from Fifth to Seventh street was across a deep hollow, and was not opened for some years after the town was settled. The fill for these two blocks was a heavy one, as can be seen by examining the extensive basements on the north side of the street.

One of the Kansas City, Mo., newspapers not long ago, in noticing the death of one of our early settlers, stated that when she came here, in 1857, this county was a savage wilderness, or words to that effect, and this statement was only a sample of what is dished up by the average reporter in writing of the conditions here at that time. There seems to be no excuse for this ignorance, for records are accessible in abundance, and it seems to me that a reporter who do n't take the trouble to acquaint himself with local history is hardly fit for his position. As a matter of fact, when the Wyandottes moved here from Ohio in 1843, and settled on land purchased from the Delawares, they were as far advanced in civilization as were their white neighbors on the other side of the state line. The farms they opened and the houses they built were of the same class, and the schools and churches they established were as good as the average of similar institutions along the frontier. And in 1857 there were many fairly extensive farms scattered through the reserve. The Mudeater farm, now partly within the city limits, was in as advanced a state of cultivation, probably, as are the best-managed farms in the county to-day, and there were a number of others nearly as good.

In 1855 the Wyandottes made a treaty whereby they were to receive their land in severalty, and whereby those who so desired could become United States citizens. This treaty was signed on the part of the Wyandottes by Silas Armstrong, Matthew Mudeater, Geo. I. Clark, John Hicks, and, on the part of the government, by the commissioner of Indian affairs, Geo. W. Manypenny. As already stated, the Wyandottes were, as a rule, farmers, and in opening their farms sought the lands back from the river, because the surface was less broken. The exceptions to this were Silas Armstrong and the Walkers, who were engaged in merchandizing in Kansas City, Mo., and wished to be near their business.

The late H. M. Northrup was a resident of Kansas City at the time the 1855 treaty was made, and was required to select his wife's allotment and to live on it. Naturally anxious to get as close to the ferry as possible, he made his selection for a building site not far from where the court-house now stands, and brought men from Kansas City to clear away the brush. While thus engaged, Ike Brown rode up and told him that it was his aunt's claim, taking him to where four saplings had been cut and placed on the ground forming a square; and this way of appropriating claims was the rule in the early days here in Kansas. Mr. Northrup said he did not know of the prior claim, and would look elsewhere, but this was just what Ike did not want; he agreed to make it all right with his "aunt" for twenty dollars. Mr. Northrup said he knew it was a clear case of "hold up," but he gave Ike the twenty dollars as the quickest way out of it, and this is what his part of the future metropolis of Kansas cost him.

The promoting of cities during the years 1856 and the early part of 1857 was

a popular industry in the young territory, and, as a natural result, the idea of establishing a "commercial emporium" at the mouth of the Kaw on Kansas soil was not left long in abeyance. There were plenty of such enterprises seething in the brains of the Lawrence settlers, and recently acquired lands by individual Wyandottes were ripe and ready for exploitation. Gaius Jenkins* and W. Y. Roberts† were born promoters, and leaguings with them Thomas H. Swope,‡ a young Kentuckian, and John McAlpine, recently from Pennsylvania, both looking for profitable investments in this new country, they had no trouble in enlisting three of the leading Wyandottes whose allotments partially covered the prospective site, and Armstrong and two of the Walkers cast in their lot and incidentally their land. Ike Brown's farm was bought, probably with money furnished either by Swope or McAlpine; at any rate, rumor had it that Isaac could show a pouch containing an even thousand of twenty-dollar gold pieces, and I remember reading a few years ago the story of an Irishman, who claims to have slept on them all winter; at any rate, they did not stay with Isaac very long. The map of Wyandotte City includes the lands of Mrs. Lucy B. Armstrong, Matthias Splitlog, and H. M. Northrup; these lands were all platted into streets and lots along with the rest, and formed part of the city, on paper; but a close inspection of the original city map shows a series of dotted lines marking the boundaries of these tracts, although as a matter of fact the town company had no control over them.

The primary organization of the town company reads as follows: "At a meeting of the above men, namely, Silas Armstrong, Gaius Jenkins, John McAlpine, W. Y. Roberts, Thomas H. Swope, Isaiah Walker, and Joel Walker, held at the house of Isaac Brown, on the 9th day of December, 1856, the company organized by the election of Silas Armstrong as president; W. Y. Roberts, secretary; and Isaiah Walker, treasurer." The new town was duly advertised, subscription

*GAIUS JENKINS settled on his claim adjoining Lawrence in the fall of 1855, having located it the previous autumn. During the preceding year he had been proprietor of the American House, at Kansas City. He at once identified himself with the free-state cause. May 10, 1856, he assisted Governor Reeder in his escape from Lawrence to Kansas City. The same month he was indicted by the grand jury of Douglas county for treason, and arrested at Lawrence May 21 by Deputy United States Marshal Fain, and confined with Governor Robinson and other free-state men at Leecompton. May 25, 1857, he signed, with other free-state men, an open letter addressed to Secretary Stanton, offering to overlook the past and participate in the election for delegates to the Leecompton constitutional convention, provided a correct census was secured. June 3, 1858, Mr. Jenkins was killed, in a dispute over the title to his claim, by Jas. H. Lane.

†WILLIAM Y. ROBERTS located with a colony at Big Springs, Douglas county, in the summer of 1855, from Fayette county, Pennsylvania. He was a native of that state, and had served several terms as a member of its legislature. October 5, 1855, he participated in the Big Springs free-state convention, and served as a member of the constitutional convention which met at Topeka the 23d of the same month. The schedule of members gives his age at 41, farming as his occupation, and his politics as democratic. He was elected lieutenant-governor under the Topeka constitution. His practical judgment prevented an open conflict with the border ruffians at the time of the Dow murder, though his party of free-state men first gave the ruffians a realizing sense that Yankees would fight. His company was the second to be mustered into the war of the rebellion from Kansas—company B, First Kansas—and was led by him in the battle of Wilson Creek, Mo., August 10, 1861. He was soon promoted to the position of major, and then to the rank of colonel, in which capacity he served during the war. After the war he resumed the occupation of farming, doing some editorial work on the *Lawrence Tribune* during the summer of 1868. He died on his farm, near Lawrence, February 9, 1869, after a lingering illness.

‡THOMAS HUNTON SWOPE is a native of Kentucky, graduating from Central College, at Danville, in that state, in 1848. The following year he became an alumnus of Yale. Some years later he removed to Kansas City, Mo., and November 9, 1857, his name is found among the charter members of the chamber of commerce. In 1895 he gave to that city Swope park, a tract of 1400 acres. He presented, in March, 1902, the sum of \$25,000 to Central University, Danville, Ky., for the purpose of erecting a library building.

books were opened, John H. Miller was engaged to lay out the town, and finally the 8th day of March, 1857, was fixed as the date for the first sale of shares.

In company with a number of others, I left Leavenworth on the day preceding, to be present at the sale. The Armstrong residence had been converted into a hotel, kept by Robt. L. Ream,* and on the morning of the sale we organized a procession some fifty strong, and, headed by a fife and drum and the stars and stripes, marched from the hotel around by the council-house to the store, whose proprietor was Isaiah Walker, the treasurer of the company. † This building is still standing, on the north side of Nebraska avenue just below Fourth street. The store was for years used as our only court-room, and David J. Brewer, now a justice of our United States supreme court, was one of the judges who held his court there. There was an outside stairway leading to the second story, and this was utilized on more than one occasion as an impromptu gallows. There are many thrilling incidents connected with this old building, but these, in the words of Mr. Kipling, are another story. The upper story of the building was one large room, and the gathering crowd became so great that there was fear of a collapse, but no accident happened, and each eager unit of the crowd pushed anxiously forward, impatient to exchange the twenty-five double eagles (for these were our principal "currency" during the first few months of 1857, but they all disappeared long before the first frost) for a paper calling for ten lots in the embryo city. These lots were supposed to be located somewhere out on the brush-covered site, but I doubt if half a dozen of the eager buyers ever knew just where the lots they bought were located. I know I never did. After 100 shares had been sold—mine was No. 92—the sale was postponed for two weeks, and it was announced that the price per share would then be \$750.

I did not stay long in the prospective city, but took a boat for Leavenworth the next morning, and when I returned, in September, six months later, I found Wyandotte City in full blast. People had flocked in from all directions, one company coming from Pennsylvania and another from Ohio. M. W. Delahay, a relative of Lincoln, and for years judge of our United States district court, had started a paper, and F. A. Hunt had picked up an old steamboat, the *St. Paul*, and had converted it into a wharf-boat and hotel. Mrs. Garno had moved from Leavenworth and built the Garno House, on the corner of Third and Minnesota.

*ROBERT L. REAM, chief clerk in the surveyor general's office, and father of Mrs. Vinnie Ream Hoxie, the noted sculptress, was born in Center county, Pennsylvania, in October, 1809. He died in Washington, November 21, 1885. Another of his daughters married Perry Fuller, a noted Indian contractor in the early days of Kansas. The daughter Vinnie was born in Madison, Wis. In 1863 she began to develop great talent as an artist. In 1866 Congress commissioned her to execute a marble statue of Lincoln, over eight competitors. In 1874 she was awarded a contract by the government for a statue of Admiral Farragut, over twenty-one competitors. She became a very famous woman, spending much of her time in Rome, engaged in this class of art.

†The town of Wyandotte, thus started, was, by the legislature of 1885, consolidated with the towns of Kansas City, Kan., and Armourdale, which had developed adjoining, under the name of Kansas City, Kansas. The federal census of 1900 gave to the consolidated city 51,418, and the county of Wyandotte 73,227. The state census of 1901 made the population of the city 53,625, and that of Wyandotte county 74,267. The federal census of 1900 gave the city 492 manufacturing establishments; capital, \$18,633,475; employing 10,544 wage-earners, and a pay-roll of \$4,886,259 annually. These manufacturers used raw material to the value of \$70,386,491, and the value of the output was \$82,768,943. The increase from 1890 to 1900, in value of products, was 87.8 per cent. The great Kansas City stock-yards are located in this city. The official receipts of live stock in Kansas City, Kan., for the year 1901 were: 2,000,165 cattle, 126,410 calves, 3,716,404 hogs, 980,078 sheep, 96,157 horses and mules; in all, 134,958 cars. In the week ending July 27, 1901, 4217 cars were employed. With but an area of 153 square miles, Wyandotte county has 97.17 miles of railroad, and Kansas City, Kan., has 179.28 miles of railroad side-track.

The four avenues, each 100 feet wide, and named, respectively, Minnesota, Kansas, Nebraska, and Washington, after the four territories, had been brushed out, a lot of one-story houses, framed at Cincinnati, had been set up, and all together things looked booming. It was a problem which of the four avenues was to become the principal street, and trade was a good deal scattered. Schriner, Gerlack & Co. had set up one of the Cincinnati houses at the northeast corner of Fourth and Minnesota, and were doing a rushing hardware business. The building still stands at the old corner, and Dr. S. F. Mather occupied it for many years as a drug-store. Parr, Boyd & Co. located somewhere near Third and Washington and had started in groceries and dry-goods. Governor McGrew established himself in groceries near by, while Zeitz & Buesche held forth on the north side of Kansas (now State) avenue between Third and Fourth streets.

John McAlpine put up a two-story warehouse on the levee between Nebraska and Washington, and the top story, known as McAlpine's hall, served for years as the gathering place for parties, balls, and political conventions. It was in this hall that George Francis Train and Susan B. Anthony wound up their brilliant tour of Kansas in the interests of woman suffrage, and Train complained that he had been forced to make his daily bath in a pint tin cup; bath tubs were, as yet, an unknown article on our Kansas prairies. It was also in this hall that Jim Lane made his celebrated speech after the killing of Jenkins. Capt. Geo. P. Nelson had built his residence on the south side of Armstrong street, between Fourth and Fifth, and F. A. Hunt had put up an imposing mansion nearly south of it, on Ann; the latter building, I believe, is still standing. A. B. Bartlett had built a small, one-story residence away back in the brush, on the corner of Fifth and Nebraska, and the old building is yet standing, over a stone basement, put in when Fifth street was graded, back of the large brick residence which he subsequently erected in front of it. And this practice of building the top story first was a common occurrence in those days.

During the winter of 1857-'58 Third street was graded through, leaving the Garo House two stories above the ground. Tom Merry had the contract for putting in the underpinning, and some of the big timbers that supported the lower stories, and which I assisted in raising, are still standing; I examined them the other day as I passed. Third street was subsequently filled up again about ten feet, at the corner; the scoop-out was too deep, as some one had blundered. Doctor Root had established himself at the corner of Fourth and Nebraska, building a rather ornamental one-story cottage, which came to be known as the "pill-box."

Among the first settlers of Wyandotte could be found natives of most of the states of the Union, as well as representatives of about all the countries of Europe; but forty-three years have wrought marvelous changes, and the little remnant is rapidly approaching the vanishing point.

Of that early time, we have yet among us, however, Hon. T. J. Barker, Gov. Jas. McGrew,* Christ Schneider, Geo. Grund, John Burk, Geo. Schreiner, Mrs. Jane Cook, Mrs. J. B. Scroggs, Hon. R. B. Armstrong (who was born here, since deceased), E. L. Buesche, Mrs. Geo. P. Nelson, Justin Walker, Judge B. Gray, Mrs. J. H. Harris, and other old citizens who I think are of the vintage of 1857, while there are a number of those coming during the following year, 1858.

*JAMES MCGREW was born in Adams county, Pennsylvania, January 26, 1822. In 1840 his parents settled in Iowa. He began business as a merchant at Lancaster, Keokuk county. In 1857 he settled in Wyandotte, Kansas. He engaged in various occupations. In 1859 he was elected to the territorial legislature, and reelected in 1860. In 1862 he was elected to the state senate. In 1864 he was elected lieutenant-governor, by a vote of 12,094 to 8493 for John James Ingalls. He still lives in Kansas City, Kan.

I will not undertake to extend the list, but recall the fact that Hon. Chas. Haines, L. H. Wood, Martin Stewart, Francis House, Mrs. J. S. Stockton, Hon. V. J. Lane, who immigrated from Quindaro, and probably a number of others who are yet with us, joined us during that year, while the children of these first settlers, coming with their parents, are now counted among our active citizens, some of them already grandparents.

The first permanent newspaper was published in 1858, by S. D. Macdonald, and named the *Wyandotte Gazette*. Mr. Macdonald had rented the Garno House, and while serving as its landlord conceived the idea that he was specially designed to fill the "long felt want"; so he departed for Chicago, and returned with the press and fixtures, and the *Gazette* was born. Incidentally, prior to his departure, Mr. Macdonald proposed that I take a hand in the venture, but I did not feel that I was called in that direction—not then. Macdonald did not run the paper very long; he felt that he must move on; so he sold out to R. B. Taylor, then went to Topeka and helped Father Baker run the *Record*. Taylor, I think, was the first pedagogue in the new town, and when he ascended the tripod his mantle fell on the shoulders of Porter Sherman, who wore it long and worthily.

There are probable few among our pioneers whose memory is more fondly cherished by those who knew him than is that of R. B. Taylor. For a goodly part of the immediately subsequent years the *Gazette* was our only paper, and Taylor was its controlling spirit. He was no time-server, and what he believed he advocated. His efforts to reform the spelling-book he practically illustrated, and his "hwich's" and "hwerefore's" still stare at us in the earlier issues of the *Gazette*. As a "brief abstract and chronicle of the times," possibly a newspaper has no business engaging in a philological controversy, and, after a protracted struggle, Taylor found the task of setting the world aright in the matter of spelling too much for him, and he returned again to the old way; but he sincerely believed that some day the barbarous incongruities in the spelling of the English language would be rectified, and probably he was right.

William Cook may properly be considered as the chief factor in our early commercial development. Mr. Cook was an Englishman who had achieved a reasonable competency as a dyer in St. Louis. He had faith in the new city, and it is said invested \$60,000 in developing the town. He built a number of small dwellings and a large storehouse near the site of the Allmon hotel. For years he was our principal merchant, and was foremost in nearly all of our public enterprises. He built the large brick building at the southwest corner of Third and Minnesota, and subsequently the larger part of what is now known as the Allmon hotel. In later years his luck deserted him, and he returned to St. Louis, where he soon after died in comparative poverty.

That we have approached the stars through difficulties none know as well as do the old-time residents of this city. Our state motto applies with double force to our local history.

For years Leavenworth aspired to be, and undoubtedly was, the chief center of wealth and population, with Atchison a close second. Later, Topeka and even Fort Scott shied their castors into the ring, while finally, after the rapid development of the state, the "peerless princess" yelled long and persistently from the banks of the Arkansas. It is humiliating to our state pride that while our ambitious cities were clapper-clawing each other in their struggle for supremacy,

In one thing only were the cities of the state united, and that was with tongue and pen to ridicule and denounce the absurd pretensions of Wyandotte. In former years every effort made by our legislative representatives for even the moral support of the state was met with contumely and contempt. We were denounced as a Missouri bantling, and were not entitled to aid or support from Kansas, even though politically we were forced to be recognized as a component part of the state. But the rejected stone has become the key to the arch; here, in ever-increasing volume, flow the products of our mines and our prairies, and here they will continue to flow.

our rapidly increasing products were following the "water grade" and dropping into the lap of our neighboring state.*

The last federal census shows Kansas City, in Kansas, to have been a leader in growth and population during the last decade, and that it will continue to hold its supremacy hardly admits of a doubt. The great industries, fostered and developed by our state, are located within our borders, and though they have heretofore contributed as the chief factor in the growing wealth and fame of the older city on the other side of the line, the clouds seem to be breaking, and beyond shine the stars.

Of a verity time flies, and the life of man is as a breath upon a mirror. I can hardly realize that more than forty years have elapsed since the little procession with the flag and drum started out to "institute" what is now Kansas City, Kan. The first and sixth wards, component parts of the present city, were for years after this event, in great part, covered with the "forest primeval," and in its conversion into sawlogs and lumber I aided; for there is but a small part of this territory that I have not traversed in search of saw timber.

I will not attempt to call the death roll of those who, active in the early development of the young city, now rest in our cemeteries, and the inscriptions on their tombs tell us where they repose, but memory brings vividly back their features and characteristics—the magnetic glance of Doctor Root†; the suavity of Dr. Geo. B. Wood; the genial *bonhomie* of Doctor Speck, the "ould doctor" (for Doctor Fred was "young Doc." in those early days); the ambitions of Stephen A. Cobb; and the strong personality of Silas Armstrong, David E. James, Charley Glick, W. P. Overton, J. R. Parr (first mayor), and a legion of others.

*The state line between Kansas and Missouri is a street, so far as the countless railroad tracks will permit, between Kansas City, Kan., and Kansas City, Mo., the greater city being east of the line. Kansas City, Mo., according to the census of 1900, had a population of 163,752, most of its fame coming from the great stock-yards and killing plants in the city west of the state line. The combined population of the two cities in 1900 was 215,170, with suburban population sufficient to run it up to 230,000. Kansas City, Mo., was chartered as a city by the Missouri legislature February 22, 1853.

†JOSEPH POMEROY ROOT was born in Greenwich, Hampshire county, Massachusetts, April 23, 1826. His ancestors were Puritans on both sides, his mother descending from Captain Reynolds, of the Mayflower. His great-grandfather was a prominent officer in the revolution. Dr. J. P. Root was a member of the Connecticut legislature in 1855. In 1856 he became a member of the Beecher's Sharp's rifle Bible colony, which located at Wabaunsee, in Kansas. He became prominent as a free-state man in the troubles during 1856. He was a member of the legislature under the Topeka movement. He was the first lieutenant-governor elected under the Wyandotte constitution, and served for the first two years of statehood. He entered the army as a surgeon, and served as medical director of the army of the frontier. He settled in Wyandotte for the practice of medicine. In 1870 he was appointed minister to Chili. In 1877 he was chief surgeon of the Clifton Springs sanitarium, New York, where he remained two years. He died about 1885.

LORENZO D. LEWELLING.

An address by W. J. COSTIGAN* before the Kansas State Historical Society, at its twenty-fifth annual meeting, January 15, 1901.

LORENZO D. LEWELLING was born on the 21st day of December, 1846, near Salem, Henry county, Iowa. His father was a Quaker minister, there being a large settlement of these people near that place. When two years old, his father died, and seven years later the mother was accidentally burned to death, leaving a large family of practically helpless children. For a time young Lewelling found a home with an older sister, who had married; but at a most tender age he faced the battle of life alone, and worked wherever he could find it. At the outbreak of the civil war he enlisted in an Iowa regiment. This was contrary to the tenets of the Quaker faith, and relatives, taking advantage of his age, compelled his discharge. He then hired himself to a company that was supplying the Union army in Tennessee with cattle. Next he joined a bridge-building corps at Chattanooga.

When the war closed, he got his discharge and entered Eastman's Business College, at Poughkeepsie, N. Y. Graduating from that institution, he turned his face westward for his native state. His money had all been expended at school. He turned his hand to any honest employment that presented itself, and gradually worked his way westward. He became a tow-path boy on the Erie canal, and drove to its western terminus; next a carpenter in Toledo; then a section-hand in Chicago; and with these earnings paid his way to his native state. Then, for a time, he entered the bridge-building department of the Burlington & Missouri River railroad, at Ottumwa, Iowa. With these earnings he entered Whittier College. This was a Quaker institution, located at Salem, the spot where his eyes first opened upon the world. He graduated from this institution at about the time he attained his majority. He soon after became a teacher in the Iowa State Reform School, and a little later became assistant superintendent.

On the 18th of April, 1870, he married Miss Angie Cook. Miss Cook was a teacher in the Red Oak, Iowa, schools. During this year he resigned his position in the state reform school and became a farmer, but soon abandoned the occupation of farmer for that of editor, and founded the *Register*, at the old home town of Salem. The paper was a weekly, and was republican in politics.

In 1872 both Mr. Lewelling and Mrs. Lewelling were appointed to take charge of the girls' department of the Iowa State Reform School. For the next fifteen years he held this position, with the exception of about two years, which he devoted to founding and editing the *Des Moines Capital*. This was an anti-ring

*WALTER J. COSTIGAN was editor of the *Ottawa Journal* during the greenback, union labor and populist movements, from the Weaver campaign down to the election of Leedy, and was known as one of the most vigorous writers of his political faith in the West. Mr. Costigan was born in New York state, on the Hudson river, some distance above the city of New York. His parents were Irish. Together with his brothers, Mr. Costigan came to Kansas in 1878, locating on a farm in Franklin county, near Ottawa. He soon became interested in the controversies which E. H. Snow was conducting through the *Ottawa Journal*, and took charge of the paper's editorial department. He retired from political and editorial work in 1896 to take up the study of law, and is now engaged in the practice of that profession in Ottawa. In the course of his association with the populist cause, Mr. Costigan became intimately acquainted with the late ex-Governor Lewelling, and was one of the latter's closest political and personal advisers from the time of Mr. Lewelling's appearance in Kansas politics until his death.

republican paper. It afterwards became and still is the property of Lafe Young, the man who placed Vice-president Roosevelt in nomination. During Mr. Lewelling's management of this paper his wife retained her position over the girls' reform school. Owing to her failing health, he sold the paper, and again took charge of the girls' reform school. Soon afterwards Mrs. Lewelling died, leaving three daughters—Jessie, Pauline, and Louise. Subsequently Mr. Lewelling married Miss Ida Bishop, and, in 1887, moved to Wichita, Kan., and engaged in business.

In 1892 he was nominated by the populist party for governor. The democratic party indorsed his nomination, and he was elected to the office of governor of Kansas.

In 1894, he was renominated for governor by the populists, but on a platform which contained a woman-suffrage plank. This plank was highly obnoxious to democrats, and they fought the populist ticket with a fury and bitterness even greater than did the republicans. This action of the democrats defeated the entire populist ticket.

In 1896 he was nominated for state senate by both the populists and democrats, and was elected, and held that office at the time of his death. Also, in the spring of 1897, he was appointed a member of the State Board of Railroad Commissioners, and held that office two years.

He died very suddenly, at Arkansas City, Kan., September 3, 1900, of heart disease, while on his way home to Wichita from Geuda Springs, leaving surviving him his wife and four daughters, one daughter, Ruth, having been born to him during his second marriage.

This is one sketch of Governor Lewelling. But it mainly tells that he lived, held office, and died; and that, though fearfully handicapped in his childhood in the battle for bread, yet from the hour he attained the years of manhood down until the hour of his death, both in his native state and in Kansas, it falls to the lot of few men to be more prominently and honorably before the public. And it seems also the chief object of most eulogists to give prominence to these things. But as a fact, to say of any man that he held high and various offices is at best a doubtful panegyric. No man is better or more noble for having held office. There is a strange something about the possession of political power that is a serious menace to the manhood of its possessor. And to hold high office has been the common lot of some of the meanest as well as some of the best of men, from the dawn of history to the present day.

Though it can be said of Mr. Lewelling that he held many distinguished public offices—that he was governor of Kansas—yet all this fades into insignificance beside the real grandeur of that other fact that he possessed one of the grandest human hearts that God has ever bestowed upon man. He was a man of deep and warm affections, profound sympathy, temperate habits, beautiful manners, cultivated mind, even temper, indomitable courage, and a profound believer in an overruling providence.

Speaking of him in the spring of 1896, an interim when he was leading a private life and after he retired from the governorship, the *Lebanon (Kan.) Journal* said: "We want to say that our observation of the official acts of ex-Gov. L. D. Lewelling led us to admire the man for his manly bearing under the most trying circumstances. Contrast his exemplary life with his family at the old homestead at Wichita since his retirement from office with that of the scheming, manipulating politician, and you have an idea of the difference between a candid, upright statesman and a class of political cormorants. We admire Governor Lewelling because we believe him to be one of the broadest, greatest and grand-

est governors for oppressed humanity—a humanitarian naturally: that the populists of Kansas ought always feel proud of him.” This was a just tribute to a remarkable and most excellent man. These comments on the simple and exemplary life of Lewelling, the alacrity and readiness with which he became one of the common people, formed quite a contrast with the usual holder of office, and it made him one of the most popular of men.

At about this time the Wichita *Eagle*, the great republican daily paper of southern Kansas, devoted a very complimentary article to him, from which is taken the following extract: “. . . Yesterday an *Eagle* reporter sauntered into his new place of business. Mr. Lewelling is always affable. It makes no difference who goes to see Lewelling—rich or poor, statesman or laboring man—he is always sure of a hearty welcome.” Such was the excellent compliment paid him by the great opposition paper of his home town. The word “affable” was rightly applied to him. It was the exponent of his nature. No man in Kansas embodied more humanity, fellow-feeling, and goodness. As the Wichita *Eagle* stated, it made no difference who went to see Mr. Lewelling—poor or rich, statesman or laboring man—he was sure of a hearty welcome. It was the same when he was governor. When seated in the executive chamber and burdened with business, the humblest negro in Kansas was sure of a respectful audience from him. Whether as governor or private citizen, he was always one of the most accessible of men.

His sympathy for humanity was acquired in the bitter school of experience. His childhood days were those of bitter poverty. While yet a mere babe, death had robbed him of both father and mother. Sad, indeed, is such a situation. While a mere child, he was confronted with the bitter realities of the world, and the terrific struggle for bread; but he met it manfully. A homeless, fatherless, motherless boy, he roamed a dozen states, turning his hand to whatever he could find to do, and longing with a passionate yearning for an education. Thus we find him, while a mere lad, driving cattle to the Union army of the Tennessee, and with these earnings graduating from Eastman’s College, at Poughkeepsie, N. Y.; then as tow-path boy on the Erie canal, carpenter in Toledo, section-hand at Chicago, and bridge-builder at Ottumwa; and with these earnings graduating from Whittier College, Iowa—all this by the time he had attained his majority; next we find him instructor in a prominent state institution of his native state; and then representing that state at Louisville, Washington, St. Louis, and other places, in various national conferences of charities; president of the Iowa State Normal School board; and later holding many distinguished offices in Kansas, even that of governor of the state.

Thus the humble, homeless orphan boy of nine years buffeted the waves of adversity with success, and, while yet a mere youth, became one of the best-educated and best-known men in his native state; later, one of the best-known men in the nation, and governor of a sister state. Thus his experience had reached all classes—from the lowly cabin, hard bed and coarse and scanty fare of the poor, to the council halls and banquet boards of the great. His sympathy for the poor and distressed was genuine. It was leavened in his boyish heart when, as a homeless orphan, he wandered the earth in search of work and bread, and it abided with him until the end. His boyhood days were ever too vividly before him to permit him to forget the unfortunate and the struggling. It made him one of the most philanthropic, humane and best of men. This sympathy for the poor, coupled with a commanding presence, cultivated mind, and the gift of making the lofty and the lowly feel thoroughly at ease in his presence, made him one of the most attractive and popular of men.

In 1892 he appeared before the populist state convention as a private citizen to welcome the delegates to Wichita. Up to that hour scarcely a delegate in that convention had ever seen or heard of him. His address stirred the convention to its inmost fiber, and within the next twenty-four hours he was its candidate for governor, and a few months afterwards successfully carried the state at the general election.

Stormy indeed was his gubernatorial career. The great corporations accepted his election with about the same temper that the slave power accepted the election of Lincoln, and for a time the state trembled on the verge of civil war. Petty officials, ignoring the constitution, disputed with him his constitutional prerogatives, and were encouraged by partizan courts. This attitude from his political opponents, who heretofore had held absolute sway in the state and still dominated the courts, coupled with the envy which his popularity raised among the leaders in his own party, robbed his administration of the great objects that he sought to accomplish. No man in modern time has been so bitterly assailed. From press and rostrum calumny poured on him like a torrent, and envy plied her secret dagger on every hand. They said his administration was extravagant, notwithstanding cold figures now show that to that administration belongs the distinction of having the lowest tax levy in the entire history of the state. They said his administration was corrupt, notwithstanding cold figures now show that to that administration belongs the distinction of having the largest balance in the treasury at the close of the fiscal years of any administration in the entire history of the state. But enough as to the hatred, strife and envy incident to the holding of high political office.

Governor Lewelling was a student of history, and in its light he saw it had ever been thus in public affairs, and probably will be until the end of time. He knew that, away back in the twilight of time, the father of biography called attention to the fact that to be great was to be envied; and he also knew that history, sacred and profane, teaches the lesson that to fight the battles of the poor and the lowly is to invite persecution on the one hand and ingratitude on the other. While it is human to be pained in heart at cruel ingratitude from those who should have reared a monument of gold to him, or to feel sad under gross calumny of opponents, yet vindictiveness never had a lodgment in Governor Lewelling's heart or mind. Love for friends and forgiveness for enemies were what he believed and practiced; and thus it was, while rancor ran riot against him in public life, no man in Kansas was more beloved in private life. There was much, very much, that was sad on the one hand, and beautiful on the other, in his life, and these conditions attended even at his very grave; for amid the somber surroundings of sepulture there was the beautiful fact that men of every political faith, even to the republican governor of the state, were there, and vied with each other in expressing their love and respect for him.

Many of his official acts emphasize what has been here said of his qualities of heart and mind. For a double reason, one of these will be here set forth: (1) Because it is a fitting proof of what has here been said of him; and (2) because I have been assured by George W. Martin, secretary of this Society, that there is not a copy of it on record, either in the governor's office or in any public department. As it was a document that at the time attracted much public attention, the very nature and purpose of this Society demands that it should be preserved from oblivion. It is a circular letter, issued from the governor's office on the 4th of December, 1893, and addressed to the metropolitan police commissioners of various cities in Kansas, which commissioners were at that time appointees of the governor. The following copy has been furnished by Secretary

Martin, of this Society, who attests its correctness. It became commonly known as "the Tramp Circular," and is as follows:

"EXECUTIVE CIRCULAR.

"In the reign of Elizabeth the highways were filled with the throngs of the unemployed poor, who were made to 'move on,' and were sometimes brutally whipped, sometimes summarily hanged as 'sturdy vagrants' or 'incorrigible vagabonds.' In France, just previous to the revolution, the punishment of being poor and out of work was, for the first offense, a term of years in the galleys; for the second offense, the galleys for life. In this country, the monopoly of labor-saving machinery and its devotion to selfish instead of social use have rendered more and more human beings superfluous, until we have a standing army of the unemployed numbering, even in the most prosperous times, not less than one million able-bodied men; yet, until recently, it was the prevailing notion, as it is yet the notion of all but the work-people themselves, and those of other classes given to thinking, that whosoever being able-bodied and willing to work, can always find work to do, and section 571 of the General Statutes of 1889 is a disgraceful reminder how savage, even in Kansas, has been our treatment of the most unhappy of our human brothers.

"The man out of work and penniless is, by this legislation, classed with 'confidence men.' Under this statute, and city ordinances of similar import, thousands of men, guilty of no crime but poverty, intent upon no crime but seeking employment, have languished in the city prisons of Kansas or performed unrequited toil on 'rock piles' as municipal slaves, because ignorance of economic conditions had made us cruel. The victims have been the poor and humble, for whom police courts are the courts of last resort. They cannot give bond and appeal. They have been unheeded and uncared for by the busy world, which wastes no time visiting prisoners in jail. They have been too poor to litigate with their oppressors, and thus no voice from this underworld of human woe has ever reached the ear of the appellate court, because it was nobody's business to be his brother's keeper.

"But those who sit in the seats of power are bound by the highest obligation to especially regard the cause of the oppressed and helpless poor. The first duty of the government is to the weak. Power becomes fiendish if it be not the protector and sure reliance of the friendless, to whose complaints all other ears are dulled. It is my duty to see that the laws are faithfully executed, and among those laws is the constitutional provision that no instrumentality of the state 'shall deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.' And who needs to be told that equal protection of the laws does not prevail where this inhuman vagrancy law is enforced? It separates men into two distinct classes, differentiated as those who are penniless and those who are not, and declare the former criminals. Only the latter are entitled to the liberty guaranteed by the constitution. To be found in a city 'without some visible means of support or some legitimate business' is the involuntary condition of some millions at this moment, and we proceed to punish them for being victims of conditions which we, as a people, have forced upon them.

"I have noticed in police-court reports that 'sleeping in a box car' is among the varieties of this heinous crime of being poor. Some police judges have usurped a sovereign power not permitted by highest functionaries of the states or of the nation, and victims of the industrial conditions have been peremptorily 'ordered to leave town.' The right to go freely from place to place in search of employment, or even in obedience to a mere whim, is part of that personal liberty guaranteed by the constitution of the United States to every human being on American soil. If voluntary idleness is not forbidden; if a Diogenes preferred poverty; if a Columbus choose hunger and the discovery of a new race, rather than seek personal comfort by engaging in 'some legitimate business,' I am aware of no power in the legislature or in city councils to deny him the right to seek happiness in his own way, so long as he harms no other, rich or poor; but let simple poverty cease to be a crime.

"In some cities it is provided by ordinance that if police-court fines be not paid or secured the culprit shall be compelled to work out the amount as a municipal slave, and 'rock piles' and 'bull pens' are provided for the enforcement of these ordinances. And so it appears that this slavery is not imposed as a punishment, but solely as a means of collecting a debt.

"Such city ordinances are in flagrant violation of constitutional prohibition. The rock pile and the bull pen have only been used in degrading the friendless and poor, and are relics of a departed auction-block era [which have not] ceased to disgrace the cities of Kansas.

"And let the dawn of Christmas day find the rock pile and the bull pen, and the crime of being homeless and poor, obsolete in all the cities of Kansas governed by the metropolitan-police act.

"It is confidently expected that their own regard for constitutional liberty and their human impulses will induce police commissioners to carry out the spirit as well as the letter of the foregoing suggestions.

L. D. LEWELLING, *Governor.*"

THE DISCOVERY AND DEVELOPMENT OF NATURAL GAS IN KANSAS.

An address by CHARLES F. SCOTT* before the Kansas State Historical Society, at the twenty-fifth annual meeting, January 15, 1901.

NATURAL gas has been known to exist in Kansas almost from the earliest white settlement of the state, small quantities of it having been found in wells drilled before the war in Wyandotte county in search of oil. 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.

Probably the most notable of these early gas-wells was the one developed at Iola, in 1873, by the Iola Mining Company, of which Nelson F. Acers was president. This company had been organized to prospect for coal, and so certain were they of finding it that they began at once sinking a large shaft. The work on this shaft attracted the attention of some of the officers of the Leavenworth, Lawrence & Galveston railroad (now the Southern Kansas division of the Santa Fe), and they offered to bring to Iola a diamond-drill outfit with which the railroad company had been prospecting at different points along its line, and to pay \$500 of the expense of a deep well. The offer was gladly accepted, and the work was begun in the fall of 1872. At the depth of 190 feet a small flow of gas was struck. At the depth of 622 feet the drill suddenly dropped eighteen inches, and almost immediately the water which filled the space about the drill was thrown high into the air, and a volume of gas followed which became lighted and did considerable damage before it could be subdued. The drilling was continued until a depth of 736 feet was reached. This was the limit of the apparatus in use, and the work was reluctantly abandoned.

*CHARLES FREDERICK SCOTT was born on a farm north of Iola, September 7, 1860. His father, Dr. John W. Scott, was born near Pittsburgh, Pa. In 1857 he came to Kansas, locating at Olathe, and the next year moved to Allen county. In 1859 he was elected to the territorial legislature; was reelected in 1860, and was chosen speaker. In 1861 he was elected to the first state legislature. In 1866 he was elected to the state senate, and reelected in 1868. He promoted the construction of the Leavenworth, Lawrence & Galveston, now the Southern Kansas railroad. He was a regent of the State University from 1873 to 1879. In 1898 he was elected a member of the territorial legislature of Oklahoma. He died at Guthrie, Okla., January 19, 1899. His son Charles entered the University of Kansas in 1877, from which he graduated in 1881. He "roughed it" for a year and a half in Colorado, New Mexico, and Arizona. He returned to Iola in 1882 and purchased an interest in the *Iola Register*, of which he is to-day sole owner. In 1892 he was elected state senator from the counties of Allen and Woodson, being one of the fifteen Republican senators who escaped the populist landslide of that year. In 1900 he was elected congressman at large. He served for nearly ten years from 1891 as regent of the State University. In 1891 he made a tour of Europe. He was one of the organizers of the Kansas-day Club, and has always been actively interested in the Kansas State Historical Society.

If this paper were a speculation on what might have been, and not a history of what has been, it would be interesting to try to conjecture what the past twenty-five years would have witnessed if that drill had gone 100 feet deeper. But the work ceased and the drill was withdrawn. And then a singular spectacle was witnessed. Following the drill there came a great geyser of water, thrown many feet above the ground, with a great gurgling and hissing noise. Presently the flow ceased and all was quiet for the space of a few seconds, and then the same phenomenon was repeated. And so for more than fourteen years at intervals of from fifteen to forty-five seconds it continued to be repeated, and it was a remarkable and very beautiful sight, particularly when the gas was set on fire and the spraying water looked like a fountain of liquid flame. The fame of it spread abroad, and as the waters were shown to have considerable medicinal virtue "the Acers mineral well," as it soon came to be known, attracted many visitors and became quite a resort. In 1885, however, the Neosho river overflowed its banks and the Acers well was filled with surface-water, the weight of which was too much for the gas to lift, and so the flow ceased.

In the meantime, prospecting for coal and oil had continued in other parts of the state, and, in 1882, gas was found in wells drilled about seven miles to the northeast of Paola, Miami county, in quantities sufficient to be used commercially. At first it was thought there was sufficient flow for manufacturing purposes, and a glass factory was located, at considerable expense to the citizens of the town. A very brief trial sufficed to demonstrate the fact that there was not a sufficient volume of gas to provide fuel for this enterprise, and it was abandoned. By drilling a considerable number of wells, however, enough gas was secured to warrant the expense of piping it into the city for domestic purposes, and this use continues to the present day, although the supply is not great enough to meet the needs of the entire town.

At about the time that gas was discovered at Paola it was found also at Fort Scott, and here again the experiment of a glass factory was tried. The result was even less satisfactory, however, as the flow of gas soon practically ceased. A great deal of money has since been spent in the search for gas in the vicinity of Fort Scott, and in several of the wells small quantities of gas have been found; but a sufficient supply has not yet been secured to make it of any practical value.

In 1886 the discovery of the great natural-gas fields of Ohio and Indiana, and the remarkable growth of the towns of that region resulting therefrom, attracted general attention all over the West, and the people of Iola recalled the Acers mineral well, and the long years that the gas which issued from it had signaled to them of the riches below. And so a local company, known as the Iola Gas and Coal Company, of which J. W. Coutant was president, and H. L. Henderson secretary, was organized, with a capital of \$50,000, for the purpose of prospecting for gas. A franchise for supplying the city with gas for domestic and manufacturing purposes was secured, and, with \$2500 raised by an assessment of two per cent. on the capital stock, the work of drilling was begun. At the end of a year the money had been spent, with nothing to show for it but one or two wells with a small flow of gas. Hope was still strong, however, and the local feeling that gas might be found was such that \$3000 of city bonds were easily voted to continue the prospecting. With this sum two or three more wells were drilled, each of which developed a small quantity of gas, but in all the wells together there was hardly a supply for fifty cook-stoves.

At this juncture, Mr. Joseph Paullin, then as now a conductor on the Southern Kansas division of the Santa Fe railroad, and who had noted the prospecting with much interest, associating with himself Mr. W. S. Pryor, an experienced

deep-well driller, appeared before the Iola Coal and Gas Company, and proposed to buy its plant and franchise and continue the work. The sale was made under the condition that the new firm should drill at least six wells, unless a sufficient quantity of gas to supply the town with fuel and light was sooner found. The work continued, but very slowly, and it was nearly five years before the six wells called for by the contract had been sunk. And the gross product of all these wells barely sufficed to supply 100 cook-stoves. It looked discouraging. Messrs. Pryor and Paullin were so firm in their faith that there was a big supply of gas somewhere in the vicinity, however, that they determined to sink one more well, and sink it deep. In all the wells, up to this date, the gas had been found at a depth of from 250 to 350 feet, and in no case had the drill gone deeper than 450 feet. It was determined that the next well should go down 1000 feet, if necessary, before the long search was finally abandoned. And this determination had its reward. On Christmas day, 1893, at a depth of 850 feet, the drill entered the long-sought-for "sand," and the first natural-gas well in Kansas, of any real value, was opened; and so, although the existence of natural gas in the state had been known for nearly forty years, Christmas day, 1893, may be remembered as the date of the discovery of the Kansas natural-gas field.

The fame of the new discovery spread rapidly, and in June, 1894, the Palmer Oil and Gas Company, of Cleveland, Ohio, sent representatives to Iola, leased several thousand acres of land, and proceeded at once to sink a number of wells. In nearly all of these wells gas was found, the rock pressure in each varying but slightly from 320 pounds, the volume ranging from 3,000,000 to 14,000,000 cubic feet daily, and the depth at which the "sand" was found varying from 810 to 996 feet. The success of the Palmer Company attracted other investors, and within four years from the date of the original discovery the field had been practically outlined in the form of a parallelogram, extending from Iola eastward a distance of about eight, with a width of about four miles. Within these limits gas is regarded as a certainty, and the wells now drilled are supplying fuel for six large zinc smelters, three brick plants, one Portland-cement plant, and numerous smaller industries, besides furnishing heat and light for perhaps 3000 private dwellings. Even with this enormous drain, but an insignificant proportion of the gas which the field is capable of supplying is required. It is, perhaps, not the province of this paper to speculate upon the life of the field; but it may not be without interest to state that a single well near Iola has supplied all the fuel that has been required for a large smelter for more than three years, and, as yet, shows no signs of exhaustion. At the rate at which it is now being used, it is the opinion of experts that the field will not be exhausted during the life of this generation, and perhaps not for sixty or seventy years.

The discovery and development of the Iola field stimulated the search for gas in other localities, and since 1893 valuable discoveries have been made in Neosho, Wilson and Montgomery counties. Gas in small quantities has been found in Franklin county, and very recently a strong well is reported to have been opened at Mound City, in Linn county. At this writing, however, it has been found in sufficient volume for manufacturing purposes only in Allen, Neosho, Wilson and Montgomery counties. The commercial value of the product during 1900 is estimated by Prof. E. Haworth, 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, that value will soon be doubled, and natural gas will rank as one of the richest of the resources of Kansas.

CAPTAIN HENRY KUHN.

A paper read by C. E. FOOTE* before the Kansas State Historical Society, at its twenty-fifth annual meeting, January 15, 1901.

THE subject of this sketch was born in Franklin county, Pennsylvania, on the 2d day of February, 1830, and died in the city of Topeka, Kan., on the 11th day of June, 1900. He was the only son of Emanuel Kuhn. He acquired a good education early in life, and for a number of years engaged in school-teaching in his native state. On December 26, 1850, he was united in marriage to Miss Ann Katharine Herr, of Greencastle, Pa. Four years later the young couple emigrated west and located in Atchison county, Kansas, where Mr. Kuhn at once became actively engaged and closely identified with the building of a new and progressive community. He was the first superintendent of public instruction of Atchison county, and during his residence in that city occupied various places of public trust and responsibility; his first public service being the civil engineering of the city of Atchison. He was also at one time appointed surveyor of that county. He was one of the organizers of the First National Bank of that city, and occupied a prominent position in the bank's board of directors for a number of years.

In September, 1861, Mr. Kuhn enlisted in the Eighth Kansas infantry, under Col. John A. Martin, ex-governor of Kansas, and served until the close of the war, leaving the service a commissioned captain. At the close of the war he removed to Fort Leavenworth, where he resided for sixteen years, during which time he assisted in organizing the German Savings Bank, and built the first railroad in that city. During Captain Kuhn's residence in Leavenworth he was considered the wealthiest man in that city. He conceived the idea and was the first man in the state of Kansas to propose the sinking of a coal-shaft in the ground at the state penitentiary, with a view of utilizing the convict labor for the purpose of mining the coal, thereby benefiting the state. He framed the bill, and through the instrumentality of a Leavenworth representative the same was presented to the Kansas legislature and made a law.

Captain Kuhn was chief clerk and at different times acting agent at the Indian agency in the Indian Territory during the administration of Presidents Hayes and Arthur, at the close of which he removed with his family to a large ranch in the northwest part of Marion county, Kansas, and engaged in farming and stock raising. In 1890 he became associated with his son-in-law, C. E. Foote, in publishing the *Marion Times*, published in the county-seat of Marion county. Mr. Kuhn remained with this paper until February, 1899, when he sold his interest in the same and returned to Atchison, his original Kansas home, where he purchased the *Atchison Champion*, and engaged in the editorial man-

*CHARLES E. FOOTE was born in Lenawee county, Michigan, October 9, 1852. In 1863 his parents removed to Iowa. At eleven years of age he was compelled to make his own way in the world. He worked hard to maintain himself at school, finally graduating at Oskaloosa College, Iowa, in 1879. He was elected a member of the board of trustees of his *alma mater*, and was one of the founders of Drake University, at Des Moines, Iowa. He first settled in Kansas in 1869, locating in Marion county. He read law, and held the office of probate judge of the county. He was a member of the board of pardons under Governor Lewelling, and under Governor Leedy was a special examiner of the insurance department. From 1890 to 1894 he was the owner of the *Marion Times*. In 1897 he removed to Topeka, where he is now engaged in the bond-brokerage business.

agement of that publication until the following August, when his health began to fail, and, as a result, he was compelled to retire from an active business life of more than one-half a century.

Captain Kuhn was appointed by Governor Leedy as one of the delegates to attend the convention for the Louisiana Purchase celebration, held in St. Louis, and was made a member of the Kansas committee for the purpose of arranging for the important event, a position that he occupied at the time of his death. He was also a member of the Kansas State Historical Society, an association founded by his lifelong friend, the late Judge Adams, and one in which Captain Kuhn always expressed the deepest interest. In the autumn of 1899 he moved from Atchison to Topeka, where he resided until the day of his death.

To Mr. and Mrs. Kuhn were born eight children, seven of whom survive the aged parent, namely: Capt. Preston Kuhn, of Vancouver Barracks, Washington; Harry H. Kuhn, of the same place; Mrs. Carl Moller, of St. Louis; Mrs. Doctor Tobin, of Frankfort, Pa.; James G. Kuhn, of Wellington, Kan.; Mrs. C. E. Foote, of Topeka, Kan.; and Mrs. Mary Carter, of Marion, Kan. One daughter, Mrs. Doctor Whitwood, who died in 1888, at her home in St. Louis, Mo., was the first white female child born in Atchison county, Kansas.

Captain Kuhn was a member of Lincoln Grand Army post, in the city of Topeka, Kan. Captain Kuhn belonged to an intelligent, sturdy old family of Pennsylvania Dutch, and enjoyed, during his three-score and ten years, good health and great business activity. He was a well-informed man, a great reader, and a forceful, interesting writer.

THE SOURCES OF THE CONSTITUTION OF KANSAS.

An address by ROSA M. PERDUE,* delivered before the Kansas State Historical Society, at its twenty-first annual meeting, held January, 15, 1901.

CONSTITUTIONAL conventions in new states have always clung tenaciously to the general plan of the organic law of some model state. The three departments of government, with a system of checks and balances, are fundamental. The details of administration and new features have been added continually, as the experience of different states proved their necessity. The Western states have new provisions to meet new conditions, but they have in other respects followed the precedent of some older state. Each new state usually adopts the points tested in the constitutions of the preceding decade. The states of the North have mostly followed the precedent of New York, and those in the South have in the majority of cases taken the constitution of Virginia for a model.

It is the purpose of this paper to trace the sources of the Kansas constitution, formed by the convention at Wyandotte in July of 1859. As a preparation for this constitutional convention, the people of Kansas had learned several lessons

* MISS ROSA MAUDE PERDUE was born near Paxton, Ill., March 27, 1870. Her parents were natives of Pennsylvania, her father of French Huguenot and her mother of New England Puritan ancestry. During her childhood they removed from Illinois to the vicinity of Joplin, Mo. In 1894 Miss Perdue was graduated from the Kansas Normal College, at Fort Scott. From 1895 to 1897 she was principal of the high school at Evanston, Wyo. From 1899 to 1901 Miss Perdue was a graduate student at the University of Kansas, and during a part of the time served as student instructor in English history. In 1901 she received the degree of master of arts from the University of Kansas, and was elected to a fellowship in the University of Wisconsin. The present paper was prepared in the American historical seminary conducted by Professor Hodder, at the University of Kansas.

from three earlier attempts at constitution making. The statement is frequently made that the Wyandotte constitution was formed upon the Topeka model. This is an entire mistake. Though the convention was guided in several particulars in local matters by the earlier constitutions, no one of them was adopted as a model. Only seven of the fifty-two members had been delegates to any earlier convention, and the majority were in favor of adopting a new plan.

The delegates met in Wyandotte July 5, 1859, and organized by electing James M. Winchell president, and John A. Martin secretary. The dependence of the convention upon precedent first developed in the discussion which arose between those who wished to administer an oath to all delegates and those who thought it necessary for officers only. The law providing for the organization of the convention was silent on this point. James G. Blunt stated that he had examined the precedents, and found that in some bodies of like character the oath had been administered and in others it had not. The question had been raised in the Ohio convention of 1851. There, too, the law had not required that an oath be administered to the entire membership, but they had finally agreed to take the oath to support the constitution of the United States and to faithfully perform their duties as members of the convention.

That nothing might be omitted that any other state had done to solemnize its proceedings, the convention adopted the plan and oath of Ohio, and Mr. Wm. L. McMath, a notary public of Wyandotte, was selected to administer it. The members, rising in their places, received the following: "You and each of you will support the constitution of the United States, and faithfully discharge your duties as members of this convention." The officers then stood up and a similar oath was administered. This early adoption of the example of Ohio foreshadowed a later adoption of the constitution of that state as a model by which the constitution of Kansas should be drawn.

The members of the convention were organized in fifteen committees, each of which was to prepare a draft of provisions appropriate for a particular article of the constitution. In order that the drafts prepared by the committees might be harmonious, it was necessary to decide upon a common basis for action. This was difficult to do, on account of the varying nativity and experience of the delegates. The largest representation from any one state was the thirteen from Ohio. Seven were natives of Indiana and five each of Kentucky and Pennsylvania. Four were from New York, three each were from New Jersey and Vermont, and two each from Massachusetts and Maine. Four members were foreigners, representing England, Ireland, Scotland, and Germany. Five delegates had helped to form the Leavenworth constitution, and three had been members of the Topeka convention. Each group knowing the provision of its own constitution best, was in favor of adopting it as a model. During the debate, John P. Slough advocated the Leavenworth constitution, and William R. Griffith, being a native of Indiana, thought the constitution of that state would be the proper model.

Solon O. Thacher suggested the plan which was adopted. It provided that the roll of the convention be called, and that each member name the constitution which he preferred as a basis for the convention to act upon, and that if on this vote no one constitution received a majority the roll be called again, and that the members confine their responses to one of the three constitutions having the highest number of votes. Upon the first ballot Ohio received thirteen votes, Indiana twelve, and Kentucky six. Five votes were cast for the Leavenworth and three for the Topeka constitution. Pennsylvania and Iowa each received two votes, and Massachusetts, Maine, Michigan, Minnesota and Oregon one each. The number of votes for Ohio corresponds to the number of delegates native of

that state. The number of votes for the Topeka and Leavenworth constitutions correspond, respectively, with the number of members who helped to form these constitutions. The seven members from Indiana and five from Kentucky were doubtless state loyal, and must have received votes from states having smaller delegations. The other votes bear no apparent relation to the members present from the respective states. On the second ballot, Ohio received twenty-five votes, Indiana twenty-three, and Kentucky one. The Ohio constitution, having received the majority of the votes cast, was made the basis for action, and copies of that constitution were printed and distributed to the members of the various committees.

Many other constitutions were in the hands of the delegates, and sections peculiarly adapted to conditions in Kansas were appropriated from them. Among the constitutions mostly drawn from were the Michigan constitution of 1850, the Iowa constitution of 1857, Wisconsin of 1848, Illinois of 1848, Indiana of 1851, Minnesota of 1857, New York of 1846, Pennsylvania of 1838, Kentucky of 1850, and the earlier Kansas constitutions, framed at Topeka, Lecompton, and Leavenworth.*

The reports of the committees, being completed at different times, were presented to the convention in irregular order. For that reason this paper will follow the arrangement of the completed document. The ordinance is first in order. No such instrument having been prefixed to the Ohio constitution of 1851, the committee on ordinance was without a definite precedent to follow in its deliberations. Robert Graham, a member of the committee, offered to the convention as an instruction to the committee on ordinance the proposition included in the "English bill," saying that it was "the same proposition as that made to the people of Kansas by the democratic party in the event of the adoption of the Lecompton constitution. If this convention should adopt the article, that party could not consistently oppose its provisions in the coming constitutional election."

Upon comparison, it is evident that the Lecompton ordinance and the English bill were the precedents followed. The enacting clause is that of the Lecompton constitution. Section 1 of the report of the committee was exactly section 1 of

* The Topeka constitutional convention assembled at Topeka October 23, 1855. At an election held October 9, 1855, forty-seven delegates were elected; 2710 votes were cast. But thirty-one delegates participated in the convention. James H. Lane was president, and Samuel C. Fisher and Charles A. Foster were secretaries. December 15, 1855, an election was held, and 1778 votes cast for the constitution, and forty-six voted no constitution. Only free-state men voted. July 3, 1856, the house of representatives, at Washington, passed a bill for the admission of the territory, by a vote of ninety-nine to ninety-seven. July 4, 1856, the legislature which assembled under the Topeka movement was dispersed by federal troops. No legislative body having authorized the Topeka movement, the administration at Washington deemed it revolutionary.

February 10, 1857, the territorial legislature (proslavery) authorized the Lecompton constitutional convention. Governor Geary vetoed the bill because the legislature "failed to make any provision to submit the constitution, when framed, to the consideration of the people for their ratification or rejection." The bill was passed by the legislature over his veto. June 5, 1867, delegates were elected, 2200 votes being polled, the free-state men not voting. The convention met September 4, 1857, composed of forty-four members. John Calhoun was president, and Charles J. McIlvaine was secretary. December 21, 1857, there was a vote by the people on the constitution, at which election only proslavery people voted; total votes cast: For the constitution with slavery, 6226; for the constitution with no slavery, 569. In the meantime the free-state men secured control of the territorial legislature, which body submitted the Lecompton constitution to another vote, which was had January 4, 1858, with this result: Against the constitution, 10,226; for, with slavery, 138; for, without slavery, 23. March 23, 1858, the senate passed a bill, 33 to 25, to admit Kansas into the Union under this constitution. The house adopted a substitute, by 120 to 112. The two houses agreed on a conference committee, and from this conference came the English bill, which ordered another election. The English bill offered all sorts of land grants to the new state. This vote was had August 2, 1858, and

the English bill, but Mr. Winchell proposed a substitute stating the same provisions in better language, which was adopted. Section 2 is the first part of section 2 of the English bill, except that the manner of selecting the land is left to a provision in section 8. In section 3 the grant of land was extended from ten to thirteen sections, which was the amount provided in section 3 of the Leavenworth ordinance. The separate grant of seventy-two sections of land for the erection and maintenance of charitable and benevolent institutions is additional. Section 5, appropriating salt springs, with six sections of land adjacent thereto, is taken from section 4 of the English bill, though all the provisions of this section of that article were not adopted. Section 6, asking for five per centum of the proceeds of the sale of public lands, follows section 5 of the English bill, except that that document appropriates the income to internal improvement. The committee set it aside as a permanent fund, the income of which should be devoted to the support of the common schools. A suggestion of this idea is found in section 3 of the ordinance to the Leavenworth constitution. Section 7, appropriating the 500,000 acres of land granted to the new states by act of Congress September 14, 1841, to the support of the common schools, has precedent in the California constitution, article IX, section 2, in the constitution of Iowa, article IX, section 3, and most constitutions since the grant was made. Section 8, prescribing the manner in which the selection of such land should be made, was a part of section 2 of the English bill.

The next in order of the preliminary articles is the preamble. Mr. Hutchinson said, in explanation of the report of the committee, that the article was copied almost word for word from the preamble of the Massachusetts constitution, which had been composed by John Adams. This would have been of historic interest, at least, but the members of the Kansas convention discarded it in favor of a short enacting clause prepared by Samuel A. Stinson. In introducing this clause, he stated that it was the usual form of the constitutions which he had examined. He appears to have taken Minnesota for a model, and added a few words from Wisconsin or Iowa.

The preamble is followed by the bill of rights. With the exception of an addi-

resulted as follows: For the English bill or the Lecompton constitution, 1788; against, 11,300, and so Lecompton died. The English bill was known as "Lecompton Junior."

The territorial legislature of 1853, now free state, authorized the Leavenworth constitutional convention. March 9 delegates were elected, about 9000 votes being cast. The convention met at Minneola, March 23. There were eighty-four delegates. Martin F. Conway was president, and Samuel F. Tappan secretary. March 25 the convention adjourned to Leavenworth. They closed their labors April 3, and the constitution was adopted May 18, 1858. It was presented to congress January 5, 1859. No action was taken.

In February, 1859, the territorial legislature passed an act submitting to a vote of the people the question of calling a constitutional convention. The vote was taken March 28, and resulted: For, 5306; against, 1425. The election for delegates was held June 7. At this election the republican and democratic parties first confronted each other in Kansas. The result was the election of thirty-five republicans and seventeen democrats; 14,000 votes were cast. The convention met at Wyandotte July 5, 1859, and adjourned the 29th of the same month. The democratic members declined to sign the document. The constitution was adopted October 4, 1859, by the following vote: For, 10,421; against, 5530. The homestead clause was adopted by a vote of 8788 for to 4772 against. December 6 state and county officers and members of the legislature were elected. April 11, 1860, the house of representatives voted, 134 to 73, to admit Kansas as a state under the Wyandotte constitution. Twice during the next eight months the senate defeated motions to consider the Kansas bill, but on the 21st of January, 1861, several Southern senators having seceded, Mr. Seward called it up, and it passed by a vote of 36 to 16, and James Buchanan approved it on the 29th of the same month. The bill which passed was introduced by Galusha A. Grow, who also was the father of the bill to admit under the Topeka constitution.

A question came from Oklahoma, which suggests the statement that the enabling acts for these various constitutional-convention movements came from the territorial legislature. Congress did not pass an enabling act for a convention in Kansas. The law of May 30, 1854, creating the territory, was silent on the point.

tional provision to section 6, and a few transpositions and changes in phraseology, the last nineteen provisions of the bill of rights are, section for section, modeled upon the Ohio precedent. The first section was the only one that led to an extended debate. It was an exact copy of the first section of the Leavenworth bill of rights. T. Dwight Thacher states that the section reported was copied from the Lecompton bill of rights, with slight changes in the phraseology made by the Leavenworth committee, with the definite purpose of antagonizing the proslavery sentiment. Its introduction occasioned a violent debate. To pour oil upon the troubled waters, the first section of the Ohio bill of rights was twice introduced. The first time it was voted down, and the second declared out of order. Finally, Samuel A. Kingman proposed the following: "All men are possessed of equal and inalienable natural rights, among which are those of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." He said that he "wished the purely American feeling to appear in this first section." These terms were already in the hearts of the people; they had become traditional. The declaration of independence and declaration of rights formed a part of the political creed from which no man could extricate himself. He loved the form in which old ideas were expressed. They were, in form as well as spirit, the political bible of every citizen. If you change the language, you mar its beauties. He had therefore selected a few words from these documents and molded them into a substitute that would show no man's prejudice and was broad enough for all to stand upon. In this form the section was adopted.

ARTICLE I.—*Executive*. Nineteen of the twenty sections of the Ohio article; three were preserved in the report of the committee on executive department, section 4 only being omitted and sections 1 and 2 being combined. A few changes were made in the report during the debate upon its adoption. To the list of officers enumerated in the first section the state superintendent of public instruction was added. The term of service for the auditor was changed to two years, to correspond with the term of service for other officers.

The provisions of section 2, respecting returns of elections, occasioned some discussion. Mr. Thacher did not approve the requirement that the returns be sent directly by the township officers, but proposed that an abstract of the returns of every election in each county be sent by the clerk of that county. Mr. Burris favored the plan of Iowa, which transmitted the returns to a county board, which sent them on to a state board. Mr. Thacher said that New York as well as Iowa sent the returns to a state board of commissioners, and that in his opinion, in Kansas, the secretary of state, the auditor and the attorney-general should constitute a board to canvass the returns and declare the result, instead of entrusting this to the president of the senate. A section, copied mostly from Iowa and New York, and embodying the propositions of Messrs. Thacher and Burris, was introduced. It was amended by requiring that the returns be directed to the secretary of state, who, in connection with the lieutenant-governor and attorney-general, was to constitute the board of canvassers for the state. The section was then approved by the convention.

The part of section 4 which provided for the execution of laws by the governor was transposed from section 4 to section 3. Sections 5 and 6 of the report, concerning the governor's message to the legislature and his power to call extra sessions, were combined for the present section 5. The provision that the governor shall be commander of the military and naval forces of the state was stricken from the report, with the intention of making a like provision in the legislative department. In lieu of section 9, defining the power of the governor to grant reprieves and pardons, a more concise statement containing the same provision was adopted. Sections 14 and 15 of the report, now sections 12 and 13

of the completed article, were changed by introducing the lieutenant-governor, to agree with the changes in section 1. In section 16, now section 18, ten days were substituted for the five days required in the Ohio constitution as the time before the regular sessions of the legislature in which the officers of the state institutions are to report to the governor.

It therefore follows that each provision of the Ohio article on executive department, except sections 4 and 10, is now embraced in the Kansas article. Many of the sections are now transferred to different positions, but a careful comparison will discover all.

ARTICLE II.—*Legislative.* The committee on legislative department made an effort to follow the Ohio precedent, but Mr. Thacher, its chairman, having been a member of the legislature of New York, knew many good provisions in the constitution of that state which he incorporated in the report.

Section 1 of the report of the committee, "The legislative powers of this state shall be vested in a senate and assembly," was word for word section 1 of the New York article. It was amended by changing the last phrase to read, "in a house of representatives and senate." The word "assembly," characteristic of the constitution of New York, was used throughout the report of the committee. The members of the convention preferred the term "house of representatives," and ordered, as an amendment, that it should be substituted in all places where the word "assembly" had been used.

The provisions of section 2 occasioned a debate, most of which was devoted to a comparison and defense of precedents which members found in different constitutions. The term for senators, two years, and for representative, one year, and the division of the state into senatorial and representative districts, were copied from the New York constitution. But the number of senators and representatives provided for the first session of the legislature was determined by the committee on apportionment. It was their purpose to give to each county at least one representative. Mr. Slough, for the sake of economy in so young a state, wished to reduce the number of representatives from seventy-five to fifty. Pascal S. Parks observed that an examination of the constitutions of other states had shown that, on first organization, Indiana had had ten senators and twenty-five representatives, Missouri fifteen senators and thirty representatives, and Ohio fifteen senators and thirty representatives. He thought that, in proportion to the size of the states, seventy-five representatives would be more satisfactory to Kansas. William C. McDowell thought this expense unnecessary. "The great state of Ohio, only ten years ago, with a population of over a million, had no larger representation than the committee proposed to give the 70,000 inhabitants of Kansas; population, not counties, should be the basis for representation." J. C. Burnett silenced opposition by citing the precedent of Maine, with 300 or 400 members in her legislature, and Massachusetts, with 500 or 600, and asserted that the comparative size of the states would show seventy-five members for her house of representatives to be economy in the state of Kansas. The precedents of the constitutions of New York and Pennsylvania were urged in favor of adding to section 2 a provision guaranteeing to each county at least one representative in all subsequent elections. J. T. Barton proposed to strike out the provision for twenty-five senators and insert twenty, and urged the example of Illinois in support of the proposition. Mr. Thacher explained that, as the report stood, the senators and representatives were apportioned in the ratio of one to three. To adopt the change would destroy the proportion, and twenty-five was certainly not too many senators to represent the people.

The term of office for a representative, reported by the committee, was one

year, as in New York especially, and in several other states. In defense of the one-year term, and annual sessions of the legislature, Mr. Blunt asserted that Indiana and Ohio had in their earlier constitutions the one-year term, and, since having changed to two years, were contemplating a change back again. If biennial sessions were unsatisfactory in an old-settled state, they would be disastrous to a new state, like Kansas. Mr. Burris disagreed; he remembered distinctly the annual sessions in Kentucky, under the old constitution. Some twenty years since, Kentucky provided in her new constitution that the legislature should meet only once in two years, and the people were satisfied with the results. He also knew that, only two years before, in the state of Iowa, the people, in their constitutional convention, voted to continue the biennial sessions provided in their old constitution. A vote in the convention decided in favor of the one-year term and annual sessions of the legislature. The amendment to the section was ratified in 1875.

John James Ingalls* proposed that the third section, fixing the salary and mileage allowed to members of the legislature, be stricken from the report, as superfluous. Mr. Thacher explained that the committee had found it customary in other constitutions, especially New York, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Kentucky, to fix the per diem and mileage of members of the legislature. It was too great a temptation for members to be called upon to fix their own compensation.

Section 4, describing the qualifications of members of the legislature, is from section 6, article IV, of the Wisconsin constitution. Its wording expressed the idea more clearly than any section of the Ohio constitution.

Section 5, disqualifying members of the legislature for holding office under the government of the United States, is from section 3, article III, of the New York constitution. It is found also in section 13, article IV, of the Wisconsin, and in less definite terms in the constitutions of several states.

* In rummaging through the papers of the late Senator John J. Ingalls recently, Ellsworth Ingalls, his son, ran across a story written by his illustrious father about a row which occurred in the Wyandotte constitutional convention. It is dated "Sumner, Kan., August 15, 1859." It is in the senator's handwriting, and is very characteristic. The original was furnished the Historical Society for preservation. It reads:

"I was at work preparing a report on something for immediate submission to the convention when I heard the words 'liar' and 'coward' uttered by Mr. McDowell with considerable emphasis, though somewhat overborne by a tattoo from the president's gavel and cries of 'order' from different parts of the house. It did not particularly attract my attention, because I knew that gentleman used these epithets sparingly, though I have been informed that they constituted a large share of a democrat's vernacular.

"Hearing the president request members to be seated, and direct the sergeant-at-arms to preserve order, I looked from my writing and noticed the indefatigable Warren making tracks for the seats of the beautiful minority of fifteen. If I remember correctly, the gallant but bellicose Slough was standing in a pugnacious attitude, saying something to himself, engaged in rolling up the sleeves of a brown sack coat, which he wore that day. I took some interest in the matter, because I was informed once that the colonel had been expelled from the Ohio legislature for indulging in the gentlemanly amusement of striking or kicking somebody; also severely repudiated by his own constituency for the same performance. Mr. McDowell was in his seat, rather inflamed in the face, veins knotted in his forehead, and looking generally hot and uncomfortable, and as the sergeant-at-arms approached him he took the loaded cane which he carried for some purpose during the entire session, and shook it at the officer saying, 'Let him try it if he dares.' There was a tremulous motion about him, I think, which some attributed to fear and others to rage. I have no opinion in the matter. Several voices, one very preposterous one, of which Mr. Hipple is the proprietor, were saying, 'Go on, Mac; go on.'

"It had been intimated before the session commenced that there would be difficulty that morning. Some had gone so far as to say, with what authority I do not know, that the whole affair had been prearranged, and that a number of democratic gentlemen were in the lobby partially inebriated and thoroughly armed, for what reason it is not easy to conceive. Inasmuch as democrats seldom drink, it is proper to suppose that the statement of their inebriation is a fraud — a federal lie got up to gull the dear people. One of them jumped over the railing with considerable agility but made no other manifestations.

The original section 6, guarding against embezzlement and misuse of public funds, was taken from the Ohio constitution, but it was so amended as to reduce it to its present form.

The oath of office prescribed for all officers of the state was, *verbatim*, section 28, article IV, of the Wisconsin constitution. A slight change was made to improve the wording of the first line, and the last phrase was stricken out in the committee of the whole.

Sections 8, 9, 10, and 11, prescribing the methods of organization and proceedings in the houses, and making provision for filling vacancies, and keeping a journal, follow the Ohio precedent, and are almost universal provisions of the constitutions of other states.

The report of the committee followed the time-honored precedent of all earlier constitutions by allowing bills to originate in either house, subject to revision and rejection by the other. But Mr. Winchell submitted, as a substitute: "All bills shall originate in the house of representatives, and be subject to amendment or rejection by the senate." He stated that the arguments used in favor of originating revenue bills in the house applied equally to all other bills. No precedent was found for such a mode of procedure, and some members thought it dangerous to try the experiment. However, a vote of the convention sustained the substitute, and the section stood in this form until amended November 8, 1864. The majority necessary to pass a bill or joint resolution, as provided in section 13, was adopted from the Ohio constitution, section 9, article II. It has further precedent in the New York constitution, section 15, article III.

Section 14, granting a limited veto to the governor, was modeled upon section 9, article IV, of the New York constitution. Mr. Blunt, Mr. McDowell and others wished the section stricken from the report. Mr. Blunt thought it possible to impose checks enough upon legislation without giving the governor any part

"This rolling up of sleeves, brandishing loaded canes and disorderly yelling appeared like an attempt to bully and intimidate, but as it had not that effect, it is fair to presume that there was no such intention.

"In the meantime Mr. Kingman had turned in his chair so as to face the music, and sat quietly, with one hand in the bosom of his vest. There was a luminous blackness in his eye and a rigid fierceness about his features unpleasant to contemplate, considering that he had a Kentucky education.

"Mr. McCullough, a gentleman of Scotch descent, had likewise risen and stepped into the aisle with considerable alacrity, and commenced turning up the sleeves of his coat also, disclosing a hairy bulge of muscle and a most ominous length of limb. Mr. McCullough is not a pigmy, and his frame seemed to expand and dilate into unwonted proportions. A facetious gentleman remarked that he would rather have an elephant tread on him or a jackass kick him than to have Mac strike him, though I am quite sure no such consideration occurred to the terrified democracy. He said something about having order preserved, accompanying his remark by an excusable use of the name of one of the persons in the holy trinity, at the same time smiting his hands together with a sound like the concussion of two anvils.

"Several other gentlemen came from the republican side and I noticed some glaring eyes, some suppressed breathing, some distended nostrils and clenched hands. Champ. Vaughan sprang over the president's platform at a bound and stood in a convenient position to watch the proceedings, probably because he desired to write an account thereof for his paper, though it is said in Leavenworth that Champ. has hot blood and a strong arm, and that the democrats know it.

"All of a sudden the gentlemen took their seats. A malicious person remarked that the colonel looked as though something had crawled in him and died, a statement which I believe to be a wilful perversion of truth and base fabrication. There was evidently something unfinished about the program, which perhaps arose from the fact that the republicans did not send cowards to represent them at the convention. It seemed to me like an attempt to enforce the old democratic policy of bullying, shooting, stabbing, and killing, which prevailed, I have been told, two or three years ago in Kansas. I was prepared to defend myself, as I had been during the session, and after the crisis passed commenced again upon my report.

"The official debate will contain an account of the affair, to which I defer entirely, laying no claim to perfect accuracy in this narrative, but merely giving the impressions received in a hasty interval, and not reviewed until this time."

in it, and urged that the constitution of Ohio, adopted as a basis for action, contained no veto clause. He believed the history of that state for the last ten years had proved the wisdom of the omission. Other members referred to recent beneficial results of the use of the veto power in Indiana, and showed by President Jackson's veto of the bank-charter bill that the veto in the hands of the executive is not final unless supported upon ultimate appeal to the people. Besides the model in the New York constitution, the provision for the veto power is found in the California constitution, section 17, article IV; the Iowa constitution, section 16, article III; the Indiana constitution, section 14, article V, and in several others. The large array of precedents led to the adoption of the provision.

Sections 15 and 16 are evidently modeled upon section 15 of the Ohio article II. Two-thirds majority is substituted for the three-fourths required in that constitution to suspend the rule for reading bills upon three separate days. A provision is also inserted prohibiting the omission of reading a bill by sections on its final passage; otherwise the sections are identical.

For section 17, the committee had reported section 15, article IV, of the Topeka constitution. Upon motion of Benjamin Wrigley, section 26, article II, of the Ohio constitution, was prefixed, so that the entire section should read: "All laws of a general nature shall have a uniform operation throughout the state."

Section 18 of the report was original with the committee. It was a group of prohibitions upon the legislative power. By amendment in the convention and in the committee on phraseology, all were discarded except the denial of the power of the legislature to grant divorces. The converse of the restriction was preserved: "All power to grant divorces is vested in the district courts, subject to regulation by law." C. B. McClelland, a surviving member of the committee, states, in a letter to the writer, that under the territorial government the legislature had granted divorces. The committee thought it best to transfer this work to the courts. The substance of the section finally adopted is almost universal in other constitutions, but the phraseology is original.

The provisions found in section 19 were combined by the committee from sections 17 and 18 of the Topeka article and sections 16 and 17 of the Leavenworth article on legislative department. Mr. Wrigley proposed to so amend the first part as to read: "The legislature shall prescribe the time when its acts shall be in force and authorize the speedy publication of the same." Mr. Stinson added: "And no law of a general nature shall be in force until the same be published." Both amendments were approved. Under the territorial government, laws of which the people had had no notice had frequently been in force. The purpose of the section was to correct this difficulty.

The enacting clause for bills as reported was, *verbatim*, that of the New York constitution, but was changed by amendment to its present form.

Section 21, conferring upon local tribunals the right to transact the county business, is, word for word, section 17, article III, of the New York constitution. It has another precedent in section 22, article IV, of the Wisconsin constitution.

The constitution of Ohio has a provision protecting the members of the legislature from arrest, but section 9, article IV, of the Oregon constitution, was adopted in its stead, on account of its additional provisions. The exemption from arrest for treason was stricken out, the last clause was transposed to the first part of the section, and fifteen days were substituted for thirteen, the time before a session in which a member is exempt from civil process. With these changes the section was adopted.

The committee had taken section 23, providing for a state printer, from the Wisconsin constitution, but members of the convention thought such business should be left to the judgment of the legislature, and voted to strike out the provision.

Mr. Thacher, always ready to improve the station of women, moved, as a substitute: "The legislature, in providing for the formation and regulation of common schools, shall make no distinction between the rights and privileges of males and females." In advocating this section, he stated that "the committee had considered such a provision just and humane, and that a similar provision was in the constitution of Kentucky." A diligent search fails to reveal any such provision in any of the three constitutions of Kentucky that could be called similar to the one introduced by Mr. Thacher. This is only one of many imaginary precedents cited during the convention.

Section 24, prescribing the mode of making appropriations, is, word for word, section 22, article II, of the Ohio constitution, except that the time is changed to one year, to correspond with the annual sessions of the legislature.

Section 25, specifying the time and place for the regular meetings of the legislature, is section 25, article IV, of the Topeka constitution, except that the time appointed is one week later in January.

The provision for an enumeration of the inhabitants of the state every ten years is common to the Topeka and Leavenworth constitutions, and to nearly all state constitutions. The date for the first enumeration was fixed in 1865, so that the dates for taking the state and national census would come alternately, giving the state the benefit of an enumeration every five years.

Mr. Thacher stated that the section on impeachment was copied *verbatim* from the New York constitution. Some changes were made during the debate which made the present section nearly identical with section 23, article II, of the Ohio constitution. The further specifications, concerning officers liable to impeachment and punishment allowed, is section 24, article II, of the Ohio constitution.

It then appears that the provisions of the entire article are about equally divided between the constitutions of Ohio, New York, and Wisconsin, with a few sections each from the Topeka and Leavenworth constitutions.

ARTICLE III.—*Judiciary*. It is peculiarly difficult to discover the sources of the provisions of the judicial department. The report was prepared by a committee of ten lawyers, who used earlier constitutions as guides in a general way, but drew upon their own ideas for details. The phraseology of sections based upon precedent is so changed as to retain little trace of the original. With the exception of the section fixing the salary of judges, the report was adopted almost without debate; thus few references were made to precedents followed by the committee. Samuel A. Kingman stated, in a letter to the writer, that the committee on judiciary had before it the constitution of Ohio, but did not feel compelled to follow it. Judge Burris, another surviving member, stated to the writer "that the committee did examine, discuss, criticize and to a certain extent draw from the constitutions of Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, Iowa, Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, and Michigan, besides several others, but followed that of Ohio more closely than any other."

The first section, vesting the judicial power in a series of courts, is modeled upon the first section of the Ohio constitution. There are two points of difference. The court of common pleas is omitted, so that the courts remaining correspond with those of the territorial government, and a provision for a seal is added.

Section 2, specifying the number of judges, the manner of their election, and term of office, was a substitute proposed by Mr. Stinson. The number and qualifications of judges, and the quorum, are the same as prescribed by section 9 of the territorial article. The manner of election is that found in the last part of section 2, article III, of the Ohio constitution. The term of office is the same as that found in the constitutions of California, Oregon, Iowa, and Michigan.

Section 3, which defines the jurisdiction of the supreme court and appoints the place for holding its sessions, is section 2, article IV, of the Ohio constitution, with slight changes. The last clause is a part of section 2, article V, of the Missouri constitution. The provision for a clerk and reporter of the supreme court is section 15, article VI, of the Topeka constitution, except that appointment by the judges is substituted for election, as is provided in that article.

Sections 5, 6, and 7, which provide for the division of the state into judicial districts, direct the election of officers for the district court, and prescribe their jurisdiction, are evidently all taken from section 9 of the territorial act, the only difference being that judges and clerks are to be elected, whereas they were appointed under territorial administration.

The organization of the probate court, prescribed in section 8, is a combination of sections 7 and 8 of article IV of the Ohio constitution.

The provision for justice of the peace is based upon section 9 of the Ohio article, though the number of justices is made definite and the term of office is changed from three to two years.

Sections 10 and 11 are either original or so changed in their new combinations that they cannot be identified with their precedents.

Section 12, "All judicial officers shall hold their offices until their successors have qualified," is not found as a separate section in any other constitution, but is a part of section 30, article IV, of the Kentucky constitution. It is found also in the last part of section 3, article V, of the Iowa constitution.

Section 13, providing compensation for the judges, is modeled upon section 14, article V, of the Ohio constitution, with the addition of a specified minimum salary of \$2000 a year. The Missouri constitution, before it was amended in 1823, had prescribed that minimum salary for the justices of the supreme court and judges of the circuit court. This salary was considered extravagant and caused a debate, in which several precedents were cited. Mr. Blunt stated that ex-Judge Williams, one of the best judges of Iowa, had served for \$1000 a year. George H. Lillie stated that \$1500 secured good judges in Missouri. Mr. McDowell, in defense of the proposition of the committee, declared that in Ohio, where the minimum was fixed at \$1500 for the judge of the court of common pleas, petition after petition had been made for a change in the constitution in that particular, that salary being considered too small. Iowa had fixed the salary at \$1000 per year and could not get men of sufficient ability to accept the office. Mr. Wrigley knew that in Indiana, where judges received only \$1000 per year, it was difficult to get men of ability to serve. But Thomas S. Wright also knew something about Indiana and her judges. In one district, Judge McCarthy, one of the most able judges—since elected to the senate of the United States—filled the place for several years at a salary of \$1000, and he knew of plenty of men of ability who would accept the office. John Stierwalt opposed the provision because the proposed salary was the largest found in any new state constitution and more than half of the old ones. He cited a case in Missouri where a judge, serving at a salary of \$1000, had been elected to congress, and had returned after his term to the same bench and salary. The minimum salary of \$1500 was finally adopted as a compromise.

Section 14, providing for changes in judicial districts, is evidently a modification of section 15, article IV, of the Ohio constitution. The part which prescribes that districts shall be formed from compact territory bounded by county lines is section 4, article VI, of the New York constitution of 1846. The provision for the removal of judges for definite cause by concurrent resolution of both houses is modeled upon section 17 of article IV of the Ohio constitution. This method of procedure is common to most states.

Section 16, which leaves jurisdiction at chambers to be prescribed by law, finds precedent in section 18, article IV, of the Ohio constitution.

Section 17, fixing the style of all processes, is modeled upon section 20 of the Ohio article IV.

The division of the state into temporary judicial districts at this place in the constitution, finds precedent in the constitution of Illinois and Michigan. The provision is made in the Ohio constitution, in section 11 of the article on apportionment. The administration of new counties, by attaching them to the nearest judicial district, follows the precedent of section 13, article XI, of the Ohio constitution.

Section 20, which authorized the legislature to make a law enabling the district bar to choose a judge *pro tem.* in case of absence or disability of the district judge, was proposed by Mr. Kingman. He stated in a letter to the writer that "it was taken from the Kentucky constitution of 1850, but that constitution not being before the committee, the section was not so worded as to be identified." A diligent search, section for section, does not reveal a provision at all like the one in question. Probably the precedent in the minds of the members of the committee was a statute of Kentucky.

For the article on judiciary as a whole, the constitution of Ohio and the territorial judicial system were the precedents mostly followed, while special provisions were taken from Michigan, Illinois, Missouri, New York, Pennsylvania, and Kentucky.

ARTICLE IV.—*Elections.* The first section of the report of the committee, "All elections by the people shall be by ballot, and all elections by the legislature shall be by *viva voce*," is a copy of the first section of the Topeka article on elections. It has precedent also in section 13, article II, of the Indiana constitution of 1851.

The second section has no exact precedent in any other constitution. It is as follows: "General elections shall be held annually on the Tuesday succeeding the first Monday in November. Township elections shall be held on the first Tuesday in April, until otherwise provided by law." These provisions are a combination of customs in practice in New York, Wisconsin, Michigan, Ohio, and Illinois. Only a part of the section proposed by the committee was adopted. In advocating the adoption of the section in its present form, Mr. Winchell stated that in New York the state elections occurred upon the day of the presidential election and the township elections were held in April. He considered it a saving of expense to the people for the state and general elections to be held on the same day, and, as far as the township elections were concerned, it was thought best to keep them separate. The plan had given perfect satisfaction in New York. Since the people of Kansas had been so worried with frequent elections,*

* The following general elections were held in Kansas during the territorial period :

1. 1854, November 29.—Election of J. W. Whitfield, proslavery, delegate to Congress.
2. 1855, March 30.—Election of members of the territorial legislature by fraudulent voters from Missouri.
3. 1855, May 22.—Election to fill vacancies in the legislature caused by Governor Reeder throwing out illegal votes.

such a combination of general and state elections would be a great benefit. The article as a whole does not follow the precedent of any one state, but follows general customs in the manner of voting and the time for holding elections.

ARTICLE V.—*Suffrage*. Section 1, which specifies the qualifications of persons to whom the right of suffrage is granted, is a combination of section 2, article II, of the Topeka constitution, and section 1, article III, of the Wisconsin constitution. The distinguishing words, "white male person," the committee adopted from the Topeka constitution. The indorsement of the policy of excluding negroes from suffrage by the Topeka convention, and by 1731 votes at the polls, led the committee on suffrage to insert the clause in their report. William Hutchinson made an unsuccessful effort to strike out the word "white," and John P. Greer proposed striking out the words "white male," but both motions were laid on the table. A residence of six months in the state and

4. 1855, October 1.—Election of delegate to Congress, provided for by the territorial legislature. No free-state men vote. J. W. Whitfield reelected.
5. 1855, October 9.—Election of delegate to Congress, as provided for by the free-state convention at Big Springs. Total vote cast for A. H. Reeder; free-state men only voting.
6. 1855, October 9.—Election of delegates to the Topeka constitutional convention; only free-state men participate.
7. 1855, December 15.—Election on the adoption or rejection of the Topeka constitution. Free-state men only vote.
8. 1856, January 15.—Election of state officers, delegate to Congress, and members of the legislature, under the Topeka constitution; free-state men only vote.
9. 1856, October 6.—Territorial election for delegate to Congress, for members of the legislature, and on the question of calling a convention to form a state constitution. Free-state men do not vote.
10. 1857, June 15.—Election of delegates to the Lecompton constitutional convention. Free-state men do not vote.
11. 1857, August 9.—Election of officers under the Topeka constitution, member of Congress, and members of the legislature, and the resubmission of the constitution itself; free-state men only vote.
12. 1857, October 5, 6.—Election of territorial legislature and delegate to Congress. All parties vote. The vote, as ordered by the legislature of 1855, was *viva voce*. Section 9, chapter 66, of the Statutes of 1855, provided that if all the votes offered could not be taken before the hour appointed for closing, the judges should, by proclamation, adjourn to the following day, and the election to be continued as before. The bogus vote at Oxford was polled on October 6, and was thrown out, because it was physically impossible to register so many in one day. There seems to have been no other election at which the voting was extended into the second day. On the first day at Oxford 91 votes were polled, and on the second day 1538.
13. 1857, December 21.—Election on the Lecompton constitution, with or without slavery, as provided by the convention. Free-state men abstain from voting.
14. 1858, January 4.—Election of state officers, members of the legislature, and delegate to Congress, as provided for by the Lecompton constitution. Both parties participate. The free-state vote for governor, compared with the vote cast against the constitution, made it apparent that 3351 free-state men who visited the polls took no part in the election for state officers. The free-state candidates, however, prevailed by majorities ranging from 311 to 696; but this was rendered nugatory by the ultimate defeat of the constitution.
15. 1858, January 4.—Election on the adoption or rejection of the Lecompton constitution, ordered by the territorial legislature, special session, now free-state, called for the purpose by Secretary Frederick P. Stanton. Only free-state men vote.
16. 1858, March 9.—Election of delegates to Leavenworth constitutional convention, as provided for by the territorial legislature. Only free-state men vote.
17. 1858, May 18.—Election on the Leavenworth constitution and state officers under it. Only free-state men vote.
18. 1858, August 2.—Election on the Lecompton constitution as submitted by the English bill. Both parties participate.
19. 1858, October 4.—Election of members of the territorial house of representatives and superintendent of schools.
20. 1859, March 28.—Election for or against a constitutional convention.
21. 1859, June 7.—Election of delegates to the Wyandotte constitutional convention.
22. 1859, October 4.—Election on the adoption or rejection of the Wyandotte constitution.
23. 1859, November 8.—Election of delegate to Congress and territorial legislature.
24. 1859, December 6.—Election of state officers, members of the legislature, and representative to Congress, under the Wyandotte constitution.
25. 1860, November 6.—Election of territorial legislature.

The state was admitted January 29, 1861, and began business with the state officers and legislature elected December 6, 1859; the latter assembling for the first time March 26, 1861.

thirty days in the township is also preserved from the Topeka article. The further classification of citizens is a copy of the first two divisions of section 1, article III, of the Wisconsin constitution. This classification also finds precedent in article VII of the Minnesota constitution.

Section 2, which forbids the exercise of privilege of suffrage by idiots, insane persons, and criminals, is an exact copy of section 2, article III, of the Wisconsin constitution. November 5, 1867, the present amended form was adopted.

Section 3, declaring soldiers or seamen in the army or navy of the United States to be non-residents, though temporarily stationed within the state, is, word for word, section 3, article II, of the Indiana constitution. Other precedents are found in the constitution of Illinois, article VI, section 6, and Wisconsin, article III, section 5.

No provision had been made in the report of the committee for the registration of voters, so Mr. Burris introduced the provision, now section 4, which is a copy of section 4, article II, of the New York constitution: "The legislature shall pass such laws as may be necessary for ascertaining by proper proofs the citizens who shall be entitled to the right of suffrage hereby established." This section was introduced to give the legislature power to stop the fraudulent voting which had caused so much trouble during the earlier history of Kansas. Yet it met with determined opposition from a small faction in the convention. Upon a call for the yeas and nays, the vote stood twenty-five in favor to thirteen against the provision.

Section 5, rendering duelists ineligible to hold any office of trust and profit, is, word for word, section 7, article II, of the Indiana constitution. Similar provisions are found in several other constitutions.

Section 6, which prohibits any person from holding an office secured by means of bribery, is not exactly like any section of any other constitution, though its provisions are common to almost all. It is most nearly like section 6, article II, of the Indiana constitution. Mr. Arthur, a member of the committee, was a native of that state, and probably caused the adoption of the section, with the present changes in wording.

For the provision protecting citizens from arrest while in attendance at elections, and in going to and returning therefrom, the committee returned to section 3, article V, of the Ohio constitution, which they adopted word for word. Such provision is found in the article on elections and franchise in nearly all constitutions.

The article on suffrage is therefore a combination of provisions from the constitutions of Indiana, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Illinois, New York, and Ohio.

ARTICLE 6.—*Education.* The constitution of Ohio having only two short sections in its article on education, the committee had to look elsewhere for its specifications for a public-school system. The provisions found in the constitutions of Iowa, Wisconsin, Oregon, Michigan and California most nearly represented the ideal in the minds of the members of the committee. In order to harmonize the various provisions several changes were made and new ideas inserted.

The office, manner of election and term of the state superintendent of public instruction being provided for in the article on executive department, the committee supplied for section 1 a further development of section 1 of article XIII of the Michigan constitution, and added a provision for a county superintendent. This is the first provision of this character to be placed in any state constitution.

The first part of section 2, "The legislature shall encourage the promotion of intellectual, moral, scientific and agricultural improvement," has exact precedent

in the first clause of section 3 of the article on school funds and school lands in the Iowa constitution. The amplification of the system of schools contained in the remainder is from section 7, article VII, of the Leavenworth constitution, a slight change in phraseology being made to combine the two parts.

Section 3, as reported by the committee, was, word for word, section 3, article IX, of the Iowa constitution. It establishes both the perpetual and annual school funds, and defines the sources of each. The section has, also, partial precedent in the constitutions of Wisconsin, California, and Oregon. That part of section 4 which states that the income of the fund shall be distributed "by order of the state superintendent to the several county treasurers, and thence to the treasurers of the several school districts," was original with the committee, all earlier constitutions having left the manner of distribution to be prescribed by law. That part of the section which specifies the proportion of the fund to be distributed to each district, and denies a share to those districts in which school has not been maintained for at least three months during the preceding year, is modeled upon section 5, article X, of the Wisconsin constitution. A few changes were made by the committee. The limit of the age of pupils to be counted in making the apportionment was changed from the four years and twenty years of the Wisconsin constitution, to five and twenty-one years.

Section 5, which forbids the sale of school lands, unless authorized by a vote of the people, and makes provision for a revaluation of such lands every five years, must have been original, no such provision occurring in any earlier constitution.

The section which applies all money received for exemption from military duty and the proceeds of the fines imposed for breaches of the penal law exclusively to the schools of the county where such money is collected is exactly the first part of section 4, article IX, of the Iowa constitution. In lieu of the last part of that section, the committee added to the above list of resources "the clear proceeds of all estrays."

The first and last sentences of section 7 show that it is modeled from section 6 of article X of the Wisconsin constitution. The section provides for the establishment of a state university, and specifies the funds to be used for that purpose. The division of the university into different parts "for the promotion of literature, and the arts and sciences, including a normal and an agricultural department," is original, in wording at least. This was the first section of the report of the committee on education that aroused any opposition. Mr. Greer wished the whole section stricken out; he was opposed to state universities. "Institutions of learning ought to be left to private enterprise." Several members thought one state institution for educational purposes ought to be established, but that an agricultural college would be more beneficial to the state. The original portion of the section was made broad enough to permit the development of the institution which should prove the most important.

The precaution taken against the use of the public school funds by any religious sect, in section 8, is modeled upon section 5, article VII, of the Leavenworth constitution. The word "university" was added to make the prohibition cover both funds. Another precedent for the section, though not stated in quite the same terms, is found in the last part of section 2, article VI, of the Ohio constitution.

In section 9 the committee had made provision for the education of negro children, as follows: "The children of African descent shall be entitled to an equitable proportion of the common-school fund of the state, and the legislature shall make suitable provision for their education." The introduction of this section caused an exciting debate. Mr. Slough introduced as a substitute:

"Mixed common schools or universities for children of white blood and children of African descent shall not be permitted in this state." Mr. Blunt succeeded in dismissing the race question by proposing a provision for a state board of commissioners for the management and investment of the common-school and university funds. It is section 7, article X, of the Wisconsin constitution, except that the state superintendent of public instruction is substituted for the treasurer on the board. The last sentence was changed slightly by the committee on phraseology and was then adopted in its present form.

The greater portion of the entire report on education was drawn about equally from the Iowa and Wisconsin constitutions, while the constitutions of Michigan, California, Oregon and Leavenworth contributed one section each.

ARTICLE VII.—*Public Institutions.* The specifications for the establishment of institutions for the care of the deaf and dumb, blind, and insane, and for a penitentiary, are exactly those of sections 1, 2 and 3 of article VII of the Ohio constitution. The committee rearranged the sections so as to separate the provisions for the penitentiary from those for charitable institutions. The manner of choosing the trustees, directors and other officials remains the same. The fourth section, imposing upon each county the care of its own poor and infirm, is modeled upon section 3, article VIII, of the Topeka constitution. A strenuous effort was made by a certain class of members to insert a provision excluding persons of African descent from the educational and charitable institutions of the state. A debate ensued, in which both parties strayed far from the question at issue. In opposing the proposed section, Mr. Burris said: "What claim has one class of men to the common benefits of the state above that of each and all other classes. If any gentlemen can point out any precedent that can be recognized in law or justice we will yield the point. We must proceed upon the supposition that the blacks are to live in common with the whites. I ask if it is desired to see that class of citizens growing up in entire ignorance? If they are to live in the state they should be made as intelligent and moral as training in the schools and other state institutions can make them." After several hours' debate the section was rejected. The committee therefore followed the Ohio precedent in the article, except in the last section, which was drawn from the Topeka constitution.

ARTICLE VIII.—*Militia.* Section 1, specifying the citizens subject to service in the militia, and exempting persons having conscientious scruples against bearing arms, is, *verbatim*, section 1, article XVII, of the Michigan constitution, except that twenty-one years is substituted for eighteen years as the age at which militia service begins. Sections 2 and 3, which provide for the organization, equipment and discipline of the militia, and for the appointment of officers, are exactly sections 2 and 3 of the Michigan article on militia. Mr. Slough moved, as an additional section, the governor shall have power to call forth the militia to execute the laws of the state, to repress insurrection and repel invasion, and he shall be commander-in-chief of the militia. Except the last clause, this section was a copy of section 3, article VII, of the California constitution. The committee on phraseology changed the wording to its present form. The whole article is therefore taken from the Michigan constitution except the last section, which has precedent in California and Ohio.

ARTICLE IX.—*County and Township Organizations.* The first section of the report of the committee did not please some members of the convention. Four different substitutes were offered and four amendments were made to the one adopted. The result was no more satisfactory than the original. The substitutes

and amendments were sent to the committee on phraseology, to be molded into an acceptable provision. It was returned in its present form—"The legislature shall provide for organizing new counties, locating county-seats, and changing county lines; but no county shall be changed without the consent of a majority of the electors of the county, nor any county organized, nor the lines of any county changed so as to include an area of less than 432 square miles." The section is therefore not identical with any one in any other constitution. Most of its provisions are found in article VII of the Illinois constitution of 1848. The last part of the section, Judge Burris says, is a part of section 2, article XI, of the Iowa constitution.

Section 2, providing for county and township officers, is section 1, article X, of the Ohio constitution, with the omission of three words.

Sections 3 and 4, providing for the election and term of service of county and township officers, were changed to correspond with the date for elections and other provisions of the article on elections.

The method of removing officers is modeled upon section 6, article IX, of the Ohio constitution.

Of the five sections in the article, two have precedent in the Ohio constitution, two were necessarily original in form, and one was composed of different provisions from the Illinois and Iowa constitutions.

ARTICLE X.—*Apportionment.* In the debate upon the first section, Mr. Graham a member of the committee, stated that the precedent followed was the Pennsylvania constitution. The first part of the section, "Each organized county shall have at least one representative," is a part of section 4, article I, of the Pennsylvania constitution. The remainder of the section differs in wording, but carried out the purpose of the Pennsylvania provision. Mr. Thacher stated that this method of apportionment was in practice in New York. A large number in the convention argued that it was not fair to the most populous counties to give to each organized county at least one representative. The majority argued that to join a county of small population to another, which really elected the representative, would disfranchise the smaller county and would work a greater injury than was possible to the citizens of the most populous county. The population of the new counties was rapidly increasing, and they would soon be entitled to representation based strictly upon numbers.

Section 2, providing for apportionment according to census, though following in part section 18, article II, of the Pennsylvania constitution, is for several reasons almost entirely original. First, the territorial legislature had ordered a census to be taken, so the first apportionment was to be based upon its report; second, the population was growing so rapidly that the committee thought best to apportion the state every five years, instead of waiting ten years, as is provided in most constitutions. By fixing the first reapportionment in 1866 it could be based upon the census provided for in 1865 by the legislative article. In five more years it could be based upon the United States decennial census, as was provided in section 18, article II, of the New York constitution.

Section 3 merely makes temporary apportionment, as is done in the constitutions of New York, Wisconsin, and Illinois. The same was done also by the Topeka constitution.

From the nature of the subject-matter the wording of the article on apportionment is very nearly original, though the precedents of Pennsylvania, New York, Wisconsin and Illinois were followed in theory.

ARTICLE XI.—*Finance and Taxation.* The report of this committee fol-

lowed very closely the approved precedent, the first section only of the Ohio article on finance and taxation being rejected in the report.

For section 1 the committee presented a section, the substance of which was contained in section 2, article XII, of the Ohio constitution, but the phraseology, not pleasing the majority, was changed to the present form.

Section 2, which levied a tax upon all property of banking institutions, proportional to that borne by individuals, is, *verbatim*, section 3 of the Ohio article on finance and taxation.

The provision for an annual appropriation by the legislature for state expenses had exact precedent in section 4, article XII, of the Ohio constitution. The section was amended November 2, 1875.

The precaution taken in section 4, that no tax should be levied except in pursuance of a law, which shall distinctly state the object of the same, is a copy of section 5, article XII, of the Ohio constitution.

Section 5, which enables the legislature to create a limited public debt, the committee had copied entire from the Wisconsin constitution, article VIII, section 6. Three small changes were made. The words "public improvement" were inserted. The amount of debt which could be contracted was changed from \$100,000 to \$1,000,000, and the debt was made payable when due, instead of in years, as in the precedent.

Section 6 provides that the state may contract public debt, in addition to the limit mentioned above, if the proposition is sanctioned by the majority of all votes cast at a general election. The idea has precedent in section 5, article VIII, of the Iowa constitution, though several of the provisions included in that section are not appropriated.

Section 7, which enables the state to borrow money to repel invasion, suppress insurrection, and to provide for defense in time of war, is, *verbatim*, section 7, article VIII, of the Wisconsin constitution. Mr. Hoffman wished to make it possible for the state to take charge of works of public improvement, if the necessary funds should be donated by the United States. He therefore proposed, in addition to the report of the committee, a section identical with section 10, article X, of the Wisconsin constitution. As several members thought that the section might be misinterpreted, and made the means of creating an unlimited public debt, amendment after amendment was adopted, until the original purpose of the section was defeated by the adoption of the remnant that was left—"the state shall never be a party in carrying on any works of internal improvement."

In preparing the entire article, the constitutions of Ohio and Wisconsin were the models followed. Iowa and Indiana were frequently referred to as further precedent.

ARTICLE XII.—*Corporations*. During the debate upon the report of the committee on corporations, Mr. Slough proposed as a substitute for section 1 a provision which he said was a combination of sections 1 and 2 of the articles on corporations in the Ohio constitution. The section was adopted as follows: "The legislature shall pass no special act conferring corporate powers. Corporations may be created under general laws, but all such laws may be annulled or repealed."

Section 2, providing means of security to creditors of corporations, is modeled upon section 3, article XIII, of the Ohio constitution, and a clause is added exempting railroads, and corporations for religious and charitable purposes, from the liabilities enumerated in the section. This addition was made by the committee with the purpose of encouraging capitalists to build roads in Kansas, and to promote religion and morality.

Section 3, which vests the title to property belonging to corporations for religious purposes in a board of trustees, had its precedent in section 4, article IV, of the Leavenworth constitution.

Section 4, which guarantees compensation to property-owners before a right of way shall be granted to any corporation, is, word for word, section 5 of the Ohio article on corporations.

The provision for the organization of cities, towns, and villages, and the restriction placed upon their own taxing power, follows the precedent of section 6, article XIII, of the Ohio constitution, with two small changes. Mr. Slough said that the practical operation of the provision in the Ohio constitution had been to limit, in cities and towns, the amount of tax that might be levied for municipal purposes. It had prevented the abuse of the taxing power, and was one of the wisest and best provisions that could be inserted in the constitution.

The definition of the term "corporations," as used in the article, is found in the constitution of Michigan, New York, Minnesota, and several other states.

In conclusion, it is evident that four of the six sections of the article find precedent in the Ohio constitution; one of the two remaining sections is from the Leavenworth constitution; while the other has precedent in the constitutions of several states.

ARTICLE XIII.—*Banking and Currency.* The Ohio constitution furnished no precedent for the committee on banking and currency to follow in their deliberations. After the Jackson-Van Buren financial panic, the constitutional conventions of new states made limited provisions in connection with some other subject, and left the specific control of such institutions to the legislature. No state before Kansas considered banks and currency of such vital importance as to require a separate article. The Topeka convention profited by the successes and failures of the provisions of other states in forming the article on this subject. The Leavenworth committee improved upon the Topeka report, but changed few essential points. The committee of the Wyandotte convention followed this article very closely in preparing its report. Only sections 2, 3 and 7 are not found in the Leavenworth constitution.

Section 2, providing that all banks shall deposit, as collateral security for their notes, interest-bearing bonds of the several states equal to the amount of notes issued and a further deposit of ten per cent. in cash, has partial precedent in section 8, article VIII, of the Iowa constitution, and in section 3, article XI, of the Indiana constitution, and in several others, but the phraseology was original with Mr. Winchell. The section was further amended by motion of Mr. Slough and Mr. Hutchinson.

Section 3, requiring an additional deposit in case of depreciation in the value of the bank stocks, has precedent in the second part of section 13, article IX, of the Minnesota constitution, and in the last part of section 8, article VIII, of the Iowa constitution, but the section proposed by the committee provides better security to creditors, and must have been partly original.

Section 6, which was exactly section 7 of the Leavenworth article on banking and currency, was amended by Mr. Slough's proposing that the "location of the bank be named upon the circulating notes issued by such banks."

Section 7, "No banking institution shall issue bills of less denomination than five dollars," was an addition to the report of the committee, proposed by Mr. Slough. It was modeled upon the last part of section 2 of the Topeka article. The minimum amount was changed by amendment from ten to five dollars.

Section 9 was originally section 8, article XVII, of the Leavenworth constitu-

tion, but was reduced by amendment to its present form, "Any banking law may be amended or repealed."

In conclusion, it is evident that the precedent for the article on banking and currency is article XVII of the Leavenworth constitution. A few suggestions are adopted from the constitutions of Iowa and Indiana and combined with some original ideas to form the completed article.

ARTICLE XIV.—*Amendments*.—The two sections of the article are modeled upon article XVI of the Ohio constitution. Only two important changes were made. A vote of two-thirds was substituted for the three-fifths required by that constitution for recording in the journal an amendment proposed for submission to the people. Three months was substituted for the six months required by the Ohio constitution for the publication of an amendment before its submission, and a few changes are made in the phraseology, which do not change the meaning of the provisions. The report of the committee contained a third section, providing for the protection of a family homestead. It was rejected at this time, but reappeared in section 9 of article XV.

ARTICLE XV.—*Miscellaneous*.—Sections 1 and 2, which confer on the legislature the power to provide for the election or appointment of other necessary officers, and to prescribe their term of office, are sections 6 and 7, respectively, of the California constitution.

Section 3, "Lotteries and the sale of lottery tickets are forever prohibited," was, *verbatim*, section 6, article XV, of the Ohio constitution, when reported by the committee, but was changed to its present form by amendment. The provision is also found in the Topeka constitution, article XV, section 2, and in several other constitutions.

Sections 4 and 5, providing for a state printer, and taking precaution to guard the use of public money by publication of accounts, are sections 2 and 3, respectively, of article XV of the Ohio constitution. A slight amendment was made in the phraseology of section 4. Mr. Slough said in debate that the provision worked well in Ohio. The present amended form was adopted November 3, 1865.

Section 6, when reported by the committee, was, word for word, section 6, article XVI, of the Leavenworth constitution, as follows: "The general assembly shall provide by law for the protection of the rights of women, married and single, in the acquisition and possession of property, real, personal, and mixed, separate and apart from the husband, or other person, and shall also provide for the equal rights of women in the protection with the husband of the children during their minority; also, shall provide for the security of a homestead, which, without the consent of the wife, she cannot be deprived of." The section was adopted as quoted, but was reconsidered to its present form upon the addition of section 9, which was not a part of the original report.

The purpose of the section which confers power upon the legislature to reduce the salaries of officers who neglect the performance of any legal duty is the same as that of section 13, article VIII, of the Kentucky constitution. This is the section which suggested the idea, though the wording of the section adopted is quite different.

Ex-Gov. John A. Martin, in his address at the reunion of members of the Wyandotte convention,* stated that the homestead provision is one of the few

*At the date of publication (March, 1902), there are but eight members of the Wyandotte constitutional convention living—Samuel A. Kingman, retired, residence, Topeka; Benjamin F. Simpson, practicing law at Paola; William Hutchinson, pension department, Washington, D. C.; S. D. Houston, retired, living with son-in-law at Salina; C. B. McClelland, at Oskaloosa; R. C. Foster, lawyer, in Texas; E. G. Ross, residence, Albuquerque, N. M.; and John T. Burris, of Olathe.

original sections of the constitution. The idea, however, had ample precedent in both the Michigan and California constitutions. The subject was discussed several times during the convention, different provisions being proposed, one of them being, word for word, section 7, article XVI, of the Leavenworth constitution. The section finally proposed by Mr. Winchell was the Leavenworth provision, with the addition of amendments proposed during the debate.

THE SCHEDULE. Though not technically a part of the constitution, the schedule is a valuable adjunct to such a document.

The first eight sections follow closely the precedent of the Indiana schedule of 1816.

Sections from 8 to 20, making all necessary provision for submitting the constitution to popular vote, are very near exact transcripts from "An act of the territorial legislature providing for the formation of a constitution and state government for the state of Kansas."

The remainder of the schedule follows in part the provisional act of the legislature, but was largely original, since the members of the convention decided to create a state board of canvassers who should canvass the votes cast, issue certificates of election, make the proclamation, and provide for the transmission of authenticated copies of the constitution to the president of the United States, president of the senate, and the speaker of the house of representatives. By the provisional act of the legislature these important duties had been left to the governor.

After the report of the committee was completed, section 25, providing for the separate submission of the homestead section to a vote of the people, was added. This section had been prepared by the committee on phraseology and added to the schedule as the most appropriate place for such a provision.

The schedule to the Indiana constitution of 1816 and the territorial act providing for the formation of a constitution and state government for the state of Kansas are the precedents followed in forming the schedule.

RESOLUTIONS. A precedent for a memorial in the form of a series of resolutions was found in the Wisconsin constitution of 1848. Members of the convention had several different measures which they had been unable to incorporate in the ordinance, but yet wished to present to congress in connection with the constitution. A series of seven resolutions were adopted. Five of them asked for grants of land, the proceeds of which was to be used for internal improvement, construction of railroads, development of the Kansas river, support of public schools, and payment of claims awarded by the claims commission. The seventh resolution asked congress to assume the debt of the territory. The first and third resolutions had been a part of the report of the committee on ordinance, and the fifth had precedent in the seventh resolution of the Wisconsin constitution. The precedent followed in adopting the series of resolutions is the Wisconsin constitution.

Upon the last day of the convention, Judge Burris had the honor of adding the finishing touch to the constitution by proposing the attesting clause, "Done in convention at Wyandotte, this 29th day of July, A. D. 1859." Even this clause followed in form the model of the Ohio and Iowa constitutions.

In conclusion, it is evident that the Ohio constitution of 1851, adopted as a common basis for action, was closely adhered to in all cases where its provisions were adapted to conditions in Kansas. The Ohio constitution of 1851, being entirely without ordinance and memorial, and deficient in its provisions for an educational system, for the establishment and control of banks and currency, and

for the organization and discipline of the militia, the constitutions of Indiana, Wisconsin, Michigan and Iowa were largely drawn upon to make up the deficiency. In other instances where the constitution of Ohio did not apply to conditions in Kansas, or could be improved upon, provisions were adopted from the constitutions of Indiana, Wisconsin, Michigan, Iowa, New York, Massachusetts, Illinois, Missouri, Kentucky, California, Maine, Minnesota, Vermont, Pennsylvania, Oregon, and from earlier constitutions and territorial government of Kansas. A careful comparison shows that nearly every section of the Wyandotte constitution was either copied from or based upon some section to be discovered in some preceding constitution. The provisions not drawn from or based upon the constitution of some other state are: First, the provision for the equal education for the sexes, and for the election by the bar of a judge *pro tem.* of the district court, which were supposed to be based upon sections in the Kentucky constitution, but were really legislative enactments; second, the provision that all bills should originate in the house of representatives, which is an extension of the theory in practice concerning revenue bills; and third, the provision in the educational system for a county superintendent of public instruction, and an outline of the method of distributing the public-school fund to the districts, and of a revaluation and sale of school lands, all of which were legislative enactments of neighboring states. Five of the six provisions in advance of any other state constitution had been thoroughly tested as laws of other states before their adoption by Kansas. The provision that all bills should originate in the house of representatives, the only real experiment in the constitution, was repealed November 8, 1864.

AUTHORITIES. Journal of Wyandotte Convention; Poore's Charters and Constitutions of the United States; American's Guide to State Constitutions; Jameson, Constitutional Convention; Constitutional History of the American People, 1776-1850, J. N. Thorpe; Reports of Committees, First Session Thirty-fifth Congress; Senate Documents, First and Second Sessions of the Thirty-fourth Congress; The Public Domain, by Donaldson; Annals of Kansas, Daniel W. Wilder; American Statute Law, Stimson; General Laws of Kansas, 1859; History of Kansas, L. W. Spring; History of Kansas, J. N. Holloway; address by John A. Martin, delivered at the reunion of members and officers of the Wyandotte constitutional convention; address of Hon. Timothy Dwight Thacher, delivered at Topeka, January 16, 1883, before the Kansas State Historical Society; address of Hon. Benjamin F. Simpson, upon the Wyandotte constitution; personal letters to the author from Hon. John J. Ingalls, Judge Samuel A. Kingman, Judge John T. Burris, and C. B. McClelland, who were members of the Wyandotte convention.

QUARTER-CENTURY CELEBRATION.

TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY MEETING OF THE KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, DECEMBER 17, 1901.

THE OCCASION.

Introductory remarks of HON. JOHN FRANCIS, President.

THIS assembly has been called together by the Kansas State Historical Society to commemorate its twenty-fifth anniversary.* Although from its name it is, and ought to be, the preserver of all the history of our state, it desires, nevertheless, to be in the fashion. The twentieth century has just opened, and in little more than a year the centennial anniversary of the Louisiana purchase will be celebrated, and, if I remember correctly, a short time ago a few of the citizens of our state wished a semicentennial celebration to commemorate the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill by Congress and the organization of Kansas as a territory; therefore we are gathered here this evening to celebrate our quarter-centennial, and to rejoice over the fact that the Society has been placed in pleasant and permanent quarters in this, the Capitol building.

In the early days of the Society few but those intimately connected with it knew of the struggle that it had for existence. Many of its valuable relics had to be kept by that indefatigable worker, the late secretary, Franklin G. Adams, in various holes and corners, wherever a spare space could be found, and through his untiring efforts the foundation was laid, and the present collection of the records of this state was accumulated and preserved. I say records of this state. I mean this in its broadest sense, because the Society's rooms are constantly visited by those in search of information from all portions of the state, not only of the past political doings, but also of matters pertaining to our courts. In fact, in its 23,907 volumes of newspapers, preserved in its library, every trivial matter that has occurred in any county, city or town of this state can be found. And its library and relics to-day form one of the most valuable departments in the state, and it is being more and more appreciated by the citizens as they learn of its intrinsic value.

The home assigned to the Society is on the fourth floor of the south wing. In this selection the executive council displayed great taste; the thanks of the Society are due, and are hereby tendered, to each and every member of the council for their liberality in the assignment and in preparing and furnishing the rooms, and so thoroughly adapting them to the preservation of the many thousands of books, pamphlets, newspapers, manuscripts and pictures that the state, through the Society, now owns.

This ending of the first twenty-five years of the Society's existence is exceedingly gratifying to the officers and directors of the Society, and perhaps to none more than to its assistant secretary, Miss Zu Adams, who for years labored side

*The Kansas State Editorial Association, at the annual meeting, held at Manhattan, April 8, 1875, upon motion of Daniel W. Wilder, adopted a resolution appointing a committee to organize a State Historical Society. Floyd P. Baker, Daniel R. Anthony, John A. Martin, Solomon Miller and George A. Crawford were appointed. They met December 13, 1875, to organize. The anniversary, it was agreed, should be observed at the time of a special meeting, ordered to consider certain amendments to the constitution, which meeting was to be called upon the completion of the removal of the historical records to the new rooms of the Society. See proceedings, pages 10, 11, this volume.

by side with her father, receiving but a small stipend as compensation, to build up the Society to its present proportions, and also to its first president, our esteemed friend, Judge Kingman, who I note from the program is to give us some reminiscences.

REMINISCENCES.

An address by SAMUEL A. KINGMAN.*

If an artist with the most vivid imagination should seek in one illustration to portray the growth of this Society in the first quarter-century of its existence, he could not find a more striking one than in the contrast presented by you and the first president in their different surroundings. You preside over a large and cultivated audience; he never presided. It is doubtful if he was ever addressed as president in our informal sessions. You may well be proud of your place, but do not look with pity on the first president—he was at the beginning. As well might the grand old oak, whose wide-spreading branches give shade to the weary and glorify the landscape, feel pity for the acorn that held in its tiny embrace all the possibilities of the great tree.

The subject given me implies egotism. You cannot speak of things that abide in the memory without bringing yourself in with the thought. Self and memory are one; therefore what shall seem egotistic in my remarks should be overlooked. Why, I am myself but a reminiscence. In my youth, when, "In life's morning march our bosoms are young," I had strong desires that the world, somehow, in some way, should be the better for my life. Even now, when selfishness has corroded and failures have weakened confidence and shaken faith, I still have such desires; how far they have failed of realization, wholly or partially, it were useless now to inquire.

I am happy in the thought that in one matter in which I have had part, however small or feeble—yet a little and my best—is this Society, whose quarter-centennial we celebrate to-night. It is now a great institution, useful now and in the future beyond the comprehension of any mind; and I was in it at the beginning. It is good to be at the beginning of a good thing. We are naturally anxious in its first feeble strivings; we watch its growth and development with curious interest; we tremble with anxiety when its existence seems imperiled, and rejoice when its action promises success. It is these features that have given the charm to the story of Robinson Crusoe, the delight of generations of boys. It was the start of a new life under strange conditions, so simply told, that gives the absorbing interest to the story.

That such an institution as this was needed no one can doubt. Other efforts were made and failed; but the failures showed that the want existed. As early as 1859 a historical society was organized in Lawrence, and you may see in that invaluable work, the "Annals of Kansas," that one S. A. Kingman delivered the

*SAMUEL A. KINGMAN was born in Worthington, Mass., June 26, 1818. His education was limited to the public schools and academies of his neighborhood. His regular attendance at school ceased at the age of seventeen. At the age of twenty he drifted to Kentucky, in which state he remained eighteen years, teaching school, reading law, and practicing as an attorney. He held office as county clerk and county attorney, and in 1849-'50, and again in 1850-'51, he was a member of the Kentucky legislature. In 1856 he moved to Iowa, where he remained one year. In 1857 he moved into Kansas, settling in Brown county. After living on a farm one year he settled in Hiawatha, where he practiced law until 1865. In 1859 Mr. Kingman was a member of the Wyandotte constitutional convention. The same year he was elected associate justice of the supreme court, and took his seat upon the admission of the state into the Union, in 1861. He held the position until 1864. In 1866 he was elected chief justice, and was reelected in 1872. In 1877 he resigned, and retired from active professional life. Judge Kingman was the first president of the Kansas State Historical Society, in 1876. He removed to Topeka in 1872, where he still resides.

annual address. In 1868 a similar society was organized in Topeka, and the same individual delivered the first annual address.

This Society, organized in 1875, was the result of action taken by the State Editorial Association, moved thereto by our beloved ex-President Wilder. The Society is therefore the child of the press, and generously and nobly has it stood by its offspring, and well deserves the grateful mention of its services by one who knows whereof he speaks. When the Society was formed it was merely a shadow, floating in the air; it is true it had officers, but nothing else. No funds to conduct the work; no library; not even a room in which to meet.

Mr. Baker was the first secretary, but he soon resigned, to accept the more pleasant duty of treasurer—pleasant because there was nothing to do but hold a barren trust. F. G. Adams was then made secretary, not because of any special fitness for the place, but because he had a little time that he could steal from other duties. It is true he was well known for his high character, his fidelity, and his industry, but he had these qualities in common with many other persons. That which made him the invaluable officer he proved to be was not known or considered; but if we had searched Kansas over we should probably have not found his equal for doing the immediate work before us—to gather in and preserve the records of the past and save those of the present. Kansas was his field of labor, and skilfully and diligently did he labor in it. The facts were scattered everywhere, and perishable. Our secretary had an appetite for facts relating to Kansas. No event was so insignificant as to escape his notice, if it bore upon our history. He was indefatigable in his search, patient yet persistent in his pursuit, and quick to seize any facts that would illustrate our history. His avidity in this direction was as remarkable as it was useful. They are the treasures of this Society, garnered largely by him, and are a perpetual memorial of his worth. Whether he would have been a good organizer can never be known, for the Society was so cramped for room that orderly system was impossible. When I get to talking of this Society my thoughts turn to Judge Adams, for he and the Society were for many years one, and he was that one.

The first action of the officers was to send handsomely printed certificates of membership to each editor of the state, a sort of filial tribute of respect to paternity. The responses of the press were so general that they created a public opinion that justified the legislature in making a very small appropriation. Then began the good work, growing and expanding up to the present time—a quarter-century of success. As the interest increased the annual meetings were more and more numerous attended, so that, instead of there being difficulty to get a quorum, the trouble was to get a room for those who did attend. At these meetings the anxious thought of every one seemed to be, How can we best help on the good work? It was a pleasure to greet old friends, and my thoughts dwell lovingly in the recollections of our enjoyable relations, though I can hardly go so far as ex-Pres. George A. Crawford, who, sending his yearly dues from his far mountain home, wrote: "I may forget everything else, even old friends, but never the Kansas Historical Society."

Nine of those who have presided over this Society have gone from us, and we shall greet them with clasped hands no more. These men, and such as these, made history. As my tongue gives utterance to each honored name sweet memories spring unbidden to my mind. Others as useful and honored as these have preceded us, leaving fragrant and precious memories. Let us keep them in kindly remembrance ever.

When Xerxes entered Greece he determined to carve Mount Athos into a statue of himself, as a perpetual memorial of his achievements. Had he been

successful, and carried out his design, one would have had to get leagues away from it to perceive its outlines and comprehend its sublime grandeur. So it will be with this Society. As the years roll by and lend their perspective to the wealth and worth of this collection, it will be more and more valued and appreciated. Let me suggest one instance. There is a little book in this collection that was printed and published in Kansas years and years before General Hall introduced his bill in Congress to organize the territory of Platte. How many of you know of the existence of this prenatal book, which is only one of the many thousand priceless mementoes gathered with pains and preserved here, and is mentioned only as illustrative of the characteristics of the collection? If any man can look upon this collection, and even partially comprehend its value, and not feel a just sentiment of admiration, he has my consent to emigrate, as one who has no pride in his own state.

And now, my friends, I am done. My strength and your patience are alike exhausted. I have wished to state a few facts connected with the work of a quarter of a century, leaving it to your imaginations to fill out the picture so rudely outlined.

Rubbish here some think they find;
 Worlds were chaos without mind.
 Thought will turn this dross to gold
 And a wealth of truth unfold.
 Mingled threads of light and shade;
 Hope with tragedy inlaid;
 Faith that even mountains moved
 And our truest manhood proved.
 From these records, old and musty,
 From these weapons, worn and rusty,
 From these pictures on the walls,
 Grows a story that enthalls.
 From these papers, tier on tier,
 From these trophies gathered here,
 From these heroes gazing down,
 From our statesmen of renown,
 Will rise an epic great and grand —
 A pæan to our glorious land;
 A song of Kansas fair and free;
 A hymn to love and liberty.
 Footprints on the sands of time
 Leading in from many a clime;
 Blazing paths to heights of fame,
 Where we our progress may proclaim.

HISTORICAL SOCIETIES IN THE UNITED STATES.

An address by DANIEL W. WILDER.*

Your committee on order of exercises have invited me to speak, and given me "Historical Societies" as the theme. Secretary Martin, of his own motion, aided the preparation of these remarks by sending me from this choice library three volumes of reports of the American Historical Association, the last one dated 1895. This is a handsome volume of 1247 octavo pages, printed on fine paper, gilt top, and in its general make-up and appearance it is a book of litera-

*DANIEL WEBSTER WILDER was born in Blackstone, Mass., July 15, 1832. He is of the seventh generation of descendants of Thomas Wilder, who came from England in 1638. In 1848 Daniel W. Wilder entered the public Latin school of Boston, graduating in four years, gaining the Franklin medal, as well as prizes every year. He took the freshman course at the University of Rochester, and one year later entered the sophomore class at Harvard, from which university he graduated in 1856. He studied law in Rochester, N. Y., spent one year at the Harvard law school, and was admitted to the bar in Boston in December, 1857. He came to Kansas in June, 1857, but he did not make his home in Kansas until August, 1858, when he settled at Elwood, in

ture, and unlike the usual reports issued by historical societies. But the title-page gives the name of the publisher: "Washington, Government Printing Office, 1896."

The national government, it thus appears, is publishing the output of a company of history writers. On the other side of the title-page is printed a law of Congress, approved January 1, 1889, incorporating the American Historical Association, with its principal office at Washington, making it an annex of the Smithsonian Institution, and thus providing rooms for its library and collections, and securing the publication of its reports by the national government. The statute was signed by President Cleveland, who represents a national party that formerly opposed paternalism, and limited the powers of the federal government to those expressly granted by the constitution. The other national political party does not so strictly construe the constitution; thus we now have a right to infer that both parties, and the whole people, are committed to the national principle that the work of approved writers of history and collections of historical materials shall be published by the general government, and the books thus made properly housed and distributed among all of the states; and the citizen who so votes, in electing a member of Congress, declares the same principle; and none the less when he votes for a member of his own state legislature. The principle, briefly stated, is this: The nation and the state owe to the people the duty of supporting reputable and efficient historical societies. The state government of Kansas took this position in regard to this Society, and has continued so to act at each successive session of the legislature.

This action has been taken as a matter of course, and with no legal opposition, as Congress acted long afterwards, and as the state of Wisconsin acted long before. Members of all parties in Kansas and in Washington believe in the principle that it is the business of each state and of the United States to pay for the collection of the documents and the material from which accurate history is written.

Kansas has the fullest collection ever made by any state in its early years, because this was the first Society that began its career by collecting and preserving every copy of every newspaper published in the state. It also bought and preserves files of the first newspapers published in this territory and state. Every publisher in the state is a member of this Society. By virtue of this fact, every county, every town with a few hundred people, is making history for the Society every day. It follows inevitably that these documents of history represent every

Doniphan county, opposite St. Joseph. He practiced law and edited the *Free Press*. May 18, 1859, Mr. Wilder was one of the secretaries of the convention at Osawatomie which organized the republican party in Kansas. In 1860 he edited the *Free Press* at St. Joseph, a radical republican paper, for which he was indicted for violating the laws of a slave state in advocating emancipation. He lost everything, and moved across the river to Kansas, and the then acting governor of the territory, George M. Beebe, refused to honor a requisition for him. In 1861 he became the editor of the *Leavenworth Conservative*, a very amusing misnomer, because it was most radical. October 8, 1863, he was appointed by President Lincoln surveyor general of Kansas and Nebraska. In 1865 he went to Rochester, N. Y., and became the editor of the *Evening Express*. In 1868 he returned to Leavenworth and again worked on the *Conservative*. In 1871 he became editor of the *Fort Scott Monitor*. In 1872 and again in 1874 he was elected auditor of state, receiving both terms by unanimous nomination of republican state conventions. September, 1876, he resigned as auditor of state to edit the *St. Joseph Herald*. In 1882 he moved to Hiawatha and bought the *World*. In 1885 he was appointed executive clerk by Gov. John A. Martin. In 1887 he was appointed superintendent of insurance. In 1891 he established the *Insurance Magazine*, in Kansas City, which he still edits, making his home in Hiawatha. He prepared the copy for the "Annals of Kansas," of which two editions were published. He has contributed largely to Bartlett's "Familiar Quotations," and has written a life of Shakespeare. Mr. Wilder offered the resolution in the State Editorial Association which resulted in the organization of the Kansas State Historical Society.

variety of political opinion, and the facts on all questions relating to the people of the state. Some of our publishers and editors are women; they, of course, are members of the Society, are on its board of directors, and are elected, as men are, honorary or corresponding members, when they live in other states.

The mere statement of these facts, so well known to all of us, brings out this great truth, that the Kansas Historical Society is of the people, for the people, and by the people. Other societies are now starting—north, south, east and west of us, in new states and in old states, by men delegated to first come here and examine the underpinning of our Society, and who go away exceeding glad. "You are fifty years ahead of us," some of the delegates say.

Nearly all the historical societies in the United States have been founded by private citizens—men of public spirit, proud of their city and state, with a love of historical study, and devoted to the preservation of historic records. Some of these societies have become public benefactors, and made us all their debtors; others have been narrow and weak; and not a few have died.

The volume of which I have already spoken contains a list of these societies now in existence. I have looked it over, and will give you the names and age of a very few of the best societies. The order of arrangement in the volume quoted from is followed below.

The American Antiquarian Society, of Worcester, Mass., founded in 1812.

The American Philosophical Society, founded in Philadelphia in 1769. It gives some attention to history.

Alabama has a historical society, started in 1850, with a membership of twenty-nine in 1881.

The Connecticut Historical Society was founded in 1839, 199 years after the adoption of its first constitution. It is still doing good work, in a small way. The New Haven Colony Historical Society, ten years older than our Kansas Society, is a live organization.

The Historical Society of Delaware dates from 1864.

The Georgia Historical Society was born in 1840. There is a pause between 1859 and 1866, probably due to our "marching through Georgia." The society has done little real work in recent years.

Chicago has a real historical society, founded in 1856, but not active until 1870. It has filled the usual place of a state society. The state of Illinois is now writing to Kansas for plans and specifications for a state society at Springfield.

Indiana tried to have a historical society in 1831, but did no work of value until 1890, after our Society had made large and invaluable collections.

The State Historical Society of Iowa was founded at Iowa City in 1857, and published its third report in 1862. It published the *Annals of Iowa*, quarterly, between 1863 and 1874. In 1882 S. S. Howe resumed the publication of the *Annals*, independently of the society. In 1885 the society began a continuation of the *Annals* in a work called the *Iowa Historical Record*—a work that the Kansas Society might imitate and continue.

The next state on the list is Kansas, with this Society, founded in 1875.

The Historical Society of Kentucky is the Filson Club, organized at Louisville in 1884, and well sustained. Its reports are very handsomely printed, as well as carefully written.

The Maine Historical Society was founded in 1831. A list of its publications fills fourteen octavo pages in the volume I am examining.

The Maryland Historical Society, 1844, is also a vigorous institution.

The Massachusetts Historical Society, of Boston, founded in 1791, is the first historical society organized in the United States, and probably in the world.

Several of our great historians have been members of this society. Its publications are numerous and of the highest character.

The Minnesota Historical Society was organized in 1849, and became a society supported by the state in 1868.

The New Hampshire Historical Society began in 1823.

The New Jersey Historical Society, founded in 1818, is very conspicuous for its original work and its collections.

The New York Historical Society was instituted in 1804.

The Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio began in 1838.

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania was founded in 1825.

The Pioneer and Historical Society of Oregon appears to have existed from 1874 to 1882, and to have then been devoted to one theme.

The Rhode Island Historical Society dates from 1822.

The South Carolina Historical Society began in 1855. It took a rest until 1876, but history was busy during the elapsed period. It is now doing strong work.

The Tennessee Historical Society was chartered in 1878.

The Vermont Historical Society was founded in 1846.

The Virginia Historical Society began in 1848, but did not do important work until 1882. In the "Virginia Magazine of History and Biography" it published two valuable volumes, in 1894 and 1895.

The West Virginia Historical Society started in 1870, published one volume in 1871, and a pamphlet in 1881.

We come now to the greatest historical society in the Union or elsewhere, the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, founded January 15, 1850, and supported by the state of Wisconsin. In 1866 the society dedicated the rooms in the south wing of the state-house, as we are doing to-day. In 1900 it dedicated a palatial building erected by the state for the society. This society has given Wisconsin a reputation as wide as the world.

This is the last historical society in our states named in this volume, the last of 300 societies; others have been started since 1895, when the book was printed. The list I have read contains the names of twenty-seven societies; it includes every important and some unimportant state societies. Only a few are superior to the Kansas Society, and in some features Kansas leads them all. One society in the District of Columbia, and twenty-seven in twenty-five states, with twenty states not named. This examination shows that several hundred societies have been formed; that very few have had vitality; and that societies sustained by the state and representing the entire people are the only organizations that can help the state and the people and become permanent institutions.

Prof. J. Franklin Jameson, of Brown University, contributed to the report of the American Historical Association for 1891 a paper on "The Expenditures of Foreign Governments in behalf of History." Professor Jameson says the information he gives is not complete. It covers printing, the payments made to editors and copyists, the salaries and expenses of officers, and the money paid to learned bodies. Almost all of the governments expend in behalf of history "sums greater, in proportion to their total annual expenditures, than those so employed by the government of the United States," before the year 1890. The twelve countries named give for historical purposes more than one million dollars a year. None of this money is used for the erection or care of buildings, like the British Museum and other national libraries. The history of the American people and American institutions is certainly as well worth paying for as the history of European monarchies.

After reading the list of appropriations made by England, France, Germany,

Russia, and the other countries named, the expenditure made that pleases me most, and that seems to be of the most practical and patriotic character, is that of New South Wales, of \$14,000 for the "Official History of New South Wales," and the expenditure of \$7000 for the preparation, not the printing, of a "School History of Australia."

Before taking leave of the reports of the American Historical Association—they are good books, and are all to be found in the library of our Society—it is pleasant to be able to say that in one of these volumes you will find the biography of a former governor of Kansas. That volume was not sent to me by Secretary Martin, and I have never seen it. It is very gratifying, however, to know that Kansas has had one state officer whose life is written every year, sometimes in Boston, sometimes in New York, sometimes in Topeka, and once in Washington. Where the annual will break out next no one can tell. The biography, always the same, appears to be following the trail of Capt. John Brown, whose soul marches on without the adventitious support of even so noble a machine as the printing-press.

While I was obtaining information from printed sources, Secretary Martin sent letters to Western states and obtained facts which are a new contribution to the history our neighbors are making. The letters are appended to this paper. Their contents can be given in brief.

The Missouri State Historical Society was organized in 1898 by the press association, following the example of Kansas, incorporated in 1899, and held its first annual meeting at Columbia, December 5, 1901. The society cooperates with the state university and is supported by the state. The Kansas editors builded better than they knew.

The Nebraska society was organized by its most prominent citizens, in 1878. Since 1883 the society has been supported by the state. Its quarters are in the state university library building.

The Oklahoma Historical Society originated with the press association in May, 1893; the first report was made to that association in May, 1894. Another society was organized at Guthrie, in January, 1895. The two societies were united, and the legislature incorporated the new society in February, 1895, and made an appropriation of \$3000 in its behalf. The society has its headquarters in the university building, at Norman. It collects and preserves papers from both territories. Probably no territory ever began historical work at so early a period in its career. The Oklahoma society, with the support of the press and the state, will be enduring.

The new county of Caddo, Oklahoma, organized a county historical society in November, 1901. Work of this kind is done by men "formerly of Kansas." Some of our soldier-citizens may organize historical societies in the Philippines.

The Iowa State Historical Society has its home in Iowa City. It was organized by law in 1857, "in connection with and under the auspices of the state university," and is supported by the state.

The historical department of Iowa occupies the west wing of a building, in Des Moines, that is growing into a library, art and museum building. This wing has been occupied only since January, 1900, but many of the rooms are already full to overflowing. The department was organized by law in 1892, and contains the collections made by the curator, Charles Aldrich, since 1884. The state of Iowa supports two historical societies.

The Minnesota Historical Society, at St. Paul, was founded in 1849, by the first secretary of the territory. The state pays \$6000 annually for its support, and is making special appropriations now to place the society in the new state-

house. The society has files of all the newspapers published in the territory and the state of Minnesota.

The Northern Indiana Historical Society, of South Bend, was incorporated in 1896. Its expenses are paid by the membership.

The Oregon Historical Society, at Portland, was organized in 1898. The state appropriates \$3000 annually for its support. Secretary Young writes: "Our assistant secretary travels, collecting historical material and soliciting memberships."

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin receives from the state \$20,000 each year for the purchase of books, and probably as large an amount for other expenses. In its half-century of life the state no doubt has expended one million dollars for its support and for its building.

Ex-Gov. L. Bradford Prince, of Santa Fe, who is president of the Historical Society of New Mexico, writes that there was an old society organized about 1865, which has died. The present society was organized in 1881. It collects, he says, everything named in the list of Kansas collections sent him by Secretary Martin. Expenses are paid in dues from members, and the territory grants the society from \$350 to \$500 a year.

Mrs. Ellen B. Judson is the secretary of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, established in 1874. It has been supported by the state, except during the four years when Pingree was governor. A fee of one dollar is paid by members. The society needs advertising; it is not well known, the secretary says. The society occupies only one small room. The library is taken care of by the state library, and will be until the society has a home of its own. The society has issued thirty volumes of reports, and will soon publish the thirty-first.

The Historical Society of Montana was organized in 1864 and incorporated in 1865. The society is supported by the state. Its library was made a part of the state library in 1890.

The Washington State Historical Society, of Tacoma, was organized recently. The secretary says it has received from the state \$1000, appropriated in 1893, but the society depends upon fees from members for its support. Washington became a state in 1889, and has about as large a population as we had when this Society was organized, and will probably follow the prevailing system—a state society at the state capitol, generously supported by the state, and collecting all newspapers and books published in the state.

The Historical Society of Southern California, at Los Angeles, was organized in 1883. It is a voluntary association, sustained by the members. Its library contains 1200 bound volumes, 5000 pamphlets, and "a number of files of newspapers." Five volumes of proceedings have been published.

The Missouri Historical Society was established in St. Louis, August 11, 1866, "the one hundredth anniversary of the first land grant in St. Louis." The address asking old residents to meet on that day was signed by about fifty of the most prominent citizens of that city and state, several of them of national reputation. The expenses are paid by membership dues. The library contains 5800 books and 6000 pamphlets. The collection is believed to be of great value. No mention is made of the publication of reports or of a catalogue. The society is composed of St. Louis men of wealth, and resembles some of the societies in our oldest states in being, apparently, exclusive, and having the ways of a club.

The Oregon Historical Society was not organized until December, 1898. Prof. F. G. Young, the head of the department of history in the state university, at Eugene, edited and printed several important works, and his efforts led to the formation of the society. The state has made substantial appropriations at

the beginning. There are 750 paid memberships, and the assistant secretary is kept in the field making collections and securing members. This is a new and important fact in the line of our work.

In concluding these very scattering remarks, the thoughts arise that will come up at meetings of this Society in all the future years—thoughts of gratitude to the state for what it has done, small as the appropriations have been, but chiefly to one man, our late secretary, Franklin G. Adams, our “guide, philosopher, and friend.” In all of the records of all the states that we have been examining, there is not more than one founder of a state library to be compared with Judge Adams. He had the intelligence, the industry, the frugality and the perseverance required to achieve success. This library is not only the repository of Kansas publications of all kinds, but, by the system of exchanges, it is also, to a great extent, the home of the historical publications of all the states. Kansas was peopled by all of the states, and her pioneers come to this library and find, to their surprise and delight, the histories of their old home states—books of whose existence they had no previous knowledge.

Judge Adams became a pioneer soon after the territory was organized, and took an active part with the men who came here to make this a free state. He lived and wrought and fought with these pioneers, and became the personal friend of the men who saved the territory from slavery. It was this personal friendship with the founders of the state that enabled Judge Adams to secure letters and documents that are of rare value. He had a genius for collecting historical materials, and was never so happy as when he had secured such treasures. Investigators will come here from Missouri, Colorado, Oklahoma and other states to get documents that they have not cared for and cherished at home.

This Society and this library are his imperishable monument. However worthy and well qualified his successors may be in the coming years—and I believe good fortune will abide with them all—not one of them will claim to share his honors; all will add new strength and beauty to his creation and to his enduring fame.

AN INCIDENT OF THE WAR, IN 1862.

Annual address of the President, JOHN FRANCIS,* before the twenty-sixth annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society, January 21, 1902.

IN the summer of 1862, a detachment of the Fifth Kansas cavalry of less than 200 men accomplished one of the most perilous feats of the civil war, and of which little is known except by those now living who participated therein. At a regimental reunion at Ottawa, in September, 1895, this trip was a subject of much discussion, and Colonel Clayton, in an address, read extracts from the war records relating to his regiment, and expressed his surprise and regret that no report had been made of this expedition, and that it had failed of record in the official history of the war.

* JOHN FRANCIS was born in Norfolk, England, April 24, 1837. He attended school until the age of twelve, and, his father having died when he was two years old, he was required to go to work to maintain his mother. He was living with his mother at Norfolk, and had reached his majority, when the Kansas struggle elicited his strongest sympathy. Leaving England in August, 1858, he came direct to Kansas, settling at Osawatomie, and during the winter of 1858-'59 remained among the friends and followers of John Brown. In March, 1859, he took up his residence on a preemption claim in Allen county. In July, 1861, he enlisted in company D, Fifth Kansas regiment, and served until November, 1863, when he was discharged for disability. In

Since that time a number of the participants in this march have been corresponded with by Captain Morse, of Mound City, Kan., looking to the gathering together of a true history of the expedition. Those responding were Lieutenant Barnes, of E company, who copies from a diary kept by him at the time; a copy of a report purported to have been made by Captain Creitz, of A company; also an account by B. F. Deane, of A company. All of this has been placed at my disposal by Captain Morse, together with valuable data of his own, which have been largely used in this sketch, since they follow so closely my own recollections and data of the expedition.

In the month of June, 1862, the Fifth Kansas cavalry was stationed at Rolla, Mo., then the terminus of the St. Louis & San Francisco railway. A requisition had been made on the assistant quartermaster-general, at St. Louis, for regimental teams, new equipment, and general supplies, anticipating an order to join General Curtis, who with his army, after the battle of Pea Ridge, was on the march to Helena, Ark. This order was received before the supply train arrived from St. Louis. To avoid any delay in carrying out the order, Colonel Clayton ordered Captain Creitz, commanding A company, to remain at Rolla and bring on the train as soon as it arrived. Company K, under command of Lieut. S. R. Harrington, had been sent on a scout in the direction of Eminence, Mo., where depredations were being committed by bushwhackers. This company was ordered to join the regiment on the march, and, on the morning of June 18, 1862, the regiment broke camp, starting south, expecting to unite with General Curtis at, or near, Salem, Ark.

On the morning of June 21, after marching about eight miles, and when near Houston, a messenger arrived from Lieutenant Harrington, who was in camp at Eminence, about fifty miles east, reporting that he was surrounded by some 300 or 400 of the enemy, under the notorious guerrilla leader, Colonel Colman. Colonel Clayton at once ordered Lieutenant Morse, of D company, to select thirty-five of his men and to march at once to Harrington's relief, with directions to go within ten miles of Harrington's position, and then to send a messenger through to him with instructions that he move to meet him. Finding the roads over which the command traveled too rough to admit of Harrington's joining him with his company wagons, Morse ignored that part of his instructions and pushed on, joining Harrington somewhat after midnight, having marched fifty-eight miles, most of the way over trails in the Ozark mountains impassible for wagons. June 22 was devoted to resting, and some short scouts, resulting in the killing of two and the capture of one of Colman's men. In a previous fight K company had killed fifteen of this band. On June 23 the two companies, D and K, started for Houston, where they arrived on the 24th. Colonel Clayton had ordered that they remain at that point, joining Captain Creitz on his way down with the train from Rolla. By reason of delay in the arrival of the supply train from St. Louis, and after its arrival the work incident to taking from the cars and setting up new wagons and handling and fitting new harness

November, 1863, he was elected county clerk of Allen county, and again in 1865, serving four years. He studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1867. In November, 1867, he was elected county treasurer of Allen county, and reelected in 1869. He performed the duties of clerk of the district court for Allen county from 1865 to 1868. He engaged in merchandising at Iola from 1869 to 1877. May 1, 1874, he was appointed state treasurer by Governor Osborn, serving until January 12, 1875; was again appointed December 20, 1875; and was by the suffrages of the people of the state elected to that office in 1876, to fill the vacancy and for the ensuing term, in 1878, and in 1880. He was a member of the house of representatives in 1899, serving on the ways and means committee; he was again a member of the house in 1901, in which body he was made chairman of the ways and means committee. He is at present a member of a tax commission authorized by the last legislature to revise the tax laws.

to unbroken mules, the train was detained at Rolla until June 28, reaching Houston on the 30th. During the trip, nearly the entire force was occupied in keeping the train, consisting of some twenty-five wagons, in the road and headed south.

All day on July 1 was taken up in shoeing horses and mules and making repairs, and on July 2 the march south was resumed, the command now consisting of company A, 75 men; company K, about 45 men; the detachment from company D, of 35 men; a part of company E, some 20 men; and scattering from other companies, hospitals, and furloughs, about 15 men, making the whole force less than 200. Of these, some 25 or 30 were detailed as drivers. The officers accompanying the expedition were: Captain Creitz, commanding; surgeon, A. J. Hutton; Chaplain Fisher;* quartermaster, Lieutenant Davis; acting adjutant, Lieutenant Scudder; First Lieutenant Trego, of company D (sick); First Lieutenant Harrington, commanding company K; Second Lieutenant Morse, commanding company D, and Second Lieutenant Barnes, commanding company E.

On the morning of July 4 the command passed through West Plains, and camped about one P. M., devoting the afternoon to celebrating, and listening to the eloquence of the chaplain, quartermaster, and others. During the patriotic utterances of the worthy quartermaster, some of the boys concluded to sample his supplies; knowing the wagon that contained his "private stock," they proceeded thereto, and disposed of the contents of a keg already tapped, to the quartermaster's intense disgust.

On July 5 we crossed the line into Arkansas and camped near the town of Salem, and here the perils of the march really began. Considerable picket firing during the whole of the night indicated the presence of the enemy.

July 6 an early start was made, and more caution used in arranging the march. Company K was assigned the advance, with orders to keep well to the front; company D following, with orders to divide the space between company K in advance and the head of the force, and to keep in communication with both the advance and company A (which was in charge of the train); company E and the stragglers acted as rear guard. After marching about three miles, company K barely in sight of company D, and the train stretched out on the road, a con-

*REV. HUGH DUNN FISHER, D. D., was born in Steubenville, Jefferson county, Ohio, March 14, 1824. His father was William Fisher, the son of John Christopher and Elizabeth Bratton Fisher. They were Lutheran Protestants. His father was born at Staunton, Va., March 26, 1793. The family emigrated to the Ohio valley in 1805. His father married Isabella Dunn, of Scotch descent. In 1838 Hugh Dunn Fisher was converted, and in a short time he was satisfied he had a call to preach, and on Christmas day, 1847, was regularly licensed. May 1, 1849, he was married to Elizabeth M. Acheson. He ministered in various places in eastern Ohio and western Pennsylvania, including charges in Birmingham and Allegheny, until 1858, when he came to Kansas. His first sermon in Kansas was preached at Leavenworth, on the first Sabbath in June, 1858. He remained three years as pastor of the First church in Leavenworth. He was stationed at Lawrence in 1861. During the next few months he was appointed chaplain of the Fifth Kansas cavalry. He served very strenuously in Arkansas and Missouri, and in the early part of August, 1863, he was detailed to take charge of a large number of sick and wounded soldiers. He reached home, sick with quinsy, about the middle of the month, and happened to be in Lawrence at the time of the Quantrill massacre, August 21, 1863. How Mrs. Fisher saved her husband's life in that awful scene, with several of Quantrill's men searching the house for him, is one of the most thrilling stories of the war of the rebellion. An account of this can be found in "The Gun and the Gospel," published by Chaplain Fisher, in 1896. After the raid he returned South, and in the fall of 1863 was made the New England agent of the Western Sanitary Commission, with headquarters in Boston. After the war, he was pastor of churches in Atchison and Manhattan, serving also as presiding elder. He was transferred to McKeesport, Pa.; thence to Omaha, and Salt Lake. He then became superintendent for the American Bible Society in Utah, Idaho, and Montana. He returned to Kansas about 1886. Mrs. Fisher died in Topeka February 8, 1901.

siderable force of the enemy was encountered. Company K immediately opened fire, and a precipitate retreat was made by the rebels, Harrington following rapidly. As soon as the firing commenced, Morse ordered company D off at a run, overtaking company K a mile or so further on; K had halted in the road, D moving up in column on their right, fronting with them. Harrington had gained information that the force we had met was about eighty strong, and that they had left the road by a trail leading across a stony ravine to the right of the head of our position, and that a force of from 200 to 300 men was in line on the further bank of the ravine, which paralleled the road a little further on. D company was armed with Sharp's rifles, while K company had old-fashioned muzzle-loading, sawed-off muskets; hence, at Harrington's suggestion, Morse ordered his company into column and charged up the ravine, K company following without interval. The rebels opened up with a scattering volley from the bank of the ravine; up the hill went our force; resistance ceased, and the enemy fled into the woods. Our men then divided into squads and continued the pursuit, charging the enemy wherever found. After following them through the hills for three or four miles, our forces rallied on the road where the train had halted. The only casualty on our side was that Lieutenant Morse had been severely hurt by his horse jumping into a blind ditch, or washout, and falling on him. Three of the enemy had been captured and seven reported killed; the number of wounded is not known. Later information, coming from the enemy, gave the number as fourteen actually killed in this engagement. The march was then continued, and a distance of ten miles, or thereabouts, was traveled, when we camped for the night.

July 7 the march was resumed, and the same precautions taken as on the day preceding. It was early in the morning that we learned that General Curtis with his army had crossed Black river, and it was probable that we would encounter the rebel cavalry collected at Batesville, a distance of about eight miles to the right of our line, and a forced march was deemed advisable. Lieutenant Barnes, with E company, was in the advance, with instructions to keep well to the front. Soon after sundown he ran onto and captured a force of about twenty guerrillas, who had assembled with their wives and families, and were about to distribute a lot of sutlers' goods captured from the rear of the army. The good time they had anticipated speedily vanished and the sutlers' goods were taken possession of by our boys. Canned goods and cigars were a luxury, and, in the half-famished condition of the troops, came in very good play. After resting for a short time, we again pressed forward.

Early in the morning of July 8, Captain Creitz detailed Sergeant McCarty, with eight men of company A, as the extreme advance, company D following, all under the command of Lieutenant Morse, with orders to push through to Black River ferry, to hold it until the train came up, and to send a squad to scout the country beyond the river. Sergeant McCarty reached the intersection of the Batesville road soon after daylight, and drove in the enemy's pickets, and company D passed the same point before sunrise. On reaching the ferry, soon after noon, McCarty crossed, and went on to Jacksonport, where he encountered a small force of the enemy. Company D reached the ferry shortly after, a part of the force at once crossing; a detail was made, and a platoon under Sergeant Duncan proceeded on a reconnoitering expedition up the river on the east side, and a picket was thrown out on the Jacksonport road. Sergeant McCarty returning from Jacksonport recrossed to the west side of the river to await the arrival of the train, the remainder of company D crossing over to the east side. Horses were tied, and the weary men lay down to rest. Soon after the train arrived, and

Captain Creitz at once proceeded to arrange for its crossing. The ferry, so called, was nothing more than a flatboat, and was worked by a rope fastened to a tree on either side of the river and pulled by hand; consequently but one wagon could be taken over at a time. When some two-thirds of the train had been safely crossed, and only about fifty men remained on the west side of the river, that unearthly Indian yell that the Texas troops had adopted was heard, and the thunder of charging squadrons was upon us.

A more complete surprise could not be imagined. For a moment it seemed as though everything on the west side of the river was lost, but only for a moment. The men lounging under the trees and in the shadow of the wagons sprang for their guns, and were soon pouring shot into the enemy, while the men in the water left their bath and their clothes to take part in the fight. At this point Chaplain Fisher rushed to the ferry, which was on the west side, and pulled the boat single-handed rapidly toward the other shore amidst a storm of bullets. D company and some others, who were in line on the east side and taking a hand at long range, saw their opportunity in the returning boat, and, making a rush for it, speedily pulled it back to the west side, where they reinforced their battling comrades, to help secure a victory if possible. The topography of the country was in our favor, and every advantage secured thereby was taken. Sharp's rifles in the hands of experts work very rapidly; consequently, in a short time the enemy commenced falling back, which was soon followed by an utter rout. The rebel force making the attack was a regiment of Texas rangers, commanded by Colonel Johnson, of from 500 to 700 strong; our force on the west side of the river was but something more than 100. Fourteen of the enemy lay dead near the point where the action began; half of this number were commissioned officers, including the colonel commanding; two other dead were found further back. The number of wounded was not known, as they were removed from the field. Our casualties were one man killed, three wounded, and three captured. When peace reigned once more the balance of the train was crossed, and the camp for the night was established in the woods on the eastern shore.

Captain Creitz says of this fight: "Never in the history of this war did men more heroically breast the storm of bullets and repulse an enemy famous for reckless daring, three times their number; and that, too, when the suddenness of the attack made it necessary for every man to act individually, as prudence directed."

Lieutenant Morse says that "Too much praise cannot be given to the men who received the first shock of the attack, and opened and maintained the fight until company D came to their aid, who, to a man, crossed that perilous river to carry help to their sorely pressed comrades. The officers were not in it; the circumstances, the suddenness of the attack, took it out of their hands, placing the chances with the valor and promptness of the men, and that we escaped is due wholly to them."

The question of destroying the train was strongly advocated by Quartermaster Davis, and such pressure was brought to bear on Captain Creitz that it looked as if the train would be sacrificed. The men, however, took the matter up, and, through Lieutenant Morse, protested against such action, and pledged their united and utmost efforts to take the train through. This protest was so emphatic that all plans of burning were abandoned, but the wagons were lightened of their loads to some extent by the destruction of a quantity of horse equipment and some clothing. The army blacksmith forge was also destroyed, by reason of some of the mules being disabled.

Our condition was becoming critical; rations were practically exhausted, and a large force of the enemy in our rear, and guerrillas on both flanks were con-

stantly harassing us, and with little knowledge of what was before us it was deemed advisable to secure communication, if possible, with the army. Two men of company K, Ebey and Lent, undertook to make the attempt; they failed, however, to get through, and were captured by the enemy at or near Augusta, and taken as prisoners to Little Rock.

On the morning of July 9 we left camp early, passing through Jacksonport soon after sunrise, marching all day and all night without particular incident, except an occasional shot from guerrillas on our flanks. Another attempt was made to communicate with the army. Reeves, of company D, and Johnson, of company K, left the command for that purpose.

On July 10 we marched all day and camped on the bank of a bayou some distance to the left of the road, leaving an open field between. Here the train was parked and the horses and mules secured near the bayou, and the camp fortified with rails and whatever else that could be readily procured. The enemy had been seen with unpleasant frequency during the day, and Lieutenant Barnes's command had been fired upon near Augusta, slightly wounding one man. The night passed, however, without any molestation, and on the morning of July 11 the march was resumed. We struck an embankment in a short time, on which the road passed through a swamp; this embankment was obstructed by fallen trees, which completely blocked the way. An examination disclosed the fact that the enemy had been in line in the woods on either side of this roadway, presuming, probably, that we would make another night march. If this was the case, they had concluded that discretion was the better part of valor, and beat a retreat at early daylight. The obstructions to the road were soon removed, and we pushed on as rapidly as possible and passed the town of Cotton Plant. Soon after noon we reached the Cache river, where a few cattle were discovered and one or more were killed, each man taking his slice of warm beef and toasting it on a forked stick before a fire. This, from our condition, was a feast. From here a hurried advance was made across the bridge, and as the last of our force passed over, the bridge was ignited, and in a few moments totally destroyed. Our hasty movement and destruction of the bridge were caused by the advance of a heavy rebel force, which we learned had come from Des Are to intercept us. We camped that night a few miles north of Clarendon, where our comrades, Reeves and Johnson, joined us. They had succeeded in getting through to the army, and reported two companies of Union cavalry to reinforce us.

On July 12 we made a short march, leaving Clarendon a little to our right, and camped on the Helena road. On the 13th we overtook the rear division of the army and camped on Big creek, inside their lines; and on the afternoon of July 14 we joined our regiment, in camp on the Mississippi river near Helena, where we received a right joyful welcome. We were a weary set of men, half starved, more dead than alive; but what mattered it? We had brought the train through triumphantly and we were content.

We were on the march for seventeen days, many of them of twenty hours in the saddle. The distance covered was between 300 and 400 miles, and during more than one-half of the time we were practically under fire.

Among the incidents of the march, I may mention the night before the fight at Salem, the horse of private Reeves, of D company, broke loose and escaped from camp, and in the morning could not be found. When the camp was abandoned Reeves was still out looking for his horse. He finally found him tied up at the head of a ravine. The horse was gray in color, and could be seen a long distance. Reeves was cautious and showed the true daring and spirit of a practiced scout. He made a circuit around the horse out of gunshot range, and soon dis-

covered a man with his gun at rest watching the horse. He then satisfied himself that no others were in the neighborhood, and the rebel on guard, failing to shoot first, lost the horse, and Reeves took him and returned to camp, which he found entirely abandoned, and his saddle and bridle, which he had placed in a vacant house, stolen. In attempting to supply himself with another from a near-by stable, he encountered a man coming in from the brush with a gun. This man had to be disposed of before the saddle and bridle were secure on the horse. Reeves then proceeded to follow the command, but was compelled to keep away from the main road. Once more his progress was disputed, and another bushwhacker was left in the woods. He finally reached us at Black river, a few minutes before the rebels made their attack, and took part in that hotly contested fight.

At Black river one of the laughable incidents occurred. Our quartermaster, in his anxiety for the train, and fearing that it might fall into the hands of the enemy, was desirous of having it destroyed. It is said that in the excitement of the fight he met the chaplain and exclaimed: "Burn the train, burn the train, Brother Fisher; for we are all going to hell together."

THE KANSAS STATE AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE.

An address by PROF. J. D. WALTERS,* M. Sc., read before the Kansas State Historical Society, at its twenty-sixth annual meeting, January 21, 1902.

THE first legislative efforts in America at organizing an agricultural college were made over half a century ago. A bill providing for the organization of an agricultural school and the establishment of an experimental station passed the senate of Massachusetts in 1850, but it was defeated in the house. The defeat of this bill provoked much comment in agricultural circles, and resulted in the appointment of a board of commissioners who were to consider the matter and report at the next session. In 1851 their report, with an elaborate account of the organization and work of the agricultural schools of Europe visited by Professor Hitchcock, was made to the legislature. It commenced with the solid remark: "The first seed ever planted was the first effort of civilization."

*JOHN DANIEL WALTERS was born in the canton of Solothurn, or Soleure, in western Switzerland, in 1848. He received his education in the German communal school of Aetigkofen, the French communal school of Dombresson, in Val De Ruz, and the high school of the county of Bucheggberg. He then entered the cantonal college of Solothurn. Being the graduate of a county high school (bezirksschule), he entered the third-year class of the college and completed the six years' course in August, 1867. He then took a course in geodetic surveying at the State University of Bern, and afterward accepted a position as instructor in mathematical branches at the well-known experiment station of Klingenberg, Thurgovie, where he remained something over a year. His parents having in the meantime emigrated to Pittsburgh, Pa., he concluded to try his abilities in America also. After working here for a number of years as decorative painter and architectural draftsman, he was appointed to the position of instructor of drawing at the Kansas State Agricultural College, January, 1877. In 1883 he was given the degree of master of science, and two years later he was made professor of the department of industrial art and designing. The professor has taken much interest in the work of the National Educational Association. During the meeting of the association at Topeka, in 1886, he was the acting secretary, and at the meeting the following year, in Chicago, the regular secretary of the industrial section. At the meeting in Nashville, in 1889, he read a paper on industrial education and served on two different committees. He has also read papers before many of the different scientific and practical societies of the state, and has been for many years the chairman of the standing committee on landscape-gardening in the State Horticultural Society. In 1891 he published a text-book on free-hand drawing for mature pupils, and in 1898 a series of sixteen consecutive text-books on industrial drawing for the common schools, a series that was widely adopted in the public schools and colleges of the West. Since 1897 Professor Walters has been the senior member of the faculty.

But the time was not favorable for the teaching of practical science. No immediate action resulted from their recommendations, except, perhaps, the establishment of a state board of agriculture; yet the matter was not permitted to rest. Massachusetts became a center of the agitation which finally triumphed in Congress in the passage of the "Morrill act," an act appropriating several millions of acres of wild land to the different states and territories for the purpose of founding agricultural colleges. This act became a law in 1862.

The honor of founding and maintaining the first institution of learning on the continent whose sole object should be the teaching of agriculture and agricultural science belongs to the energetic state of Michigan. The constitution of Michigan, adopted in 1850, directed the legislature to encourage agricultural improvement and to provide for the establishment of an agricultural school. In obedience to this direction, the legislature in 1855 authorized officers of the state agricultural society to select, subject to the approval of the state board of education, a site near Lansing for the school, and to purchase for it not less than 500 nor more than 1000 acres of land. It appropriated twenty-two sections of lands, or the money arising from their sale, for the purchase of land, erection of buildings, and the payment of necessary expenses. A tract of land was selected about three miles from Lansing, and the erection of buildings commenced. In May, 1857, the college went into operation, with a faculty of six teachers and an attendance of sixty-one students—the first agricultural school of any kind on this continent.

During the early years of its existence the new college underwent severe trials. The buildings had been poorly constructed and required expensive repairs and additions; efficient instruction could not be afforded; the curriculum was in an unsettled state; the old education was on the war-path and refused to give way to new ideas, and the question whether the institution should continue to afford a general education or be so modified as to offer professional training alone was vigorously debated. In 1859 the advocates of the latter idea were victorious, and the course of instruction was cut down from four years to two. The first agricultural college in America had not yet graduated one student when its young life was already in danger from irreconcilable differences of opinion as to how it should be run. In 1861 a state board of agriculture was created, partly for the management of the state agricultural college. The board consisted of six appointed members, with the governor of the state and the president of the college as members *ex officio*. Half of them were to be practical farmers. Their term of service was to be six years, two going out of office every second spring. This reorganization of the board was the cause of new disagreements all along the line. The proper "sphere" of agricultural education required definition, and the tinkering with rules and regulations commenced once more. This time the course of study was lengthened to four years; women were excluded from the course, and the afternoons of five days each week were devoted to labor by the active student body. The college provided a dormitory, with suitable board, for all students, and cottages for the professors. These details are mentioned here because the Michigan Agricultural College was the only practical school of the kind in America when the Morrill act was passed, and similar educational experiments were started in other states.

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The Kansas State Agricultural College owes its location and initiative momentum to the pioneers of Manhattan. The city was founded in 1855 by the cooperation of two colonies—one from New England, arriving March 24, and one from Cincinnati, arriving June 1. Among the members of the New England

colony were several college graduates, and it is stated that the founding of a college was discussed and decided upon during the voyage, long before reaching the objective point of the expedition, the confluence of the Big Blue and Kaw rivers.

From necessity the project had to be deferred for a while, but it was not abandoned. As early as 1857, when the buffaloes were yet numerous in the northern part of Riley county, and less than three summers had bleached the roof of the first house west of the Blue river, an association was formed to build a college in or near Manhattan, to be under control of the Methodist Episcopal church of Kansas, and to be called "Bluemont Central College."

The charter was approved February 9, 1858. It provided for the establishment of a classical college, but contained the following (in the light of future history) interesting section: "The said association shall have power and authority to establish, in addition to the literary department of arts and sciences, an agricultural department, with separate professors, to test soils, experiment in the raising of crops, the cultivation of trees, etc., upon a farm set apart for the purpose, so as to bring out to the utmost practical results the agricultural advantages of Kansas, especially the capabilities of the high-prairie lands."

The leading members of the association were: Rev. Joseph Denison, D. D.,* afterwards president of the college; Isaac T. Goodnow, elected state superintendent in 1862, reelected in 1864; Rev. W. Marlatt, now a model farmer on College hill; S. C. Pomeroy, afterwards United States senator.

A site of 100 acres was selected for the institution upon the rising ground about one mile west from the town, and the title secured by special act of Congress, introduced and fathered by Senator Pomeroy. The Cincinnati Town Company promised liberal aid in town lots and town stock, but coupled their promise with the illiberal clause that the aid should not be delivered until the college association could show property to the amount of \$100,000. The New England Town Company gave fifty shares of stock in the north half of Manhattan, representing 100 city lots. I. T. Goodnow, assisted by Doctor Denison, sold these, and by personal solicitation here and in the East obtained funds for a building. Many of the founders must have taxed themselves quite heavily. G.

*JOSEPH DENISON, D. D., A. M., the first president of the Kansas State Agricultural College, was born in Bernardston, Franklin county, Massachusetts, October 1, 1815. When he was two years old his parents removed to Colerain, in the same county, where they engaged in farming. Here young Denison lived the usual life of the New England farmer boy of those days. In the fall of 1833 he entered Wilbraham Academy to prepare for college, and in 1837 he joined the sophomore class in Wesleyan University, at Middletown, Conn., where he graduated in 1840. In the same year he was elected professor of languages in America Seminary, Duchess county, New York, and held that position for three years, having for his pupils such men as Alexander Winchell, the renowned geologist, and Albert S. Hunt, the great philanthropist, whose gifts to hospitals and institutions of learning have aggregated one million dollars or more. From 1843 to 1855 he was engaged in the work of the ministry in Massachusetts, and in the spring of the latter year he came to Kansas, settling on a tract of government land near Manhattan (the present county asylum farm), where he became one of the prime movers in the organization of Bluemont College and afterward its third president. The first president of Bluemont College was I. T. Goodnow, and the second Rev. R. L. Harford. A few years later, when the college became a state institution, he was still its president, holding this responsible position until 1873, when he resigned, and soon after accepted, for a time, the presidency of Baker University, at Baldwin. Later on he engaged in the work of the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal church. Reverend Denison is characterized by his collaborators as a man of very conservative views with regard to education, politics, and religion—a typical New Englander of the old school, a simple and solid character. Of the other pioneers who came with him from the East, a majority accumulated considerable wealth, or at least a competency. Reverend Denison worked in the vineyard of the Lord and had no time to make money. He died at the home of his sister, Mrs. I. T. Goodnow, near Manhattan, February 19, 1900, and was laid to rest in the beautiful city cemetery, overlooking the college from a neighboring hill.

S. Park, S. D. Houston, Joseph Denison, John Kimball, J. S. Goodnow, I. T. Goodnow and Washington Marlatt gave \$300 each, which were princely gifts when measured by the financial condition of these pioneers. The whole amount of cash collected from all sources at the time amounted to \$4000.

The corner-stone was laid with elaborate ceremony May 10, 1859, with speeches from General Pomeroy and others, and the institution was opened for the reception of students about one year thereafter. It was a poor time and place, however, for building up a college. The squatters had nothing to give, the students were scarce, the Methodist Episcopal church of the territory had two other educational institutions to support, and the country was disturbed by the bloody preambles of the war of the rebellion. The first annual report of the institution to the Kansas and Nebraska Methodist Episcopal conference gives the names of fifty-three pupils, under the charge of Rev. Washington Marlatt as the principal teacher, and Miss Julia A. Bailey as the assistant. The salary of Reverend Marlatt for 1860 was \$600, and was to be paid in Bluemont City town lots—lots that never had more than a nominal value. No wonder that he complained: "The labor of teaching is great enough for two persons, while the income is barely sufficient to pay the board for one." (Bluemont College Records, October 24, 1860.)

Upon the admission of Kansas as a state, January 29, 1861, the founding of a state university became a probability, and the trustees of Bluemont College, represented by Hon. I. T. Goodnow,* were nearly successful in locating that institution at Manhattan by offering their building for this purpose. On March 1 the measure passed both houses of the legislature, but met with a veto from Gov. Charles Robinson, who was determined that the State University or the state capital should go to Lawrence. Robinson was willing to barter with the delegates from Manhattan and their friends, if they would assist him to get the state-house for his own town, but the Manhattan delegation had already pledged themselves for Topeka; they refused to change their adhesion, and this lost the State University for Bluemont.

A little over a year later another chance presented itself for the college to be-

*ISAAC T. GOODNOW was born in Whitingham, Windham county, Vermont, January 17, 1814, and was in his eighty-first year when he died. At the age of fourteen he became a merchant's clerk, and at the age of twenty entered the academy of Wilbraham, near Springfield, Mass., where he remained fourteen years, first as a student, then as instructor in the primary and English departments, and then as professor of natural sciences, which latter position he held for ten years. In 1848 he was called to same chair in Providence Seminary, at East Greenwich, R. I., which he filled for six years. In 1838 he was married to a sister of Rev. Joseph Denison, and in 1855 he started, in company with Denison, for Kansas, settling in March of that year on a claim near Manhattan, now owned by J. F. Swingle. In 1857 he returned East and raised \$4000 for building the Manhattan Methodist church (now the Roman Catholic church). Then, in connection with Joseph Denison, Washington Marlatt, and others, he established Bluemont College, again visiting the East and securing \$15,000 in cash, a library of 2000 volumes, and some philosophical apparatus. As a member of the state legislature he secured the passage of a bill locating the State University at Manhattan—the bill that was vetoed by Governor Robinson, of Lawrence. In the fall of 1862 he was elected state superintendent, and reelected in 1864. As superintendent of public instruction he was *ex officio* a regent of the Agricultural College. In 1867 Professor Goodnow was selected agent to dispose of the 90,000 acres of land belonging to the college. In 1869 he became land commissioner of the M. K. & T. railway, and in the next seven years sold land amounting to over \$1,500,000. For nearly forty years Professor Goodnow had been a prominent public man in his old home and at Manhattan. He left considerable property at his death, but no children. Professor Goodnow was not a man of deep learning, nor was he a good public speaker, but he became, by his sturdy, practical character and natural business abilities, at the very start, the indispensable manager and financier of the newly founded Bluemont College, and afterwards of the Agricultural College, and it is a question whether there would be a state institution of learning at Manhattan to-day without his efforts as a legislator and solicitor of needed funds.

come a state institution. When, on July 2, 1862, the "agricultural-college act" was passed by Congress, the trustees offered it once more to the legislature, and this time the offer was accepted. The donation, at the time it was made, consisted of 100 acres of high-prairie land, a plain three-story stone building, measuring about forty-four by sixty feet, a library of several hundred volumes collected for the college by Hon. I. T. Goodnow, and some illustrative apparatus. The total value of the property was probably in the neighborhood of \$25,000.

The gift to the state of the property of Bluemont College was a liberal one; yet, like many other gifts to the state, it had several strings to it that made its acceptance of doubtful value. It prevented the state from removing the institution from the particular piece of land upon which it was located, and forced the college into a tedious lawsuit twenty years later, when a removal became absolutely necessary. The worst feature of the bargain, however, was of a different character from this. It seemed proper that the donors of Bluemont—officers and members of the faculty—should be retained in the transformation of the classical institution into a technical school. The Methodist conference of Kansas and Nebraska assumed the right for many years to dictate the appointment of the members of the board of regents, and received annual reports from the officers, as if there had been no transfer of property of any kind. History, English literature, Latin, Greek, French, German, psychology, etc., formed the bulk of the course of instruction of the more advanced classes, while the lower classes did common-school work of the most primitive character. In other words, the metamorphosis of the classical college into a technical school did not become complete by the passage of the "agricultural-college act"; it took over a dozen years to accomplish it. The act referred to is "An act donating public lands to the several states and territories which may provide colleges for the benefit of agriculture and the mechanic arts," giving to each state lands to the amount of 30,000 acres for each senator and representative in Congress, for "the endowment, support and maintenance of at least one college" for the benefit of "agriculture and the mechanic arts." The bill was passed by Congress in 1859, but was vetoed by Pres. James Buchanan under the pressure of the states-rights party. In 1862 the act was again passed, and the pen that wrote the proclamation of emancipation—the death-warrant of American slavery—approved it.

* * * * *

The so-called "Morrill act," to which the Kansas State Agricultural College owes its endowment, was passed in a most critical period of our national life, and its history is interesting to the student of American institutions from more than one point of view.

The annexation of territory, as the result of the war with Mexico, had added millions of acres of wild land to the large public domain of the United States. At the time of the election of James Buchanan to the presidency, the national government still had at its command, with constitutional right of disposal, nearly a billion and a half acres. It had not yet squandered an empire to scheming railroad companies, though petitions began to pour in begging for grants for various public and private interests. Agricultural societies throughout the Union, seemingly in concerted action, followed the clamoring multitude, by asking for the donation of public lands to the states for the purpose of agricultural education. The agitation took formal shape as early as 1852, when the legislature of Massachusetts passed a resolution asking congress for a grant of lands for the purpose of promoting a "National Normal College," as they styled it; and similar propositions, urging that the nation should promote scientific instruction in agriculture, in order to preserve the chief industry of the country, soon came from many

sides. It was claimed that the prevailing methods of agriculture were rapidly exhausting the soil, while weeds, insect pests, blights and mildews were over-running gardens, fields, and orchards.

In 1858 memorials were presented to Congress from the Kentucky and New York agricultural societies, and from the legislatures of New York, California, and Missouri, praying for lands for educational purposes in state agricultural colleges. Hon. Justin S. Morrill, of Vermont, in speaking of this subject before the house of representatives, on April 20, 1858, said: "There has been no measure for years which has received so much attention in the various parts of the country as the one now under consideration, so far as the fact can be proved by petitions which have been received from various states, north and south, from state societies, county societies, and from individuals. Petitions have come in almost every day from the commencement of the session."

The bill then before Congress, granting land to the states for agricultural colleges, upon which Mr. Morrill spoke these words, was almost identical with the one which became a law four years later. It was introduced and brought to its passage in the house. The main difference between it and the one which finally won success was, that the former granted only 20,000 acres of land for each senator and representative in Congress, instead of 30,000, finally allowed. Temporary loss resulted, as it does so often, in permanent gain. The first bill passed the house April 22, 1858, and was indorsed by the senate at the following session, but it met the veto of President Buchanan, February 24, 1859.

The veto message adopts the view of the timid school of interpreters of the constitution, and sets forth the obstacles which the friends of national aid to education and the public-school system had to encounter a generation or two ago. It rested mainly, like the well-known veto of the homestead bill, a year later, upon constitutional grounds. He urged the minor objections, that such a measure was inexpedient, in cutting off five million dollars of revenue at a time when it was difficult to meet the expenses of the government and to sustain public credit; that it would be injurious to the new states, in enabling speculators who might buy the land scrip to withhold their land from settlement, and thus run up the price to the actual settler; that the government would have no power to follow into the states to see that it was properly executed; and that such a donation would interfere with the growth of established colleges. "It would be better," says the message, "if such an appropriation of land must be made to institutions of learning, to apply it directly to the establishment of professorships of agriculture and the mechanic arts in existing colleges, without the interference of state legislatures."

Undoubtedly some of the objections were strong ones. The history of several of the agricultural schools, where the land was fooled away to land speculators and the proceeds given to classical institutions, vindicated a number of them only too well; but they were posed simply to furnish a necessary background. He believed that the proposed grant violated the constitution of the United States. He presumed it "undeniable that Congress does not possess the power to appropriate money in the treasury, raised by taxes on the people of the United States, for the purpose of educating the people of the respective states. This would be to collect taxes for every state purpose which Congress might deem expedient and useful—an actual consolidation of the federal and state governments." The power specifically given to Congress, "to dispose of the territory and other property of the United States," was to be used only for the objects specifically enumerated in the constitution. At least the public lands could not be "given away." He believed that the previously made donations of the six-

teenth sections, and, later, of the thirty-sixth sections, for common schools, and of townships for universities and seminaries, were safely constitutional; but in these transactions the government had not "given away" land. It had merely acted as a prudent speculator in "disposing of" some land, in order to enhance the price of the balance. The message "purposely avoided any attempt to define what portions of land may be granted, and for what purpose, to improve the value and promote the sale of the remainder, without violating the constitution."

"Where there is a lack of argument against a measure," said Mr. Morrill, while facing the veto of his bill, "the constitution is fled to as an inexhaustible source of supply." There was nothing left, though, but to reintroduce it in the house of the thirty-ninth congress, where it was again unfavorably reported by the committee on public lands.

In the meantime, however, the measure had found a champion in the person of Senator Wade, of Ohio, and on May 5, 1862, this gentleman introduced in the senate the bill which, after much opposition, finally became a law. It was postponed and delayed in various ways. Even our Kansas senator, "Jim" Lane, of Lawrence, objected to it, because it would, as he thought, exhaust all the valuable public land in his state; and in this he was generally supported by the press. The redeeming feature of Senator Lane's opposition was his unflinching belief that Kansas was "the only state with desirable public lands within its borders," and that, in case the bill should become a law, all other states, from New Jersey to Illinois, would rush to Kansas to take up her beautiful prairies. Mr. Lane finally fell back on the constitutional objection, and warned the senate against the danger of "giving to sovereign states the right of entering lands within a sovereign state." Unable to defeat the bill, he and his coadjutors made a fight for the amendment that no more than 1,000,000 acres of the land should be located in any one state by assignees of the lands, and in this they were successful.

The bill as amended by the Kansas senator passed the senate June 10, 1862, the house one week later, and became a law on July 2, 1862, by receiving the signature of Pres. Abraham Lincoln.

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Kansas was among the first of the states to accept the proffered endowment. The resolution of the legislature to "agree and obligate itself to comply with all the provisions of said act" was approved by Governor Carney February 3, 1863, and the resolution to accept the offer of the trustees of Bluemont Central College in "fee simple" February 16 of the same year. Thus Manhattan became the seat of the Kansas State Agricultural College. The following are the laws of the state relating to these steps:

Three commissioners were immediately appointed by the governor to select the lands. The grant gave 90,000 acres; but as a portion of the selected tracts supposed to be within the railroad limits counted double, the college received but 82,313.52 acres. In the fall of 1866 Hon. J. M. Harvey commenced the appraisal of these lands, and July 27, 1867, reported his work completed. Hon. I. T. Goodnow was appointed land agent, Hon. S. D. Houston having, as temporary agent, previously sold a few acres. Mr. Goodnow held the office until the reorganization of the college, in 1873, and sold about 42,000 acres, for about \$180,000. His successor, L. R. Elliott, held the office of land agent from 1873 to 1883, and sold over 32,000 acres for about \$240,000. The remainder, some 8000 acres, was sold for over \$30,000 by Mr. J. B. Gifford, who held the office of land agent until after all the land was sold, in 1888. The total fund derived from these sales is \$502,927.35, all of which, except unpaid land contracts, is in-

vested in Kansas school and municipal bonds paying six per cent. interest. The state has made good losses from this fund by unfortunate investment or fraud to the amount of \$3775.57.

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It is natural that the college should have remained for a time, as it did, under the care of its founders and donors, and as a consequence should have conformed to the ideal before their minds. The charter provided for four departments—science and literature, mechanic arts, agriculture, and military tactics. Of these, that of science and literature was put in operation. The course was laid out to cover four years, with an indefinite preparatory, and conformed closely with that of Bluemont Central College. The first catalogue gives the names of ninety-four students in the preparatory department and fourteen in the college proper. Seventy-four were from Riley county. The faculty consisted of Rev. Joseph Denison, D. D., A. M., president, and professor of ancient languages and mental and moral sciences; J. G. Schnebly, A. M., professor of natural science; Rev. N. O. Preston, A. M., professor of mathematics and English literature; Jeremiah Evarts Platt, principal of preparatory department; Miss Belle Haines, assistant teacher in the preparatory department; and Mrs. Eliza C. Beckwith, teacher of instrumental music. The following is a copy of the first circular issued by the college:

The first term of this institution as now organized by the authorities of the state, under a board of experienced and competent professors and teachers, will commence September 2, 1863, and continue thirteen weeks. The department of music, both vocal and instrumental, will soon be organized, of which notice will be given in due time.

Every possible effort will be made to make the facilities for acquiring a full and thorough education in this institution equal to those of any other in the country. Its government will be firm, but mild and parental. Its aim will be to promote the highest welfare of the student, physical, mental, and moral. Females as well as males will be admitted to all the advantages of the institution. Special instruction to those preparing to teach. All proper attention will be given to subjects relating to the department of agriculture. A course of lectures on practical farming and kindred subjects from competent men may be expected during the term.

The president of the institution will lecture on important subjects. Prof. J. G. Schnebly will lecture on subjects illustrated by the magic lantern, including astronomy, natural history, etc.; Prof. I. T. Goodnow, on inorganic, organic and agricultural chemistry.

Rates of tuition for term of thirteen weeks, to be paid in advance: Common English branches, four dollars. Higher English, algebra, geometry, languages, etc., five dollars. Music on melodeon, eight dollars; piano, ten dollars. Incidental expenses, for fuel, sweeping, and bell-ringing, fifty cents.

Special exercises in riding on horseback, calisthenics, gymnastics, etc., tending to promote the health and manners of the student, will be given without extra charge.

Board in private families, from two to three dollars per week.

Further information can be obtained by addressing the president.

During the first ten years the college grew slowly. Up to 1873, only fifteen students had graduated, while the number of students in attendance during any one term never reached 125, and these were mostly from Riley and the adjoining counties. Some of the efforts made by the faculty to populate the empty school benches seem almost incredible at the present time. "At a board meeting, December 2, 1863, President Denison stated that he had entered into a contract with the board of directors of the district school of the place to have their scholars instructed during the winter in the college—principally in the preparatory department of the institution—for the sum of \$130. At the same meeting, Mr. Jeremiah Evarts Platt was elected to a professorship in the preparatory department and professor of vocal music, at a salary of \$600 per annum." (Report of state commissioners, 1873.)

The catalogue for 1868 gives the number of students present in the winter term as eighty-three, and the report for the fiscal year ending November 30, 1871, states the number of students then present in the different departments as 119—64 gentlemen and 55 ladies. Of the students in the college course proper,

in the fall term of 1871, 14 were in the literary department and 10 in the agricultural and science course. The number of counties of the state represented by students in the three terms of the year 1870 was 22, and the number of other states 6. In 1871—*i. e.*, in the common year, not in the school year—27 counties and 7 states were represented.

The reasons for this slow growth must be looked for in many directions: The newness of the state, the western location of Manhattan, the inadequacy of means, the founding of rival literary institutions at Lawrence, Baldwin, Topeka, etc., and the fact that industrial education was in its experimental stage. President Denison and a majority of the professors were classic students, and had no faith in the educational results of technical instruction not connected with the classics. They planned to add elective work in practical science and applied mathematics to the "old education," but it was intended to supplement, and not supplant, this. The introduction of obligatory daily manual labor as an educational factor was not attempted. Aside from occasional lectures on general topics, little was done for agriculture and the mechanics arts, and the increasingly frequent demands for an institution that would educate towards, instead of away from, the farm and the workshop were met with uncertain promises. The board, largely composed of professional men, must have held similar views, though the report of the state commissioners of 1873 says that "attempts were made by members of this body at different times to change the curriculum of study, and in other respects to alter the running of the college so as to make it conform more nearly to the demands of the people."

It should not be assumed, however, that the institution failed of doing good work in its classrooms. The literary department was second to no higher school of the kind in the state. The catalogue of 1868-'69 states that up to that time the college had educated at least eighty teachers for the public schools. A considerable number of ministers, especially of the Methodist Episcopal church, which still considered the institution as its protégé, and reported it as such at the annual conferences, also received their education here. Nor were the sciences entirely neglected. Benjamin F. Mudge, A. M.,* called to the chair of natural science in 1865, was an enthusiastic teacher and an untiring explorer. Aided by some of his pupils, one of whom is now professor of geology at the Kansas State University, Professor Mudge made a large collection of geological specimens and donated it to the college, where it formed a nucleus of the present museum. Being the first "take" in the new state, it contained many specimens which could not have been acquired later.

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During the presidency of Mr. Denison, the college received appropriations by the state to the amount of \$77,468.85. There were appropriated, exclusive of pay of regents, land and loan agents: For 1864, \$2802.25; for 1865, \$3316.50; for 1867, \$18,011.10; for 1868, \$6420; for 1869, \$8919; for 1872, \$15,000; for 1873, \$23,000.

* BENJAMIN FRANKLIN MUDGE, A. M., was born in Orritton, Me., August 11, 1817, and died at Manhattan, Kan., November 21, 1879. When Benjamin was two years old, his father's family moved to Lynn, Mass., and engaged in the shoe business. In 1840, B. F. Mudge graduated at Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn. Some years later this institution honored him with the degree of master of arts. During his vacation, and at odd moments, he diligently pursued his studies in natural history; and although after graduating he entered the legal profession, he never relaxed his interest in science, and gathered here the nucleus of the mineralogical collection which he afterwards presented to the Kansas State Agricultural College. After practicing law for sixteen years, during which time he was twice honored with the mayoralty of Lynn, he moved to Cloverport, Ky., where he was connected with the Breckinridge Coal Company. On the breaking out of the rebellion, he removed to Wyandotte county, Kansas, and, his love for geology becoming known, he frequently delivered lectures on his favorite study through the

In miscellaneous appropriations for 1871, the college was given \$2700, but the amount, for reasons not known to the writer, was never drawn. Quite the reverse seems to have happened in 1866. In the Session Laws of 1867, on page 3, it is seen that there was loaned to the college in 1866 the sum of \$5500, but the Laws of 1866 contain no act making such appropriation. The auditor's books show that it was for deficiency of professors' salaries for the years 1864, 1865, and part of 1866. In the appropriation act of 1867 a condition was inserted, viz.: "The said sum to be taken and deemed a loan from the state of Kansas to the State Agricultural College, to be reimbursed to the state after the state shall have been reimbursed for the \$5500 lent to said college for the year 1866."

An act approved March 1, 1870, contains the following:

WHEREAS, The state of Kansas has heretofore advanced as a loan from time to time the several sums necessary to pay the salaries of professors in said college, thus complying with the condition that the institution should go into active operation within a limited time, and securing its benefits to the earlier pioneer settlers in the commonwealth: therefore,

Be it enacted by the Legislature of the State of Kansas:

SECTION 1. That the several sums advanced to pay the professors in the Kansas State Agricultural College from the year 1863 to the year 1869, inclusive, be and the same are hereby donated to said college, together with all interest that may have accrued on said sums; provided, that the amount hereby donated shall be used as the board of regents of said college may direct: to purchase additional lands for the college farm; to erect buildings; and to develop the agricultural department of said college; and provided, that the sum of \$1500 may be appropriated from said donation for the purchase of a proper set of arms and accouterments for the use of the drill class in the military department required by law in said college.

SEC. 2. The treasurer of the board of regents is hereby authorized to pay upon the orders of said regents an amount equal to the sum donated by this act to said college out of any interest upon the endowment fund that may at any time be in his hands in excess of orders then due for professors' salaries; provided, that if any order drawn upon said treasurer on account of the donation made by this act shall not be paid on presentation, said treasurer shall indorse thereon, "Not paid for want of funds"; and any order thus indorsed shall bear interest at the rate of seven per cent. per annum until paid.

Immediately after the approval of this act, the board of regents had engraved or lithographed 364 pieces of scrip, so-called "college greenbacks," of the denomination of \$100 each, made payable at different times for a period of eight years, beginning July 1, 1870. These orders were used in purchasing the farm and supplies for the same, for boarding-house repairs, and for improvements of various kinds. On December 22, 1871, the issue of this depreciated paper was stopped by the board of regents, but the \$33,700 already issued proved a serious burden to the institution for many years, on account of the high rate of interest which prevailed at that time in Kansas. The greater part of this obligation (\$28,208.23) was paid in 1874 and 1875—*i. e.*, after the reorganization—but the

state. In 1864, through the influence of Hon. I. T. Goodnow, superintendent of public instruction, he was invited to deliver a course of lectures before the legislature, whereupon this body conferred upon him the office of state geologist—an honor entirely unsought, yet thoroughly enjoyed. While the state appropriation provided for the office but a short time, he was subsequently elected geologist under the State Board of Agriculture, which office he held during life. In 1865 he was elected to fill the chair of natural sciences in the Kansas State Agricultural College, to which institution, with a royal munificence, he donated his entire cabinet, valued at \$3000. It was during one of his summer excursions that he discovered *Ichthyornis dispar*, a bird with teeth and biconcave vertebrae. He severed his connection with the college in February, 1874, on account of a serious disagreement with the new management. Like many of his collaborators, he resisted the efforts in reorganizing the college of the newly appointed board of regents and Pres. John A. Anderson. The new management was victorious, and Professor Mudge left the institution where for eight years he had labored so unselfishly and intensely. The last years of his life he spent chiefly in making collections for Professor Marsh, of Yale College, and thus brought before the scientific world many rare discoveries. On Friday, November 21, 1879, the professor was engaged with his friend, Doctor Blachly, of Manhattan, in geologizing on Bluemont ridge, north of the city, exercising himself violently with pick and shovel. Upon his return he sat down to read with his family, when, feeling a pressure in his head, he stepped out-of-doors to take a walk, and died there of apoplexy.

remainder drew interest until 1881, when President Fairchild succeeded in convincing the legislature that it was their duty to provide for its cancelation.

The board of state commissioners, in their reports for 1873 and 1874, intimate that the existence of the college greenback was the result of the incapacity of the management, and the legislature placed the charge heavily upon the shoulders of President Denison and his associates; but it should be remembered that the state refused to make appropriations to the college for 1866, 1870, and 1871, and that a public institution cannot, like certain orchids, live on Kansas air and rain-water. As a state institution, it ought to have been sustained or abolished.

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The following is a short synopsis of the material signs of progress and growth during the period: A library of nearly 3000 volumes was accumulated, chiefly through the efforts of Hon. I. T. Goodnow, who wrote hundreds of soliciting letters to Eastern publishers, philanthropists, and personal friends. In 1867 eighty acres of the farm were enclosed by a stone wall, a few acres having previously been broken. In the same year a capacious student boarding hall was built by resident parties, but, proving a poor financial investment, it was afterwards urged upon the college. At the time of its erection the building met an evident want; but, costing the college over \$10,000, at a time when it was financially embarrassed, the purchase was a misfortune. In 1875, when the college was removed to the new farm, the hall became entirely useless, until, in 1889, after having been sold to a private party for \$1000, a fire devoured its rotten floors and roofs and calcined its crumbling walls. In 1868 a forest plantation was commenced and an orchard planted. The former contained some 200 varieties of trees, many of which were entirely new to the prairie country, and have since then proved very valuable. The orchard was planted by Mr. Samuel Cutter, of Vinton, at an expense of fifty cents per tree. In the winter of 1868-'69, the legislature made its first outright appropriation, of \$200, for the agricultural department, restricting its use to the purchase of plants, seeds, and agricultural implements. "As a matter of interest, it may be noted that the same legislature appropriated \$1400 to furnish tobacco to the convicts in the penitentiary." In 1869 the broken portions of the farm were rented to Col. Frank Campbell, the steward of the college boarding hall. In 1870 Prof. J. S. Hougham,* the first teacher of agriculture and chemistry, planted the first crop, consisting of oats, barley, and corn; but "the oats and barley grew only six to eight inches tall, and the corn was all but destroyed by chinch-bugs." The next crop did much better, though. "In August of the same year the ground was sown to wheat, and in 1871 gave a yield of 43½ bushels per acre."

*JOHN SCHERIER HOUGHAM, the first regular professor of agriculture and physical science at the Kansas State Agricultural College, was born at Connorsville, Ind., May 28, 1821, and died of pneumonia at his handsome suburban home near Manhattan, Kan., March 31, aged seventy-three years. He was educated at Wabash College, Crawfordsville, Ind., where he graduated in 1846. In September of this year he became principal of mathematics and physics in Franklin College, Ind., at a salary of \$400. The college was very poor financially, but Professor Hougham stayed by it for sixteen years and helped to make it a much-sought educational institution. In 1868 he accepted the chair of philosophy and agriculture in the Kansas State Agricultural College and stayed here for four years. It was a difficult position to fill and there were no funds for the development of his department. It was the old story of being asked to make bricks without straw. His offer to lend some money to the college for necessary expenses was accepted, but it brought him much trouble and led to his resignation. In 1872 he accepted the chair of agricultural chemistry in Purdue University, Lafayette, Ind., where he remained until 1876, after which he gave his attention chiefly to his personal affairs. In a brief autobiography which Professor Hougham inserted in his history of Franklin College occurs the passage: "There are two things for which I earnestly plead: First, a small funeral; second, a very brief, if any, obituary notice." His friends thought otherwise, and gave him a large funeral and copious obituaries.

It had long become apparent to the board of regents that the dry and stony piece of upland upon which the college building stood was unsuited for the purpose of conducting agricultural and horticultural experiments. The humus crust was thin and poor, and the subsoil a perfect gravel bed, cemented together by a tough, yellow clay. The final result of many discussions of the matter was, that in July, 1871, two valuable tracts of land were purchased. One of these, the so-called "Ingraham place," consisting of eighty acres of very fine bottom land on Wildcat creek, about two miles southwest of the college, was never used, but sold in 1880. The other, adjoining Manhattan, and containing nearly a quarter-section—a beautifully located tract of land—became the site of the present college. Of this, the northwest quarter, about forty acres, was bought of Mrs. Preston, the widow of Prof. N. O. Preston, who, in February, 1866, had died of apoplexy, in the classroom; the northeast quarter, about forty acres, was bought from Prof. E. Gale; and the south half, about seventy-five acres, was bought from Mr. Foster. The total cost was \$29,832.71 in scrip. The city of Manhattan, frightened over the repeated attempts of zealous friends of the State University, at Lawrence, to consolidate the Agricultural College with that institution, contributed \$12,000, the result of a bond election. A solid stone fence was built around the whole tract, and the erection of a large barn commenced—a broad-corniced, massive-looking stone structure, with numerous wings, towers, stairways, elevators, and offices. The barn was never completed, however, and the finished west wing served its purpose for a short time only. It was afterwards, under Pres. John A. Anderson, turned into a classroom building, and still later, under Pres. Geo. T. Fairchild, into a drill hall and museum.

In 1871 Fred. E. Miller was appointed professor of agriculture, and means were provided for the purchase of stock, teams, and implements. The foundation was laid for a herd of Shorthorns, which still remains the pride of the college. In the following year a veterinary department was organized, and put under the management of Prof. H. J. Detmers, V. S., a German by birth and education, who has since then become an authority on the contagious diseases of the hog. The department was discontinued in 1874, for want of means and patronage. A military department, organized some years previously, and provided by the government with a teacher in the person of Brevet Gen. J. M. Davidson, met with the same fate. The veterinary department was not revived until 1888, when a chair of veterinary science and physiology was created. The military department fared some better, in dating its revival September 1, 1881.

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A main obstacle to the growth of the college—not only during its first decade, but during its whole existence up to the close of the century—was the scarcity of properly trained and experienced instructors of the practical sciences, which necessarily form a good part of the curriculum of every technical school. The chronic deficit in the treasury of the institution during its forty years of existence has not only prevented the board of regents from going into the Eastern market for good men, it often made it impossible to hold the experienced teachers whom the college had produced. The following clipping from the *Manhattan Standard* of 1871 gives an interesting glimpse into the conditions that prevailed three decades ago:

"Complaint has been made because the regents have failed to secure the services of an agricultural professor. We are glad to see the interest manifested, even if it be a little overheated. We feel assured, however, that no one will find fault, if he knows how much time has been spent in trying to secure a professor. In starting an agricultural department, there is a necessity, first, to have the

ground plowed and fenced. So anxious was the president, Doctor Denison, that he by his own efforts raised \$1400 for this object. When the last legislature appropriated a sufficient additional amount to complete the fencing of the grounds, active exertions were immediately commenced by the regents and faculty to engage an agricultural professor. Even that able, enthusiastic agriculturist, Judge L. D. Bailey, was employed to engage one. As early as last April, a gentleman of eight years' experience in the Pennsylvania Agricultural College was elected, under promise of accepting if chosen. As professors are not usually overstocked with traveling money, and to render the thing sure, Doctor Denison borrowed \$250 for the professor to move on with! Untoward circumstances prevented his coming in the spring term, but we were confidentially informed that his services might be had in September. He even promised to come on a salary of \$1500. The offer was promptly accepted, but again he failed to come to time. Numerous applications have been made in other directions, and still we are without an agricultural professor, and from no fault of the regents or the faculty. We will add, however, that an active correspondence is being held, and we hope soon to secure a man worthy of the highest and most important professorship in the state."

At the time of President Denison's resignation, in 1873, the faculty consisted of the following members: Joseph Denison, D. D., president, and professor of history, political economy, and mental and moral philosophy. B. F. Mudge, A. M., professor of the natural sciences. Rev. J. H. Lee, A. M., professor of Latin and English literature. J. Everest Platt, A. M., professor of mathematics and teacher of vocal music. Dr. H. J. Detmers, V. S., professor of veterinary science and animal husbandry. Maj. Fred. E. Miller, professor of practical agriculture and superintendent of the farm. Rev. E. Gale, professor of horticulture and superintendent of the nursery. Lizzie J. Williams, teacher of drawing, and tutor. Hattie V. Werden, teacher of instrumental music. Jennie Detmers, teacher of chemistry and German. Ambrose Todd, superintendent of shop and instructor in mechanics.

The reorganization, in 1873, of the Agricultural College may be called an indirect result of the Grange movement. It is not within the reach of this limited sketch to discuss the causes of this great movement of the farmers of the West; we will simply state that it swept Kansas like a prairie fire. The first supply of fuel did not hold out, but, like the populist movement that flamed up a quarter of a century later, it placed new men and new ideas in possession of the powers of the state. The farmers began to interest themselves in political, sociological and educational matters. Their "school," at Manhattan, was investigated, and the conclusion reached that it appeared wanting in many respects. Newspaper articles began to discuss the work and possibilities of the Agricultural College, and the horny-handed Grangers and their political leaders finally agreed that "something" should be done for the school to make it fulfil its evident mission.

In accordance with an act of the legislature reconstructing the governments of the several state institutions, approved March 6, 1873, Governor Osborn, in the spring of that year, appointed a new board. Soon afterwards President Denison resigned, and the vacancy was filled by the election of Rev. John A. Anderson,* of Junction City. This resulted in a radical change of the policy of

*JOHN ALEXANDER ANDERSON, A. M., was born in Washington county, Pennsylvania, June 26, 1834; graduated at Miami University in 1853; was the roommate of Benjamin Harrison; studied theology, and preached in Stockton, Cal., from 1857 till 1862. Early in that year he entered the army as chaplain of the Third California infantry. In 1863 he entered the service of the United States Sanitary Commission, and his first duty was to act as relief agent of the twelfth army corps. He was next transferred to its central office, in New York. When Grant began the movement through the Wilderness, Anderson was made superintendent of transportation, and had under his command half a dozen steamers. Upon completion of this campaign he served as assistant superintendent of the canvass and supply department, at Philadelphia,

the institution. To this board, counting among its members such men as Dr. Charles Reynolds, post chaplain at Fort Riley, and J. K. Hudson, the founder of the *Topeka Daily Capital*, and to President Anderson, the state is indebted for the conception and inauguration of the educational policy which has placed the Kansas State Agricultural College near the head of the list of the land-grant institutions of America.

In a "Handbook of the Kansas State Agricultural College," published in 1874, President Anderson fully discussed his reasons for the changes made in the old system, a few of which are epitomized here:

1. It is impossible for most people to find time to study everything that is important for some men to master.

2. The subjects discarded, in whole or in part, by each separate class of students, should be those that will be of least importance to them.

3. Of those retained, prominence should be given to each in proportion to the actual benefit expected to be derived from it in the state of Kansas.

4. The farmer and mechanic should be as completely educated as the lawyer and minister; but the information that is essential to the one class is often comparatively useless to the other; and it is therefore unjust to compel all classes to pursue the same course of study.

5. Ninety-seven per cent. of the people of Kansas are in the various industrial vocations, and only three per cent. in the learned professions; yet prominence is given to the studies that are most useful to the professions instead of those that are most useful to the industrial pursuits. This state of things should be reversed, and the greatest prominence given to the subjects that are the most certain to fit the great majority for the work they should and will pursue.

6. Most young men and young women are unable to go "through" college. Therefore, each year's course of study should, as far as practicable, be complete in itself.

7. The natural effect of exclusive headwork, as contradistinguished from hand-work, is to beget a dislike for the latter.

8. The only way to counteract this tendency is to educate the head and the hand at the same time, so that when a young man leaves college he will be prepared to earn his living in a vocation in which he has fitted himself to excel.

9. Putting off the choice of an occupation until after the student leaves college as a graduate, instead of making it when he enters college, or as soon thereafter as possible, is a mistake.

10. Some agricultural colleges take as an objective point the graduation of agricultural experts, experimenters, professors of sciences, editors, etc.; the Kansas State Agricultural College should take as an objective point the graduation of capable farmers and housewives, and it should make an effort to graduate thousands of such.

12. Whatever else may yet need to be tried, there is no use in repeating the experiment of flying a literary kite with an agricultural tail, so often made in various quarters. It is a pleasant regential and professorial amusement, and quite attractive to an immediate locality; but there is nothing in it for the industrial student, whose estate pays for the kite. The fact that, out of some 600 students attending Cornell University last year, only two were studying agriculture, is enough for us.

and edited a paper called the *Sanitary Commission Bulletin*. At the close of the war he was transferred to the historical bureau of the commission, at Washington, remaining there one year, collecting data and writing a portion of the history of the commission. In 1866 he was appointed statistician of the Citizens' Association of Pennsylvania, an organization for the purpose of relieving the suffering resulting from pauperism, vagrancy and crime in the large cities. In February, 1868, he accepted a call from the Presbyterian church at Junction City, Kan., and remained its pastor until the fall of 1873, when he became president of the Kansas State Agricultural College, at Manhattan, which position he held until his election to Congress, in 1878. While president of the college he was appointed one of the jurors on machine tools for wood, metal and stone at the Centennial Exhibition. The subsequent history of John A. Anderson is equally characteristic of the man. He served as member of Congress from the first and fifth districts until 1891. During the fall campaign of 1890 the Farmers' Alliance movement had withdrawn from the ranks of the republican party much of the element which had elected and reelected him triumphantly in six consecutive elections. Anderson was not renominated, and refused to run "wild." The result was that the republican party as well as its trustworthy leader in the fifth district lost a seat in Congress. Of the number of congressional bills which were introduced and advocated by Anderson, may be mentioned the one reducing the postage of letters from three to two cents, and the one creating an agricultural department as a branch of the national executive government. He forced the railroad companies to close up their land grants and pay taxes upon their lands, and in the congressional apportionment of 1890 he beat the committee on apportionment and the orders of the republican caucus, and obtained an additional congressman for Kansas. In March, 1891, Anderson was appointed consul-general to Cairo, Egypt, and sailed for his new post on April 6; but his already enfeebled constitution could not endure the change of diet and climate. In the following spring he decided to return, and died on his home journey, in Liverpool, England. His remains rest in Highland cemetery, near Junction City, a necropolis of which he was the founder, by the side of his wife and parents. A beautiful tribute to the memory of John A. Anderson, written soon after his death by Noble L. Prentiss, is printed on page 186 of this volume.

Adopting these views, the board of regents discontinued the school of literature and organized those of agriculture and the mechanic arts. Three new professorships were established, namely: Botany and entomology, Prof. J. S. Whitman; chemistry and physics, Prof. W. K. Kedzie;* mathematics, Prof. M. L. Ward.† In order to provide better accommodations for the students, the departments of instruction were removed from the old farm to the new one, where the finished wing of the barn was fitted up for classrooms. Workshops in iron and wood, a printing-office, a telegraph office, a kitchen laboratory and a sewing-room were equipped and provided with instructors, and fifty minutes of educational manual labor was added to the daily work of every student. Three years later the course of study was reduced to four years—*i. e.*, the preparatory course was abolished, the teaching of astronomy, oil painting, Butler's Analogy, Latin, German and French discontinued, and the requirements for admission lowered, so as to connect the institution directly with the better grade of public schools.

In order to fully appreciate the efforts of President Anderson with regard to the reorganization of the work of instruction, it seems necessary to take a glance at the educational reform movement in other parts of the country. It is a fact not generally known, and one of which Kansas and the friends of this institution may well be proud, that the Kansas State Agricultural College was among the very first free schools of college grade in the United States where systematic daily manual work became an obligatory branch of instruction for all male students, and that it was the first institution of any kind in this country which reduced the minimum age of admission to such instruction to fourteen years. There had, of course, been numerous attempts to teach such work before, but it had either been made optional or else it was limited to certain departments. In the Worcester Free Institute, founded in 1865, and opened in November, 1868, the shop work was made obligatory only to the students in the course of mechanical engineering, all of whom were above sixteen years of age. In the Industrial University of Illinois, shop work was provided only for the students in the architectural department. Washington University, at St. Louis, the preparatory or manual-training school, which, through the writings and enthusiastic work of its dean, C. M. Woodward, has become the pattern for schools of the kind from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and far beyond, and is usually considered as the pioneer institution that provided systematic instruction in wood- and iron-work for all of its pupils, made the first experiments in this line in 1872. The

*WILLIAM K. KEDZIE, M. Sc., was the eldest son of the veteran teacher of agricultural chemistry at the Michigan Agricultural College, Prof. R. C. Kedzie. He graduated at that institution in 1869, took a special course at the Sheffield scientific school at Yale College, and became assistant to his father at Lansing, Mich., until his call to Manhattan, in 1873. Coming to the Agricultural College of Kansas at the time of its reorganization, he lent valuable assistance in shaping the course of instruction and giving the branches of chemistry, mineralogy, geology and meteorology the prominent position which they deserve in the curriculum of such an institution. While here he wrote a small text-book, "The Geology of Kansas." In 1878 he accepted a call to Oberlin College, Ohio, and died in 1880, in the prime of his life.

†MILAN L. WARD, A. M., was brought up on a farm, without early opportunities in school, but graduated from Hamilton College, N. Y., and afterwards was ordained to the ministry in the Baptist church. For some years he, with the assistance of Mrs. Ward, maintained a successful private academy at Ottawa, Kan., and from that was called, in 1873, to the chair of mathematics in this college. In this position, with many fluctuations of duties, he did faithful, energetic work for ten years, and often helped to hold together conflicting forces in the faculty by combining earnest regard for the practical side of the new plans with an abiding faith in mental discipline as the foundation of all true education. During President Anderson's congressional campaign, Professor Ward was made acting president, and, after leaving the agricultural college, in 1883, he was called to the presidency of Ottawa University, where he still remains as a member of the faculty.

work, however, was limited to the polytechnic departments, and the age of admission of the pupils to fifteen years, while the manual-training school was not organized until June 6, 1879. The Massachusetts Institute of Technology, where the "father of American tool instruction," Pres. J. D. Runkle, developed the analytical system of shop work, an improvement upon the Russian system of Professor Della Vos, did not commence instruction in ironwork until the spring of 1877. The only American institution, in fact, which gave daily shop instruction to all its pupils, previous to the reconstruction of the Kansas State Agricultural College, was the Stevens Institute of Technology, of Hoboken, N. J., created by the munificence of the great philanthropist, E. A. Stevens. It will be seen from these historic statements of the growth of tool instruction, that President Anderson was well in the front among the educators of the country who foresaw the coming educational changes; that he was a leader rather than a follower.

As might be expected, these changes of educational policy created some friction. Several members of the teaching force, disgusted with the reduction of the purely literary branches of instruction, resigned, while others, resisting the reorganization, were discharged. Even the newly called members were more or less opposed to some of the methods adopted, especially with regard to the reduction of the course of study from six to four years and the abolishing of all instruction in Latin. The most intense feeling existed for a while. The students, encouraged by the attitude of the retiring professors, held indignation meetings, and debated the reorganization, the attitude of the president and the new faculty in their literary societies. Nor did the resistance to the "new-fangled education," as it was sneeringly called, cease within a year or two. Four years after the change of policy the weekly *College News*, a paper published by student Irving Todd, calls the study of "practical agriculture" "piratical agriculture," and contains the following suggestive resolution, offered in the meeting of the Webster Senate, one of the college literary societies:

Resolved, That the institution is altogether too high-toned; that such studies as metaphysics, histories, or anything which teaches religious principles, or any other principles which tend to enlighten and refine man, should be thrown out.

The most determined opposition outside of the college had its center of gravity in Manhattan. The citizens, who considered the fight largely their own, were split into irreconcilable factions—"for Latin" and "against Latin." Petitions were sent to the board requesting a change of policy in order to save the institution from certain ruin. The aid of the governor was evoked to remove President Anderson, who was described as an educational charlatan, and a man of unrefined habits and manners; but the management remained firm. Gradually the storm subsided. The new members of the faculty began to assert their influence; the attendance did not fall off, as had been predicted; the legislature was satisfied with the change; and the "new education," though hardly more than an experiment as yet, had scored a victory.

President Anderson was a prolific and vigorous writer. He defended his policy whenever and wherever he was attacked, and gave no quarter. A chief weapon during the struggle was the *Industrialist*,* a small weekly, edited by the faculty and printed by the printing department. The first number appeared on April 24, 1875, and the paper has been issued ever since. The salutatory stated that the *Industrialist* was issued in the interest but not at the

* For a historic sketch of the *Industrialist*, the reader is referred to an article published in the January, 1898, number.

expense of the Agricultural College: "in part, to afford the members of the printing classes regular drill in the work of printing and publishing a weekly newspaper; in part, to photograph the work of the several departments of the agricultural college, for the information of its patrons and the people; in part, to discuss the educational system and methods of Kansas from the standpoint of the rights and necessities of the industrial classes; in part, to contribute, so far as it can, such practical facts of science as may increase the profit or pleasure of the farmers, mechanics or business men or women of Kansas."

* * * * *

That the foregoing paragraphs referring to Anderson's reorganization of the college from a classical school to a technical institution, and the determined resistance which his efforts encountered are not overdrawn, may be judged from an article excerpted from the *Kansas City Gazette*, edited by Geo. W. Martin, who afterwards became the secretary of the State Historical Society. The article was published in April, 1897, at the time of Prof. Thomas E. Will's election to the presidency of the college, and was headed "The Fuss at Manhattan." Its style betrays the vigorous Western pioneer newspaper man, but the subject is not hyperbolic in the least:

"The present kick at Manhattan concerning the changes in the Agricultural College is not a patching to the kick when John A. Anderson was made president, twenty-four years ago about now. Prior to the election of John A. Anderson as president, the Kansas State Agricultural College was a one-horse country academy, whose faculty were attempting to rival the State University, at Lawrence, and who had about as much conception of the agricultural-college act of Congress as a chimpanzee has of the solar system. The regents did their utmost to make a change, and the difficulty was in finding an educator who would try the experiment and who had the genius to organize. The editor of the *Gazette*, then in the newspaper business in that neighborhood, had for years criticized the school, demanding a change, little dreaming that he had a friend at his elbow whom he was leading into the bitterest fight of a lifetime, and who was destined to make an eternal monument for himself in the reorganization of that school. The first article ever written calling for a change was by James Humphrey, while yet a citizen of Manhattan, and published by us.

"John A. Anderson had made quite a reputation at Junction City as a good preacher, who was also an all-around hustler, builder, and organizer, who stood in with the boys, and everybody followed him. One day a regent of the Agricultural College, Maj. N. A. Adams, appeared in Junction City, and suggested that he (Anderson) try the presidency. Anderson had no connection with the fight being made on the school; he scarcely knew there was such an institution. We urged him that there was his chance to make or break. He was given two weeks to investigate. Never did a man work harder investigating a problem than did Anderson with the idea of industrial education and the intent of Congress. When asked what he thought about it, he remarked that 'if he went there he would bust it from stem to gudgeon.' 'You are the man we are looking for,' responded the regent; and he was elected president, and then hades began.

"The old crowd who did n't want to let go were aided by a paper at Manhattan and another at Junction City. Simultaneous with his opening the school in the fall, the Manhattan paper gave Anderson six columns of abuse. This was the open part of the fight. The faculty, and everybody in Manhattan who could talk about a 'curriculum,' put in their time geying and sneering at Anderson and his new-fangled education. A social reign of terror was inaugurated in the town; everybody was making fun, and it seemed as though everybody was too cowardly to say a word for the new order of things. The *Nationalist* was quiet, and the other paper was pouring hot shot into Anderson by the whole page every week. The impression was created that Anderson was an escaped lion or tiger that was eating up the children and old women. His caliber was criticized, his executive ability doubted, and his integrity questioned. The first few months he begged for fair play; he urged that he would like to make an effort to do what the regents had hired him to do, but he could n't get fair play. The regents were loyal to Anderson, and after a few months he turned loose and became a terror,

and the old tabby cats took to the brush. The faculty attempted to ignore him, but they caught a Tartar. He picked the school up and moved it two miles nearer town. Suit was started to beat the school out of the property, but Anderson won. It was the most uncalled-for, inexcusable and vicious war ever waged upon a man in Kansas; but in five years Anderson made the school, and was sent to Congress, where he remained twelve years. And, as a result of the fight and Anderson's intellectual power and organizing ability, continued and expanded by President Fairchild, it is the first school of its kind on the continent, a marvelous contrast with the measly snide for which Manhattan tolerated such a hellish row. Anderson left a monument to himself which will not be equaled by another Kansas man in a century."

During the six years of Mr. Anderson's presidency, the college received appropriations by the state legislature amounting to \$77,832.93, as follows: For the year 1874, \$28,803.23; for the year 1875, \$13,675.24; for 1876, \$15,300; for the year 1877, \$7774.46; for the year 1878, \$12,500; for the year 1879, \$1500. A part of this amount was received for the purpose of canceling debts and accumulated interest, dating from the administration of President Denison (college greenbacks), and the remainder for buildings, repairs, and equipments, especially of the farm and the newly organized departments of woodwork, printing, sewing, and cooking. The endowment fund having reached a total of \$100,000, and the rate of interest being ten per centum at the time of Anderson's election to the presidency, no appropriations were required for meeting the running expenses. It is a fact of which the financial managers of the college can be proud, that from the time of its reorganization, in 1873, to 1893, the management never asked the state to contribute a single dollar, and never received a single dollar, for professors' salaries or the ordinary expenses connected with instruction.

Of permanent improvements during Mr. Anderson's presidency, may be enumerated the building, in 1875, of Mechanics' hall, and in the year following of Horticultural hall and the Chemical laboratory—at the time of its erection the best arranged, largest and most complete chemical workshop west of St. Louis. The laboratory was built after sketches by Prof. William K. Kedzie, who, at his own expense, had visited central Europe and the East to study the arrangement and furnishing of chemical workshops. In 1877 the main part of the present barn was constructed, after directions by Prof. E. M. Shelton.* The corner-

*EDWARD MASON SHELTON was born in Huntingdonsire, England, August 7, 1846, and in 1855 came with his parents to America, settling in New York. In 1860 the family moved to Michigan. He received his education at the Michigan Agricultural College, graduating in 1871, and took a course of special study under Dr. Manly Miles. At this time an agent of the Japanese government was in this country, seeking men for the advancement of the agricultural interests of Japan, and through him Mr. Shelton was appointed superintendent of the government experiment farm at Tokio. He was the first teacher of American agricultural methods and systematic farming in Japan, and although ill health demanded his return to America at the expiration of a year, he left a strong impression upon the farming interests of that country. He next joined the Greeley colony, of Colorado, but soon returned to his agricultural studies and investigations at the Michigan college, and from thence was, in 1874, chosen professor of agriculture and superintendent of the farm at the Kansas State Agricultural College. Among Anderson's collaborators, none entered upon the work of reorganization with more zeal and sympathy, and assisted more effectively in bringing its practical work into favor with the farmers of the state, than Professor Shelton. He remained with the college until the 1st of January, 1890, when he accepted a call by the governor of Queensland, Australia, to the honorable and responsible position of agricultural adviser to the government. In 1897 he returned to the United States and settled in the Puget Sound country, where he engaged in the provision business, and, later, in mining speculations. His writings have been widely quoted, and his influence has been effectively stamped upon the trend of agricultural education of two or three continents. A letter by him, from Australia, to the writer of this sketch, manifests the drift of his practical mind. He said: "I am determined that this new school shall be an agricultural school. I plainly see that the world needs to-day useful men rather than learned ones, and I, for one, am disposed to sacrifice the theoretical and scientific for the practical and directly

stone of the north wing of the Main College hall was laid in 1878, and this part of the building completed in February, 1879.

In the summer of 1878 President Anderson was urged by leading republicans of the (then) first congressional district to become the candidate of the party for United States representative. He accepted the honor, feeling that the work at the college requiring his peculiar bent of character, and which, perhaps, but few could have performed, was done. The institution was safe from reaction with regard to its course of study, secure from absorption by the State University, and past the threatening specter of financial ruin. It had no name as yet among the institutions of learning of the land; its attendance was small, its library insignificant, and its apparatus lacked much that was absolutely necessary; but it had found its distinct sphere of usefulness. The debt, which in 1873 had amounted to over \$42,000, was reduced to \$18,000 endowment and \$6000 current-expense fund. The productive endowment had grown to about \$240,000, and the annual income amounted to nearly \$20,000. Yet his election to Congress in November, 1878, and consequent resignation in August, placed the board in a perplexing situation. Where should they find a man whose previous work and training would furnish a guaranty for success? There were plenty of candidates; indeed, it seemed as if every defunct county superintendent or worn-out preacher in the state believed himself the man to pilot the newly-rigged vessel

“Through squalls and storms,
O'er rocks and reefs.”

But no agreement could be reached until the following September, when Professor Shelton suggested his former teacher, Prof. Geo. T. Fairchild, of Michigan Agricultural College, as a suitable man. Professor Fairchild was “called,” came to Manhattan to make a personal examination of the condition of the college, and accepted the responsible position.*

From February to December, 1879, and to some extent from the time of Anderson's nomination for United States representative, the executive work of the college was faithfully performed by the acting president, Prof. M. L. Ward. It was a trying year for the yet feeble institution. Against Anderson's wishes, the college naturally became the battle-ground for much of the usual legitimate and illegitimate campaign work, and the target for his opposition. The faculty, though loyal to the great trust, was not as harmonious as could have been wished, and there had been changes made in two of the chairs during the summer. All the officers were underpaid and overworked, and there was no chance to increase salaries or the teaching force, for the legislature of 1877 had decreed “that not

useful, whenever necessary. All this I have no doubt will shock college people, but it is the only system that is practical here.” The quoted lines characterize the man to perfection. He came to Kansas when the state was overrun by land speculators, town organizers, and railroad-bond agitators. In those days farming was carried on in a slipshod way, and everybody was ready to sell his acres to anybody at almost any price. Shelton had the courage to warn against such methods, to caution against large land-holdings, to insist that the western part of the state must evolve a new system of farming, or suffer, and to force the legislature to appropriate funds for experiments in scientific agriculture. These radical efforts involved him in many a conflict with land-gamblers, but he never wavered. He was the first one in Kansas to advocate the introduction of the Chili alfalfa, and he did much for the introduction of Kafir-corn and other sorghum grains and grasses.

*GEORGE THOMPSON FAIRCHILD was born in Brownhelm, Ohio, October 6, 1838. In 1862 he graduated from Oberlin College, afterwards studying theology in the same institution, and completing the course in 1865. He was not ordained until 1870, as his professional duties prevented his accepting a regular charge. After leaving Oberlin, he occupied the chair of English literature in the Michigan Agricultural College, Lansing, for several years. In 1879 he was elected, by the board of regents of the Kansas Agricultural College, president of that institu-

over \$15,000 of the interest on the endowment fund shall be used to pay instructors or teachers in said college until the debts of said college be paid in full, and until said college shall refund to the state all moneys advanced by the state to pay for instructors and running expenses of said college." In accordance with this "ukase," the salaries of the majority of the members of the faculty had been reduced, in some instances as much as \$400, while the work was constantly increasing in all directions. In his department report for 1878-'79, Professor Ward said: "In the discharge of my duties as a professor, I will simply say that I have done as best I could under the circumstances"; and a prominent friend of the institution wrote: "It was a year of drudgery and heroic devotion to the cause and to the college, for which the acting president and his collaborators received neither proper credit on the part of a wrangling board nor proper pay on the part of a rich state."

Of the hundreds of personal friends whom John A. Anderson had all over Kansas, none was better fitted, perhaps, to draw a vivid pen picture of his character than Noble L. Prentiss, who, when the sad news of Anderson's death arrived in his home state, wrote the following in the *Kansas City Star*:

"When I knew him first, he was pastor of the Presbyterian church at Junction City. He was then in the prime of life—that was eighteen years ago—living with his wife and children under the roof of his uncle and aunt, Col. John B. Anderson and wife, who had cared for him and his wife, who was a niece of Mrs. Anderson, from childhood. In those days I saw him day and night, and afterward, when he was, in 1878, the first time a candidate for Congress, we made the canvass together, Mr. Anderson, George W. Martin, myself, and other gentlemen, including the late Judge Nathan Price, of the great district comprising all Kansas north of the Kaw and of the Smoky Hill, at the time the most populous congressional district in the United States, and one of the largest in area. Five hundred miles of the country in extreme northwestern Kansas was made in an ambulance hired, with the driver, at Beloit. The prairies were high and wide, and it was in the brown October, and the appointments were far apart and there was plenty of time for conversation and reverie; and it was safe to say that, by the time the ambulance was back at Beloit and the railroad journeying begun, there was very little that any member of the party had ever dreamed of in his philosophy that was not in the possession of his companions. All the facts and experiences of life, and all the theories concerning this life and the life which is to come, were discussed.

"In those days John A. Anderson spoke of all his life; of his student days at Miami; of his friendship there with Ben. Harrison, whom he remembered as a wrestler who would never give up or stay thrown; of his early days in California, when he was the Presbyterian pastor at Stockton, and built a church there; of his journeys in his own sailboat from Stockton to 'Frisco; of Starr King and

tion, following the presidency of John A. Anderson. During his administration of eighteen years, the college advanced to a leading position among the colleges of its class. In 1897 President Fairchild resigned, feeling that the state administration then in control was not in sympathy with his methods. Shortly afterwards he became vice-president of Berea College, Kentucky, a position he still held at the time of his death, which occurred at Columbus, Ohio, March 15, 1901.

THOMAS ELMER WILL, who succeeded President Fairchild in 1897, had been professor of political economy in the Agricultural College for three years, since September, 1894. A man of Western birth and breeding, he graduated from Harvard in 1890, and the following year took a graduate course in the same institution in political science. He was then for a time connected with Lawrence University, at Appleton, Wis., and at the time of his first appointment at the Agricultural College was engaged in giving a course of lectures on economic subjects in Boston.

ERNEST REUBEN NICHOLS is a native of Farmington, Conn., but was reared on an Iowa farm. He secured the means by school-teaching to graduate, first from the Iowa State Normal School, and in 1887 from the Iowa State University. He then became assistant professor of mathematics in the latter institution. He left this position in 1890, to accept the appointment as professor of physics in the Kansas Agricultural College. He held this chair until July, 1899, when he became acting president, then president, which latter position he still holds.

Bret Harte, and the bright, young literary men he knew there; and of his work as a correspondent of the *San Francisco Bulletin*. Then he spoke of the outbreak of the civil war; of the divided state of things in California; of the division of his church, and the exodus of the Southern element from the church when he called, Sunday, on the God of Grant and Halleck and McClellan to bless the Union armies. He spoke of the raising of the "Bear flag" in Stockton, and the speedy cutting down of the same; and of his own enlistment as a soldier of the Lord and of the United States as chaplain of Col. Patrick Conner's Third California regiment, and the march across the terrible Humboldt desert to Salt Lake and Camp Douglas. On some days the talk would turn on the sanitary commission, and his connection with it as its quartermaster at the "water base," wherever it might be, at City Point or elsewhere, following with his boats, as near as possible, the movements of the army of the Potomac. More, however, than any of these things, he dwelt on his coming to Kansas after the cruel war was over; when he could have had an Eastern church and a good, plodding, easy time, and chose instead to come to Junction City, then a wide open frontier place, marked by a distinct and plainly visible article of ungodliness; and how they built the fine Presbyterian church; and how he planted about the wall the spreading ampelopsis, which grows there still; and how the work went on in the hands of about the gayest, heartiest lot of Christians, and with the least affectation of piety, that has ever been gathered in this world.

"After he went away to Washington, Kansas and his friends in Kansas saw less of him. His health and spirits were affected from the first by the air of Washington, and he got in the way of passing his vacations in a canoe on one of the Northern lakes, with his eldest boy for company. He loved the wide waters, and was a sailor.

"He stayed long in Congress, but was far from being a regulation congressman. He was not, in the accepted sense, a politician; I am not certain he liked politicians or that they liked him. He was not a good, strict, iron-bound party man. He did many things that the republican party in Kansas never suggested to him. He advocated measures that "reformers" and "labor men" might have advocated; but he never joined any society of laborers. He had theories of a better world even on this terrestrial ball. Politicians believe in the life that now is, and do not think of good things in the future, or even of the day of judgment. He did. He was one of the few "antimonopolists" who have ever lived who really took steps to get anything away from the monopolies—as lands they did not own and back taxes.

"In the year 1885, the first great and crushing affliction of his life fell upon him. In the death of his wife, a most noble woman, he lost his best friend. He had known her all his life. She was his companion in youth, the support of his manhood. He kept on at his work in Congress for five years after, but a changed man. His bodily infirmities increased. He had lost his hearing in one ear in his youth from varioloid, and he became deaf in the other. He became indifferent, evidently, and made no fight to speak of for a renomination in 1890. After his retirement from Congress he went away to Egypt, as consul-general at Cairo; perhaps with a sick man's hope of recovery in a change—in any change. In that country of wide, burning sands and dead monuments of the dead he grew worse; at the last he hoped that life might be persuaded to stay by the air and the breeze of home, and died in the attempt to reach home. He was a remarkable man; in fact, he was two men. He passed with the crowd for a rough man, careless of proprieties, sometimes of feelings. He was a clergyman; but he could not be persuaded to look and dress as some people think clergymen should. He hated a white neckcloth; he did not always reverence the men who wore them; but he was a sincere believer, from his mother's knee. None knew how gentle he was save the few who had felt the strong pressure of his great, warm hand, or seen his eyes fill with quick-coming tears."

While Anderson is well characterized in the foregoing, there was one element in the man which Prentiss failed to mention—his unflinching courage in meeting men and issues. The writer of this sketch, from his own experience can add the following:

In the spring and summer of 1877, the board of regents, at the instigation of Anderson, considered the reduction of the course of study from six years to four years, and finally voted the change. There were several reasons for taking the

step. In the first place, the common schools of the state had commenced to furnish better-prepared candidates for admission; secondly, it seemed best to place the possibility of graduation before a large number of students, in order to retain them; and thirdly, there was a discouraging lack of means—of classrooms, laboratories, apparatus, teachers, and funds. The faculty had debated the question in meeting and in private, and a majority were bitterly opposed to a reduction. Strong reasons were advanced by these, but a main reason for the opposition was usually left untouched—the teachers of the studies that were to be cut out or pruned were afraid of losing their coveted high-grade work. It may also be added that there had been noticeable for some time an undercurrent of personal dissatisfaction among a certain group of professors. They considered the educational views of Anderson as too radical, and his reform movements as too sweeping. Personal enemies of the president had talked some of these into the belief that he was tired of his position; that he was looking for other fields of labor, and that he could be worried into a state of mind that would prompt him to resign his office. The dissatisfied teachers, in secret meetings held during the summer vacation, finally prepared a carefully worded petition to the board, asking for a reconsideration of the step.

President Anderson had gone to Colorado for a mountain tour when he heard of the opposition of the leading members of the faculty to what he considered a fixed matter, and returned in all haste. A faculty meeting was called, in which Anderson demanded to know the reasons for the opposition to his reduction of the course of study, and a few days later a joint meeting of the board and the faculty took place, at which the petition was considered. Anderson was greatly in the minority. The members of the faculty siding with him were Professor Walters and Superintendents A. A. Stewart and W. C. Stewart. The members opposed, though to an unequal extent, were Professors Ward, Kedzie, Shelton, Gale, and Platt. Mrs. Cripps and one or two of the five opponents were absent. The board heard the arguments on both sides, but Anderson took a bold stand in both meetings; the course of study remained as he had drafted it, and the future of the institution proved the correctness of his views.

* * * * *

At the close of Anderson's presidency the faculty consisted of the following members: John A. Anderson, A. M., president, and professor of political economy. Milan L. Ward, A. M., professor of mathematics and English. Edward M. Shelton, M. S., professor of practical agriculture, superintendent farm. George H. Failyer, M. S., professor of chemistry and physics. Edwin A. Popenoe, A. M., professor of botany and zoology, superintendent of orchards and gardens. Jeremiah E. Platt, A. M., professor of elementary English and mathematics. John D. Walters, instructor in industrial drawing. Timothy T. Hawkes, superintendent of the workshops. George F. Thompson, acting superintendent of printing. Ira D. Graham, superintendent of telegraphy. Mrs. Mary E. Cripps, teacher of household economy and hygiene, superintendent of sewing. William L. Hofer, teacher of instrumental music.

MOTHER BICKERDYKE.

An address delivered by MRS. JULIA A. CHASE,* of Hiawatha, before the Kansas State Historical Society, at its twenty-sixth annual meeting, January 21, 1902.

MARY A. BICKERDYKE died at her home in Bunkerhill, Kan., of paralysis, on November 8, 1901, aged eighty-four years, three months, and nineteen days. After a nation is born, after great deeds are done, great victories won, and history is made, it is easy to read into the record the influences which made these things possible. After the rail-splitter who studied by rush- and firelight became President Lincoln, we could understand how the stern training of early necessities wrought out, in a character noble by birth, those powers which held a nation firm through most troublous times. Our memories recall many similar instances. Great emergencies demand great hearts and clear brains, and God has always in training—though we know not where—the one who can either reconstruct or guide safely through. Inheritance and physique, early training and environment, are all important factors.

To Mary A. Ball, who opened her eyes on things terrestrial on July 19, 1817, these factors were part of a perfect equation. Through her veins flowed the blood of the Pilgrim fathers and the Knickerbockers. Born in Knox county, Ohio, near the present city of Mount Vernon, and reared on a farm, the strenuous life of those early times made Mary as resourceful in action as she was vigorous in mind and body. She was an enthusiast in all out-of-door sports, being no mean competitor in a horse-race or in a game of snowball. She was tender-hearted, though, and a born nurse, finding frequent opportunities for her skill among the maimed or ailing cats and chickens. She was also trained in all the arts of a thrifty farmer's household. Books had a charm for her, and at the age of sixteen she entered Oberlin College. The influence of the four years spent in this wonderful school, under the teaching and preaching of President Finney, was an abiding power with her. When within six weeks of graduation, she was compelled, on account of an epidemic of typhus fever, to go home.

During the siege of cholera in 1837 Doctor Mussey, then in charge of the Cincinnati city and Hamilton county hospitals, felt the need of trained nurses, and called for young women volunteers to take a course of training under himself. Mary Ann Ball was one of the twelve young women who volunteered. She did hospital work for several years under Doctor Mussey, thus gaining that practical knowledge which, during the civil war, made her, as General McCook once said to me, "worth more to the Union army than many of us generals." Many of her ancestors on both sides were revolutionary soldiers. Her maternal grandfather, John Rodgers, when a lad of sixteen, went barefooted into the battle

*JULIA A. HOUGHTON was born at Mount Vernon, Ohio, on December 21, 1842. Owing to delicate health, she was educated in the home by private instructors, with the exception of two years in the Mount Vernon Female Seminary. Miss Houghton was married on September 30, 1862, to R. C. Chase, a Union soldier, from New York state. In 1867 they came to Hiawatha, Kan., their present home. Mrs. Chase has been identified with the W. C. T. U. and the W. R. C. ever since their beginning in Kansas, as a state officer in both organizations, and was, for years, a member of the Social Science Club and the Woman's Press Association of this state. She has taught in the Hiawatha public schools, had a class in the Methodist Episcopal Sunday-school for over thirty years, furnished a great many written articles for papers and societies, and published several stories. She was one of the six included in Miss Ryan's world's-fair booklet, "The Literary Women of Brown County." Mrs. Chase has had seven children, three of whom died in infancy.

of Bunker Hill. He served during the whole seven years' struggle, and when Washington made the memorable passage of the Delaware, John was one of those detailed to keep the fires burning on the shore, and crossed in the last boat. Martha Washington gave him a pair of socks which she herself knitted. The Rodgers family had eight representatives in the war of 1812, and while they were together at Lundy's Lane this same John Rodgers rode a black thoroughbred stallion up from central Ohio to visit the boys and carry them some home comforts. Later, in 1824, when Lafayette returned on a visit to this country, and was being entertained as the nation's guest, John Rodgers rode this same horse through to Washington to see his old commander, by whom he was warmly greeted by name.

On April 27, 1847, Mary Ann Ball became the wife of Robert Bickerdyke, an Englishman, a master mechanic, and a fine musician. They were married in the Episcopal church at Cincinnati, Ohio, by Bishop McIlvaine, of revered memory. Two sons, James R. and Hiram, survive their mother. James R., the elder, living in Bunkerhill, Kan., is a leading educator in that part of the state. He is unmarried, and has been a most devoted son and care-taker for "Mother" for many years. Hiram lives in Montana.

In 1856 Mr. and Mrs. Bickerdyke removed to Galesburg, Ill., where, in about two years, he died. Mrs. Bickerdyke had hosts of friends. Her energy and good sense made her a trusted counselor, while her skill as a nurse and doctor brought her services into constant demand. She was finally recognized as a member of the medical fraternity, for in the Galesburg directory for 1861 appears this record: "Mary Ann Bickerdyke, widow of Robert, botanic physician; office and residence, Prairie, east, second door south Waters." She was more nearly a homeopath, or, possibly, what is now an eclectic, as she made use of any treatment or medicine which commended itself to her judgment.

When the war clouds of 1861 were gathering, and the echo of Sumter's guns dispelled the last hope of a peaceful solution of the difficulties, Mrs. Bickerdyke was keenly alive to the serious condition of affairs. Patriotism burned high in her bosom, but she was among the first to realize that war meant sickness, wounds, death. She was a leader among the women who turned their attention to devices for aiding and encouraging the soldiers, and for alleviating the suffering which was inevitable. Doctor Woodward, of Galesburg, surgeon of the Twenty-second Illinois infantry, wrote from Cairo to his friends of the illness and distress among the soldiers there. Mrs. Bickerdyke heard the letter read in church, and at once her tender, patriotic heart was moved to go to the front to care, as best she could, for those who had laid ease and home and life itself upon the country's altar. Others realized her fitness for the work, and friends offered to take charge of her children if she would go. Five hundred dollars' worth of sanitary stores were placed at her disposal. Doctor Woodward, in writing of her, says: "Let me describe my heroine: A large, heavy woman of forty-five years; strong as a man, muscles of iron, nerves of finest steel; sensitive, but self-reliant, kind, and tender; seeking all for others, nothing for herself."

Her first work as an army nurse was in the regimental hospital at Cairo, Ill., in 1861. From then until the last Illinois troops were mustered out, at Camp Butler, Springfield, Ill., in March, 1866, she was in active service. At Belmont, Fort Donelson, up the Tennessee, at Pittsburg Landing, Iuka, Corinth, Farmington, Memphis, Vicksburg, Chattanooga, Resaca, Atlanta, she followed the fighting troops, setting her hospitals, her laundries, her bake-ovens, in order as if by magic. She joined Sherman again, after his great march to the sea, at Beaufort, S. C., when again she followed in the wake of an army that was marching and fighting.

What it is to follow an army when there is fighting in progress can only be understood by those who have experienced it. What it was to follow Sherman's army in that Atlanta campaign, when it fought every foot of the way, over rugged mountains, through deep, narrow ravines, through thick woods, across headlong rivers, with only the one aim of ministering to the exhausted, the wounded, the dying; with only a blanket and a pillow for a bed; with the roar of artillery, the clash of arms, the cries of distress, and the shout of battle constantly resounding; to live night and day in the midst of these horrors, in constant attendance on the mangled and anguished soldiers—this cannot be described, but Mrs. Bickerdyke knew it. It was her personal experience. Neither Sherman nor his brave men knew it better than she.

Fragmentary and more or less truthful reports of these five years have been published in the newspapers and been read by all, so it is not necessary that I recount in detail here. I know, however, that, after a lapse of years, things that are out of the usual order, deeds that border on the impossible, become legendary, mythical, and heroes are robbed of much of their glory. I am glad, therefore, to have it on record in our State Historical Society that a woman known lovingly as "Mother Bickerdyke" actually lived; that she was a most famous army nurse during the war of the rebellion; that she was a terror to evil-doers, no matter what their rank in the army might be; that she went onto the battle-field of Fort Donelson at night, with a lantern and a canteen of brandy, in search of wounded men who might be still living; that she extemporized laundries where thousands of blood-stained garments were cleansed for re-use; that the words, "Mother Bickerdyke's hospital," whether spoken in city or camp, meant order, cleanliness, consolation; that she originated and managed the famous and funny "cow and hen tour"; that she caused unnecessary breastworks near Chattanooga to be torn down, that the logs might feed the fires on that fearful New Year's night of 1864; that she compelled a government steamer that was starting from Louisville, Ky., for Texas, to return to the landing and take on a quantity of potatoes and onions for the troops in Texas, who were suffering with scurvy; that, at the time of the grand review at Washington, she, wearing a calico dress and sunbonnet, rode a glossy saddle-horse across the Long Bridge, where she was met by the noted Dorothy Dix and others, and welcomed to the capital.

General Sherman was Mrs. Bickerdyke's beau ideal, and he, on his part, appreciated her. Perhaps there was something in her character akin to his own. After the fall of Vicksburg she was a special attaché of his army. Logan was also a prime favorite with her. Among her souvenirs is a fifteenth army corps badge which General Logan unpinned from his own breast and pinned upon hers.

When Mrs. Bickerdyke was in North Carolina, in charge of a hospital for worn-out and convalescent soldiers, she received a telegram from General Logan reading: "Department of the Tennessee. On way to Washington. Short of rations. Meager supply there. Go up.—LOGAN." In two hours' time she was on her way to Washington. Supplies were indeed meager. She wired Doctor Bellows, in New York city, as follows: "General Logan coming with 16,000 hungry men, and not a cracker in the city. Send supplies." Doctor Bellows received the dispatch in his pulpit, read it aloud to his congregation, and replied by wire: "Will send supplies at once." By four o'clock that afternoon a train of five loaded cars was on its way to Washington, and at ten o'clock that night Mrs. Bickerdyke, with her soldier helpers and plenty of teams, furnished by General Meigs, quartermaster general at Washington, was at the depot to receive the supplies. It is not strange that General Logan should wish to attach her to his army when it was ordered west.

Her active work for the veterans did not end, however, when the war was over. She was hurt to the quick to see how many of her "boys"—for all were hers who had worn the blue—were shut out of trades, professions or business openings by the stay-at-homes. (A large percentage of the Union soldiers went in as boys. They went home men. They had given four or five of the best years of their lives to a service which, necessary and noble as it was, still in a great measure unfitted them for the real work of life, or at least sent them into it to some degree handicapped.) Cities were full of discharged soldiers without work, and thousands were destitute. The West offered great inducements to persons of energy, and many of the veterans came beyond the Missouri river. Many more wished to do so, but had nothing with which to come. Mrs. Bickerdyke could not rest easy under these circumstances, and she came from Chicago to Kansas to see for herself what the prospects were. Upon her return to Chicago she laid the matter before Mr. Jonathan Burr, a wealthy banker, telling him of the wonderful opportunity for these ex-soldiers to secure good homes at comparatively small cost, if only they could reach the point and have a little with which to begin. She also talked with Mr. Chas. Hammond, president of the C. B. & Q. railroad, with regard to transportation. Mr. Hammond guaranteed free transportation for two years to soldiers and their families, and Mr. Burr placed a loan of \$10,000 with Mrs. Bickerdyke for the use of the veterans who would come West under her chaperonage, she giving her personal note for the money. Through her influence and advice, fully 300 families settled in central Kansas during the next two years. General Sherman, then in command at Fort Riley, cooperated, saying he would condemn all the teams and wagons she needed for her soldier boys from the surplus government stock.

Thus Mother Bickerdyke had much to do with Kansas being the "soldier state" it is. She also made it her home, locating in Salina, then a frontier town. She opened a hotel there, which she called the "Salina Dining-hall," but which was known to everybody else as the "Bickerdyke House." It is still in running order and known as the "Monteur House."

The Cheyennes and Arapahoes and other hostile tribes of Indians made living on the frontier a hazardous thing for several years after the war of the rebellion. They resented being crowded from their hunting-grounds; they were maddened by dishonest dealings of the whites, and by the "fire water" which civilization furnished, and, breaking away from their reservations, they would sweep over the country for hundreds of miles, carrying death and destruction. One of these dreadful raids occurred in 1868, while Mother Bickerdyke was keeping hotel in Salina. On his return to Topeka, Governor Crawford sent a dispatch to the president proposing to raise volunteers to meet the exigency. He concluded his dispatch thus: "The savage devils have become intolerable, and must and shall be driven out of the state. General Sheridan is doing and has done all in his power to protect the people, but he is powerless for want of troops. If volunteers are needed, I will, if desired, furnish the government all that may be necessary to insure a permanent and lasting peace."

Winter was at hand and the stricken people must receive help at once. They could not leave the country, as their teams were gone; so they gathered in the vicinity of the forts for protection. Mrs. Bickerdyke's heart was moved to action in their behalf, and she went over the country to see for herself what the condition was. The following indicates what her investigations developed:

"FORT HARKER, January 11, 1869.

"*Licut. Gen. W. T. Sherman, U. S. A.*: GENERAL—At the request of Mrs. Bickerdyke, I have the honor to state that, after a personal inspection by her among the settlers on the Solomon, Saline and Republican rivers, she reports

no less than 1000 people destitute and without necessary subsistence. I know of no order authorizing the issue of rations to these people. If authority is given for the issue it will prevent much suffering. I am, general, very respectfully,
your obedient servant,

EARNEST LEIB,
Capt. 5th U. S. Cavalry, Bre't Lieut. Col. U. S. A."

In accordance with these representations, General Sherman ordered an issue of rations for 1000 people for four weeks. This was a godsend, but not enough, and Mrs. Bickerdyke wrote as follows:

"General: We have only as yet received rations for twenty-eight days to supply the Solomon valley, and this amount will not supply this valley by one-fifth. I feel free in addressing you, as General Schofield told me in person that the order reached all these destitute settlers with rations and clothing. On account of the extreme suffering, I have been compelled to furnish some of the most destitute of them with provisions and clothing to the amount of \$1500. Many of these settlers are dying on account of extreme destitution and lack of the necessaries of life. Lieutenant Colonel Price, of the Fifth United States infantry, at Fort Harker, inspected the Solomon valley, and was surprised to see the extreme destitution in the valley, also finding that many of the sufferers were our soldiers, holding honorable discharges. Language cannot express the condition of these settlers. Respectfully, MRS. M. A. BICKERDYKE."

She says: "The 1200 rations, worth about \$3400, were furnished entirely to the Solomon valley settlers, thus leaving the Smoky Hill, Saline, Gypsum, Republican, and their various branches, in which there were 1400 destitute people, unprovided for." As the general did not feel authorized to issue as much as was needed, Mrs. Bickerdyke, armed with a note of introduction from Senator Samuel C. Pomeroy to General Rawlins, secretary of war, went on to Washington and secured an order from the war department for government rations for 500 people for ten months, until crops could be raised. Through the influence of Maj. Gen. O. O. Howard, a large number of government blankets were issued to her. She speaks in high terms of the courtesy shown and assistance given by Major Inman, at Fort Harker, when she took the blankets for distribution. She visited the Bible House, in New York city, and obtained from the Bible Society, of which she was a member, 500 Bibles for church and family use. These she distributed from Salina, Kan.

As much more was needed than that furnished by the United States government, Mrs. Bickerdyke appealed to the state government, which appropriated a large sum for the purchase of seed corn and potatoes.

Mrs. T. J. Anderson, at one time national junior vice-president of the Woman's Relief Corps—and now deceased—who had given the veterans and families who came out with Mrs. Bickerdyke in 1867 such a loyal welcome to Kansas, in the form of a dinner at Topeka, was again her faithful assistant in presenting the matter to the state legislature.

Gov. James M. Harvey also gave Mrs. Bickerdyke an autograph letter of indorsement, as follows:

TOPEKA, KAN., February 10, 1869.

To Whom it may Concern: The bearer hereof, Mrs. Bickerdyke, is engaged in a work of charity, looking to the relief of the destitute among the settlers on the frontier, which was devastated by the Indians during the past season. Any favors which may be shown to her will be favors to the cause of humanity and true philanthropy."

With the indorsement of Governor Harvey, Mrs. Bickerdyke secured further aid in food and clothing from the people in the eastern part of the state, and thus tided the sufferers over the period of need. This is a very brief record of work which required months of constant effort in fatiguing travel and persistent solic-

iting. Her personal comfort and welfare were put utterly aside until she knew that the stricken ones were in condition to begin anew on their homesteads. During her absence her hotel was in charge of a faithful steward, and, when she resumed supervision, it was in good condition and prosperous. The Bickerdyke House was a favorite and well-patronized resort. She often had distinguished guests from among her army friends.

At one time Generals Grant, Sherman, Sheridan and Meade sat together at her table, and made her a welcome participant in their jovial reminiscences. General Sheridan was a very frequent guest as he passed back and forth in the discharge of his military duties.

Mrs. Bickerdyke next took up a work in New York city in which she had long had a deep interest. She had often expressed her indignation regarding the vicious influence of the *Police Gazette*, and had called upon the good people of New York city, through letters to the *New York Tribune*, to "clean out the foul thing." Horace Greeley and others had urged her to "come and help." This was now her opportunity. Arriving in New York, Mrs. Bickerdyke called at the Bible House, at the Methodist book rooms, and at various mission centers, announced herself as ready for work, and was assigned to the sixteenth ward. No book of romance could be made more thrilling than one filled with the details of real life among the destitute poor of New York. The duties of a city missionary are at times very peculiar, and do not at all consist in the mere distribution of tracts and inquiries after the spiritual welfare of those visited. Indeed, Mrs. Bickerdyke, in giving her first report at the monthly board meeting, frankly admitted that, though she had made many visits, she had not made a single prayer nor left a single tract, and, when questioned as to what she had done, deliberately took a comb, a cake of soap and a towel from her pocket, saying: "I've worked with these. They were the things most needed and appreciated."

Mrs. Bickerdyke was authorized by the commissioner of public charities and correction to visit the Tombs, Bellevue hospital, and the institutions on Blackwell's island. The work was incessant; not even the Sabbath was a day of rest. Thus passed four years, wholly spent in "going about doing good in His name" among the poor and the outcasts in the slums of this great city, while her own heart was longing for the dear companionship of her sons and for the pure air of the western prairies.

By the summer of 1874 Mrs. Bickerdyke's sons, James R. and Hiram, now grown into sturdy young men, and quite self-supporting, felt they were ready to take their places among the wealth-producers of the country. They wanted a home, and "what is home without a mother?" An urgent appeal was sent to mother to return to Kansas and help to manage a Kansas ranch. The appeal was not in vain; to Kansas she came, and found the boys located on a farm in Barton county, near Great Bend.

Kansas seemed now on the high road to prosperity. The Indians gave little further trouble; confidence was restored; emigrants poured into the state; the plow breaking the virgin prairie sod was seen in every direction; dugouts, sod houses, tents, canvas-covered wagons, shanties—anything which would shelter wife and children until a crop could be secured—these were the habitations in which prospective millionaires spent their first years in Kansas. The fertile soil, aided by the generous sunshine and showers, responded to the efforts of the happy, sanguine settlers, and the summer of 1874 gave promise of such a harvest as would make better homes a surety.

Who shall picture, then, the dismay of these, whose all was in the growing crops, when, without a warning sound, the sky was darkened at midday, and the

air filled with glistening wings which descended like a furious snow-storm upon all the land. No mounted courier could save the people now. No decree of the governor nor order from the war department could stay these ruthless invaders. As in the land of Egypt, in the days of old, so here: "The locusts went up over all the land and rested in all the coasts. Very grievous were they, for they covered the face of the earth, so that the land was darkened; and they did eat every herb of the land and all the fruit of the trees; and there remained not anything green in the trees or in the herbs of the field through all the land." The situation was serious. Relief societies were at once organized. The older and more prosperous counties took prompt measures to care, as far as possible, for their own destitute; but one of the best counties in the state—Douglas—had an official report of 4950 persons needing immediate relief. The ladies' relief society of Hutchinson issued an "appeal." Hon. Alfred Gray, secretary of the State Board of Agriculture, issued a report to Thos. A. Osborn, governor of Kansas, in which he says: "The counties that are absolutely unable to provide for their own destitute lie west of the sixth principal meridian, and for the most part are the following" (naming twenty-six), "with a total population of 66,104, of whom 12,089 are destitute."

In view of these facts, it was not in Mrs. Bickerdyke to say: "I am tired. I have just returned from four years of hard, almost thankless, labor for others; let younger persons take the brunt of this fresh duty." No, indeed; hushing her motherly longings to stay with her boys, she took up the work of securing relief for the destitute with all her old-time zeal. Hastening to her true and tried friends in Illinois, she issued "appeals," of which the following is a sample:

"AN APPEAL.

"To the farmers of McDonough county, in behalf of the Kansas sufferers: About 500 farmers and their families in the counties of Barton, Reno, Rice, McPherson, and Stafford, in Kansas, are altogether or nearly destitute of subsistence for the coming winter months, they having gathered no harvests this year because of the destruction by the grasshoppers. A kind providence has greatly blessed the producers of McDonough county with plenteous crops, and the finest of weather in which to gather them. The abundance here and the scarcity in Kansas afford an opportunity for the exercise of the best qualities of human nature—sympathy and charity. The supplies needed for these unfortunate frontier men are potatoes, flour, corn, corn-meal, apples (green or dried), white beans, onions, turnips, pickles, vinegar, sugar, tea, coffee, condensed milk, butter, and all articles of clothing. Any of the above supplies will be gladly received by the relief committee, under the direction of Mayor McLean, in the city of Macomb, or at the nearest railroad station on the C. B. & Q. R. R., at any time before Tuesday, November 24, 1874.

(Signed)

MRS. MARY A. BICKERDYKE, Kansas.

"November 18, 1874.

MAYOR MCLEAN and others, Macomb."

Twenty car-loads of goods and a large sum of money were sent from McDonough county in response to her appeal. Five car-loads of food and clothing were distributed under Mrs. Bickerdyke's supervision at Great Bend. The supplies were stored in the court-house, where all applicants for aid came. Mr. Geo. N. Moses, the sheriff, Mr. W. H. Odell, county clerk, and Mr. Fitts, her private secretary, were faithful and efficient helpers. The grasshopper devastation was extensive, and the resulting destitution of the settlers very great. Many thousands must receive subsistence from outside sources until the next year's harvest was secured.

The work done by Mrs. Bickerdyke for the grasshopper sufferers in Barton county is but a sample of her work for many counties. Ten times during the years of 1874 and 1875 she went to Illinois for aid. She visited Peoria, Galesburg,

Macomb, Jacksonville, and other places where she was well known, and never failed in securing large donations of food and clothing. When money was contributed, she placed it in the hands of a responsible committee, requesting that it be converted into dry-goods and groceries. Governor Beveridge and wife aided her greatly, and themselves gave \$200. Other substantial assistance came indirectly through Mrs. Bickerdyke's agency, of which she had no other record than the grateful letters of acknowledgment; but as a direct result of her efforts 200 car-loads of food and clothing and grain were shipped from Illinois to Kansas, and were distributed under her personal supervision.

It is no wonder that through all this stricken district "many rise up and call her blessed," for scores of now prosperous men owe their final success to the help brought them in their time of need by this woman, Mary A. Bickerdyke. It was very proper that the state legislature took this action:*

"WHEREAS, Mrs. Bickerdyke, of Galesburg, Ill., has been actively engaged in collecting and distributing aid in the various counties upon our frontier: be it

"Resolved by the House of Representatives, the Senate concurring herein, That a vote of thanks is hereby tendered to Mrs. Bickerdyke for her exertions in behalf of the destitute of this state, as a testimonial of respect and regard to a lady whose philanthropic labors in our midst have largely aided in alleviating the misfortunes that have befallen so many of our citizens.

"Resolved, That the clerk of the house be instructed to forward to the lady an engrossed copy of this resolution."

And it is not strange, when this year's arduous work was ended, when the heavy strain on mind and body which had been incessant for many years was now relaxed, that Mrs. Bickerdyke should have folded her hands in utter weariness and said: "I can do no more; let me rest."

At last the muscles of iron and nerves of finest steel were giving way. Friends were alarmed, and prevailed on her to go to California for a prolonged rest and change of scene. Nearly two years spent in happy rest and pleasant travel so improved her health that she made application for and received an appointment to a position in the United States mint at San Francisco. The work in the mint was not hard and her home life had pleasant surroundings. She lived in that part of San Francisco called the "Mission." The bells in the ancient mission church, only a few blocks away, were often heard in her quiet chambers, and in the evening the sunset gun from terraced Alcatraz boomed a soft "good night." The world of toil and trade and all the harsher scenes of life seemed shut away from this sunny, sheltered spot. Here Mrs. Bickerdyke lived several years. Old army friends who visited the coast never failed to call on "Mother," and jolly reunions and impromptu banquets were of frequent occurrence. When Grover Cleveland became president of the United States, the officers and working force of the mint were wholly changed, and Mrs. Bickerdyke with the others stepped gracefully out. She had become a legally admitted pension attorney, however; so she had plenty to do. She was instrumental in securing pensions for over 300 army nurses, and for scores of veterans. While in Washington in 1892 she received from Mr. Reynolds, a clerk in the pension office, a statement taken from the papers on file there marked to her agency, showing an annual payment of \$565,000 pension money.

Mrs. Bickerdyke's influence was always thrown on the side of the force, in whatever form it appeared, which was trying to uplift humanity. She believed in the Salvation Army, and while in San Francisco, though not a "soldier," she was often with them in their slum work. While she is held in grateful remembrance by the Salvation Army of San Francisco, and those for whom it worked,

* House Journal, 1874, page 404. •

her personal friends were among the wealthy, the cultured, the Christian people of the city, of whom Mr. and Mrs. Cameron and Mr. D. O. Mills are types.

She was a member of the Woman's Relief Corps, and the Order of the Eastern Star; also, an honorary member of the Society of the Army of the Tennessee.

Mrs. Bickerdyke returned to Kansas in 1888, and made her home until her death with her son, Prof. James R. Bickerdyke. While he was superintendent of public instruction of Russell county, they lived in Russell, moving to Salina when the son became a teacher in the Wesleyan College there, and afterwards to Bunkerhill, where she spent the remaining years. The citizens of Russell mourned her departure from their town as a public loss, and speak of her as a "historic character, whose name and deeds will be rehearsed when the present generation is sleeping in forgotten graves."

On the 8th of November, 1901, after an illness of but six days, Mother Bickerdyke folded her busy hands and entered upon her eternal rest. Funeral services were held at Bunkerhill, in Russell county, Kansas, on Sunday, the 10th, the Grand Army posts and corps and many friends coming from the surrounding towns. The remains were taken to Galesburg, Ill., for interment beside her husband. State Senator Pestana, of Russell, and Mr. W. H. Thomas, of Bunkerhill, were an escort of honor for the Grand Army to accompany the son to Galesburg. James A. Shields Post No. 45, G. A. R., of Galesburg, solicited the privilege of attending to all arrangements there, and under their loving, thoughtful care every detail was perfect. Impressive services were held in the First Church (Congregational), of which Mrs. Bickerdyke had formerly been a member. The badge of the Society of the Army of the Tennessee rested on her bosom, and "Old Glory" draped the casket when all that was mortal of Mother Bickerdyke was laid in the grave.

The question naturally arises, "What has the government done for one who served it so long and well as she?" Echo answers, "What?" Did she not receive a pension? Oh, yes, after twenty years had passed, and she was seventy years old, a bill was introduced in Congress to grant her a pension of fifty dollars a month. The chairman of the pension committee recommended the bill for passage, with an amendment striking out the word "fifty" and inserting "twenty-five." The bill passed as amended, and this woman, who "was worth more to the Union army than many of its brigadier generals"; who, by her energy and foresight, saved to the government many thousands of dollars' worth of clothing and supplies; this woman, who gave an incalculable fortune of time and strength and love to the nation's defenders, was pensioned at twenty-five dollars a month—not the wages of an office-boy.

And what has the state of Kansas done for this woman who secured homes for so many of her now prosperous and honored citizens? This woman who came to their rescue, not once or twice only, when disaster overtook them, and made it possible for them and the state to now rank among the best? What? Our legislature passed a vote of thanks, to be sure, and her portrait hangs in the rooms of this Historical Society. Possibly the picture is her own gift.

The Grand Army of Kansas and the Woman's Relief Corps have, however, honored themselves in trying to honor her. Judge Theodosius Botkin, when department commander of the Grand Army, officially celebrated her eightieth birthday anniversary, and recommended in a general order that the 19th of July thereafter be observed as "Mother Bickerdyke day." Alas for human hopes! The Woman's Relief Corps has been a little more successful. A few years ago the story of Mother Bickerdyke's life was written and published under the auspices of the Kansas Woman's Relief Corps. At her special request, I was as-

signed the honor of preparing the story. It was done under her supervision and is authentic. I have used this book in preparing this sketch. Later, when the Grand Army of Kansas made it possible for the Woman's Relief Corps to establish a home and hospital for soldiers' female relatives, we named it the "Mother Bickerdyke Home and Hospital." Her eyes filled with happy tears when I told her what we had done, and she said: "That is a million times better than a monument a mile high."

When the state relieved us of the care of this institution, the best part of the name—"Mother"—was promptly dropped, and I much fear that in a few years the balance of the name, if left at all, will be thought of as wholly masculine. This will not trouble the dear mother, however, for the stars in her heavenly crown cannot be dimmed by breath of mortal praise or blame. This one who, as wife, mother, army nurse, pension agent, and city missionary, touched the heights and depths of human life, craved no titled decoration—a bauble that can be bought with earthly coin. Her brave, free soul scorned everything which smacked of monarchs' rights to rule, and though in truth she reigns in many hearts an uncrowned queen, she better liked the sacred name of "Mother."

REMINISCENCES OF NORTHWEST KANSAS.

An address delivered by G. WEBB BERTRAM,* of Oberlin, before the Kansas State Historical Society, at its twenty-sixth annual meeting, January 21, 1902.

I FIRST saw the plains country in 1867, when a member of Major Moore's Eighteenth Kansas cavalry volunteers. It was the custom to say the whole country was black with buffalo; this was not true, but countless, vast herds of buffalo, antelope, elk, blacktailed deer and wild horses roamed over the country and fed upon its grasses; and no corn-fed steer in the winter was in better order than a young buffalo cow, in September or October, that had lost her calf in early spring. The smaller streams, tributaries of the Arkansas or Republican, were dammed by the beaver, which held the waters of those streams well up to the top of the ground, so that the bluestem was ranker in the lowlands than it has been since the destruction of those dams. Little did the author of this dream that beaver dams were of other use to man than to serve as crossings of the stream. That there was any connection between beaver dams and the tall grass of the valley, no one presumed. But on sight of these herds of meat-producing animals, one could not help thinking that the Creator had pointed out the industry that should be pursued by man in this section.

Again, in the fall of 1872, when the dyed-in-the-wool abolitionist was turning to the democratic candidate, Greeley, and the dyed-in-the-wool democrat to the republican candidate, Grant, a party of three of us came to the tributaries of the Republican and Smoky, hunting buffalo for their hides—\$3.35 for bull hides and \$1.90 for cow hides, and, when the weather was cold enough, \$1 per quarter for meat cut off, hide and all, were too tempting prices to let buffalo live. Three men could clear \$75 to \$100 per month each.

*G. WEBB BERTRAM was born in Salem, Mass., March 21, 1847. In 1856 his parents moved to Pottawatomie county, Kansas, where he lived on a farm until 1862. He then went to the county-seat, Louisville, and engaged in the printing business until 1869, when he moved to Alma, Wabaunsee county. Here he established the *Wabaunsee County Herald*, which he sold in 1870, and moved to Beloit, Mitchell county. He read law, and was admitted to the bar in 1873. In 1874 he was elected county attorney of Mitchell county. In 1878 he located at Oberlin in Decatur county, where he purchased one-third of the town site of Oberlin. He served for several years as judge of the district court.

In the year 1872 the party ran onto Abernathy and his son-in-law, Walters, with their two families, living on the North Solomon, in the northeast corner of Sheridan, twenty miles west of the nearest settler east, and no settler in any other direction nearer than thirty or forty miles. It seems to me that no member of either family could read or write. They had about a dozen guns of various makes, and were well stocked with provisions and ammunition. These men were subsequently killed by the Indians in the raid of 1878. In 1872 Abernathy had a boy sixteen or seventeen years old, who, he said, could boast of what few boys could—that he had never gone to school or done a day's work in his life.

In April, 1878, I removed my effects and family to Decatur county, which then contained about 500 inhabitants. So it has happened that I have been permitted to see considerable of western Kansas, and especially northwestern Kansas, both prior to and since the advent of settlement. The pioneer or frontiersman is the sapper and miner of civilization; once a pioneer, always such. There are notable exceptions, where one dose of frontier life suffices for all time, but on investigation it usually turns out that he was not a real pioneer—not a Simon-pure jewel of the order. There is a charm in becoming a creator of civilization, a builder of society, of church, and schoolhouse, of county-seats, that the settled country cannot furnish. Danger, you say! Why, there is no more danger on the frontier than elsewhere. Shortly after our settlement here, September 30, 1878, occurred the Cheyenne Indian raid, when seventeen men were killed in Decatur county, and next day fourteen or fifteen in Rawlins; but you, way back in civilization, lose that number of people, and more, in a single railroad wreck. The pioneer never becomes wealthy, but he brings about conditions so that wealth comes to the average number who follow him.

There are, of course, exceptions once in a while—one not of the pioneer class comes with the first settlers and makes his stake. A single instance will suffice: A young man was started in business in New York city by his father with a capital of \$10,000; he went into partnership, and very soon they wrecked the business, saving less than \$1000 from the wreckage. He came West, with his stovepipe hat and evening-dress coat as early as 1867, and settled on Asher creek, Mitchell county, vowing that he would make back that \$10,000 or never return East. He batched, he farmed; his food was mush and milk at night and fried mush the other two meals, with the game he could kill for meat. Farming not panning out lucratively, he traded homestead and implements for cattle; he had a pony and ox team; he watched and tended his herd just beyond the near settler; he lived in a dugout in winter and his wagon in summer; he made no hay, his cattle living summer and winter on the grasses. One winter in four or five he would lose from ten to twenty-five per cent. of his herd, but he contended that was cheaper than hay. The author saw him in 1871, in Rooks county, with a herd of about 400; about 1876 or 1877 he sold about \$17,000 worth of cattle, and had a herd left. He then went East, married a girl he had known, and built a fine residence in one of the Union Pacific towns, where he now resides with his wife and children, if he be still living. During ten years of frontier work he never wrote letters and scarcely ever received one; his weekly New York *Tribune* was his chief reading. And under no consideration would he more than civilly speak to a woman, and he would never tarry or visit where woman dwelt.

The tougher element faded before civilization as the dew before the sun. In the early days of Oberlin, John Henry dealt in horses seven or eight miles north and west of the town. In a deep, well-wooded, well-watered canyon he usually had a herd. This was before the days of courts of record. It was said that the

horses he drove north and sold had been procured south, without money and without price; and those drove south and sold had been procured north, at the same price. Several horses and mules belonging to settlers of the county were taken, and in all such cases this thrifty horse-dealer was charged with their taking. He had a band of from seven to ten men; some of them were generally rather decent citizens; some married and held land; but through fear or some other cause he held them. Some of his men were thorough desperadoes. Henry seemed disposed to bestow his law patronage upon me, probably incited thereto from the fact that he had married a Mitchell county girl, of which county we had been residents. While I did not crave his patronage, I did not feel inclined or bound to refuse it. Attorneys' fees were few and far between; the land-office was at Kirwin, whose lawyers took the cream, leaving the skim-milk of that practice to us frontier lawyers; and with naught but justice court to depend upon, we accepted the fee of all comers. Then it was not safe to decline practice such as his.

It seemed the program of Henry and his men to terrorize people, so much so that a private citizen would no more have thought of going onto Henry's premises to look for his horses than he would have gone to a village of that many hostile Indians. The gang, as they came to be known, would come to town, and, presenting a loaded pistol to a tradesman's head, demand credit for clothing or groceries, and they always obtained it. They would frequently do this when they had the money in their pockets to pay for the articles, and would often pay for them later in the same day, or the next day. They met their local bills quite promptly. They would shoot in the streets, into the floor or ceiling of business houses; would stand in a business house and shoot through the floor near some one's foot to see how near they could come and not hit the foot. They so terrorized the people that no woman would appear on the streets while the gang remained in town. They often got into an altercation with some citizen from the country, with the result that the citizen would be badly pounded up by the butt end of revolvers, and was exceedingly lucky if he escaped with his life, and felt little like prosecuting for fear of a more fearful handling.

One day Henry himself almost killed a settler from the Prairie Dog, by pounding him over the head with a revolver; the beating was so severe, and being moreover committed in the presence of our peace officer, the constable, Henry was taken into custody. He was not disarmed; that would have been dangerous to even propose; and his being in custody was a freak of Henry himself. I was sent for to go to the justice's office and defend Henry. I went, and there sat Henry in the rear of the office with a Winchester across his lap and two pistols in his belt. No complaint had been filed and no one was present who felt called upon or inclined to file one. So, after waiting an hour, and in order to uphold that constitutional provision that no citizen shall be held without process, the justice dismissed the case and discharged Henry. Henry had been drinking heavily and it was hard to make him understand just how the case had terminated. When I had made him understand he cried like a child in anger, and remarked, "Well, if that had been in Texas, they would have fined me twenty dollars, at least"; and he wanted to go back and compel them to accept some sort of fine, but I suggested that he might pay it to me on attorney's fees, and that mollified him.

Among Henry's men was Frank Burdick, apparently a gentlemanly young man, from New York city. One day he came into my office and said it was only a band of horse thieves, and, just as soon as he discovered the nature of their business, he broke with them; and now he was compelled to leave the country, and abandon his land, or they would kill him. He was then on his way to

New York. In a few days I spoke to another of the gang, a son of a man I held in high esteem, and told him what Burdick had said, and advised him, if Burdick had told the truth, he himself was in danger. In less than a week Henry came into my office, armed in his usual fashion, and, standing over me, said: "Well, I have come in to kill you." I respectfully asked, as any person on whom sentence of death had been passed has a constitutional right to ask, what I was to die for, and he said: "You have called me and my men horse thieves." I protested I had done no such thing; that I had merely reported what Burdick had said. The man I had warned happened in just then, and he corroborated my story. "Was that all?" says Henry; "well, I don't care what that fellow says; I will kill him." So the incident passed, and I lived. The next year, when the sheriff killed Henry, in Oberlin, and the doctor had felt his pulse and pronounced him dead, I could not help feeling a wave of gladness in my heart. I have seen many men killed, have seen men die, but Henry is the only white man at whose death I have ever felt like offering up thanksgiving for his taking-off. The sheriff was acquitted on preliminary examination before a justice. He killed Henry in self-defense, but it would have been the same, no matter how he had killed him.

Nature teaches many things, if man would learn. In the early fall of 1870 the author saw, in and about the junction of the North and South Solomon rivers, as many as 1000 wild turkeys, each day for a period of ten days or two weeks (number of turkeys estimated, not counted); but they came down each branch in large flocks and lots of them. Apparently they were hens, with broods of nearly full grown chicks. They had reared them so far along the tributaries of the two streams in the short-grass country, feeding them on buffalo grass seed and the wild fruits and berries and innumerable insects, until that food grew so scarce that it would not suffice so large a number of full grown birds, and so were taking them to the corn-fields east. Like the children of Israel, they were going down into Egypt for corn. They had reared their chicks where they were not draggled in the dew, where there was no disease. For some four or five years after that, during its settlement, the people of the Solomon valley raised large numbers of tame turkeys.

Beason & Bunker, of Beloit, would in the fall buy and gather in their yards 5000 turkeys in one flock and drive them to the railroad, at Waterville, for shipment. Dell Bunker used to relate many curious incidents of the drive. Wherever the turkeys took a notion to pass the night, there Bunker concluded to camp. The birds would commence flying up to roost on fences, buildings, or trees, and there was no budging them until dawn next morning, when, after feeding on the corn taken along in wagons for that purpose, they offered no resistance to pursuing their journey. Bunker would start with perhaps a flock of 3000 turkeys; meeting two men in a buggy, one would inquire of him, "How many turkeys have you in the flock?" Bunker would reply, "1000." One man would nudge the other and say: "I told you there was not so many as you supposed." To the next inquirer Bunker would say, "5000." One would nudge the other and say: "I told you there were more turkeys than you thought." Bunker would call his flock 500 or 6000, as the humor pleased him, and he met few who would take issue with him, because few had ever seen so many turkeys together; few could guess anywhere near the number.

In about four or five years after settlement had begun we commenced to hear of turkeys dying of cholera. The truth was that the grass had become tall, the buffalo-grass was giving out, the hens draggled their chicks in the dew, and they died. The wild turkeys were a study. They did not go in flocks of 1000; usually each brood was by itself. Frequently, for some cause, two or three or four

broods had been compelled to combine; so you would find a flock of anywhere from 12 to 100 birds. And they should have taught us several lessons. Since the people gave up turkey-growing, grasshoppers have increased until, in some places, each season, for several years past, they eat up or damage nearly every crop. Now the remedy is, raise turkeys; keep the hens up mornings until the sun has kissed the earth; let them feed on the insects—and we feed our crops to the birds rather than to the grasshoppers.

In conclusion, I wish to make a plea for the west end of the state. You men of the east, do you not know that, if we are aided in sinking artesian wells, and in building reservoirs to hold and retain the storm waters, we shall serve you in keeping droughts from your borders as we served as outposts against Indian depredations? Help us to keep here the water that falls each year, and you of eastern Kansas will experience no more failures of the Kaw valley potato crop. We need your aid and you need the protection our country will afford you.

IN AT THE BIRTH, AND—

An address delivered by E. C. MANNING,* of Winfield, before the twenty-sixth annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society, January 21, 1902.

IN the month of January, 1861, the inhabited portion of Kansas occupied a larger place in the public eye than it did on the territorial map. The towns of Marysville, Council Grove, Salina and Cottonwood Falls were the frontier outposts. The map of Kansas was a blank west of the Washington, Saline and Butler county line. All the commerce of the day was transported in wagons, and the Missouri river was the line of transfer.

During the winter of 1859-'60, the sun shone forty-five consecutive days through a cloudless sky upon a snowless plain. Through the summer of 1860 the hot wind parched the soil and no harvest followed the seed time; hence the approaching winter brought an alarming outlook. Suspense and dread paralyzed

* EDWIN C. MANNING was born in Redford, Clinton county, New York, November 7, 1838. He received an academic education in the schools of Vermont and Iowa, his father having removed to the latter state when Edwin was thirteen years old. He taught school two winters when but seventeen and eighteen years old. At the age of nineteen he commenced to learn the printing business. In 1859 he was among the first adventurers to Pike's Peak in search of gold. In almost a state of destitution, with only a wagon and a yoke of oxen left, he returned eastward to Marysville, Marshall county, Kansas, where he cut wood for a short time. In December, 1859, he became interested, with others, in the publication of a paper called the *Democratic Platform*. In May, 1860, he obtained full control, made a new lease with Frank J. Marshall, who owned the plant, and at once raised the republican flag. In 1861 he entered the Second Kansas cavalry as first sergeant of company H, and in about a year was made a first lieutenant in the First Indiana. On his return from the army he purchased the *Big Blue Union*, and remained at Marysville until 1866, when he removed to Manhattan and established the *Kansas Radical*. In 1868 he traveled through New Mexico, Colorado, and western Kansas, carrying large contracts with the government. In 1869 he took a claim where Winfield now stands, and in 1870 organized and founded the town of Winfield. He located the main street by the north star, without a compass, and which was found absolutely correct. He organized the county of Cowley. From 1875 to 1877 he published the *Winfield Courier*. At the age of twenty-four he was elected a state senator from Marshall, Washington, Riley and Republic counties. In 1868 he was secretary of the senate. In 1871 he was elected a member of the house of representatives from Cowley county, and again elected in 1878. In 1866 he observed the geographical phenomenon, and promulgated the fact, that in the northern hemisphere the principal valley along a longitudinal stream running north, lies upon the east bank, and along a latitudinal stream, upon the north bank. He adopted the theory that this physical fact is caused by the motion of the earth on its axis. This discovery elicited considerable attention at the time in the scientific circles of the state, and was discussed by Eastern scientific journals. Mr. Manning lives at Winfield.

effort. Catastrophe brooded in the air. Labor was unemployed, the professions unoccupied, the stack-yards and granaries were empty, the streams had perished, and the mills were still. As winter drew near a panic arose. Every one who could do so fled from the territory. The last cow, the last pig, a cherished garment or a sacred heirloom was bartered for flour and bacon to feed the fleeing population. Claims were abandoned, farms sold for a pittance. Kansas was a paradise for the Shylock only. The insistence upon "the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" had subsided to a gasp for life. The strife for "self-government" abated to a struggle for existence. A green fringe along the Missouri river marked the dying ebb of the outgoing tide. "Bleeding Kansas" became starving Kansas. Opportunely, the thrifty and sympathetic people in the regions eastward were aroused, and money, clothing, grain and food were sent from legislatures, societies, and individuals, by mail and rail, in response to the wail. All supplies from the East were delivered at Atchison. Thither from the stricken frontier men wrapped in comforts fastened with strings, and often with feet clad in raw buffalo hide, drove their teams to receive the timely aid. As the emaciated horses or oxen propelling the wagons dragged their weary hoofs along a sinuous tremor shook their frames at each collaborating step.

At a public meeting of citizens in Lawrence, some time in November, 1860, a territorial relief committee was appointed, of which Hon. S. C. Pomeroy was chosen chairman, and later W. F. M. Arny* was selected as receiving and disbursing agent. Boxes of clothing, sacks of meal, flour, beans, corn, rice, sugar, coffee, bacon, and everything that could sustain life, were delivered at Atchison by train loads, marked in large letters, "W. F. M. Arny, Agent." This was distributed by local committees throughout the famishing districts, and starvation was averted.

In January, 1861, empty, fine-woven manila sacks could be found in every community, all marked "W. F. M. Arny, Agent." Later on, men and boys could be seen wearing pants and coats made from these sacks, with "W. F." or "Arny" or "Agent" in sight;† and if perchance a Kansas zephyr lifted a faded calico dress, the impertinent eye would see "W. F. M. Arny" staring at the landscape from a sheltering petticoat. Those petticoats did not rustle like

* WILLIAM FREDERICK MILTON ARNY was born at Georgetown, District of Columbia, May 9, 1813. He died at Topeka, September 18, 1881. He was educated in the public schools and at Bethany College, Virginia. He was for several years secretary of Bethany, when the celebrated preacher, Alexander Campbell, was its president. He came to Kansas from Illinois in 1855, and settled at Hyatt, now Garnett, where he lived until he moved to New Mexico in 1862, settling at Santa Fe. He was United States Indian agent for the Navajos for several years, when President Lincoln made him secretary of the territory, during much of which time he acted as governor. Upon the expiration of this service he was again appointed Indian agent. He represented New Mexico at the Centennial Exposition, at Philadelphia, in 1876.

Kansas suffered from a severe drought in the year 1860. On the 14th of November, 1860, a territorial relief convention was held at Lawrence. The convention was presided over by Robert B. Mitchell president, and R. G. Elliott and John A. Martin secretaries. A committee was appointed, of which Samuel C. Pomeroy was elected president; Rev. Charles Reynolds, D. D., vice president; James L. McDowell, secretary; George H. Fairchild, treasurer. January 9, 1861, W. F. M. Arny was appointed general shipping agent. A statement by Arny, from the beginning to June 6, 1861, which was probably the end of the business, shows that Arny contracted with railroads for the shipment of 12,722,810 pounds of food, including some seeds, medicines, boots and shoes, and that he received \$47,437.96 in money. An auditing committee, composed of S. C. Pomeroy, Rev. Lewis Bodwell, F. P. Baker, and W. W. Guthrie, checked Arny's accounts up as all right. Thaddeus Hyatt says Arny was "most faithful and unselfish." The first acknowledgment of goods received was on January 5, 1861, before Arny's time, Pomeroy reporting that he had received 867,619 pounds of goods.

† The State Historical Society has but recently received a publication entitled "Old Settlers' Tales," pertaining to the early settlement of northwestern Pottawatomie and southwestern

the silk petticoats of to-day, but they were the drapery of a pioneer womanhood which has bred a hustling generation of citizens who have given Kansas fame.

On January 29, 1861, the sun's rays trembled in the frozen air and the snow lay deep on the Kansas landscape. It was the natal day of infant Kansas. The period of generation had covered years, and when the child appeared it had a full set of teeth, a shock of hair, and a miniature war-cloud on its chip shoulder as a birthmark. It arrived bawling "I'm hungry; give me something to eat!" So sudden was its appearance and unpropitious the season the nurses were unprepared for the event. They resorted to empty flour sacks marked "W. F. M. Army" for a swaddling band, manila bags of the same brand were improvised for diapers, and its shivering form was wrapped in blankets marked "New England Aid Society." The child had been so long "a-bornin'" that waiting nature was exhausted and the bosom of our common mother, earth, was cold and dry. It was a milkless birth. Its first sustenance was bean soup. But the child flourished. The period of gestation, from '54 to '61, embraced the mystic "seven years" which have so often appeared in history, sacred and profane. Various professional accouchers had sought to crowd the event. Uncle Sam himself connived at a miscarriage. From time to time his dragoons with drawn sabers dispersed the patriotic nurses. The federal bayonets strove to dig a grave for the burial of its prenatal remains. The pains and visions, the travail and tears, the prayers and petitions, the tragedies and traditions, the humane and inhuman conditions accompanying and enveloping the long generating period, had aroused national sympathy, engendered sectional hostility, and awakened world-wide interest.

How intense was our antipathy to the regular army at that time! It was derided as "the tool of the administration at Washington."

When the new star appeared in the western horizon, standing over the land where the infant lay, the "wise men" of the East saw it and marveled—marveled at its brilliancy, and shook their heads gravely, while they heard the ominous rumblings which accompanied its appearance. And when that star took its place in the family circle, some of its aristocratic sisters pursed their lips and frowningly picked up their rich robes, and said: "We won't remain in no such low-born company!" The newcomer replied: "Sisters, I have come here to stay, and I shall do all I can to persuade you to remain also." But the disruptive sisters scorned her. Before the new-born child was free from its "W. F. M. Army" belongings she was pounding the starch out of those rebellious sisters, and she continued to baste them until the perfume was dissipated from their silks and decorations and their battered skirts were torn into bandages for the wounded, and there was mourning throughout the household. They finally said: "Yes, we'll stay."

Since that cold and passion-spent birthday, forty-one years away, many emotional and material tides in Kansas life have come and gone. Sometimes the flow was high; sometimes the ebb was low. Peace to the merciful sands that cover the wrecks along the beach. There have been days when, in distant regions, a man would hesitate to register as being from Kansas. But there never was a where or when throughout the nation that he was ashamed to acknowledge he was a Kansas soldier in the civil war; nor is there a port or capital among the

Nemaha counties, by F. F. Crevecoeur. On page 84 appears the following: "In 1860 aid was distributed among the destitute. This aid consisted of corn, beans, and other things, and was shipped in grain sacks with S. C. Pomeroy's name on them, as he was the general agent for aid distributed in Kansas. These sacks were afterwards made up into pants, and when there was a gathering of men and boys they looked rather picturesque with 'S. C. POMEROY' showing in various parts of their attire."

nations of the globe that has not heard of the martial fame of the Twentieth Kansas in the Philippines. Her statesmen, jurists, authors, investigators, teachers, preachers and civic advocates enjoy national and even international honors. The typical men of their day and generation are Brown and Brewer—one the John the Baptist of emancipation; the other the arbiter of disputes between the nations of two continents, and the foremost expounder of constitutional law of the present time.

The mind fails to comprehend the material and mystical changes wrought and disclosed during the years of our statehood. As we enter the twentieth century a whisper passes between the continents, through the echoing corridors, of an unknown God whose "mansion is in the skies," and the telescope reveals a planet in process of creation 2000 years away, as measured by the flight of light.

As the son of a New England mother and the grandson of a Vermont soldier in the war of 1812, and a Kansan since 1859, I venture to animadvert upon the phases of a philosophy which blooms in the branches while withering at the roots. We are groping in the shadow of a "commercial" cloud. Man is seen in the vista as through an inverted telescope. "The image of God" is not discernible. His complexion or race are immaterial. If an atmosphere of hope or sadness, of aspiration or inspiration, envelops him, it is not recognized. The individual is absorbed by the corporation. The state is annihilated by federal enactment or judicial construction. The commercial dollar has for its motto: "In trusts we trust." The inhabitants of a territory are not citizens of the Union; the land may be sequestered and with it people transferred to a monarch by federal treaty. The individual slave is reproduced in the national subject. The "higher law" is the military law. The opulent beneficiaries of industrial monopolies ease their conscience through the contribution box. The high chairs of personally endowed universities are occupied by automatic reflectors. The daughters of aristocracy bleach their hands, harden their hearts and trail their flounces in quest of royal consorts—the sons of our judges and statesmen are clamoring for places of rank in the federal army, like the scions of the aristocracy in the ante-bellum South. The integrity of the nation does not depend upon an army, but rather in the hearts of the American mothers is found the elixir of the republic; Harriet Beecher Stowe wrote the epitaph of slavery—the nation's temporary guardians are hobnobbing with the monarchies that exiled our forefathers. Our navy will do obeisance to the crowning of King Edward, the emperor of the Indies. The republics of France and Switzerland are not upon our list of chums. The Depews cross the seas to mate and conceive a scion in the shadow of a crown. "The flag" is used as a decoy to loot the treasury, baffle justice, and bewilder reason. The army of the republic is in another hemisphere, holding eight million of alien people "in trust" for themselves. And, nearer home, "Kansas Day" is devoted to the engineering problem of constructing the shortest avenue to the public crib.

Under this new heresy "the lute is silent and the harp is still"; no song or story that will live in the ages rises from its sordid devotees in their stealthy tread towards the commercial goal.

Let us hope that the beaming face of historic Kansas may not be far turned from the ideals of the Pilgrims and of the founders of her destiny towards the perishable idols of power and pelf before it shall discover the dismal portent of such idolatry—for its ways are not "ways of pleasantness," its paths are not "paths of peace."

HORTICULTURE IN KANSAS.

An address delivered by MRS. CORA WELLHOUSE BULLARD,* before the Kansas State Historical Society at its twenty-sixth annual meeting, held January 21, 1902.

YOU will pardon a personal experience. I feel to-night as if I had come to the gray crossroads in life, where the tall guide-post of time lifts a home-ward-pointing finger. When invited by Secretary Martin to address the State Historical Society, I felt that a great honor had been conferred upon me, and was delighted. A few weeks ago I received a letter from him, stating that he particularly wished me to tell you something about the trials of the tree-planter, when Secretary Martin, Kansas and myself were young. To me it seems Kansas was born many, many long years ago. I have n't the faintest idea when Secretary Martin was born, and the date of my own birth I had hoped to hold a sacred secret. However, when Secretary Martin, Kansas and myself were in a state of juvenility, all geographies denominated Kansas the "Great American Desert." Howling wilderness, home of the savage, daughter of drought, daughter of dearth, were terms synonymous with Kansas.

Scarce a half-century ago, Kansas, which is to-day counted the "core of the continent," "storm center of beneficent impulse," "peerless power of the West," was the property of the aborigines and a roaming ground for vast herds of buffalo. Bleak prairies, garbed in their coarse, indigenous grasses, were the prominent features of the landscape. Triumphant war-parties of Indians, bearing aloft parts of the mutilated bodies of their victims, were the common sights. Then, the balmy, bracing air, which has since done so much for the beautiful and celebrated Gertrude T——, was vibrant with the blood-curdling war-whoop. Heathenism in the wildest form prevailed. War-dances were the high social functions of the day, and scalps were the trophies of the times.

The part played by the horticulturists in the early drama of Kansas was infinitesimal. In the '50's and '60's Kansas was a wild theater, in which the untrammelled cowboy and Indian scout were star actors. Their wonderful exploits have furnished themes for a thousand books, and for centuries to come the author of the penny-dreadful will turn to these pages of Kansas history to find material for his conquering hero. The story of the blood-bathed youth of Kansas is a familiar and oft-repeated tale. The most desperate conflict in the history of the world's life occurred in the days when Kansas, Secretary Martin and myself were in the days of tender youth. The nation of which we are a component part was convulsed from center to circumference. The sirocco of disunion blew its heated breath upon the tree of liberty. Kansas watered its sacred roots with the heart's-blood of her patriots. She generated a light and flame which radiated a heat that "melted the manacles" of four million slaves.

Horticultural pursuits were not compatible with the inconceivable agitation

* MRS. CORA WELLHOUSE BULLARD was born January 25, 1863, on a farm seven miles west of Leavenworth, and is the daughter of Mr. F. Wellhouse, the "apple king of Kansas." She was married June 26, 1889, to H. S. Bullard, of Lawrence. In the spring of 1891 they settled on the Summit farm, a few miles east of Tonganoxie. She was reared entirely within the confines of Leavenworth county, obtaining such education as was possible from the district schools, spending every possible moment in her childhood and girlhood at the grafting table, in the nursery, in the tree row, at the cider-press, the evaporator, and over the apple barrel in the packing-house. She has written several papers for the State Board of Agriculture, the State Horticultural Society, a local farmers' institute, and sketches for a home club.

which preceded, accompanied and followed the birth of Kansas into the sisterhood of states. The first orchard in Kansas was planted by Reverend Johnson,* at the Methodist Episcopal mission grounds, near Shawneetown, in 1837. Up to a recent date, a few of these apple trees were still alive and fruitful. Practically little tree-planting was done before the war.

People of strangely diverse attributes were fused and welded into homogeneity by the heat and hammering of the rebellion. When Kansas closed the last volume of her bloody annals, her people, with heroic constancy and unwavering faith in her future greatness, threw heart and soul into the various vocations which are so essential to the upbuilding of a great commonwealth; but the tree-planter was held in light esteem, and had no part in the deliberations of our foremost state-builders in the '60's.

The fact that nature, with a few exceptions, had left Kansas in a treeless state was generally accepted as conclusive evidence that trees could not be propagated. In September, 1867, the National Pomological Society held its eleventh biennial session in the city of St. Louis. It was the custom of the society to call over the catalogue of fruits, also the names of the different states, at the same time requesting the representative of each state, when the name of his state was called, to say whether the fruit under consideration was desirable in his locality. If it was, a star was placed opposite the name of the fruit, under the name of the state, one star signifying that the fruit was generally approved, two stars that it was extra fine. When the name of Kansas was called but one variety of fruit was found that could be successfully cultivated there, this being the melocoton peach. The circulation of this report served to intensify the belief that fruit would not grow in Kansas.

The early Kansas horticulturist was almost universally regarded as a fruit crank, and was consigned to oblivion by those in the forefront of the state's progression. His tomb, however, was but a cenotaph, and the glory of his deeds set eternally amid the stars. Unwavering in purpose, fully awake to the high importance of his mission, with imperturbable, Islamic faith in destiny, he planted fruit-trees on barren, wind-swept plains, "Out there in Kansas."

It has been said by one who had learned life's lesson well, that time is the great, inflexible avenger; oftentimes he burnishes the rusty shield found in the dead hand on life's great battle-field, so that the ages never cease to see the glimmer of its sheen. Again, from the exultant helm it tears the wreath of victory,

*REV. THOMAS JOHNSON, a missionary to the Shawnee Indians. He was born in Virginia, July 11, 1802. He was educated for the ministry in the Methodist Episcopal church, and his first labors were in the conference of Missouri. He was of high standing in his church. In 1829 he entered the territory of Kansas. About this time the government concluded to spend a portion of the annuity due the Indians in establishing schools among them, and so a contract was entered into with the Methodist church for the education of the children, in which provision was made for the erection of suitable buildings, and for boarding and clothing. The Shawnee manual-labor school was erected, in what is now Johnson county, one mile from the Missouri line and seven miles south of Kansas City. Connected with the mission were a carpenter shop, blacksmith shop, a shoemaker's shop, a steam grist-mill, and a sawmill. After ten years' service, Mr. Johnson's health failed, and he moved with his family to Cincinnati. After two years of medical treatment, he settled at Fayette, Howard county, Missouri. In 1847 he was again appointed superintendent of schools and missions among the Shawnees. He was a man of administrative ability and very successful in his work. He was elected a delegate to Congress, in 1853, over Abelard Guthrie, but the territory was not organized. He was a member of the first territorial council, in 1855, and was its president. He was a Southern man, but when the civil war broke out he espoused the cause of the Union. He lived near Westport. On the night of the 2d of January, 1865, a gang of marauders called at his house and assassinated him. He was buried in the cemetery at the Indian mission. When he went to Washington, in 1853, the *Washington Post* spoke of him as "the Rev. Thomas Johnson, a noble specimen of a Western man."

and sends the boastful wearer down the corridors of the future with the coward's brand upon his brow.

Early Kansas horticulturists launched out upon an uncertain sea of experiment, without rudder or compass. No landmarks or guiding ideas had they. The conditions of soil and climate, the altitude above the ocean level, all were widely different from the local conditions wherein their early pomological lessons had been taught. Their difficulties and disasters were monumental. Through drought that transformed the earth into iron and the sky into brass; through swarms of voracious grasshoppers that defoliated forest, orchard, meadow and field they passed undaunted. Nature's fatalities, mishaps of husbandry, served only as a stimulant to greater industry. To them mistakes and failures were merely the conditions of a larger victory, animated by the love of their profession. A handful numerically, earnest and hopeful, they toiled on and waited, until at last footprints were made along the Kansas pathway of pomology.

It is appropriate here to remark that the work of that small band of men who devoted their lives to the development of horticulture when our state was young, the names of whom may be found in the records of the State Horticultural Society, deserve to be sought out and blazoned on the historical records of our state as examples of perseverance in good works under the most serious difficulties.

Prior to 1864, little or no fruit had been gathered from trees planted in Kansas. The first crop proved to be very superior in size, beauty, and quality. The transition of the fruit crank from obscurity to respected prominence began with the first harvest of apples.

In 1869 this little band of so-called crazy horticulturists had the transcendent audacity to step into the horticultural arena and make a display of the fruit-growing powers of our youthful state before the nation. On September 13, 1869, the Kansas State Horticultural Society erected in Horticultural hall, in Philadelphia, a pyramidal structure which contained 140 plates of beautifully colored apples and pears. Great effort was put forth by the committee in charge to make our display at this exposition an attractive one. Kansas was awarded the gold medal for the best display of fine fruit exhibited on that grand occasion; and thus it was the fruit crank caused Kansas to suddenly shine out in the horticultural sky where least expected—a star of the first magnitude. The awarding of that medal marked the beginning of an epoch of wonderful prosperity in our state. Many regarded this display of Kansas fruits with incredulity; the cry of fraud was raised. Nevertheless, horticulture came forth as the most potential factor in the inducements that started the heavy tide of immigration to Kansas. After this exhibition at Philadelphia, snowy sheets were unfurled like the sails of an ocean commerce. Thousands of canvassed schooners set their prows for Kansas, and the declaration, "You can't grow fruit in Kansas," gave place to the exclamation, "We're goin' out to Kansas, where the fine fruit grows."

Following this influx of immigration came a great wave of enthusiasm in fruit-growing. Within five years following the remarkable display at Philadelphia, it is safe to say over a million fruit-trees were planted, ninety-eight per cent. of which proved to be entirely worthless. Numberless varieties were planted. At the beginning of the '70's, 2500 different varieties of apples alone were growing within the border of our state. Every man who planted apple trees selected varieties that had flourished in the orchard of his father or his grandfather. Indiscrimination in planting varieties proved a far more serious drawback to the fruit interests in Kansas than all other mishaps. Soil variations and variety adaptability, the sciences which are the foundation of all success-

ful horticulture of to-day, were then unwritten pages. The greater secrets of the soil had yet to be wrested from the stubborn sod, through hard hours of disaster and defeat.

A very large per cent. of trees planted in the '60's and '70's died before coming into bearing, and many more after bearing but a few crops. The owner of the early planted pear orchard, who visioned forth from the products of his planting a golden annuity such as his grandfather and father had received from pear orchards planted in the humid climate of the East, years before he was born, saw his hopes wither and die as in a day. These dead and dying fruit-trees revived old prejudices, and again the cry went forth with increased vehemence that fruit-growing in Kansas was a failure. It was then the tree-planter and the real horticulturist were differentiated. Kansas, now thoroughly awakened to the necessity of tree-planting, extended every possible inducement to the tree-planter, but his attention could not be engaged. Discouraged and disgusted by his many failures, he applied pneumatic brakes of vehement protestation to all pomological pursuits.

It was at this time that the horticulturist arose and came forth as a potent factor in the development of our great commonwealth. In no other vocation of life are such sublime lessons in waiting taught as in the pursuit of horticulture. With unwearied confidence and ineradicable belief in Kansas, the horticulturist planted more trees—and waited. After years of patient experiment, from out of the dregs and debris of many thousand worthless varieties, a scant half-dozen of apples, also a very few varieties of peaches and pears, were evolved that could be safely propagated. Many years of hard labor were invested before the horticulturist succeeded in supplanting theoretical prejudices with successful practice in fruit-growing. Old beliefs die hard. The wholesale planting of trees not adapted to Kansas climate, which resulted so harmfully to our state in earlier days, was, later on, repeated in a small way again and again by the man who clung fondly and persistently to the kind of apples that grew in his grandfather's garden. The aforesaid type is not quite extinct to-day. The rays from the Kansas are light of horticultural enlightenment have not yet penetrated his domain. He may still be found in unfrequented corners of the state, with a fruitless orchard which he has planted, tended, and pruned high, according to the most-approved methods of his grandfather—a victim of instinctive heredity, hardly more to blame for his horticultural practices than is an egg for the color of the chick that bursts from its shell.

At the close of the '70's the dense fog that had enveloped and darkened the horticultural sky for so many years began to lift. The few iron-clad varieties of fruit which the faithful horticulturist had brought to successful fruitage through hard buffetings with adverse winds restored confidence in Kansas as a fruit state, and the idea that only fruits grown on wire stems could survive the vicissitudes of our bracing breezes was quite generally eliminated. The tree-planter came back to the fold, and the world-renowned Kansas specialist attained his majority. Previous to 1876 orchards had been planted for home consumption only.

The greatest performances of the world are due to the spirit of individualism. It was a Vanderbilt who first systematized railroading, and demonstrated to the world that it paid. To-day the entire globe is bound and interlaced with railroads. A Kansas specialist first proved that commercial orcharding would return solid and substantial recompense.' To-day the vast acreage planted to apple trees in the West taxes the credulity of the Eastern world. Our specialists have spread the fame of Kansas horticulture throughout the world. They have placed our state

at the head of all nations in artificial forestry, an industry which to-day is recognized as one of vital importance. If the forests upon this continent are not conserved, and more trees planted, all farming will perish in 100 years, so say our most eminent scientists. The interdependence of tree life, animal life and vegetable life is constant. A globe denuded of forests would mean the extinction of all animal life. The Kansas apple specialist has grown more apples on trees of his own planting than any other in the world.

One of the first commercial orchards was planted in the spring of 1876, in the southern portion of Leavenworth county, by the father and brother of your speaker. This venture was generally looked upon as visionary and impracticable. However, the ultimate success of this orchard, and the subsequent planting of many hundreds of acres by the same firm, overturned established theories, wiped out old lines of limitation, and extended the area of possibility in horticultural development in the West to dazzling dimensions. Commercial orcharding has grown to such proportions that our historians will have to write a new topography for the "Great American Desert." Forests of fruit-trees are springing up in every portion of our state. "Out there in Kansas," where buffalo sod and solitude held sway for untold centuries, the horticultural king now wields his scepter, and the product of his realm throws a rosy stream of God's cookery around the globe.

To fitly sound the praises of the Kansas apple is difficult. The golden apples of Hesperides, the fabled cause of the network of circumstances which formed the theme of the greatest epic poem of ancient times, could not be likened unto a Kansas Jonathan. Kansas horticultural products form no mean part of the world's commerce. According to the sworn statements of the assessors, there are growing in Kansas to-day 19,221,000 fruit-trees, which, if planted according to established rules, cover an area of 384,646 acres. If vineyards and berry patches were tabulated herein, many thousand acres would be added to this vast area.

Kansas owes much to her State Horticultural Society. The first meeting of the society was held in Leavenworth, December 15, 16, and 17, 1868, officers being elected as follows: President, William Tanner, Leavenworth; vice-president, William Maxwell, Lanesfield; treasurer, William E. Barnes, Vinland; recording secretary, John S. Brown; corresponding secretary, S. T. Kelsey, Ottawa. This Society was the first of its kind organized west of the Mississippi. Its organization was first suggested by William Tanner, in a letter published in the *Kansas Farmer*. Twenty-five persons responded to this call. The names were published, and an election of officers, by ballot through the mail, was held. When the result was declared, the newly elected president made his profound first bow to the society that elected him in the solitude of his own library, and delivered his first inaugural address to his constituency through the columns of the *Kansas Farmer*, published May, 1867. The first horticultural report was published in 1871. The pages between the covers of this report were so few in number that an index was unnecessary. The early youth of the society was spent in poverty and obscurity, and Kansas has ever failed to recognize this child of hers according to its measure of helpfulness to her citizens. Up to the present date, thirty-five annual meetings and nineteen semiannual meetings have been held.

The remarkable number of horticultural prizes captured by this society for the glory of Kansas reads a splendid tale. Below we give a list of premiums awarded Kansas through the efforts of her State Horticultural Society:

1869.—Gold medal, Pennsylvania Horticultural Society, Philadelphia.

1871.—Diploma, Virginia Horticultural Society, Richmond.

1871.—Diploma, American Institute, New York.

1872.—Diploma, American Institute Fair, New York.

1873.—Silver medal, Massachusetts Horticultural Society, Boston.

1873.—Diploma, New Jersey State Fair, Waverly.

1873.—Diploma, American Institute, New York.

1876.—Diploma, Centennial Exposition, Philadelphia.

1885.—Diploma to Allen county, Cotton Fair, New Orleans.

1893.—Medal and diploma, Columbia Exposition, Chicago.

1898.—Silver medal and diploma, Trans-Mississippi Exposition, Omaha.

1900.—Three gold medals, Paris Exposition, Paris.

Not many years ago a governor of Kansas was asked to recommend certain legislative measures which would be of great benefit to the State Horticultural Society and to our fruit interests generally. He yawned, and replied carelessly: "I suppose these little things really should be looked after." Nature exhibits no contempt for trifles. It is only by a slight deviation from her general law, that by which water contracts down to the temperature of forty degrees and then expands until it is frozen, that the earth is made habitable to man. Were it not for this provision, instead of only a thin crust of ice forming on the surface of the lake, the whole body of water would become solid, the ocean itself would be frozen, and life on earth would be impossible. The vital knot of a man's nervous system is said to be no larger than a pin's head; yet upon this tiny speck depends the life of the nerves, upon which hangs the existence of a Cæsar or a Napoleon who shapes the destinies of nations.

The core and kernel of advancement and attainment along pomological lines have ever been contained within the State Horticultural Society. It has a history that deserves to be written in capitals. The germs of growth, the quickening ideas essential to the perpetuity of successful horticulture, have been constantly developed through the deliberations of this body.

There is perhaps no region of country upon this continent in which a more thorough knowledge of horticulture is so nearly indispensable, in order to secure a reasonable degree of success, than is demanded in the state of Kansas. The experience of each man has counted only for his immediate locality. The variations of Kansas soil are as sudden and frequent as the variations of the climate. Most finished experts have been compelled to come to a temporary standstill. A sunny, prosperous Kansas, without a horticultural society to throw light upon the great fountains of earth's provisions, is impossible.

It is to be hoped that the time is not far distant when horticulture will obtain legislative recognition commensurate with that of other important industries in our state. It is true that our achievements in the past along pomological lines have been unparalleled. The energy and industry of the horticulturist have wrought miracles upon our plains. Through his energies a once unproductive and uninhabited region is now a land thickly studded o'er with homes that are embowered Edens. He has caused the artificial forest to spring, which in turn has greatly modified the climate. Yet we are but crooning the alphabet, and each year we live volumes of refutation in horticultural experience.

Much attention is being paid to the improvement of blood in the live stock of our state. It is equally important that vegetable heredity should be better understood. Let the Downings and Mitchells of Kansas do their best, and Kansas gardening will attain the arborescence of the year 1, and man will dig health and contentment out of his own garden.

EARLY LIFE OF QUANTRILL IN KANSAS.

Paper read by W. A. JOHNSON,* of Garnett, before the twenty-sixth annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society, January 21, 1902.

IT is seldom that men who have been associated together for purposes of robbery, arson, murder and similar crimes meet after their disbandment to boast of their daring deeds of rapine and murder, and to make excuses for the crimes of their leader and themselves. Yet, rare as such gatherings may be, we are informed that on September 23 last, the remnant of "Quantrill's band" held a reunion at Little Blue church, three miles from Blue Springs, Jackson county, Missouri, and in a reminiscent way recounted their adventures and daring deeds of crime, and, with press reporters present, caused the recitals of their past deeds to be published to the world. Such occurrences ordinarily ought to be unnoticed. The deeds of many of this band of criminals might be palliated and excused from the fact of their youth, the error of their early teachings, and the exciting and perilous times in which their criminal deeds were perpetrated, were it not for the fact that at this reunion, as related by the story given to and published by the daily press of Kansas City at the time, all blame for Quantrill's acts of murder, arson, robbery and rapine is cast upon Kansas jayhawkers. It is this false and slanderous statement against Kansas men which should not be passed without notice and contradiction.

Among other of the proceedings at this reunion, as published in the *Kansas City Times* of September 24, 1901, is the story of Joe Vaughn, a farmer living near Oak Grove, Mo., as follows: "Quantrill was a resident of Ohio. He was on his way across the plains to California and was attacked by Kansas jayhawkers. During the engagement his brother was killed, and his property was taken from him. At the moment his brother was killed Quantrill determined to have revenge. He pleaded for his life, and induced the jayhawkers to allow him to join the band. The party rode across the Missouri line and invaded this county. The plunderers, accompanied by Quantrill, decided to attack the Walker farmhouse, just two miles from this picnic ground, for the purpose of freeing negroes there. While the plans were being made Quantrill notified the neighbors. When the attack was made Quantrill got his revenge. He turned on the Kansans, and, with the assistance of Walker and several neighbors, killed the men who wanted to free negroes. From that day Quantrill was the leader of the Quantrill guerrillas. There were but eight in the original band. There are but two survivors, William Jones, of Blue Springs, and myself."

* WILLIAM ALEXANDER JOHNSON was born in Guilford county, North Carolina, January 19, 1830. His ancestors were of Scotch-Irish blood, and settled near Georgetown, Md., in the sixteenth century. His great-grandfather and grandfather were soldiers in the war of the revolution, and his father fought in the war of 1812. Soon after his birth his parents moved to Jennings county, Indiana. He was educated in the common schools, Vernon Academy, and Hanover College. He studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1855. The same year he came to Leavenworth, but returned to Indiana. In 1858 he again came to Kansas, locating at Garnett. He was elected county attorney in 1859. During the war he was captain of company M, Fifteenth Kansas cavalry. In 1865 he was elected county attorney of Anderson county, on the same day he returned from his army service, but he declined to qualify and take the office. He was elected a state senator in 1872, a presidential elector in 1876, and a delegate to the republican national convention in 1888. From 1879 to January, 1894, he was assistant general attorney of the Missouri Pacific railway. He served as a judge of the court of appeals from 1895 to 1897, and was a member of the court of visitation in 1898.

Now for the facts of Quantrill's coming to Kansas, and his history after his arrival in the territory. It is not true that the Kansas jayhawkers killed his brother and robbed him of his property while *en route* across the plains to California. He had no brother with him in Kansas, and had no property stolen, and was not attacked by Kansas jayhawkers. He was not *en route* for California, and he never joined the jayhawkers. Quantrill came to Kansas territory from Canal Dover, Ohio, in the fall of 1857, in company with H. V. Beeson and Colonel Torrey.* They all settled in and near the little town of Stanton, in Lykins (now Miami) county. After coming to the territory, Quantrill taught school on the Marais des Cygnes, and made his home in the neighborhood. A short time afterwards he stole a yoke of cattle from H. V. Beeson, his friend who had come with him to Kansas. His theft was soon discovered. To avoid prosecution he fled, and afterward made his headquarters in or near Lawrence, where he went under an assumed name, Charles Hart. He and several young men about his age, all having assumed names, associated together for the purpose of stealing and robbery. They operated on this line for a few months, but their conduct created suspicion, and they were detected in stealing horses and mules. They were indicted by the grand jury of Douglas county for grand larceny and robbery committed in the fall of 1858. To escape arrest and punishment for the crimes charged against him, Quantrill fled, and joined a party *en route* to Pike's Peak, this being a time when a great emigration was being made to the new gold-mines in that region. While at Pike's Peak, it is said, he killed a man in a gambling den, and narrowly escaped lynching by the vigilantes. He returned to Kansas in 1860. On account of the indictment pending against him in Douglas county, he could not with safety return to his old haunts at Lawrence or Miami county; so it became necessary for him to seek some location more suitable to his then desperate inclinations.

The intense and bitter feeling then existing between the Kansas jayhawkers and the proslavery element of Missouri, of which he well knew, afforded him an opportunity, and, for the time, absolute protection and immunity. Accordingly he went to Jackson county, Missouri, in the neighborhood of one Walker, a slaveholder, and falsely represented to Walker and others that a band of Kansas jayhawkers intended to make a raid on Missouri, for the purpose of freeing negroes, stealing horses and mules, robbing houses, and committing similar other crimes against the proslavery men of Missouri, and promised, if the slaveholders would assist and compensate him for the danger he had to incur, that he would go to Kansas as a detective, and learn when and where such invasion would be made, and would give them timely warning. After making this arrangement, he returned to Kansas, where he met some of his former antislavery acquaintances, and falsely represented to them that he knew where there were some slaves who wished to run away, and whose masters owned some fine horses and mules which could be taken by the negroes and used in making their escape, and all they needed was some one to encourage and aid them. He then tendered his services to accompany and direct them to the place, and to assist the slaves in making their escape. After inducing four young men, his former associates and acquaintances, to join him in this foray, he returned to Missouri, ostensibly for the pur-

* A letter from Mr. H. S. Clarke, of Lawrence, objects to the spelling of Quantrill's name with an *i* instead of an *e*. He has a letter from Quantrill's mother, who spells it with an *e*. The State Historical Society has two copies of Quantrill's signature, and in each he spells the name with an *i*. As his trouble with Torrey and Beeson, the parties with whom he came to Kansas, was the first heard of him, the following copy of an autograph receipt, in the files of the Historical Society, will be of interest:

"\$30.00. Recd Stanton Oct. 22, 1857, of Harry Torrey, thirty dollars for bal. due on settlement by arbitration with Torrey & Beeson.—W. C. QUANTRILL."

pose of informing the slaves and having them ready for escape, but in fact for the purpose of informing the proslavery men of the intended raid, and having them prepared to resist such incursion. He thus induced these young men to join him, and led them into an ambuscade which was conceived and planned by himself.

I became acquainted with Quantrill at Stanton, shortly after he came to Kansas. I knew him while he lived in Miami county, and saw him frequently while he lived in Lawrence. I am familiar with his history in Kansas, and also know something of his subsequent life.

What I here write is without malice or hatred treasured against him after the lapse of so many years, but that the truth may be known, and that Kansas jayhawkers may not be blamed for the crime and treachery of Quantrill.

The history of Quantrill and his gang of murderers, robbers, and cutthroats, with the horrors of their crime and bloodshed, has been so well and often written up, and is so familiar, that I deem it unnecessary to again refer to it. It had been hoped that his followers would remain in the retirement from which they have only emerged during the past thirty years for the purpose of robbery and crime, and, having ceased these operations, would be content to end their days in quiet. But, inasmuch as they seek by their public demonstration and falsehood to cast the burden of their villainy upon Kansas men, I deem it but fair to present the truth, and show that Quantrill's conduct was not in retaliation for insults or the mistreatment of Kansas jayhawkers, but was the development of a base nature born in him, and made manifest through his own volition, to appease and satiate his thirst for wickedness, in a disregard of the rights of property and of human life.

* * * * *

HOW QUANTRILL BECAME AN OUTLAW.

By ED. R. SMITH,* in the *Mound City Republic*, October 4, 1901.

"Quantrill was originally a gold-seeker. Just before the war he and his brother started for California with a team. In Kansas they were met by Montgomery's band of freebooters and highwaymen, held up, and robbed. The brother was shot, the mules were stolen, and Quantrill was left for dead. He revived, joined the Montgomery band, and marked every one in it concerned in his brother's death, and picked them off one at a time. He rose high in Montgomery's

*EDWIN R. SMITH was born September 4, 1838, at Akron, Erie county, New York. He received but a meager common-school education. He came to Kansas territory in April, 1857. Here he took a postgraduate course in the saddle, under the tutelage of Montgomery and Jennison, for three years prior to the civil war. In June, 1861, while on a raid in Missouri for the relief of the families of expelled loyalists, he was severely wounded, having a horse shot to death under him. He was appointed chief clerk in the quartermaster's department, and assigned to duty under Gen. Robert B. Mitchell, and went south. In 1863 he returned home, and was commissioned first lieutenant by Governor Carney. He was assigned to duty as adjutant for the second regimental district of Kansas, comprising the counties of Johnson, Miami, Linn, and Bourbon, with headquarters at Mound City. About this time the Sixth regiment Kansas state militia was organized, and Lieutenant Smith was made adjutant. During the Price raid, in 1864, this regiment was ordered into the United States service by General Curtis, and marched to Hickman Mills, becoming a part of the command of Gen. James G. Blunt. Here General Blunt ordered an election of field-officers of the regiment, and Lieut. Ed. R. Smith was elected colonel. He declined the honor, and James Montgomery was elected colonel, with Smith lieutenant colonel. Upon the return of the regiment to Linn county a reorganization happened, and Lieutenant Colonel Smith was made colonel, and commissioned by Gov. Samuel J. Crawford. In 1869 he was appointed clerk of the district court for Linn county, and was elected for three succeeding terms. He was sergeant-at-arms of the state senate in 1873. In 1881 Dudley C. Hashell made him secretary of the Indian committee at Washington, where he remained until the death of that illustrious Kansan, December 16, 1883. In 1885 he served as clerk of the judiciary committee of the state senate. He was a member for four years, by appointment of Gov. John A. Martin, of the state industrial reform school commission. He has served as mayor of Mound City, police judge, and justice of the peace, and is now postmaster at Mound City.

confidence, and would take the opportunity, as he was sent out on raids with these men, to return with one or two missing. Finally all except two were dead, and Quantrill was Montgomery's lieutenant.

"In the fall of 1861, while this band was raiding all this part of the country, with headquarters in Kansas, Quantrill was sent to the Morgan Walker farm, two miles west of Little Blue church, to loot it. With him went three men, the two who remained of the marked ones, and one other. Quantrill left them in the brush, reconnoitered the place, and warned Walker. When the attack was made, all except Quantrill were killed and he became a revenged man."—*Kansas City Journal*.

The statements made in what I have just read are so notoriously false that possibly no attention should be given them. The strange part of it is that so reliable a newspaper as the *Kansas City Journal* can be buncoed into printing a two-column write-up of the meeting of men whose deeds are so damnably black and murderous that their recounting brings the blush of shame to the cheek of decency, even in Jackson county, Missouri.

The evident purpose of this write-up is to justify the infamous outlawry of this gang of border ruffians by throwing the odium and cause of it all upon Kansas men—"upon Montgomery's men."

Were it not that a generation of men has passed since the bloody activities of the time referred to, and were it not for the prominence given the falsehoods contained in this write-up, and the possibility that strangers to the history of that time may be misled and prejudiced against the man Montgomery and his associates, who in that perilous hour of our history did so much for humanity and for humanity's sake, I would not say a word in refutation of the calumny contained in this write-up.

The facts are that this man Quantrill never had a brother shot, nor was he, Quantrill, shot and left for dead and robbed of a pair of mules while on his way west as a gold-seeker, or in any other way, "by Montgomery's men," or by any other men. Quantrill never, at any time or at any place, was a member of Capt. James Montgomery's band of free-state men. Captain Montgomery never saw this accomplished murderer called Quantrill, and he never "marked and picked off Montgomery's men who killed his brother."

No one at all conversant with early history of this part of Kansas will, for an instant, contend that Quantrill, at any time or place, was with Montgomery or Jennison, in any capacity or character, while they were contending for the supremacy of free-state theories. As the best evidence obtainable of that fact, there is no one of the many who yet survive who participated, from 1856 to the ending of the late civil war, in all of the many bloody events in which either Jennison or Montgomery had command, who have any knowledge of this cut-throat Quantrill. James Montgomery lived here from 1855 to the date of his peaceful death, at his home, in December, 1873. With few exceptions, his command never exceeded thirty persons, and they were well-known young men, of good character, and actual settlers. Many of them are still residents of this vicinity, and are of our best citizens. Charles R. Jennison came to Mound City from Osawatomie at the early beginning of the town, in the fall of 1858. He established himself here as a physician, and, in partnership with Doctor Knapp, who was a most-accomplished physician, had a successful practice. Doctor Jennison prescribed for my father's family frequently. The family are all dead but myself. He often occupied a seat at our table, and was a hearty partaker of my good, old mother's cooking. Jennison is dead. He lived in town, and was a part and a leader of everything. It made no difference what the moment demanded, whether it was a donation to the preacher, or a collection to pay the fiddler for a dance, or for the relief of some needy person, he made all the boys

contribute. When danger threatened the border, Jennison acted with the greatest celerity. There was no talk about it. He called the boys of this vicinity about him, and they did the necessary thing and came back. Jennison's men, in every foray into or near Missouri prior to the breaking out of the war, were citizens here—well-known persons. It was at a time when men had to know one another. Strangers had to give an account of themselves. Those were "strenuous" times. There was no Quantrill here, nor is there any one here who had heard of this man Quantrill until after he had established himself in Missouri.

"Montgomery's men," about whom so much has been said, were actual settlers in the pioneer days of Linn and Bourbon counties. It is true that now and then some reckless dare-devil of a young fellow would join Montgomery, but so soon as his real character was discovered he was notified that neither his services nor presence were desirable in that camp, and such persons improved the immediate opportunity to go hence.

James Montgomery, in taking up arms, did so for the single and sole purpose of protecting actual, *bona fide* settlers in this part of Kansas territory, and when invasions had been repelled and peace and quiet prevailed he was among the first to return to his humble cabin home, some four miles west of town, and at once began developing his "claim."

When war between the states was declared, Captain Montgomery laid down his Sharp's rifle and Colt's revolvers, and positively refused to take any part in repelling the raids made upon Kansas by the border-ruffian element in Missouri, and refused to countenance any act that had even a tendency to disturb the peace between Kansas and Missouri, and, as his reason therefor, declared: "The election of President Lincoln gives to the free-state people in Kansas the first administration of national affairs in sympathy with our efforts to make Kansas a free state, and I am opposed to doing anything that will embarrass this administration in its efforts for the protection of the loyal people." And he never varied from this attitude but once, and that was in June, 1861, when some 300 of us went to Missouri and aided in getting away the families of loyal men who had been driven from their homes there. But that is another story that need not be told here.

This invasion of Missouri was at last ordered by Montgomery at and after repeated appeals made to him by men on bended knee for help to get their wives and children away from the dangers that had compelled them to flee their homes for no offense or crime save loyalty to the Union. Early in 1861, in the counties in Missouri adjoining Kansas, the work of driving out every element of loyalty to the Union, known or suspected of existing there, began. Naturally this element, as a last resort, found their way to free Kansas. These loyal men in Missouri, at that desperately perilous day, did not suddenly flee from their homes, leaving families and property defenseless and unprotected. On the contrary, while they were few in number, and without organization, when assailed in their homes by gangs of marauders, who came to rob under the guise of devotion to the cause of secession, they took to the friendly shelter of the "bresh," and sought and readily found a bloody compensation for indescribable crimes committed upon persons and property near and dear to them. And only as a last resort did these loyal Missourians fight their way to the free soil of loyal Kansas and consequent protection. The retribution often visited upon the tyrannous secession element was frequently desperate and bloody, and Montgomery's men got the credit.

This man, James Montgomery, has been a much-maligned and misunderstood man. He was during all the years of his residence in Kansas, from 1855 to the time of his death, in December, 1873, a resident of Linn county, and no man ever

lived here or elsewhere who more desired peace than he. He was a very religious man. In fact, he was a religious bigot as well as a moral zealot. There was no boisterous profanity nor vulgar story-telling done in his presence.

There is no person, living or dead, who can truthfully say that he was ever personally injured in his presence or while he was in command. From my long and intimate acquaintance with him, from early in 1857 to the time of his death, I do not believe that he ever saw a drop of human blood shed for which he was directly responsible. And yet the *Kansas City Journal* would have the stranger to our early history believe that this man was the responsible cause of the infamous acts of this band of unrepentant land-pirates whose remnants recently met at an ancient rendezvous in Jackson county, Missouri, and where they boasted of their cowardly murders in days gone by. I wish that their next annual meet would be at Lawrence. They would be made welcome there. Possibly it would be the last occasion of the kind on earth, and the devil might then shut the gates of his kingdom, which welcome event is not likely to occur until the last of this delectable gang gets there. Some of these men who boast of being members of "Quantrill's men" may be good citizens, and are so considered where they live, but the fewer reunions they have for the purpose of giving publicity to their former infamy, the more conducive it will be for their future respectability, even in "poor old Missouri."

During the summer and fall of 1861, Captain Montgomery, of jayhawker fame, organized the Third Kansas infantry, and was commissioned its colonel. This command spent the winter of 1861-'62 in Camp Defiance, on Mine creek, in the near vicinity of the ground made historic in Kansas, over which the battle of Mine creek was fought in 1864. During the summer of 1862 this command was disorganized, and parts of it went to make up the Fifth Kansas cavalry, Tenth Kansas infantry, and Bickerton's battery. Colonel Montgomery, being relieved of his command, was soon after sent south along the Atlantic coast in command of colored troops in South Carolina and Florida, and had no connection whatever with the efforts of regular United States troops in destroying the bushwhackers, whose rendezvous was in any old place in Missouri least accessible to an organized military force, and from which they would emerge from time to time when there was the least danger of molestation and commit crimes that would shame the most savage Indian of the wildest tribe on the Western plains.

James Montgomery was a native of Ohio; Quantrill also.

Montgomery began his career as a country school-teacher; Quantrill began his in Kansas in a like avocation.

Montgomery early saw the "irrepressible conflict," and choose the unstained soil of Kansas as his battle-ground.

Quantrill, at the first opportunity, forsook the faith of ancestry and fled to the black flag of secession in Missouri, on a confessed robbing expedition.

Montgomery sought the association of high minded, educated and moral element in the sparse settlement of an early day here. Quantrill, equally free to choose, mated with the desperado, and became the leader of the most infamous collection of cutthroats, murderers and land-pirates that history gives account of.

Montgomery answered the call of patriotism, and honorably served his country in the hour of its greatest peril. He was a credit to the uniform he wore.

Quantrill was a disgrace to every method of civilized warfare. He refused the right of being recognized as a soldier in the cause he appeared to espouse, and of his own option became an outlaw, dreaded by the one side of the fratricidal strife as much as he was detested by the honorable element on the other.

Montgomery took up arms before the war was general in defense of his home and for the protection of the few against the many, of the right against the wrong.

Quantrill had no home, and wanted none. He wanted no restraint, and refused to acknowledge any authority except that vested in himself and expressed in violence. He was an unintentional anarchist, and took up arms in rebellion against all forms of government and right to property.

Montgomery returned to his home at the close of the war, with an honorable discharge from the service of a preserved government, a saved nation, in behalf of which he had tendered the best years of his life.

Quantrill had no love of country, and followed no flag but the black flag of the piratical crew that he commanded; with him the war was on for all time. For him there was no honorable service for God or man.

Montgomery fought for freedom and fought his battles in the open. His adversary he dispersed or captured. His prisoner ever and without exception received kindest consideration while in his keeping, and in no instance was one harmed while in his keeping.

Quantrill never fought a fair fight. He crept upon his victim when unwary and defenseless, and made no prisoners, or, if so, they were soon food for vultures and worms.

Montgomery died in his bed at home, and his bones lie in ground made sacred by the ashes of his comrades, who gave up their lives that other men might be free, and over all proudly floats the flag of a proud nation. His grave is annually decorated with garlands of spring's freshest offerings. His deeds live in kindest remembrance by the lovers of liberty everywhere.

While misguided Quantrill died with his boots on, a dreaded and detested outlaw, whose grave is no one knows where or cares where it may be, except these few, the remnants of a once famous band of murderers and border outlaws.

Montgomery and Quantrill are both dead. It is doubtless fortunate for both that there is One to judge them and their deeds whose judgments are without the faults of human nature.

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W. C. QUANTRILL IN 1858.

Written for the Kansas State Historical Society by HENRY S. CLARKE,* of Lawrence.

I first saw Quantrill in June, 1858. He was then about twenty-one years old, and, as I remember him, was about five feet ten inches tall, rather slight of stature, weighing, perhaps, 150 pounds, walked with an easy, slouchy gait, head bent a little forward, eyes cast downward, hair of a yellowish-brown color, cut straight around the neck about even with the lower part of the ear, the end of the hair turned under toward the neck. He wore a drab corduroy suit, with pants tucked into the tops of his high-heeled boots; also a drab slouch hat.

* HENRY S. CLARKE was born in Whitby, Ontario, Canada, April 30, 1833. When about ten years old, removed to Jefferson county, New York. He was educated in a country schoolhouse, and two terms at the local academy at Belleville, N. Y. He served an apprenticeship at the carpenter's trade there, taught country school two or three terms, and in March, 1857, started for Kansas, arriving in Lawrence April 10, 1857. He worked at his trade until 1862, when he bought into the furniture business, and was engaged in that business when Quantrill burned the town. In three months after the town was burned he resumed the furniture business, and remained in it until 1870. He served in city council of Lawrence, and on the board of education, and was president of each of those bodies. In 1874 and 1875 was city assessor of Lawrence. In the fall of 1875, and again in the fall of 1877, he was elected sheriff of Douglas county, as an independent candidate, and also again in the fall of 1889. In 1894, when Governor Robinson resigned as regent of the Kansas State University, at his request, Mr. Clarke was appointed to fill the vacancy, and was again appointed by Governor Leedy, in 1897, for a full term, ending in February, 1901. At present he is engaged in the real-estate business at Lawrence.

My first real acquaintance with him was on the 4th day of July, 1858. The people of Lawrence held a celebration on that day across the Kansas river on the Delaware reserve. John C. Vaughan, then living at Leavenworth, came over and made the address of the day. While the judge was speaking, there was an outcry a little distance off in the brush, and several of us ran out to see the cause. There we found a white man lying on the ground in an unconscious condition, with his head badly cut and hacked up by an Indian tomahawk, apparently. Quantrill was one of the first to arrive on the spot. He said he knew the Indian who committed the assault, and went on to say that the man had enticed the Indian's wife away, and this was done for revenge. Quantrill assisted for an hour or more in caring for the man, while the doctor was giving restoratives, dressing the wounds, etc., during which time he told me that he started for Salt Lake the fall before as a teamster with a government expedition against the Mormons; that the weather turned bad and the expedition wintered at Fort Bridger; that when the grass started in the spring he started back East, as he did not like the job. He also went on to say that he was living at that time with Henry Bascom, a Delaware Indian, out about three miles from Lawrence. Later in the summer I saw him again, and he said he was living with George Sarcxie, another Delaware Indian, about five miles out from Lawrence, on the reserve. There was nothing about Quantrill's appearance or make-up at that time to distinguish him from a hundred other young men in the community. If he was even an extra shot with pistol or gun, it was not known in Lawrence; neither was he known to be recklessly courageous or daring here. One little incident that occurred in the summer of 1860, that others who are now living here witnessed besides myself, I will relate.

About half a dozen Delaware Indians came riding into Lawrence one day very much excited, and soon had a large group of people around them inquiring what was up, etc. White Turkey, a young Delaware, who talked pretty good English, and always sported an eagle's feather dangling from his hat, was telling the crowd about several of their ponies being stolen, and said they had traced them to the Kansas river near Lawrence, and that Charley Hart (as Quantrill called himself then) was one of the men seen with the ponies. Quantrill, who was in the rear of the crowd, heard the remark, and stepped forward with a big bluff, warning White Turkey that that kind of talk did not go, and made a motion toward his revolver. White Turkey whipped out his gun and had him covered in less than a second. Quantrill had his pistol out of the holster, but dared not attempt to elevate it, but backed out of the crowd with his pistol pointing toward the ground, as White Turkey slowly advanced toward him, until he (Quantrill) saw a chance to give his adversary the slip, which he was by no means too proud or reckless to do at the first opportunity.

I met Frank James about a year ago at Fort Scott, Kan., and we were talking over the Lawrence raid and other incidents of those times. James said that General Sherman truthfully said: "War is hell." He did not offer an excuse, or in any way seem inclined to justify the deeds of that terrible day. "War is hell," that is all he said in extenuation.

For a number of years I have had no personal feeling against any of these Quantrill men, and I have met several of them, and in talking over war times with them I never have met one who did not say that, while he belonged to Quantrill's band, he was not at Lawrence. Frank James told me that he was wounded at that time and could not stand the ride. He did not appear to wish to take upon himself any credit for that day's work. Not so with some of those men gathered at Blue Springs; I suppose, however, they were not unlike many

other actors of that day and time. Those who did their whole duty as they saw it forty years ago are inclined to be reticent now, and leave it for those who had urgent business in the rear or in some other locality when the battle was on to come to the front at this time with frothing mouth and extended nostrils to do the snorting on such occasions.

These fellows tell us "that just before the war Quantrill and his brother started for California with a team, and were met and robbed by Colonel Montgomery and his men, and that his brother was murdered," etc.

Let us see if this statement will hold water. All authorities agree that Quantrill was born in Canal Dover, Ohio, July 31, 1837; that he was the oldest of four children born to Thomas Hart Quantrill and Caroline Clark Quantrill; the second child was a weak-minded girl; the third was a crippled boy. These two children died at Canal Dover. The youngest and only other child was Thompson Quantrill, who resided in Canal Dover until after the close of the war, when he made a trip to Kansas and visited friends in Miami county. I think this visit was in the early '70's. Later on he was engaged in the saloon business at some small town on the Mexican border, and the authorities here were notified that Quantrill was there, and could be taken if wanted. Investigation followed that convinced the authorities that it was not our Quantrill, and the matter was dropped. Mr. Gregg would strengthen his case very much by telling us who this brother was that was murdered, as the good people of Canal Dover say there was no other.

Mrs. Caroline Quantrill visited the outlaw's old haunts in Missouri a few years ago, and, I understand, denied the story that she had a son murdered in Kansas. I have met some of the survivors since she was here, and they uniformly say that they have doubts about the old lady being W. C. Quantrill's mother, "as their stories do n't jibe." The old lady, however, returned to Canal Dover after her visit, and soon after accepted an offer of a home in the Confederate Veterans' Home, at Lexington, Ky., from which place I received a letter from her, telling how good the people there were to her on account of her son giving his life for the Southern cause.

They also tell us Quantrill was sent by Montgomery to loot Morgan Walker's house, in December, 1861 (it should have read 1860). Let us look into this statement. During the summer of 1860 Quantrill spent most of his time in and about Lawrence. At that time it was given out that a reward of \$1000 would be paid by citizens of the border counties of Missouri for the body of Capt. John E. Stewart, who lived on the farm now owned by Douglas county, and known as the "poor-farm." Stewart made occasional trips to Missouri, and usually returned with a team and a slave or two, and was badly wanted by the citizens of the border. Stewart stated, after the Morgan Walker affair, repeatedly, that Quantrill had been at him for months to lead a party to do the job, saying that there were several fine mule teams and a slave family on the premises and \$4000 in gold in the house; that it was an easy and safe thing. Stewart added, with much satisfaction apparently, that when he (Stewart) went to Missouri, he made his own plans, bossed the job himself, and trusted no one.

I left Lawrence in November, 1860, to build houses on a government contract for the Sac and Fox Indians on the Marais des Cygnes, near where Quenemo is now situated. After I had been there a few weeks I was aroused one night by some one calling my name aloud. On going out I found the caller to be William Partridge, of Lawrence, whom I knew to be a reliable abolitionist. He wanted to know if he could stop with me for a few days. I told him he could. After the team was cared for, I inquired how long since he had left Lawrence, etc. He

replied he had been out some days, and volunteered the statement, "I would hear something drop soon," and went on to say that Quantrill and John Dean hired him with his team to take them, Charles Ball, and a man that worked for Dean, and another man or two I did not know, out on the plains for a buffalo hunt, and that after traveling west a couple of days they turned south, and later on east, and finally turned up in southern Kansas, where there were known to live some "reliable parties." At this place there was a conference of two or three days, and one or two of the original parties dropped out and their places filled by others from that community; and he added: "I delivered my load to where they said they wanted to stop, and I pulled out. I guess they will find transportation home all right." I heard nothing further from the expedition for probably ten days, when the word came, "All killed but Dean, and he wounded and missing." Dean, however, turned up after a few days with a bullet in his foot, and was lodged in the Douglas county jail on some trivial charge made by his friends, who evidently considered a Kansas jail preferable to one in Missouri. Soon after this the war commenced, and we held no further communication with Missouri, and Dean was released.

What happened after the parties were left over the line by the teamster I got mostly from M. J. Burlingame, whose home was at Lawrence. Mr. Burlingame was not only a truthful man, but conservative and reliable in every particular, as many persons living here at the present time will testify. His statements were also corroborated by many people who moved from the border to this community soon after on account of the war and troublous times there. Mr. Burlingame was a farmer at that time, but the year 1860 was "the dry year" in Kansas, as all old-timers remember. Having raised no crops, Mr. Burlingame went to Missouri in the fall and hired himself to teach school in the district next to the one in which Walker lived, and was teaching there at the time of the raid upon his (Walker's) house, and for some weeks after; consequently he had the best of opportunities to get the facts.

The five men and Quantrill were left in the woods, about two or three miles from Walker's residence, where they camped, and some of them stayed over night and the next day. Quantrill and Charlie Ball went out to reconnoiter, and they slept that night at the Jackson county farm. The next evening they returned to camp and told those that remained there that everything was quiet, and no suspicion anywhere. That evening they all started for Walker's on foot, Quantrill in command. After arriving at Walker's they went through the dooryard onto the porch, and some of them got into the house, when a light flashed on the scene and the house and yard were full of armed men. Quantrill turned and fired on his comrades, and in an instant the shooting became general. Charlie Ball and one or two others were killed on the spot. Dean and those not instantly killed escaped to the brush in the darkness, where one at least was found the next day by parties scouring the country, and killed.*

* "Memoirs of a Missourian," by John W. Henry, in the *Kansas City Star*, September 22, 1901, says: "In 1860 Quantrill came to Morgan Walker, a farmer, near Blue Springs, and informed him of a plot of four Kansas desperadoes to run off his negroes, giving the precise date at which they would make their raid. They came at the time designated and were killed. After the attempt to run off Walker's negroes, Walker came to Independence with Quantrill, then known as William Clark, and a self-constituted committee met them in the court-house, and I was requested to reduce to writing Quantrill's statement, which I did, and kept it for several years, but do not recollect what became of it. . . . When under examination as above mentioned, I have forgotten whether he gave his true name or not, but am inclined to think that he did not, because I wrote to the clerk of the court, at Hagerstown, for information in regard to him, and he wrote that he never knew such a man. Yet I have no doubt that he came from Hagerstown or that vicinity." [Quantrill's parents came from Hagerstown, Md.] —

Quantrill was a hero for a short time. Of the \$1000 pledged for the capture of Stewart, \$300 was paid in, and the best saddle-horse in the country was purchased with the money and presented to Quantrill. He had not got Stewart, but he had done the next best thing, all agreed.

A short time after this affair, Quantrill, it is said, taught school near by a few weeks, but the second thought and cooler judgment of the community soon began to wonder how such treachery, betrayal and murder of his once associates could be justified. And then, for the first time, comes the story of his murdered brother. He soon, however, left for other parts.

The next we hear of Quantrill was some months after the Walker raid, when he turns up in Jackson county again, in the capacity of a detective. Many farmers had been losing their stock during his absence, and of course it was laid to the Yankees in Kansas, and Quantrill contracted to hunt the stock for the owners at so much per head or no pay. Much stock was recovered, but the farmers began to question as to where the stock was found, and how it came that it was found so readily, and Quantrill was indicted, or about to be, for the larceny of the stock. He became indignant, and said he had no use for a community that would indict a man for recovering their stolen stock, and he again disappeared until the spring of 1862, when he returned from Richmond, Va., with a captain's commission, with authority to raise a company of calvary for the Confederate service, and he proceeded to organize his band. From that time forth his life and acts are a part of the history of the border.

The assertion, so often repeated by the apologists of Quantrill, and in palliation of his career of robbery and murder, that he was at one time an associate of John Brown, James Montgomery, and C. R. Jennison, should be forever silenced by men now living that know its utter falsity. Quantrill came to Kansas in the spring of 1857, and took a claim in Miami county, Kansas. In August or September, 1857, he hired as a teamster on a government train to go to Salt Lake, Utah. (This was probably the Utah expedition of Albert Sidney Johnston against the Mormons.) He wintered with the expedition at Fort Bridger, Wyoming, and he returned to Kansas in June, 1858, spending about four months in the vicinity of Lawrence after his return. These are facts his friends all admit who pretend to know anything of his life. Certainly up to the time of leaving here he had not been associated with Brown, Montgomery, and Jennison, and it was during this period (August, 1857, to October, 1858) that most of the occurrences in southern Kansas transpired which brought Colonel Montgomery and "Doc." Jennison into notoriety. During that period I boarded at the Whitney House, in Lawrence. James Redpath, Richard Realf, Richard J. Hinton, John H. Kagi and C. P. Tidd made the Whitney House their headquarters, and spent much of their time there. These last-named gentlemen were well known as active friends of Brown and Montgomery, and were afterwards (all of them, I think) identified with Brown in his scheme to liberate the slaves of the South, which finally culminated in the disaster at Harper's Ferry, where some of them gave up their lives with the "old man" on that occasion.

Although, as I said before, Quantrill was in this vicinity, he was never known to be associated or in any way taken into the confidence of any of Brown's and Montgomery's friends. Montgomery and Brown, each of them, visited Lawrence while Quantrill was here, and I am sure Quantrill knew not of their coming or going. "Doc." Jennison was not known in Lawrence until the summer of 1860, and, in fact, not very well known until after the breaking out of the civil war. I think his home was near Mound City, Kan., and some one from that

locality ought certainly be able to give proof as to the untruthfulness of his association with Quantrill.

No, gentlemen "survivors of Quantrill's band," the nearest Quantrill ever came to associating with Brown, Montgomery and Jennison was when he duped poor John Dean and Charles Ball to go on the expedition to rob Walker's house, and betrayed them, and treacherously shot his comrades down with his own hand. If you wish to have your statement receive any credit or consideration, you should at least name *one* reliable witness who would name the time and place that Quantrill was ever seen with either of these parties, and that you have never done, so far as I have seen or heard.

* * * * *

AN OUTLAW WHEN HE TOOK TO THE BUSH.

Written by SAMUEL A. RIGGS,* of Lawrence, and published in the *Kansas City Journal*, October 24, 1901.

In the *Journal* of October 7, 1901, you published a communication from H. S. Clarke, a former sheriff of this (Douglas) county, in which he reviews certain statements made at a reunion of the "survivors of Quantrill's band," held at Little Blue church, on the 23d of last month. The matter of history dealt with in the reunion speeches and Mr. Clarke's letter is so important, and so vitally concerns this community, that it should not be falsified. I therefore ask space in your columns to add to Mr. Clarke's statement some matters of which I have personal knowledge.

The statement of Joe Vaughn, who claims to have been one of the eight members of Quantrill's original band, as to the circumstances and motives which led to that organization, is so absolutely false in every essential feature that it should not be permitted to pass into history unrefuted. Its evident purpose was the palliation of the infamous crimes of that band, committed in violation of every rule of civilized warfare, and which shocked the moral sense of the world even in those days of rapidly recurring events of bloodshed and crime.

Vaughn is reported by the *Times* to have said among other things: "Quantrill was a resident of Ohio. He was on his way across the plains to California, and was attacked by the Kansas jawhawkers. During the engagement his brother was killed and his property was taken from him. At the moment his brother was killed, Quantrill determined to have revenge. He pleaded for his life and induced the jayhawkers to allow him to join the band." This statement was intended to justify the organization and palliate, if not excuse, his band for its fiendish work at Lawrence and elsewhere.

Mr. Clarke's statement as to the time of Quantrill's coming to Kansas, and his career here before the breaking out of the war between the North and South, can be corroborated by the testimony of many persons now living.

The wife of Benjamin F. Simpson, of Paola, who came to Kansas in the same

*SAMUEL A. RIGGS was born at Hanging Rock, Lawrence county, Ohio, March 1, 1835. He was graduated in 1856 from Jefferson College, Canonsburgh, Pa. He read law in Pittsburgh, Pa., graduated from the Cincinnati Law School, and was admitted to the bar in Hamilton county, Ohio, in 1858. In April, 1859, he came to Kansas and settled in Lawrence. In 1859 he was elected county attorney for Douglas county. This office was changed to district attorney, representing several counties, and to this he was reelected in 1862, and again in 1864. He resigned in 1865. In 1866 he was elected to the state senate, which position he resigned in 1867 to accept the appointment of United States district attorney for Kansas. He was one of a commission to codify the laws in 1868. He was a delegate in the Cincinnati convention, in 1872, which nominated Horace Greeley for president. In 1878 he was elected a member of the house of representatives. He served as judge of the district court for the counties of Anderson, Douglas and Franklin from 1896 to 1900. He continues to reside in Lawrence.

party with Quantrill, has given me a statement of facts within her knowledge. She was a sister of Mrs. Colonel Torrey, was a schoolmate of Quantrill in the academy at Canal Dover, Ohio, and acquainted with his family. She says: "Quantrill came to Miami county, Kansas, in April, 1857, with Col. H. Torrey and his family and H. V. Beeson, from Canal Dover. He was then about twenty years of age. No brother came with him. He taught school one term in Stanton township, in Miami county. He had two brothers, both younger than he. One died of consumption at Canal Dover, and the other came to Miami county, Kansas, in 1869 or 1870, and stayed for a few weeks at the home of Mrs. Colonel Torrey, who was then the wife of Judge W. R. Wagstaff, of Paola. This brother was about twenty-one years of age at the time of this visit at Judge Wagstaff's." After he left there Mrs. Simpson lost trace of him. This is a full corroboration of Mr. Clarke's statements, and proof positive that the story of the killing of a brother by Kansas jayhawkers was a pure fabrication.

During the years 1860 and 1861 I was county attorney of Douglas county. During the year 1860 Quantrill was living and operating in the vicinity of Lawrence under the name of Charley Hart. By that name I prosecuted him in this county, during the summer and fall of 1860, for burglary and larceny, in breaking open and stealing from a powder-house of Ridenour & Baker; for arson, in setting fire to a barn in Kanwaka township, this county, and for kidnapping. These charges were all pending against him when he disappeared from this county, to turn up here again on the fateful 21st of August, 1863. He was an outlaw when he took to the bush.

Vaughn, in his speech, said: "He pleaded for his life and induced the jayhawkers to allow him to join the band. The party rode across the Missouri line and invaded this county. The plunderers, accompanied by Quantrill, decided to attack the Walker farmhouse, just two miles from this picnic ground, for the purpose of freeing the negroes there. While the plans were being made, Quantrill notified the neighbors. When the attack was made Quantrill got his revenge. He turned on the Kansans, and with the assistance of Walker and several neighbors, killed the men who wanted to free negroes. From that day Quantrill was the leader of the Quantrill guerrillas." This is Vaughn's version of the affair detailed by Sheriff Clarke—the treacherous betrayal of John Dean and others, with whom he confederated for the purpose of freeing slaves. This circumstance, known to every resident of Lawrence at that time, occurred in the late fall of 1860, and had no connection whatever with the organization of the guerrilla band that operated in Missouri and Kansas during the early years of the war, except as his outlawry in Kansas invited or compelled such an organization for his protection against the officers of the law.

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QUANTRILL A SUSPICIOUS LOAFER.

Written by HOLLAND WHEELER, of Lawrence, for the Kansas State Historical Society.

I came to Kansas in 1858. Have resided at Lawrence most of the time since; in the spring of 1860 was at the old Whitney House, kept by Nathan Stone. One day, perhaps in June, there came a lone footman across the ferry. He was dressed with corduroy pants tucked into his boots, woolen shirt, slouch hat, and carried an oilcloth grip. He was about five feet nine inches in height, bow-legged, weight about 150 or 160 pounds, sandy hair, rather hooked nose, and had a peculiar droop to his eyelids. He walked into the hotel office, deposited the grip, and registered as Charles Hart. He left the next morning, leaving the grip for his bill. Some days after he returned. Mr. Stone, calling me to the desk,

opened the day-book and showed me on the back page the name Wm. C. Quantrill, remarking, "That is Hart's real name. He is a detective for the Delaware Indians." Quantrill was at the hotel at times from this on up to quite late in the fall. He usually had the same room with myself. During the very warm nights we frequently slept on the roof of the veranda. (Often I borrowed a pistol to put under my pillow. Why? Well, I do n't know myself.)

Quantrill told me of his trip to New Mexico a short time before. He called Paola his home. His most usual companions were the Miller brothers and one Baldwin. He also was about Dean's shop. Had a lady friend who was in town at times. Saw him riding with her in a carriage several times. He told me about her; all of which I forget. Quantrill and myself frequently went down on the river bank to practice pistol shooting. He was always very friendly with me. At the time Allen Pinks (colored) was shot (as was supposed by Dean), Quantrill and I were together at the hotel. I started up town to see what was up. He went to his room for his pistol and joined me on the way. It was evident to me that he had an interest in the affair. He pushed his way through the crowd at the drug-store and asked if he was dead. Pinks lived to be shot by a mob of blacks at Leavenworth. At one time an Indian woman came into the hotel and told Quantrill she wanted seven dollars or her saddle. He got the saddle for her. "Now," she says, "where are my ponies?" He said: "I do n't know anything about your ponies." "Well," she says, "they will be back by to-morrow, or you will have trouble."

Quantrill was wanted by Sam. Walker, sheriff, at one time, in reference to breaking into a powder-house. He went into retirement for several days, after which he was not often in Lawrence. I think it was in the spring of 1861, Horace Stone told his father that he met Quantrill that day on Mount Oread, west of town. At this time he would not have dared to be seen in town. In the fall of 1860, Nathan Stone was buying hogs in Johnson and Miami counties. I heard Quantrill ask him if he remembered a man passing him at a certain place after dark. It had come into my mind before this that Quantrill would not hesitate to hold the old gentleman up. Quantrill never had money that he showed. I was always suspicious of him; instinctively, I suppose. His associates were bad; but, bad as they were, I believe he was worst of all.

I never heard of his having done a day's work at anything. I was employed by the city of Paola, probably in 1885, to do some work there. I made the acquaintance of Mr. Beeson. He told me that he was a neighbor of Quantrill when W. C. was born; knew him until grown. He told me Quantrill came to Kansas in company with himself and Colonel Torrey. The father, he said, was a good man, school-teacher, and made every effort to educate Wm. C. and make a good citizen of him, but the son was indolent, mean, and cruel; would not work; when hoeing corn, would cut under the corn and bury the weeds; would shoot squirrels and other animals, and torture them. There was a sister (Mary, I think); she was a cripple from birth. I do not recollect as to whether Mr. Beeson told me if she came to Kansas or not. There was a brother, Tom, who came to Kansas after the war. Mr. Beeson remarked when he left there was a horse missing. These two were the only brothers or sister. Mr. Beeson told many other things about Quantrill. I do n't know whether from him or elsewhere I learned that Quantrill was teaching school at or near Paola, and by some misfortune was locked in the calaboose, and that some of his friends (some really good people), thinking him wronged, let him out, and it was at this time he came to Lawrence and assumed the name of Hart.

Quantrill once showed a book written by — Quantrill (I do n't recollect the

initials). He was very proud of it, and said it was by his uncle. It was an application of descriptive geometry to making patterns for tinnerns, stovepipe elbows, etc. Probably by his father, as he then passed as Hart.

Quantrill never made any proposition to me to join him in his undertakings. I am confident he knew I rated him as a crook. I also feel confident that he was in no way connected with leaders in Kansas or Missouri prior to the fall of 1860. Brown, Lane, Montgomery, Jennison, I doubt if he ever knew. Preacher Captain Stewart would hardly have taken up with such a man. Dean did, to his sorrow. Quantrill was not a man to inspire confidence in his fidelity. However, he got men to follow his lead. He left Paola and Lawrence under a cloud, and only went with the Missourians because he had sold out his friends in Kansas. Principle or justice of the cause had no weight with him. As to ability for anything, I never discovered it in him. He was somewhat of a horseman, and only a fair shot.

He got safely out of Kansas after the raid on Lawrence just because some one else was not the leader for the occasion. I have a copy of the names of those killed at Lawrence August 21, 1863. Many of them were my dear friends. Will furnish a copy if you wish.*

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ALWAYS UNDER AN *ALIAS*, AND WITHOUT VISIBLE MEANS OF SUPPORT.

Written by SIDNEY S. HERD,† of Lawrence, for the Kansas State Historical Society.

During the summer of 1858, and for a year or two thereafter, I was much of the time employed with the Baldwin boys operating the old rope ferry across the Kansas river at this point, connecting Lawrence with the Delaware Indian reserve.

It was here at the ferry where I first met W. C. Quantrill, then under the assumed name of Charles Hart. Hart claimed then to be stopping with a son of

* HOLLAND WHEELER was born at Saxton's River, Vt., in 1837. Studied civil engineering at Norwich University, Vermont, and came to Kansas in 1857, and has resided at Lawrence most of the time since. He was for many years county surveyor of Douglas county, and is now city engineer of Lawrence. Also was engineer on the location and construction of the Solomon, Junction City, Fort Kearney and other branches of the Union Pacific railway, Kansas division; locating engineer for the Missouri Pacific railway in Nebraska; chief engineer of the Sedalia, Warsaw & Southern, and many other lines of railroad. Served as captain of company A, Third regiment, Kansas state militia, during the Price raid. He is a thoroughly competent and reliable gentleman in every respect.

† SIDNEY S. HERD came to Kansas from Pennsylvania in 1855 with his parents, three brothers, and a sister. They settled on government land about seven miles west of Lawrence, on the Topeka road. Sid., as he was familiarly called, was then about seventeen years old, and continued to make his home with his parents until the commencement of the civil war. The Herd boys favored making Kansas a "free white state," and had but little sympathy with the abolition element in its attempts to entice slaves from their masters and to spirit them away to the North after they had made their own way into Kansas. They reasoned that the laws of our country acknowledged them as property, and while they did not want them, either as free men or slaves, their owners in Missouri were entitled to them under the constitution and laws as much as they were to any other kind of property. In fact, it was freely asserted that Mr. Herd, on some occasions, extended aid as well as sympathy to persons looking after property of that kind that was "strayed or stolen," and he has never taken pains to deny these stories. But when Abraham Lincoln was elected president, after the delivery of his conservative inaugural address, Mr. Herd at once became a strong partizan of the Union cause, and at the outbreak of hostilities enlisted for three years in the First Kansas battery, serving the full term of enlistment, and re-enlisting and serving with the battery until the last rebel had surrendered. He then returned to Kansas, bought a piece of unimproved land adjoining Bismarck grove on the east, and by his industry and prudence has made it one of the best farms in Douglas county. He is now the senior partner of the firm of Herd & Morrison, wholesale produce and feed. Mr. Herd was a gallant soldier, is a successful farmer and business man, and commands the respect and confidence of the entire community.

Sarcoxie, a Delaware chief, a few miles out on the reserve, and he frequently crossed the river with us going to and from Lawrence. At first Quantrill appeared to be rather reticent, but after a time, crossing frequently as he did, he appeared to become more sociable, and often stopped and chatted with the boys, and after a time became more chummy, often spending a half hour or longer with us when we were not busy, practicing jumping with the boys, running short foot-races, etc. He did not strike me as having any braggadocio or desire to make any display in any way. If he had any money, to amount to anything, no one knew it but himself. He did not appear to have any business or means of support, so far as I knew. I don't think he had any very positive convictions on questions that were agitating the territory at that time; if he did, he certainly kept them to himself. One thing certain, he was always willing to go into anything that turned up that had a dollar in it for Charley Hart.

During my acquaintance with Quantrill, he did not appear to be permanently located in any place, and would frequently leave without any warning to any of us, and be gone for days, and sometimes weeks, and then turned up again as unexpectedly as he had departed.

In the summer of 1860 he suddenly disappeared, and after an absence of some time he as suddenly returned with a running horse, named "White Stocking," which he claimed he had bought in the neighborhood of Paola, Kan. On this occasion he insisted that Frank Baldwin and myself should accompany him to Jackson County, Missouri, and assist him in making some races, more particularly with the "Mulkey colt," that had quite a reputation as a runner. Baldwin and I went on that trip, and were gone about three weeks with him. Seeing no chance for further sport in that community, Baldwin and I decided to come back to Lawrence, and Quantrill said he was going to start south, down, perhaps, as far as Fort Scott, Kan., with his horse. We left him at McGee's and returned to Lawrence.

Up to this time, and, in fact, at no time, did he ever claim to me any acquaintance with Brown, Montgomery, or Jennison, or any one else connected with the antislavery party, and I am very positive, if he had known any of them, that in our numerous conversations, that continued at intervals for nearly two years, he would have mentioned the fact at some time to me. Quantrill certainly knew no more of those men than I did, at that time, and I knew none of them until after the commencement of the civil war, except as I saw their names in the papers or heard some one speak of them.

At the time we made this trip to Jackson county, Missouri, with Quantrill, there was much excitement among the people over the depredations committed by some of the "abolition leaders," and a very bitter feeling existed toward Capt. John E. Stewart and others, and I have always had my suspicions that it was during this trip, and after he left us with his racing-horse, that he conceived the idea and perhaps laid his plans to deliver Captain Stewart over to the authorities of Jackson county, which finally resulted in the episode at Walker's house, later in the season.

The next, and in fact the last, time I saw Quantrill was in the spring of 1861. I received word from some of the boys to be out at John Stropp's on a certain evening. (Stropp lived about a mile and a half east of town, in a double log-house, surrounded by timber and brush.) At the appointed time I went there, and found Quantrill (who did not dare to be seen in Lawrence at that time), Stropp, Jay Vince, Jack Elliott (a brother-in-law of Frank Baldwin), and Frank Baldwin. Quantrill said he wanted to raise some men to go down on the border, a little way over the line in Missouri, and make a trip down through that

country, and get some stock. He said there was fine stock in that section, and he knew the country well. The other boys that were present all agreed to go, and they got another man or two to go with them, but I do not now remember what their names were. They made the trip, being gone, to the best of my recollection, about ten days, when they all returned to Lawrence with the exception of Quantrill. The boys said they had a good time, and got lots of stock, and were getting out nicely till they got near the Kansas line, when they were partially surrounded and attacked by about thirty of the Missourians, and had a brisk fight, but managed to escape that night and get into Kansas with most of their plunder. Much of the stock they traded off to the farmers in that vicinity and along the road from there to Lawrence. This was undoubtedly the stock that Quantrill afterwards engaged to locate or return to its proper owners for so much per head.

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AN ATROCIOUS FICTION.

Written by J. H. STEARNS, of Mound City, for the Kansas State Historical Society.

The story related in the Kansas City *Journal* some time ago, if I am not mistaken, as coming from one of the speakers at the last reunion of the survivors of the Quantrill bandits, to the effect that he (Quantrill) was at one time a trusted lieutenant of Montgomery, is, to say it mildly, simply fiction, or, more truthfully, an outrageous and atrocious lie. I came to Kansas in April, 1857, settled in Linn county, near the home of Montgomery, and was intimately acquainted and often associated with him and his so-called "jayhawkers," who were mostly his neighbors, in the border warfare in this and the adjoining counties. I am very sure that if Quantrill was ever in this county and in any way connected with Montgomery and his men in those days I would have known it, but as it is I never heard of him, nor can I find any of the "old boys" who had till after the commencement of the civil war. Neither have I any knowledge of any of our number having been led by Quantrill on any expedition from which they never returned. In fact, I cannot now recall a single fatality that happened to any of us in those days. Montgomery's operations and those of his companions were confined to Linn and Bourbon counties, with the exception of perhaps one or two expeditions into the southern part of Lykins (now Miami) county. Consequently the tale that is told of Quantrill having been plundered and his brother killed while on their way to Pike's Peak by Montgomery or his men is a mere fabrication.

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WITH MONTGOMERY, AND NEVER HEARD OF QUANTRILL.

Written by J. H. TREGO, of Mound City, for the Kansas State Historical Society.

I am requested by Col. Ed R. Smith, of this place, to furnish a statement of my acquaintance with Capt. James Montgomery, late of Linn county, who figured as a chieftain of the jayhawkers during the border wars of Kansas, and also of a man known as "Quantrill," who became notorious in eastern Kansas and western Missouri during the civil war.

As to myself, I was born in Pineville, Bucks county, Pennsylvania, in May, 1823, of Quaker parentage; came to Kansas in May, 1857, in company with three other Bucks county Quakers and abolitionists. We all came here to help make a free state.

Three of us made Mound City our home, where we often met with Captain Montgomery, and after becoming well acquainted with him and his methods, we joined the jayhawker band. The band was sometimes called upon to render as-

sistance to free-state settlers, whenever a proslavery party, whose headquarters were at Fort Scott, would drive or attempt to drive out free-state men from their claims; and to attend trials held by said proslavery party regarding the rights of individual claimants to lands, and to see that such trials were conducted with reasonable fairness.

Montgomery and his companions believed that the right way to make Kansas a free state was by outnumbering the proslavery element, and violence was resorted to only when made necessary by the unlawful and wholly unwarrantable interference of the proslavery party with the rights of free-state men in the matter of claims.

The man Quantrill I never saw, and I never heard of him until he began his depredations in Kansas, during the civil war.

SLAVERY IN KANSAS.

An address by C. E. CORY * before the Kansas State Historical Society, at its twenty-sixth annual meeting, January 21, 1902.

TO the first 100 men you meet on the street ask these two questions: (1) Was Kansas ever a slave territory? (2) Were there ever slaves in Kansas? Nineteen in every twenty of those accosted would answer No to each question. Still, nothing could be further from the real truth.

The Missouri compromise of 1820 was intended to exclude slavery forever from all the territory north of 36° 30'—the south line of Kansas. It was the result of the first great fight on slavery after the constitutional convention. It was abrogated by the Kansas-Nebraska bill in 1854. Both the proslavery and free-soil people were ready for the fight. The two territories organized by that bill were fair fighting ground for the two opposing forces which, later, were to cost vaults of money and rivers of blood. The radical difference between the sympathies and interests, or supposed interests, of the North and South had been growing more marked from the time of Washington. The chasm had steadily been growing wider. Politicians had tried to ignore it. Statesmen had tried to bridge it over. Futile endeavor. No great moral question was ever settled by compromise. Radicals on both sides had kept it open. Friends on opposite sides had become estranged. The two sections of the country became to each other foreign lands. In this way, at the middle of the nineteenth century, the country approached what a statesman, wiser than his time, called the "irrepressible conflict."

*CHARLES ESTABROOK CORY was born in Blenheim township, Brant county, Canada West (now Ontario), December 2, 1852. He removed to Evart, Osceola county, Michigan, where his brother was foreman of a large lumber establishment, September 13, 1871. Here he worked one end of a cross-cut saw in winter, and on the streams and rivers drove logs in summer, until September 15, 1874, when he moved to Kansas, joining a sister who lived on a farm near St. Paul, in Neosho county. He taught the district school that winter. A couple of years tried to farm, and for a short time worked with a shovel on the M. K. & T. railroad, but this was too strenuous. In the spring of 1876 he obtained a school at Moundville, Mo. In the fall of 1877 he returned to Crawford county, Kansas, four miles north of Walnut. Here he acquired the distinction of being the first country school-teacher in Kansas who prepared, formulated and had adopted by the school authorities a regular set course of instruction. He was the first principal of the schools at Pittsburg, Kan., in the year 1879-'80. The next two years he was principal at Mouth. In 1882-'83 he was principal at Cherokee. Here he quit in 1883 and entered the law office of Eugene F. Ware, at Fort Scott. He was admitted to the bar May 27, 1885. He was a member of the board of education in Fort Scott for the years 1885 to 1887. He was elected county attorney of Bourbon county in 1895, and served two years. In 1898 he was appointed referee in bankruptcy by Judge C. G. Foster, and reappointed by Judge William C. Hook in 1900.

The people of the two sections, then so far apart, now so happily reunited, rushed to the new lands. Each party was insistent upon enforcing its own ideas in the new-formed territory. The national government was fully committed to the extension of slavery. The two presidents of that period, Franklin Pierce and James Buchanan, were quick to forward any movement in that direction. The whole machinery of the army, so potent on the frontier, had been kept organized for years with an eye to its interest. It was the test upon which all appointments and elections were determined—its friends in full power. In this condition of the public mind the work of organizing the territory of Kansas was done. All the officers appointed were radical on the great question. By the use of methods not to be discussed now the first territorial legislature was made unanimously proslavery. Moderation was not thought of. The army, the courts, the peace officers, thought of slavery and nothing else. They were all zealots. Thus entrenched, thus armed, thus enthusiastic, it was natural that the laws enacted should breathe the spirit of the times.

With these surroundings the first legislature met. Thus it came to pass, strange as it may seem now, that Kansas was furnished with a slave code which, in its brutal and shameless disregard of the individual rights of whites and blacks, was never surpassed on the continent. Chapter 151 of the Statutes of 1855 was entitled "An act for the protection of slave property." After many provisions forbidding and punishing offenses against such property, section 12 read as follows:

"SEC. 12. If any free person, by speaking or writing, shall assert or maintain that persons have not the right to hold slaves in this territory, or shall introduce into the territory, print, publish, write, circulate or cause to be introduced into this territory, written, printed, published or circulated in this territory, any book, paper, magazine, pamphlet or circular containing any denial of the right of persons to hold slaves in this territory, such persons shall be deemed guilty of felony, and punished by imprisonment at hard labor for a term of not less than two years."

The infamy of this clause will fully appear when you observe that by its terms a man could be sent to the penitentiary for the offense of crossing the territorial line with a copy of the New York *Tribune* in his pocket. Section 13 was as bad as the former one:

"SEC. 13. No person who is conscientiously opposed to holding slaves, or who does not admit the right to hold slaves in this territory, shall sit as a juror on the trial of any prosecution for any violation of any of the sections of this act."

A finer encomium could not be paid to the bravery and nerve of any set of men than to mention the fact that the free-state men, in the face of this savage law and the arrogant power of their enemies, did not hesitate a moment, but kept up the fight. A notable instance was the publication in the *Kansas Tribune*, at Lawrence, of a full-page broadside denouncing the law and defying its terms. Much of the broadside was printed in large display capitals, so that, as the writer said, "the infatuated invaders who elected the Kansas legislature as well as the corrupt and ignorant legislature itself may understand—so that, if they cannot read, they may spell it out." The editor of the paper, John Speer, to whom all honor, was indicted by the grand jury under the statute I have quoted, but never tried.*

*JOHN SPEER was born in Kittanning, Pa., December 27, 1817. His education was mostly acquired in the reading of newspapers while carrying the mail on horseback over a 70-mile route through the wild mountain country of Pennsylvania, and in the printing-office in Indiana, Pa., where he spent his three years' apprenticeship. From 1839 to 1843 he was editor and journeyman on papers in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana. In 1841, as flatboatman, he visited New Orleans. In 1843 he established at Medina, Ohio, the *Democratic Whig*, antislavery in senti-

The legislature of 1855, which passed the statute referred to, was elected on March 30, 1855. At that election Judge William Margrave,* of Fort Scott, then and continuously until now a justice of the peace (now the oldest public officer in the state), was a free-state candidate for representative from Fort Scott. He was defeated by a vote of 313 to 16—the only time he was ever defeated in his life for anything.

Judge Margrave gives a quaint account of that election day. At early morning the hill in Fort Scott, which is now Carroll plaza, then a parade-ground, around which all the government buildings were situated, was crowded with teams and men coming in from the east—all of them armed. Fort Scott is only four miles from the Missouri border. At that time the town's total population, men, women, and childrer, excluding the soldiers and their families, was less than 300. Voting was lively all day, but a reserved, breathless peace was preserved. Men moved about quietly, as if each one was saying to himself, "I hope no one will start a disturbance." The legal voters of the town, themselves somewhat divided, were effectually cowed. The visitors had the situation well in hand. Along in the afternoon a dog was seen out south of the plaza acting strangely, and, on the supposition that he was mad, a couple of shots were fired at him. Within two minutes men from all parts of the town were running to the spot, guns in hand, forming a jam, much surprised when they found the target was not a man. When the voting was done, the officers solemnly reported the casting of 329 votes, with the result I have given. The election in other parts of the territory was conducted in the same way.

ment and whig in politics. He sold this paper in 1854, and with his brother Joseph came to Kansas, locating at Lawrence, September 27, 1854. It had been the aim of the brothers to issue the first antislavery paper in the territory, and they at once set about gathering original Kansas material for the undertaking, but having no office of their own, and failing to secure its printing at either Kansas City or Leavenworth, they were obliged to return to Ohio, where they issued the *Kansas Pioneer*, dated Lawrence, K. T., October 15, 1854. The second number was printed at Lawrence the following January, the name having been changed to the *Kansas Tribune*. Joseph left the paper in May, and in November the paper was removed to Topeka, W. W. Ross, joint editor. Early in 1857 Mr. Speer quit the newspaper business, and tried lumbering, farming and freighting until December 27, 1859, when he purchased the *Lawrence Republican*, which he published until September 4, 1862. January 1, 1863, he revived the *Lawrence Tribune*, and continued its publication until 1871. The office was destroyed in the Quantrill raid, August 21, 1863, but the publication was resumed with the addition of a daily in the following November. His last connection with a newspaper was as editor of the *Tribune* from 1875 to 1877. In 1879 he edited the United States Biographical Dictionary for Kansas, a standard historical work, and in 1896 published his "Life of Gen. Jas. H. Lane," setting the type himself, and issuing a second edition in 1897. He printed many of the laws, journals and public documents of the early state legislatures and the Statutes of 1863. Mr. Speer on all occasions took a bold stand in defense of free Kansas. The first territorial legislature made it a penitentiary offense to deny the legal existence of slavery in Kansas. On the day this law went into effect he published in the *Tribune* a full-page denunciation of the law and its enactors. A facsimile of this page is printed in the First Biennial Report of the State Board of Agriculture, page 189. He was United States collector for Kansas from September, 1862, to October, 1866. This office was destroyed in the Quantrill raid, with all its records, money, and stamps. Mr. Speer was married July 14, 1842, to Miss Elizabeth D. McMahon, of Harrison county, Indiana. In the Quantrill massacre they lost two sons, young men, who assisted their father in the publication of his paper, John M. and Robert. He is now in Denver, but his legal residence is at Garden City, Kan.

* WILLIAM MARGRAVE was born in Gasconade (now Osage) county, Missouri, February 17, 1818. Here he spent his boyhood, removing to Jasper county, near Carthage, in his fifteenth year. Like most of his neighbors in the western tier of counties, he did not believe in slavery, and came over into the new territory of Kansas to make his home in November, 1854, settling at Fort Scott, and opening his grocery store on the 8th of that month. December 5, 1854, he received from Gov. A. H. Reeder, our first executive, his commission as justice of the peace, and he still holds the office. Eugene F. Ware says of him, in the *Kansas City Star* of November 11,

After this election a dispatch to the *St. Louis Republican*, now the *Republic*, said: "Not an antislavery man will be in the legislature of Kansas." A few days later the *Leavenworth Herald* said: "Kansas has proved herself to be S. G. Q." [sound on the goose question].

February 2, 1858, President Buchanan, in his message to Congress, said: "It has been solemnly adjudged by the highest judicial tribunal that slavery exists in Kansas by virtue of the constitution of the United States. Kansas is, therefore, at this moment as much a slave state as South Carolina or Georgia."

On January 10, 1858, Gen. Benjamin F. Stringfellow, in a letter to Preston S. Brooks, of South Carolina, published in the *Washington Sentinel*, said: "Kansas is not suited for little farmers. It cannot be settled by those who have not the command of labor. Slavery exists in Kansas and is legal. It will never be abolished. The great staple articles of Kansas must be hemp and tobacco. It will be found that Missouri is nearer to Kansas than Boston."

In writing to a paper in Alabama a short time later, he said: "They [Kansas] have now laws more efficient to protect slave property than any state in the Union."*

1900: "Judge Margrave's present jurisdiction has shrunk to one-twentieth of its original size. His jurisdiction is the county of Bourbon, with about one-twelfth of the present population of his once extended frontier district. He has tried more criminals and sentenced more outlaws than perhaps any justice of the peace now in the United States, or that ever was in the United States. He has been steadily at it over forty-five years. His original jurisdiction took in the stormiest part of Kansas, and when the war ended 'Battle Corners,' as Noble L. Prentiss calls them, were overrun. That point of territory where Kansas, Missouri, Arkansas and Indian Territory corner furnished a roving ground before the war for border ruffians and outlaws. After the civil war it furnished a retreat for all the bad and enterprising banditti left from the ranks of both armies, and the wrecks of the guerrilla maraudings and assassinations of the frontier. Judge Margrave always had his hands full, and well and bravely did he do all his duties, and no man ever escaped except he were innocent; and it is on account of that firm and fearless discharge of duty that through two generations Judge Margrave has been successively elected to the place he filled so well. The number of cases disposed of by Judge Margrave up to November 1, 1900, is 14,294." The territory assigned to Judge Margrave in 1854 now comprises all or in part twenty-two counties, and over 385,000 population, and covers a part of four congressional districts. Then it contained 253 voters: now there are over 100,000. Judge Margrave has lately presented the Historical Society the desk which he used since 1858, excepting a year when it was with headquarters of the Sixth Kansas cavalry in Missouri and Arkansas.

* Washington correspondent *New York Courier and Enquirer*, August 11, 1856: "Governor Geary has demanded the abrogation of the more especially infamous of the pretended territorial laws, and a bill is before the house for that purpose, which he desires to pass."

Washington correspondent *New York paper*, August 12, 1856: "It is a deplorable proof of the degradation of the democratic party, which yet governs the country, that Governor Geary has been compelled to apply to Senator Toombs and Mr. Stephens, of Georgia, for leave to arrest bloodshed and anarchy in Kansas. It is asserted on authority, which I cannot question, that Colonel Geary has declined to go to Kansas unless the spurious laws, which the administration is pledged to enforce, were repealed. The president refused to assent to the condition unless an application to that effect should come from the South. Accordingly, Colonel Geary waited upon Toombs in the senate and Stephens in the house, as representatives of the sectional party seeking to force slavery upon Kansas, and laid before them the impossibility of governing the territory unless Congress placed its ban upon the scandalous edicts of the mock legislature. These autocrats dismissed the suppliant with a peremptory refusal to act in the matter. The next expedient for the accommodation of differences was the dismissal of the judges through whose corrupt and oppressive course these acts derived the force of laws, and the release of the political prisoners confined under them. To this the president assented, and it is understood that he pledged himself to dismiss Lecompte and Cato, unless they should yield to superior force and resign. They declined to retire in a quiet and peaceful manner, and it is believed that they have been suspended from their functions, and if not already dismissed, they will be on the adjournment of Congress. But, notwithstanding this concession, it remains doubtful whether Colonel Geary will accept the trust confided to him. He says, with great truth, that it has broken down two Northern men, and will, under such alleged laws, break down whomsoever may undertake it."

In Leavenworth, on May 17, 1855, William Phillips, a lawyer, who had protested against the election control by voters outside of the territory, was arrested, taken to Weston, Mo., shaved on one side—head and face—tarred and feathered, carried astride a rail, and mockingly sold as a vagrant, by a negro, on the charge of expressing sentiments so as “to disturb the domestic relation of the people”—that is, interfere with slavery. This action was not done quietly nor secretly. It was publicly indorsed by a meeting at Leavenworth presided over by a member of the territorial council.

On February 6, 1858, Acting Governor James W. Denver, to whom was forwarded the bill repealing the slave laws of 1855, said, in a veto message to the territorial legislature:

“The act referred to is a very stringent one, perhaps much more so than

“WASHINGTON, Wednesday Night.—The case of Judges Lecompte and Cato, after being determined on, was again warmly discussed in the cabinet to-day. It is understood that there were four for and three against their removal. Their dismissal is regarded as certain. Southern members are greatly excited at Mr. Campbell's declaration that the president would cause the Kansas prisoners to be discharged. The administration is wisely yielding to the free-state pressure. Governor Geary still lingers.”

New Haven *Paladium*, August 14, 1856: “The statement, now denied, that Colonel Geary only accepted the governorship of Kansas on the conditions that Judges Lecompte and Cato and Marshal Donaldson should be removed and the state prisoners released, and that these conditions had been or would be complied with, was made in the most direct manner by the correspondents of the New York *Courier and Enquirer* and *Herald*. It would seem that there must have been some good foundation for it. Perhaps it is another case of promise not performed by the executive. The debate in the house on Wednesday indicates very clearly, however, that the administration has or had determined to withdraw its prosecutions for treason in Kansas. The Washington correspondent of the New York *Times* says, in giving an account of the house debate: ‘Mr. Campbell stated significantly that he knew confidentially that the prosecutions were not to be pressed. Many republicans insisted on more particulars. The other side of the house speedily exposed their own knowledge, with conflicting intimations.’ Orr and others proceeded to admit that it had been doubtful whether these prosecutions for treason ought to be pressed. Craige wanted to introduce a resolution asking the president if he intended to discontinue, and what for. The truth is, the administration has backed down, and to-day has decided in cabinet to order a discontinuance of the Kansas prosecutions.”

Springfield (Mass.) *Republican*, August 15, 1856: “The contradictory reports from Washington this week, of the determination of the administration as to the release of the state prisoners in Kansas, and the removal of its tyrannical judges and Marshal Donaldson, indicate faithfully the indecision and conflicting purposes that prevail in its councils. It seems to have been determined to order both the release of the prisoners and the removal of the chief instruments in the wickedness inflicted on the people of the territory, but, under a pressure from the ultra-slavery party in the contrary direction, this purpose was abandoned or postponed.”

The *Atlas* [no location given] of August 16, 1856, in an editorial commenting on this statement (such paragraphs, it says, being common in the newspapers), adds: “It is believed that the president, who has the right of pardoning all persons prosecuted for a breach of territorial laws, has ordered that the Kansas prosecutions for treason be dismissed. He has not yet dismissed Judges Lecompte and Cato, but it is commonly supposed that he will do it, upon the representations which may be made by Colonel Geary as to the state of things in Kansas.”

Washington correspondent New York *Tribune*, August 21, 1856: “Governor Geary has taken the oath of office to support the bogus laws of Kansas. He is expected to remain passive, and only keep the peace until after election. The border ruffians won't permit this. There is no middle ground in Kansas. Geary will be forced, as Reeder was, to become a border ruffian or leave, and that quickly. I have conversed with him, and he does not fully realize the horrid state of affairs in that territory. No man can, this side of hearing and seeing for himself. If Governor Geary acts as he talks, the border ruffians will catch a tartar. President Pierce will find his passive instructions disobeyed. And Mr. James, of Rhode Island, and Mr. Bigler, who is Buchanan's mouthpiece, will discover that they had better kept their promise without consulting their Southern masters, and presented Geary's bill, abrogating the bogus legislature and laws, leaving him free to organize a new one.”

Washington correspondent, New York *Times*, August 21, 1856: “Colonel Geary will start for Kansas next week, though he openly opposes the territorial laws.”

necessary, but so long as a territorial existence continues here the owners of slaves have a right to claim protection for their property at the hands of the law-making power. The peculiar character of this property requires the enactment of laws for its management and control different in many respects from that which is required for any other. I cannot, therefore, give my consent to the repeal of all laws on this subject until there shall be some other enactment to take their place, so long as slavery is recognized and allowed to exist in this territory."

The slave code was not repealed until 1860. The act of repeal closely followed the language of the Wyandotte constitution adopted the year before, and under which the state now operates, and is as follows:

"CHAPTER CXI.—An Act to Prohibit Slavery in Kansas.

"*Be it enacted by the Governor and Legislative Assembly of Kansas Territory:* SECTION 1. That slavery or involuntary servitude, except for the punishment of crime whereof the parties shall have been duly convicted, is and shall be forever prohibited in this territory.

"SEC. 2. This act shall take effect and be in force from and after its passage.

GUSTAVUS A. COLTON,
Speaker House of Representatives.
W. W. UPDEGRAFF,
President of the Council."

"This bill having been returned by the governor, with his objections thereto, and, after reconsideration, having passed a vote of two-thirds of both houses, it has become a law, this 23d of February, 1860.

GUSTAVUS A. COLTON,
Speaker of House of Representatives.
W. W. UPDEGRAFF,
President of the Council."

On page 453 of the House Journal of the special session of the territorial legislature of 1860, which met at Leecompton, January 19, 1860, there appears a veto message by Gov. Samuel Medary,* vetoing house bill No. 6, the statutes which I have just quoted, he sending it back to the house in which it originated, with a message covering fifteen closely printed pages in the House Journal.

John A. Martin at that time was editor of the *Atchison Champion*, afterwards colonel of the Eighth Kansas regiment and governor of the state. He was afire on the subject of slavery. Governor Medary copied an editorial from the *Champion* on the pending bill, as follows:

"If Medary will take the responsibility of vetoing it, pass it over his head, and then let them bring the subject before the courts and have Judge Taney make another advance in his theories respecting the constitution. We shall see then what these democrats who howl about 'as-good-free-state-men-as-you-are' will do when called upon to act, and we shall see whether there is anything in their professions of 'squatter sovereignty.'

"We repeat it, that the republicans pass a bill abolishing slavery at the earliest possible day; make it as simple as possible; put into it no outside propositions that they may excuse themselves on; simply abolish the thing and bring these democrats to test. It is the first, the most-important and all-absorbing duty which devolves upon the republicans in the legislature, and if they dare neglect it, if they dare let it pass by unimproved, the people of Kansas and the press of the territory will hold each and every one of them to a strict accountability for its actions. 'It were better that a millstone be hanged about his neck and he be drowned in the midst of the sea,' than that he should fail or refuse to pass an act which the whole people demand."

*SAMUEL MEDARY was the last territorial governor. He was appointed November 19, 1858, succeeding James W. Denver, who resigned. He assumed the duties of the place December 20. He resigned December 20, 1860, leaving Secretary George M. Beebe acting governor until January 29, 1861, when the state was admitted. Samuel Medary was born in Montgomery county, Pennsylvania, February 15, 1801. He was appointed territorial governor of Minnesota in March, 1857. He was editor of the *Ohio Statesman*, and afterwards of the *Crisis*. He died November 7, 1884.

In his veto message Governor Medary traces the history of slavery from the discovery of America. He severely criticizes the English and New Englanders for establishing the institution in America, and protests that, while it may be right for the soon-to-be-formed "state government" to abolish slavery, it is beyond the power of the territorial government to do so. The argument by Governor Medary is about as strong and well written as it could be made. It is really a forceful argument and is well worth perusing, but too long for me to quote.

The bill came up on February 21, on a motion to pass it over the governor's veto. It was passed by a vote of thirty to seven, the speaker, Gustavus A. Colton, of Lykins (now Miami) county, voting with the majority. The bill afterward came up in the territorial council on February 21. After the same message mentioned before, which is again copied in full on the council journal, a motion to pass the bill, the veto of the governor notwithstanding, was adopted by the council by a vote of nine to four. It was afterward certified by the speaker of the house and the president of the council, and became a law on February 23, 1860. And so the institution of slavery in Kansas died. The struggle was a local struggle. The wise men of each side throughout the country had come to realize it was a fight to the death. In Kansas it was brief, but it was bitter and bloody.

Acting Governor Beebe,* in his message to the last territorial legislature, special session, January 10, 1861, said in regard to the repealing act of 1860:

"The last legislature passed, the objections of the governor to the contrary notwithstanding, "An act to prohibit slavery in Kansas." By it, slavery and involuntary servitude, except for crimes, etc., were forever prohibited. If, at the time of its passage, the right of property in slaves legally existed—and it is generally conceded it did—the act is clearly unconstitutional, for in such case it seeks to immediately destroy existing rights of property without rendering a just compensation therefor. If, on the other hand, no such right existed, then the act was and is unnecessary. But, waiving all other reasons, I earnestly recommend the repeal of this law, because it forms an obstacle to the adjustment of the unhappy differences with which the country is now distracted. Could a weightier consideration operate to influence you to meet this appeal with a favorable response?"

The legislature entirely ignored the suggestion and recommendation. It will, therefore, be easy from the records to answer my first query affirmatively.

As to the actual presence of slaves here the facts are not so easily gathered. Recourse must largely be had to the county records and to the recollection of old citizens. The first official census of Kansas, taken February 28, 1855, shows the presence in the territory of 151 free negroes and 193 slaves. On the statement of John Speer, there was a much larger number. He should know. Here are his words, from volume VI, *Kansas Historical Collections*, pp. 67, 68. They being already in your published records, my only excuse for repeating them here is that they are there used in another connection, and I wish to get the facts together:

"I was amazed to read in a magazine article an expression dropped by one of the most estimable patriots, philanthropists, and divines, as well as among the most eminent litterateurs of this country, to the effect that he supposed there never were any slaves in Kansas. It is such utterances from such sources that

*GEORGE M. BEEBE was appointed secretary of the territory in May, 1860, to succeed Hugh S. Walsh. He was born in New Vernon, N. Y., October 28, 1836. He settled in Doniphan county, Kansas, in 1859, and that year was elected a member of the territorial council. He became acting governor upon the resignation of Governor Medary. In a message to the territorial legislature, January 10, 1861, he advised that Kansas maintain a neutral position in the war of the rebellion. He removed to Nevada in 1863. He returned to New York, where he still lives. He has served as a member of Congress from New York for two terms.

hurt. What were we fighting about? The ruffian might bawl himself hoarse and do no harm. This good divine never was acquainted with Buck Scott, the good slave who contracted with his master to send him seventy per cent. of his earnings if he would let him live at Lawrence, and fulfilled his contract manfully, voluntarily returning to slavery. He never knew Tom Bourn, of Washington creek, whose master brought him and a dozen more slaves from Virginia 'to establish the institution in Kansas,' who, when the master got scared and wanted to take them back to 'the old Virginia home,' replied: 'No, no, Massa Bourn; I com' to 'stablish de institution, an' I 'ze gwine to see it froo'; and in less time than two weeks ran off to the North with the whole gang! He never made the acquaintance of Bob Skaggs, who, with twenty-seven fellow slaves, made a big clearing in the woods opposite Lecompton, and was run off to Texas at the sound of the voice of the 'Crusader of Freedom,' and came back 'after the break up,' as the slaves called it, and made a home on the Verdigris, and brought his 'po'ol' massa' in his poverty to live with him, the ex-Kansas slave. He never sat with your speaker at the Big Springs hotel warming his toes, while poor Liza, one of eleven slaves of a Kansas judge, cooked his meal, with her little pickaninny crawling around her feet on a dirty dirt floor. He was not present when a fugitive from Kansas slavery on the Marais des Cygnes made her escape to Samuel N. Wood's house in Lawrence, her back cut in welts. Perhaps the good man was not acquainted with that amiable Christian woman, now a director of this Society, when the slave sleuths were in pursuit; and surely he never heard her sobs and cries, 'O God! what would I do if this were my sister?' when her life depended on flight. He never knew the three proslavery men who took the slave to the Shawnee mission to consult the territorial officers, and returned her to slavery! And surely, surely, the good man never had a warrant issued for him as an 'abolitionist' by that woman whipper, after he was made a proslavery judge! He did not even know the proslavery divines of Kansas, one of whom, at Tecumseh, told me the beautiful story of St. Paul, the slave-driver, sending Onesimus, the slave, back to his master; the other at Osawkee, of whom it was said by the abolitionists that he was a pretty good man, but a little quarrelsome when he was drunk!

"When the Wakarusa war broke upon us, there were more than half as many slaves in Kansas as there were able-bodied free-state men who stood up in the ranks for our defense.

"A few weeks ago I called upon the venerable Dr. J. N. O. P. Wood at Wichita, a well-known opponent of the free-state movement, and compared notes on our personal knowledge of slaves in Kansas, and we counted over 400—and quit."

In 1857 Governor Walker estimated the number of slaves in Kansas at 200 or 300. In 1860 there were but two officially reported. They were from Anderson county. James H. Gladstone, a relative of the English premier, and a man thoroughly posted upon the situation in Kansas, asserted that there were not over fifty slave-owning settlers in Kansas. The slaves that were brought to Kansas were nearly all brought here during the first two or three years of the settlement, in 1854, '55, and '56. When the pressing strife broke out no more slaves were brought and the most of those who were here were removed.

Very few emigrants from slave states brought their servants with them. There were slaves, for instance, in Fort Scott as early as 1845, and at least one of them is here yet. Aunt Mary Davis was housekeeper for a family here for many years. After the breaking out of the civil war she was sold and went away from here. After emancipation she returned to the same family and remained until the family was broken up by death. She still lives in Kansas.

At book "A," page 5, in the register of deeds' office of Bourbon county, appears this document, which sounds strangely now:

"KNOW ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS, That we, James M. Rucker and Minta E. Rucker, of the state of Illinois, Mason county, for and in consideration of the sum of \$500, to them in hand paid by Wiley Patterson, of the county of Bourbon, Kansas territory, the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged, do by these presents bargain, sell, transfer, assign and deliver unto the said Wiley Patterson, his executors, administrators, and assigns, a negro woman, slave for life, called and known by

the name Lucinda, now of the age of thirty-six years, of a yellow complexion, rather slender made, about or a little above (height evidently omitted in copying), together with all right, title, interest, claim and demand of, in and to the said negro woman.

"TO HAVE AND TO HOLD the said negro woman slave above bargained and sold, or intended to be sold, to the said Wiley Patterson,* his executors, administrators and assigns forever.

"And the said James M. Rucker and Minta E. Rucker, for themselves, their heirs, executors, administrators, and assigns, covenant that said negro woman is a slave for life, and that she is perfectly sound both in body and mind.

"IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, We have hereunto set our hands and seals, this 8th day of August, A. D. 1857.

JAMES M. RUCKER.

"By WILLIAM WASSON, Attorney.

MINTA E. RUCKER.

"C. B. WINFIELD, J. D. WINFIELD, witnesses.

"Recorded this 10th day of August, 1857.—JAMES J. FARLEY,

[SEAL.]

Clerk and ex-officio Recorder."

Here is another document from the same book, page 27, which suggests thoughts of the old highlander who is said to have always held family prayers before going down to the lowlands to steal cattle:

"FORT SCOTT, BOURBON COUNTY, KANSAS TERRITORY, October 30, A. D. 1858.

"In the name of God, amen.

"This is my last will and testimony.

"It is my will that all the just demands against me be settled out of the moneys or property on hand.

"2. It is my will that my dear wife, Elizabeth, have my negro woman Winnie and my negro boy George, and negro child Ann, and that she use them during her natural life, and afterwards these negroes is to go to my dear children, my son Harry and my son William and my daughter Mary, to be divided between them as they may see proper.

"3. It is my will that my wife have and use all my stock, household and kitchen furniture, farming utensils, etc., and dispose of any of them at will and pleasure, for the benefit of herself and the children, together with any money that may be on hand or any debts that is due or may become due me.

"Made this day above written.

J. M. HART.

"Signed and sealed in the presence of Harrison R. Kelsar, John R. Baty."

"TERRITORY OF KANSAS, COUNTY OF BOURBON, ss.: (In vacation.) Be it remembered, that, on the 8th day of November, A. D. 1858, personally appeared before me, William Margrave, judge of probate of the county and territory aforesaid, Harrison R. Kelsar and J. R. Baty, the subscribing witnesses to the annexed will of J. M. Hart, and being by me sworn, each deposes and says that the said J. M. Hart, the testator, subscribed the same in his presence and published the said will or instrument of writing as his last will; that he, the said testator, was, at the time of publishing his will, of sound mind and more than twenty-one years of age; and that the said deponents attested said will as witnesses thereto by subscribing their names to the same in the presence of the testator.

HARRISON R. KELSAR.

JOHN R. BATY.

"IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I, William Margrave, judge of probate within and for the county of Bourbon, in Kansas territory, hereunto subscribe my hand and affix the seal of the court.

"Done at my office in the county aforesaid, this 8th day of November, A. D. 1858.

WILLIAM MARGRAVE, *Judge of Probate.*

"Recorded this 9th day of December, 1858.—JAMES J. FARLEY,

Clerk and ex-officio Recorder."

The records of Bourbon county contain many other papers of like character. Col. Thomas Arnott, who ran a hotel in the officers' quarters building, still standing at the north end of Carroll plaza, in Fort Scott, owned a negro. At a

* WILEY PATTERSON was the third postmaster of Fort Scott. William Wasson was a doctor living a few miles northwest of where Fulton now stands. His descendants are still prominent in professional and official life in Kansas.

time when Colonel Montgomery was momentarily expected in town, the old man was seen on horseback, with his negro mounted behind, lashing his horse over the hill south of town. He never returned.

A man named Brantley, who owned what is now Jewell's addition to Fort Scott, had several slaves. When the change in sentiment came he left the territory, and his holdings were confiscated.

A man named Ganther, on Mill creek, was a radical antislavery man, but when he acquired a "little nigger" in some trade in Missouri he became equally radical on the other side. Dr. Blake Little, an early settler of Fort Scott, whose name is perpetuated in the name of one of the streets of the city, owned a yellow girl, Winnie.

Wilson, Gordon & Ray, the earliest heavy mercantile firm in Fort Scott, owned a slave, who, as is alleged by an old resident, in the facetious and vivid language of the time, "once got scared on the street, like a horse, and ran away with a wheelbarrow and smashed it all to hell."

Maj. Gen. Geo. A. McCall writes of a hunting trip on the Marmaton river, and incidentally refers to his "colored boy Jordan."

Crawford county was not organized until long after the slave period, but while it was a part of Bourbon county there were slaves owned and held there.

The first post-office in Allen county was Cofachique, named after the Indian princess Cofachique, who, Cleopatra-like, met Hernando De Soto on the Savannah river. But that, as Kipling says, is another story. The post-office was on section 3, township 25, range 18 east, about half a mile southeast from the present limits of Iola, and now occupied by Capt. H. A. Ewing. James L. Gilbreath was the storekeeper, in 1855, and the first postmaster, and owned a slave.

Linn county was the headquarters for the southern Kansas division of the "underground railroad," a railroad on which every worker was a conductor, self-appointed, and running "regardless of all other trains"—or anything else. Col. James Montgomery, a Campbellite preacher, and a fanatical antislavery man, lived there, and "Col." C. R. Jennison was near at hand. Close to Trading Post, near the Missouri border, a man named Scott had several slaves. In 1858, seeing that slavery was doomed, he took his slaves across the line and sold them to a trader. The adherents of "Colonel" Jennison, being incensed at this, hanged him.

J. H. Barlow lived, in those days, at Paris, the first county-seat of Linn county, about seven miles north of Mound city. He owned two or three slaves. At the approach of the "change" he sent them back to Kentucky.

Rev. S. B. McGrew, who lived four miles southwest of Mound City, owned a colored man named Lewis Campbell.

Ezra H. Smith, of Mound City, had a colored boy, Jim Titsworth, who had come from below Fort Smith, Ark.

Elizabeth Marrs, an ex-slave, came to Linn county on the "underground," and lives at Mantey, in that county, now.

It was in this county that, in May, 1858, occurred the Marais des Cygnes massacre, probably the most brutal and inexcusable of all events of the kind in the history of the country. In the year following, one Russell Hines, who advertised himself as a "nigger hunter," led a party one evening to the home of Colonel Montgomery, a few miles west of Mound City. They wanted Montgomery. Unfortunately for Hines, he ran across Jennison, a man much of his own stripe, but on the other side of the question. Hines, after being captured, was taken to the house of a man named Hart, who lived where Pleasanton now stands. In the morning he was taken on horseback back about four miles southeast of the pres-

ent town site of Pleasanton; his neck was connected with a tree limb. The horse, which belonged to the other people, was led away.

These and many other events which could be related of Linn county grew out of the existence of slavery there.

Lykins county (now Miami) had a considerable number of slaves. James Deets came from Cass county, Missouri, in 1857, and settled on Bull creek, a few miles west of where Hillsdale now stands. His five slaves that he brought with him went north on the underground railroad in 1858.

Probate Judge Yokum, of Franklin county, was forced to leave the state because "his negro property had been stolen and his life menaced."

Johnson county, being one of the first counties settled by whites, had many slaves. Maj. R. W. Cummings, who lived on a farm adjoining Shawnee Mission, close to where the village of Merriam, on the 'Frisco road, now stands, owned a number as early as 1832 to 1837, and in the year 1850 he moved back to Missouri and took with him about fifteen slaves.

Rev. Thomas Johnson, who was principal of the Shawnee Manual Training School, at Shawnee Mission, from 1832, owned four or six slaves. Some of them he bought out of pity for their condition. They had an easy existence.

Col. A. S. Johnson, of Topeka, a son of Rev. Thomas Johnson, whom I just mentioned, owned some slaves.

Hon. Rush Elmore, a member of the territorial supreme court, brought fourteen slaves from Alabama to Shawnee Mission, afterward removing to Shawnee county.

In Wyandotte county slaves were held by the Wyandot Indians as early as 1845. The Walker, Garrett and Hicks families all held slaves, purchased in Missouri soon after they arrived from Ohio. The bill of sale of Dorcas, a negro girl, to Gov. William Walker, by the administrators of the estate of John Gipson, deceased, of Cass county, Missouri, is set out in Connelley's "Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory," page 194. It is dated January 1, 1847. Governor Walker bought and held at least one other slave, the husband of Dorcas. He gave them their freedom before the beginning of the civil war. The Hicks family voluntarily freed their slaves before the war, as did some of the other principal Wyandot families. During the territorial period some slaves were held by white people in what is now Wyandotte county, but as the county was then principally a part of Leavenworth county, the records show no transactions in their traffic.

Douglas county was the home of the free-soilers, and naturally slaveholding was never popular there. While the destruction of all county records, in 1863, in the Quantrill raid, makes it impossible to speak definitely, it is probable that no official recognition was ever given to the "institution" in that county. There were many slaves there, but they were mostly there by their own consent or were passengers on the underground railroad, of which that was an important station. It is said by old settlers that at least \$100,000 worth of this sort of "property" had its "clearance" at Lawrence. In 1855 a man by the name of Bowen settled on Washington creek, in Douglas county. He brought with him ten slaves—a man and wife and eight children. A young lady named Miss Sarah Armstrong taught these slave children to read, whereupon Bowen made threats against Miss Armstrong and her brother, who was his neighbor. Finally Capt. A. Randlett came with a crowd of free-state men from Lawrence, in 1856, and ran Mr. Bowen and his family out of the country. The negro family wanted Miss Armstrong's brother to start them on the way to Canada, but the risk was too great and he did not do so. Bowen took them to Westport, Mo.

In 1857 a slave woman, Ann Clarke, the joint property of Geo. W. Clarke and Colonel Titus, left her master's home near Lecompton and came to the home of a Mr. Howard, near Topeka. She was secreted there and other places for several weeks, waiting for a chance to go north. Some friends of her master, finding her location, arrested her and took her back to Lecompton. She succeeded in making her escape to Chicago in 1856.

The Lecompton *Union* contained an offer of a reward of \$50 for the return of Judy, who, it suggests, "is no doubt lurking about Lawrence, if she has not already secured passage on the underground railroad to Chicago."

In 1856 a man named Jones, living near Palmyra, in Douglas county, owned two colored boys. A crowd of free-state men, led by John Brown, jr., visited Mr. Jones and gave him until next morning to get his belongings out of the territory, on the charge that he was a spy on his free-state neighbors. The two boys were given the privilege of going with Jones or staying. They went with him.

At Lecompton, in the year 1856, a slave called Buck Scott had bought his freedom and was working it out for his master, a Mr. Douglas. At Douglas, a defunct town just below Lecompton, on the south bank of the Kaw river, there were two slaveholders, a Mr. Ellison and a Mr. Wallis.

A widow named Brooks owned three or four slaves at Lecompton during those days.

In Shawnee county, last week, I found a trust deed recorded in book 10, page 49, from Finis E. McLean and Lucy A. McLean to Thornton McLean, their son. The deed was executed for the benefit of the grantee and the other children of the grantors. The consideration is expressed as "one dollar to them in hand paid, and for the further consideration of the natural love and affection that they have and bear to their children." The property transferred covers several hundred acres of land in Kentucky and Missouri, some town lots in Kansas City, Mo., Topeka, and Lawrence and Tecumseh, in Kansas territory, "and the following slaves: Jim, Grace, Daniel, Adaline, Isaac, Nelly, Robert, George, Elizabeth, Mary, Clerk, Emily, Philip, Godfrey, Florence, Henry, Martha, Betty, Calvin, Hogan, Jerry, Sally, Jenny." In the deed of trust it is not stated where the slaves were at that time. The deed is dated February 27, 1860, and acknowledged the same day. An old citizen of Shawnee county tells me that these slaves were never really in Kansas—that the combined deed and bill of sale was recorded here only because of the real estate. There were slaves actually held, however, in Shawnee county. A man is now employed in one of the public offices here who was held in Shawnee county as a slave.

There were slaves in what is now Leavenworth county, in Indian territory times, before the territory of Kansas was organized. They were servants of the officers at the cantonment and fort. I cannot learn whether they were the property of the officers or hired from other owners.

James Redpath, a correspondent representing the *Missouri Democrat*, now the *Globe Democrat*, mentions a slave boy in Leavenworth in 1855.

Slaves were kept at an early day in Atchison county. A Mr. Million, who kept the ferry across the Missouri at Atchison, owned six. Mr. Hayes, near Cummings, owned two or three; and Nathan Hawley, a Missourian, who farmed near Crooked creek in 1856-'58, owned six. Duff Green, of Monrovia, owned a negro woman and her baby. In 1859 he sold them to a trader. They both secured passage on the underground railroad and escaped.

Col. Peter T. Abell, of Atchison, owned Aunt Nancy, a favorite and very efficient house servant. She always appeared to be contented and was especially

well treated. In 1859 she suddenly disappeared—permanently—much to the surprise of every one.

William H. Mackey, sr., of Junction City, writes me: "Fox Booth, a North Carolinian, who came from some point on the Platte to Fort Riley, in 1854, owned a negro woman slave. She worked a ferry-boat for him, and rowed me across the raging Kaw many times. Booth tired of her and brought her down to McDowell's creek to Tom Reynolds's place, and offered her for trade. Reynolds looked her over and came to the conclusion that she would make a good herder. Booth wanted a few cows for her, but Reynolds would not part with the cows, and finally offered an old white stallion, and the deal went. I was a witness to the transaction. This was in the fall of 1855. There were several slaves at Fort Riley. Dr. William P. Hammond, post surgeon, afterwards surgeon-general of the army of the United States, owned one or two. The post chaplain also owned one. Two slaves known as Aunt Cely and Patsey, owned at Fort Riley, were accused of poisoning an ordnance sergeant who died mysteriously. They were taken to the sawmill, near where the Union Pacific now crosses the Republican river, set astride the log, and the saw started. When the saw came uncomfortably close Aunt Cely declared: 'Fo' God, I is innocent!' The saw was stopped and she was released. She died, in the neighborhood, of old age and neglect. In 1856 Mr. John Gallagher, of Louisville, Ky., brought some slaves with him to eastern Leavenworth county, where I was then living." The records of Geary county show no transfers. The slaves were all female house servants at Fort Riley.

At Atchison occurred an incident extremely uncommon among negroes and entirely unique among slaves, so far as I can learn. A slave woman, the property of Grafton Thomasson, committed suicide by drowning.

In 1855 there were at least thirty-five slaves in Doniphan county. Cary B. Whitehead traded his farm in that county for a number of slaves, which he afterward took to Missouri. The first issue of the *White Cloud Chief*, Hon. Sol. Miller's paper, was printed on a press operated by a slave whom Mr. Miller hired from his owner for that purpose.

Thomas Bayne brought two slaves in 1855 to Jefferson county and hired another one from his brother, all three of whom he used on his farm.

A man named Skaggs settled in Jefferson county, in what is now Kentucky township, in 1854. He had twenty-seven slaves. He took them to Texas in the fall of 1859, when slave property became very uncertain. By the abolition of slavery Skaggs lost all his property, and in 1871 was living near Coffeyville, Montgomery county, as a retainer of one of his former chattels, and enjoying the bounty of his former slave. This is the incident referred to by "Old John Speer" in the quotation I made from him a few minutes ago.

Brown, Nemaha, and Calhoun (now Jackson) counties no doubt had slaves, but I have no details concerning them.

It is well known that the Cherokees, Choctaws, Chicaws, and Seminoles in the West owned slaves. It is no doubt a fact that the Cherokees owned slaves in what now constitutes Cherokee and Crawford counties, Kansas, when they were here, though I have no record of instances. Of the holding of slaves by Indians, but two instances of slaves held have been secured. Rev. S. L. Adair, of Osawatimie, mentions that the noted Indian, Baptiste Peoria, after whom the town of Paola was named, owned a colored woman. The other instance is found in Rev. John McNamara's volume, "Three Years on the Kansas Border." In November, 1854, he accompanied Doctor Bonnifant, of Weston, Missouri, to see the daughter of the widow Bulboni, eighty miles in the interior, on the Pottawatomie reservation. Mrs. Bulboni owned a colored woman. A few slaves were

owned by the Shawnee and Kansas Indians, but they were generally owned by "squaw men"; that is, men who had married Indians.

The writers whose statements I have been able to get nearly universally unite in speaking of the general kind treatment of the slaves that were in Kansas, and also agree that the slaves did very little work. The fact is, the slaves that were brought to Kansas were brought very largely, though of course not entirely, as a part of the proslavery propaganda—not for profit. The people who brought them here were mostly zealots. They wanted to establish the "institution" here, and brought their slaves along to demonstrate its physical existence here. When the plan failed, when the reasonable people connected with it saw that it was doomed, they moved back and took their chattels with them. While here they mostly had the good of their cause at heart and treated them well. One of the ex-slaves, when approached by Miss Zu Adams, of the State Historical Society, to get his experience, refused to give his recollections until the consent of former master could be obtained, as "Mr. Bayne," as he expressed it, "has always been a good friend of mine, and I don't want to hurt him." Col. A. S. Johnson, of Topeka, whom I have quoted before, gives another instance of this. "At the time the territory was opened for settlement, in 1854," he says, "I moved over to Missouri and left my farm in the care of a slave. It was a continual loss of money. They talked of leaving on the underground railroad. I told them all right; they could go; they did not, however. They all showed up one morning over in my home in Missouri. Two trusty slaves of my father's, Jack and Charlotte, husband and wife, practically raised my father's family, at the manual-training school at Shawnee Mission. They stayed with our family until 1861, although they had been offered their freedom."

It must ever be a satisfaction to the people of Kansas to remember that, though the final battle of the slave question was fought out on Kansas soil, the rigor and cruelty of the slave business never existed within her borders. The mere existence of slavery here was enough.

From the year 1860 Kansas has been outspoken and radical on the question of freedom. She may wander on social, religious or political questions, but with all her vagaries no Kansas man has since that date dared to advocate or recognize any cause tainted with the curse of human bondage.

The constitution of the state chiefly commends itself to the people of the state because, in the words of one of her greatest and most learned sons, "Every word, sentence and paragraph breathes the spirit of human liberty."

THE LEAD AND ZINC FIELD OF KANSAS.

An address by MISS IRENE G. STONE,* delivered before the Kansas State Historical Society, at its twenty-sixth annual meeting, January 21, 1902.

THE wonderful development of the lead and zinc mines of the state of Kansas has spread its fame abroad until this region, although small in area, has become one of the most important business centers in the great West. Not only from a commercial standpoint is it interesting and important, but scientists and geologists find much to interest them, and that phase of this region has been copiously treated by them. The commercial interests have been cared for by those interested, and it is the intention of this sketch to give some details regarding the early inhabitants and to trace its development during the last thirty-five or forty years.

As compared with other locations and sections of our country, it is with considerable pride that we point to the degree of importance which this section, less than twenty-five miles square, has attained, and the extent to which it has made itself felt in the world at large. It is a lasting tribute to the pluck, energy and hardships endured by those who opened the country, and whose foresight and confidence in its future caused them to stay here through thick and thin.

Lead mining is not a new industry, as history tells us it was engaged in very extensively in Spain as early as 1100 B. C., and in most of the foreign countries lead has been found to a greater or less extent. It has been thought that the deposit there was exhausted several times, but it is a matter of history that it is almost inexhaustible. For instance, in Spain, each time when it was thought that the ground had been "worked out," as the miners express it, further research has developed the fact that by going a little deeper they have found plenty of ore to keep them busy these 3000 years.

Coming down to our own country, we find that the lead and zinc mines in St. Francois county, Missouri, known as Mine La Motte, were discovered in 1720, and have been worked almost continuously since, and are still good.

Also the St. Joe, Des Loge and Granby mines, in Missouri, have been operated from forty to sixty years, and those of more recent date in Jasper county, Missouri, and our own territory in Cherokee county, Kansas, give promise of rivaling the Spanish mines in endurance and in profit to the operators.

The early history of the neutral lands, or Joy purchase, having been so ably chronicled by one of our adopted sons, the Hon. Eugene F. Ware, it is left to us to throw some light on the discovery and development of this country since the discovery of lead and zinc ore here. This particular locality, known as the lead and zinc region of Kansas, a part of the Louisiana purchase, was reserved for the Osage tribe of Indians, and when they left to go further West the government bought the land and held it for the Cherokee absentees. Very few Cherokee families came out here, and those who did had their choice of land. The following are among the most prominent families who took up land here in 1835: God-

*IRENE GOVE STONE, daughter of W. B. and Irene W. Stone, was born in Kansas City, Mo., and settled in Galena, Kan., August 3, 1877, where she has since resided. Attended public and private schools at home, and, after attending Washburn College three years, graduated from seminary course. Was graduated from Miss Aiken's school, at Stamford, Conn., after a two-year course there. She has been connected with one or two literary clubs, and has been president of the Clio club, of Galena, for three years.

dard, Harland, Fields, Wolfe, Bly, Ralls, two families named Rogers, and one named Mogray.

Among those who came was David Harland, who was only one-quarter Cherokee, one of the most prominent and active men, having many friends among both Indians and whites, and, being a member of the Cherokee general council, was instrumental in consummating many business transactions between the two peoples. The story of his life reads almost like a romance, and is certainly a most interesting one. He moved to the neutral lands in 1835, from North Carolina, bringing with him a wife, who was a native of that state, a typical Southern woman. Mr. Harland owned slaves, and his nine children remember their "black mammy" almost as well as they do their own mother. There was only one daughter among the children, and she can tell thrilling tales of adventure. Mrs. Harland died when her daughter was only ten years old, after which the daughter was her father's constant companion, the two riding all over this country on horseback, often chasing deer, buffalo and antelope in droves. Mr. Harland placed his daughter in the Catholic Osage Mission school, expecting her to remain there five years, but never having been confined before, nor separated from her father, she could not endure the sudden change in living, and left the school to roam at will with her father again.

David Harland owned a valuable farm of 320 acres along Shoal creek, which included the present site of Galena, and on which mineral was believed to exist. Miss Harland—now Mrs. Willard, of Baxter Springs—tells me that after a severe storm, which uprooted several large trees on the place, in company with her father she went to look at them, and lead was plainly visible on the roots; but the trees were put back into place and nothing said about it, for they had to pay royalty to the government on all mineral taken out, and consequently they did not want it known. There is a legend to the effect that the Indians used to take out enough lead to make bullets for their guns during the war, and there is probably more truth than fiction in it. In fact, Uncle Billy Cook, mentioned later on, could, when disposed to do so, direct people to hollow places in the rocks where the Indians separated the lead from the flint rocks. Their process was very simple, and I am told the same is used in some parts of Canada now. The Indians would fill a depression in the rocks with wood, put the ore-bearing flint on that, cover it all with something to prevent the heat from escaping too fast, and then burn the wood slowly. As soon as the flint was hot enough it would crack to pieces, and the lead would settle slowly to the bottom.

There was a strip of government land two miles wide, which extended about two miles north from the Quapaw line (where whites were allowed to settle) to the neutral land, but the settlers were not content with this and tried to steal some of the Indians' land. The Indians ordered them off once, when they returned and tried to evade the Indians and the United States troops, but the second time everything was burned before them and they were forced to leave in haste. Although the whites who settled there knew of the mineral, there was not much prospecting done, because they wanted to preempt claims and prove them up, and it took some time in those days to do this. In the meantime the war came on, and all are familiar with the stormy scenes enacted then.

Being so near the border of both Missouri and the Indian Territory, this section was the scene of many disputes and skirmishes during the war, and in October of the year 1863, Quantrill's men made a most unexpected and vicious attack upon some Union soldiers stationed at Baxter Springs, and about 80 of

the Union soldiers were killed.* Mr. Harland helped to take care of the remains, eighty of whom were put into a pit until they could be properly cared for. In time they were buried in a national cemetery at Baxter Springs, in which stands a monument as a silent benediction upon their bravery and heroic death. All the whites left here after that and the Indians had their own way for a time.

Many of the soldiers who had passed through here during the war were impressed with the appearance of the country, and determined to take up land at its close, thinking that in time it would become a rich agricultural country. However, those who located in this immediate vicinity soon discovered that the country was too rugged, being in reality a part of the Ozark range, and the soil too thin to yield any crop; consequently, they had to resort to other means for a livelihood.

As an example of the high esteem in which this country was held, when Mr. Baker bought some land—known as the “Baker tract,” and which has produced several fortunes for the owners—he traded a mule and a top buggy for it, but it cost him about \$100 to secure a clear title to it, and his friends thought him very foolish, indeed, to put so much money into such a worthless piece of ground. Prospecting had been done in this region, and some indications of lead had been found, but no one had ever mined enough to know whether there was ore in paying quantities.

In the spring of 1866 the first permanent settlement was made, when the town of Baxter Springs was located, on a farm lying along Spring river, one of the prettiest streams in the state, the land being owned by a man named Baxter, who was a squatter, and, being a disagreeable, unpleasant man to deal with, was killed in a dispute over a claim. It is situated in Cherokee county, on the old military road between Fort Scott, in Kansas, and Fort Gibson, in the Indian Territory, and had been a favorite camping-place for travelers for years, because of the springs. Some prospecting was done in Baxter Springs, along Spring branch, a little stream running through the town. Indications of mineral were found there, but the water was so strong that they could not overcome it, and it had to be abandoned.

In the same year Mr. L. D. Phillips came here from Iowa, and being directed to David Harland, was enabled, through him, to obtain land southwest of Galena, on which the present suburb of Riceville now stands. Later, when a treaty was made, Mr. Phillips paid the government \$1.75 per acre, and received a patent signed by U. S. Grant, president.

*October 4, 1863, Gen. Jas. G. Blunt left Fort Scott for Fort Smith, Ark., to relieve that post, taking with him the records, papers and property of the headquarters of the district of the frontier. His escort consisted of company I, Third Wisconsin, and company A, Fourteenth Kansas, about 100 men. He reached Baxter Springs at noon, October 6, and while halting for his wagons to come up was attacked by about 100 men advancing from the timber at his left, dressed in federal uniforms, but whom it was afterwards learned were rebels under the command of W. C. Quantrill. This force was soon increased to 250 men. Thinking the advancing cavalry were a portion of Lieut. Jas. B. Pond's command, who had been encamped in the vicinity for a few days, enlarging the defenses at the Springs, he was taken by surprise. In the engagement which ensued seventy soldiers and ten citizens were killed and eighteen wounded, Quantrill's men killing all persons who fell into their hands, Maj. H. Z. Curtis, for whom Fort Zarah, Kansas, was named, being among the number thus murdered. The wagon train was robbed and destroyed.

Major Pond's (now the noted lecture bureau manager, with headquarters in New York) encampment was attacked about the same time by another detachment of Quantrill's force, some of whom had gained the inside of the breastwork before his men rallied to the defense. The rebels, however, were repulsed with little loss, Pond himself manning the howitzer on the exposed position outside of the camp. His cavalry were absent at the time on a reconnoiter. (Official Records, War of the Rebellion, series 1, vol. xxii, pt. 1, page 688-701.)

In 1867 the first school district was organized, known as district No. 2, with L. D. Phillips, director, Thomas Archer, clerk, and C. C. Simmons, treasurer. A log schoolhouse was erected, which has since been replaced by a good frame building of three rooms, known as the Black Jack schoolhouse, district No. 4.

There was a settlement at Chico, about one mile west of the present site of Galena, at the springs which still bear this name.

About this time Fred and Jord. Wallace came here from Iowa and opened a large store and trading-post, where they did a lucrative business for years. The first post-office in this part of the country was located here, but it is impossible to learn who all the postmasters were. At one time it was at a Mr. Lillibridge's house, it being the custom then to move it to the postmaster's residence or place of business, and at another time it was at Mr. Reisdain's place. Mr. John Baker, father of C. C. and John Baker, of this place, was postmaster when Galena was settled, and we shall hear more of this post-office later.

Mr. Taylor Foster, coming from Illinois in the spring of 1869, stopped at Lowell, then a thriving village at the junction of Spring river and Shoal creek, and after looking about for a time bought the farm on which he still lives, immediately west of Galena, from Mr. Reisdain, who entered it. Mr. Foster prospected his land and found there was ore in paying quantities, but did not develop it. This farm was in the settlement known as Round Prairie, a tract about one-and-one-half miles north and south and one-and-one-fourth miles east and west, so named because of its peculiar situation, being surrounded on all sides by hills enclosing a round prairie. Some prospecting was also done on the farm just west of Mr. Foster's, owned by John Stephenson, father of William Stephenson, of this place, but they did not find enough "shines" to encourage them to go further. The oldest cemetery in this section of the country is located on this farm, and indications of mineral were found here from time to time.

About the year 1870, Uncle Billy Cook, who acquired the name of "Black Jack Cook," discovered on the tract still known as the "Cook forty," the first zinc ore, or "jack," as it is familiarly known, whence his cognomen. Little attention was paid to the discovery, however, as every one was looking for and expecting lead ore. As this land then belonged to the railroad, there was considerable strife to gain possession of it. David Shew succeeded in getting possession of the Cook forty and the forty north, L. D. Phillips furnishing money to purchase same, and securing the north forty for his share.

In the spring of 1871, the Kansas City, Fort Scott & Gulf railroad was completed to Baxter Springs. Being the first railroad penetrating this country, the event was celebrated by an Indian barbecue, to which every one in the surrounding neighborhood went. The railroad expected to continue south through the Indian Territory to the Gulf of Mexico, but its plans were altered by the developments of the next two or three years.

About the year 1871 a company of Baxter men, composed of A. W. Rucker, Dr. G. G. Gregg, Dr. Wm. Street, and A. Willard, formed a company which leased all the land they could around Lowell. For a year or more considerable prospecting was done, and a strong effort was made to find the mineral, if it was there, but they met with no success, and the operation was abandoned at the close of the year.

In the spring of 1872, Mr. H. R. Crowell, now living at Columbus, but formerly a banker at Baxter Springs, tells me that he was induced by an old gentleman and neighbor, whose name has escaped him, to come to Galena, or "Short Creek," as this settlement was formerly called, and look over the ground, as he was positive there was lead in paying quantities if they could only have the capi-

tal to develop it. They had determined to buy some land and begin mining operations secretly, but their plans were frustrated by the sudden death of the old gentleman. There was some more ore taken out on the Cook forty during this year, and several tons of it were sold to a man in Joplin named Guengerich, who is still agent for Mattheissen & Hegeler in Joplin, and who shipped it to La Salle, Ill., to be smelted, but the price paid for ore was so low and transportation so high that it was not a paying investment.

Considerable excitement again prevailed later in the year, when a new discovery was made on a farm owned by Jesse Harper, at a camp afterwards known as Bonanza, being situated in a "bottom" northwest of the present site of Galena, on Short creek. There is a report that one of the Harper family was plowing a field preparatory to making a potato patch, when he accidentally plowed up a piece of lead weighing between two and three pounds. John Shew, son of David Shew, mentioned above, and Jess. Riddle, immediately sunk a shaft on the spot, and found ore in paying quantities at a depth of from fifteen to twenty feet, which caused a season of wild speculation. Baxter parties came over immediately upon hearing of the discovery and bought out the men who were sinking the shaft for \$400, at the same time bargaining with Mr. Harper for his farm of 160 acres for \$4000. In the meantime some Joplin, Mo., people came along and offered him \$10,000 for it. The temptation to make \$6000 more was so strong that Mr. Harper agreed to sell to the latter parties, but the Baxter men, upon threatening a lawsuit, gained possession of the land, and the Bonanza Company was formed, composed of the following men: Capt. Wm. Blood, H. R. Crowell, Edward Zellekin, Maj. C. F. Larabee, P. J. Pfenning, Dr. Wm. Street, and J. M. Cooper; Mr. L. D. Phillips being the man who handled the money and helped to make the deal. A smelter was built there and an attempt made to handle the ore on the ground, but, being so far from the railroad, it was too expensive hauling the coal here and the pig lead to the railroad. After this excitement there was a lull in mining activities for a few years, and another effort was made to induce the thin and rocky soil to yield to the demands of the husbandmen who had settled here.

Another post-office in this vicinity was established in 1876, on what is known as the Stanley farm, two miles southwest of Galena, but which belonged to David Harland's daughter, who was then Mrs. Thomas Archer, since then known as "the post-office on wheels," of which we shall hear later. The postmaster was Jacob H. Leeds, and the post-office was known as Leedsville. Mr. Leeds became a defaulter, and Messrs. Phillips and Stanley, who were his bondsmen, had to make his peculations good to Uncle Sam. Mrs. Archer was aware that there was mineral on her place, but, becoming dissatisfied, traded her place to Mr. Stanley for his farm near Baxter Springs, giving two acres for one. Mr. Stanley commenced prospecting and soon ore in paying quantities was found, which made him one of the wealthiest men in this section of country at that time.

Mining was resumed at Bonanza again in the spring of 1876 by the Bonanza Company, but was so expensive they did not continue it.

John McAllen, who was known as a successful miner and operator, had gone from here to Joplin about the year 1872, where he was often in "durance vile," caused by his intemperance; in fact, he is reported to have said that he did not feel at home anywhere outside of brick walls and iron bars. When the people there were thoroughly out of patience with him they invited him to take French leave, which invitation he accepted without delay, coming to this camp in 1877. Being out of funds, he found his friend of former days, John Shew, and these two decided to see if they could not find mineral here, as all the indications

were favorable. They induced Mr. Nichols, who owned a farm on the south side of Short creek, to let them put down a shaft on his land, and on March 21, 1877, they struck lead, and then excitement began in earnest.

About this time the news spread of the discovery of ore here, and it is estimated that within thirty days at least 10,000 people came pouring in from all directions, in all conceivable kinds of vehicles, some even coming, like the maiden lady of old, afoot and alone. Some rude structures called houses were hurriedly built, the less fortunate ones being compelled to repose upon Mother Earth when darkness overtook them, with the canopy of heaven as a sheltering roof. Those who did the most lucrative business at first were the ones who could secure a tent or a shack and prepare any kind of food to appease the longings of the inner man.

The scenes following the discovery of ore in such rich bodies as that at this place have often been described as being the most exciting of any of the actual events of human life, and I have been told by those who have been through such experience before that, for intenseness of feeling, with some features rich in comedy, the strife following the discovery of ore on the Nichols tract would eclipse anything before written, and might even cast a shadow on the "Arabian Nights."

Just south of the Nichols tract, on which the discovery was made, was the farm of Egidius Moll, an old German who had eked out something like half of an existence cultivating a few acres of this very barren soil. Being the first high ground above the creek valley, it was naturally the place for the town to be built; accordingly Mr. Moll had many applications for his land. The first to come were two prospectors from Missouri, named Cornwall and Johnson, with not more than money enough to pay their fare back to Joplin, who represented themselves as capitalists and secured a contract from Mr. Moll for the purchase of eighty acres in consideration of \$2500. Soon after—probably on the same day—a party, headed by Dr. Wm. Street and John M. Cooper, of Baxter Springs, approached Mr. Moll and obtained a written contract with him for the sale of his farm for \$5000. Next came a party from Missouri, headed by Colonel Fairbanks, of Joplin, and bought the property from Mr. Moll for the consideration of \$10,000. All these purchases were entered into in writing, but it soon became known that Mr. Moll had made more than one bargain, and as each purchaser insisted upon his rights, there was a few days' delay in locating the town site.

The first lead ore taken out by Shew and McAllen was secured by Mr. Patrick Murphy, of Joplin, and was hauled to Joplin to be smelted. Being the first lead shipped from the new district, the occasion of moving it was celebrated by securing the four largest horses to be found, decorating the team and wagon with bunting, flags, etc., in appropriate style.

Meantime Messrs. W. B. Stone,* Wm. March, W. J. Lea, and Wm. Craig, as the Craig Mining and Smelting Company, had secured a lease, with option to purchase, from the Kansas City, Fort Scott & Gulf Railroad Company, on the eighty acres of land next to the Moll tract on the east, since become famous as

* WILLIAM BEECHER STONE was born at Tallmadge, Summit county, Ohio, February 15, 1838. He was educated at Tallmadge Academy. In 1856, at the age of eighteen, he caught the Kansas inspiration, and arrived at Sugar Mound, now Mound City, in September of that year. In a few weeks he changed to Douglas county, where he taught school until the winter of 1857-'58. In 1858 he moved to Olathe. He enlisted in the Fourth Kansas, which, with the Third, was consolidated into the Tenth. He became a captain, and participated in many engagements, among them Fort Blakely, the last one of the war. He engaged in business in Kansas City, Mo., until 1873, when he moved to St. Louis, where he remained until April, 1877, when he visited the new lead discoveries on Short creek. He represented Cherokee county in the legislature two terms.

the property of the South Side Mining and Manufacturing Company. These gentlemen conceived the idea of taking advantage of the conflict over the Moll farm, and as soon as it was dark enough so that their movements would not be discovered by the opposition, W. J. Lea left to get the county surveyor, who lived about twenty miles away. By driving all night Mr. Lea arrived with the surveyor before daylight, and with the rising sun the surveying party commenced operations. In the meantime several hundred speculators had gathered for the purpose of investing in town lots; the surveyors were followed, and as soon as the stakes were driven around a lot it was immediately sold, and a payment of from five to ten dollars made to bind the bargain. In this way more than a hundred lots were sold on the first day, and when night came there were more than a dozen piles of lumber on the ground ready for the commencement of the buildings early the next morning. But danger often makes friends of those who were before bitter enemies, and the result was that sundown of the next day saw the parties holding the three claims on the Moll tract having a meeting in a fence corner, with the result that before midnight their difficulties were compromised, and the next morning the surveyors commenced laying out the Moll tract. For two or three days it was uncertain which tract would win, as the commencement had already been made on the first tract, but the new consolidated company, assuming the name of the Galena Mining and Smelting Company, had commenced the erection of some buildings for themselves, which turned the tide, and not more than half a dozen of the people who had bought lots on the first sale ever appeared to pay the balance or complete the purchase. For a time it looked as though Mr. Stone and his associates had lost a great prize, and that the others had won, but, as the poet says, "Time at last sets all things even," which was thoroughly verified in this case. There was some dispute as to what the town should be named, some favoring Cornwall, after the old Cornish mines in England, but it was finally decided to call it Galena.

Mr. Patrick Murphy, known, and very properly so, as "The Wizard of the Lead and Zinc Fields," had, through Mr. S. M. Ford, obtained a half-interest in the first-named property, now belonging to the South Side Mining and Manufacturing Company. Mr. Murphy declared from the start that it was too bad to sell such valuable mining property for a few thousand dollars for residence purposes, but as he had bound himself to assist in making it a town if possible he did so with the good faith that always characterized him. Looking back, however, after a lapse of twenty-five years, we find that the company which lost the town site has taken about two and three-quarter millions in ore from the eighty acres, which otherwise would not have produced over \$20,000; while the Galena Lead and Zinc Company, whose land proved to be about as rich, found that they had sold for about \$100 each town lots which afterwards yielded from \$10,000 to \$40,000 each in ore. It was a case where the winner lost and the loser won.

But the struggle for the location of Galena was not all, nor hardly half, of the struggle for supremacy which was to occur. During the period of suspense over the Moll tract, Mr. Patrick Murphy, with Mr. S. L. Cheney, now of this county, ex-Gov. George A. Crawford,* late of Colorado, and some others, had purchased

*GEORGE ADDISON CRAWFORD, who was voted for for governor in 1861, never served, the supreme court deciding the election illegal. He is often confounded with Samuel J. Crawford, who was elected governor in 1864 and again in 1866. George A. Crawford was born in Clinton county, Pennsylvania, July 27, 1827. He was educated at Clinton Academy, Lock Haven Academy, and at Jefferson College. He taught school in Clarke county, Kentucky, and at Canton, Miss. In 1848 he returned to Pennsylvania and read law. He was a prominent and popular democratic orator in that state. In the spring of 1857 he visited Kansas. He organized the Fort Scott Town Company and purchased 520 acres of the land the city now stands on. He be-

200 acres of land on the north side of Short creek, containing a high ridge—an ideal place for a beautiful city. Proximity to the mines seemed to be the first consideration, and the town of Empire City, which name Mr. Murphy and his party selected, was immediately adjoining, and the main street would have been less than a quarter of a mile further from the discovery shaft than the Moll tract. The Empire people also had the advantage of the knowledge and experience of ex-Governor Crawford as a town builder and boomer, and for several months the rivalry between the two towns was intense. Empire City was altogether the most beautiful tract, and with the advantage of its three enterprising managers made substantial progress, and at one time it looked as though it would win the prize, having, besides these advantages, control of the Nichols tract, where the mines were located.

About this time a post-office was thought of, and each town started to get it. The town companies were each trying hard for the post-office, believing that the place which secured it would eventually be the town. As Galena seemed to be making more rapid progress than Empire, the Empire people asked Mr. Leeds to get permission of the government to move the Leedsville post-office, mentioned before, to the mines. The department would not grant the request, but did give him permission to move to the stage line between Galena and Baxter Springs, but that line proved to be sufficiently elastic to reach the hill just in Empire City. In the meantime, Galena had been awarded the post-office by the government, and ordered to take possession of the Leedsville post-office. Mr. L. C. Weldy was appointed postmaster, and when he and others—among them J. C. Murdock, whose portly dimensions entitled him to almost anything he wanted—went to Empire after the post-office, they were informed by those in possession that they had better retire without the office, at the same time displaying some especially fine specimens of the gun family. In fact, the post-office could not be located exactly, and it may be added that it has never been found up to date. The Galena people then went out and brought in the Chico post-office under their arms, and began doing business immediately. An adjuster had to be sent here by Uncle Sam, and in due course of time each place was awarded a post-office—Mr. Weldy being appointed postmaster for Galena June 19, 1877.

Following the settlement of the town sites of Galena and Empire City came another period of two months of wild confusion. It seemed to be a time when there was no other attraction of the kind, and those who had been through the California and other discoveries of valuable ores claimed never to have seen so large a collection of the tough element as was gathered in this territory at that time. The gambler, the fakir, the confidence man, the saloon-keeper and the frail woman were masters of the situation, the "bon ton" as it were, and nothing but the fear of each other prevented absolute lawlessness and the shedding of blood. But some good people—some of the salt of the earth—whose moral characters seemed to grow in integrity amid the immorality of their surroundings, came, and became the beacon lights which guided the community over the

came an earnest free-state man, and was the object of much hatred on the part of the proslavery men on the border. Aside from the vote he received for governor in 1861, he was an aspirant for the republican nomination for governor in 1864, receiving twenty-three votes, and again in 1868, when he received thirty-five votes. He acted as commissioner of immigration without pay in 1868 and 1869. In 1867 he laid out the town of Osage Mission, now St. Paul. May, 1877, he visited the lead region on Short creek, in Cherokee county, and became business manager and secretary of the Empire Town Company. In 1881 he moved to Colorado and established the town of Grand Junction. He died January 26, 1891. For a sketch of this brilliant and useful friend of Kansas, see sixth volume Historical Collections, pp. 237-248.

shoals and through the perilous rapids in safety, though only a handful of men as compared with the lawless element. Naturally the better element went to work at once for the organization of city governments, and on June 19 Col. J. R. Hollowell,* as "attorney for the citizens, electors and taxpayers of the town of Galena," obtained an order of incorporation as a city of the third class from B. W. Perkins,† judge of the eleventh judicial district, at Oswego, and for an election of officers to be held June 30. The order named Egidius Moll, T. A. Fairchild and S. C. Minturn as judges, Al. W. Mason and L. T. Gifford as clerks, and S. E. Webb, Chas. Moll and W. L. Parker as canvassers, the election to be held at J. H. Smith's lumber-yard, and provided that in case of the death or absence of any of the above-named the citizens could fill such vacancy. Notice of the incorporation and election was published in the *Galena Miner*, and certificate of the publication by J. F. McDowell, "associate editor." It would seem that one of the judges appointed did not appear, and Mr. J. C. Murdock was elected in his stead; also, that W. W. Williamson served as canvasser in place of S. E. Webb.

The first election in a situation like this furnishes a lesson in political ethics which one must participate in to fully appreciate. Under the laws of the state, there were probably not half a hundred legal voters in the camp or precinct; the tough element claimed that no mining district ever amounted to anything or yielded much of value unless it had been ruled by rowdiness at least the first

*JAMES R. HALLOWELL was born December 27, 1841, in Montgomery county, Pennsylvania. His ancestors were Quakers, and traceable to three brothers of the name who came to America with William Penn. When he was nine years old his father moved to Baltimore, and in 1856 the family moved to Greencastle, Ind. His school advantages were interrupted in various ways. He was mustered into company C, Eleventh Indiana zouaves, Col. Lew. Wallace commanding, April 17, 1861. He was soon engaged in very strenuous duty, and while on a scout with a dozen or so companions had a desperate contest at close range with a number of the enemy, when he killed a Confederate captain named Ashby with the butt of his gun. In this twenty-seven of the enemy were killed, and young Hollowell received the highest commendation from his comrades and officers. His three months' term expired August 5, 1861, and he immediately began recruiting for the Thirty-first Indiana. He was elected a second lieutenant. February 15, 1862, he was severely wounded in the hip and arm, and was sent home. While on leave of absence he advertised to make a war speech in a schoolhouse in southern Indiana, and the anti-war men warned him not to do it. He responded that he would be there, and would kill the first copperhead that interrupted. He rose to the rank of colonel, and was mustered out after four years and nine months of dashing and brilliant service. In 1869 he was assistant secretary of the Indiana state senate. In May, 1869, he settled at Fort Scott, Kan., but in December of that year removed to Cherokee county. He aided in the organization of the town of Columbus. In 1871 he moved to Baxter Springs. November 28, 1871, he was married to Samantha H. Montgomery, of Linden, Ind. He was elected to the lower house of the legislature in 1875, and to the state senate in 1876. In 1879 he was appointed United States district attorney for Kansas. In 1887 he moved to Wichita. In 1890 he was the Republican nominee for Congress in the seventh district, and was defeated by Jerry Simpson. He was known throughout the West by the soubriquet "Prince Hal," and it was from the badinage of these competitors that the "Sockless Jerry" and the "silk stockings" joke of the first populist campaign became national. About 1895 Colonel Hollowell settled in Chicago. He died at Crawfordsville, Ind., June 24, 1898.

†BISHOP W. PERKINS was born in Rochester, Lorain county, Ohio, October 18, 1841; received a common-school education, with a short attendance at Knox Academy, at Galesburg, Ill.; read law at Ottawa, and was admitted to the bar there in 1867. He entered the army as sergeant in the Eighty-third Illinois infantry, and was adjutant and captain in the Sixteenth United States colored infantry, serving, in all, four years. He came to Kansas in April, 1869, settling at Oswego; was that year made county attorney of Labette county. In 1870 and in 1872 he was elected probate judge, and in 1873 was appointed judge of the district court, eleventh district; was elected in 1874, and again in 1878, holding the place for ten years. He was elected congressman at large to the XLIXth, Lth and LIst Congresses, and was appointed, January 1, 1892, to the United States senate, to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of Hon. Preston B. Plumb. He served until March 4, 1893, when Hon. John Martin was elected for the remainder of the term. He died in Washington June 20, 1894.

year, and, being overwhelmingly in the majority, declared their intention of electing the full list of officers and of running what they termed a "wide open" town. As soon as the election proclamation was issued both sides went actively to work selecting their candidates and preparing for the struggle for supremacy. The law and order part of the community selected the following as their candidates: For mayor, Geo. W. Webb, formerly of Fort Scott; for police judge, A. W. McGill, of Cherokee county; for councilmen, J. F. Higgins, W. I. Linn, R. E. Spencer, Llewellyn Thomas, and W. G. Griffin.

The other party selected one Beardsley for mayor, but the balance of the ticket we are unable to learn. Beardsley was a gambler, and it was understood that he had served a term in the penitentiary.

The day and night before the election was a period of intense excitement. Both sides spent the night arranging details and disposing of their forces for the coming day with as much care, and many with as serious foreboding, as though it were the night before an actual battle and no one knew who, if any, would be left to tell the tale. It seemed that the entire effort of the rough crowd was concentrated on Galena, and it became the battle-ground of the new district. During the night the "moralists," which the other party sneeringly called the order-loving people, induced Mr. J. C. Murdock, who had been a peace officer in Missouri, and knew the lawless element, to serve as one of the judges and receive the votes. They also erected a temporary partition in the rear part of the room by setting lumber upright, behind which a dozen men, armed with rifles and shot-guns, were stationed, in readiness for any emergency. Around the building, also, pickets were placed, to avoid an attack from the rear. When the time came for electing a judge in the place of one of those named in the order, who failed to appear, candidates were named by each party, and Mr. Murdock was elected by a minority vote. Being an athlete, with the fear of no man, he immediately assumed the position, and it soon became apparent that "in our need, the hour had found the man." Several times during the day Murdock stepped outside on the challenge of some tough to "fight it out," but his promptness in responding, and the knowledge of the preparations in the rear which discouraged the use of firearms, prevented any serious conflict. The law and order ticket was declared elected, and Galena started on its career of prosperity and good government, which it has since steadily maintained.

The first election in Empire City was in striking contrast to that in Galena, there being but one ticket in the field. The record shows that the order of incorporation was made by Judge Perkins June 18, the election to be held June 30, at which time the following ticket was elected: Mayor, Solon L. Cheney; police judge, Hugh McKay; councilmen, Samuel A. Weir, Chas. A. Spears, C. L. Campbell, Daniel Young, and D. C. Mills. At a meeting of the council, July 2, the following were appointed: Attorney, W. P. Bennett; treasurer, C. A. Davis; clerk, Geo. S. Hampton; marshal, E. C. Crawford; street commissioner, Maj. A. A. Bloomfield.

Empire, however, was full of enterprise, and had for some time been preparing to celebrate the Fourth of July on a scale commensurate with its ambition; if possible, with a barbecue, speeches, and fireworks. It was a novel idea for a city only two weeks old, and where two months before there was no human habitation, to be the central figure of a territory fifty miles in diameter, with an attendance of at least 25,000 people, in one of the most beautiful natural groves in the West, and to listen to words of wisdom from the lips of an orator like William Warner, of Kansas City. But Kansas is mercurial and will reach the stars, if they are of the fixed variety, and Empire did not stop there. It was reported

that the census-takers were then at work, and it is an historical fact that on the 28th of that month Gov. George T. Anthony* issued a proclamation declaring Empire City to be a city of the second class, with a population of 2337.

Meantime the mining interest had continued to increase, though overshadowed temporarily by the elections. The number of paying shafts had increased to four, and the weekly sale of ore to about \$3000 in value, all taken from an area of less than two acres of land and within fifty feet of the surface. But, as many rich pockets of lead had been found in Missouri which proved to be pockets only, the old miners, the wisest lot of unwise men known to the species, freely predicted that nothing of value would be found outside of the narrow bottom or flat along Short creek. In the crowd, however, was a man who to experience had added a study of the earth's formations, and had found evidence of a break in the earth's surface, which some writers class as a "wrinkle," causing a perpendicular formation such as the fissure and contact veins of the Western mountain territory. In mining parlance, such formations are often called the "mother vein" or the "feeder," the overflow from which are the rich pockets or deposits in what were formerly the depressions caused by the upheaval, and that in and contiguous to such formations ore would be found in great quantities, and to a very great depth, and would make a great and permanent mining district. We would not call this man and others like him prophets—they are simply readers of the book of nature, which is open to everybody, and in this case the reading proved to be correct.

The first discovery of ore outside the valley of Short creek was on the South Side Town and Mining Company's land, just east of the town site of Galena. It was named the Nevada shaft, and is still being profitably operated. This discovery stimulated prospecting on the higher ground in all directions, until now there are over 2000 acres of developed, ore-bearing territory, most of which is being profitably operated. It will require at least another generation of men to exhaust the ore bodies now "in sight,"¹ with more probability of finding ore below the present workings than there was originally of finding the ore now being taken out.

Lead and zinc may be classified as kindred ores, being generally associated, though in Kansas lead usually predominates nearest the surface, which condition is reversed at about the 100-foot level, and it may be that at greater depths lead may almost entirely disappear, though some of our best authorities, whose opinions heretofore have been almost prophetic, are of the opinion that at greater

*GEORGE T. ANTHONY was born at Mayfield, Fulton county, New York, June 9, 1824, of orthodox Quaker parentage. His education was limited to winter terms of district schools. At nineteen he was apprenticed to the tin and copper-smith trade. He worked at this trade for five years, clerked in a store, engaged in the hardware business for nine years at Medina. He removed to New York city and engaged in the commission business. For three years he acted as loan commissioner for Orleans county in New York city. August 18, 1862, he was authorized to recruit the Seventeenth New York independent battery, and he was mustered into the service as captain. He served with this battery until the close of the war, was brevetted major for special service at Appomattox Court-house, and was mustered out at Richmond June 12, 1865. In November, 1865, he removed to Kansas, settling at Leavenworth, where he served as editor of the *Bulletin*, and of the *Conservative*, for more than two years, and of the *Kansas Farmer* for six years. He was appointed as assessor of internal revenue in 1867, and in 1868 collector of internal revenue. He was president of the State Board of Agriculture three years, and a member of the Board of Centennial Managers for two years. November 7, 1876, he was elected governor, serving two years. In 1881 he was made general superintendent of the Mexican Central railway, which he held for two years. In 1885 he represented Leavenworth county in the lower house of the legislature. From 1889 to 1892 he was a member of the State Board of Railroad Commissioners. He was defeated for congressman at large in 1892 by William A. Harris. In 1895 he was appointed superintendent of insurance. He died in Topeka August 5, 1896.

depths—probably 300 to 500 feet—lead will become, and continue to be, the principal ore, as it is in the Des Loge, St. Jo and other mines in southeast Missouri.

The first mining was, of course, of the crudest possible style, the hoisting being done by a man with a windlass, and large quantities of ore were hoisted in this way. In September, 1877, the first horse-power was introduced. This was what was called a "whip," and consisted of a rope passing over a pulley about eight feet above the center of the shaft, then horizontally to and under another pulley at the surface of the ground. The shaft end of this rope was attached to the tub for bringing materials from the bottom, while the horses, attached to the other end, walked straight out from the shaft in hoisting, and backed up in lowering the tub. Soon after a "whim" was introduced. This consisted of a drum about five feet in diameter and eighteen inches thick, lying horizontally, around which the rope was wound as the horse, attached to a sweep which was fastened to the upper side of the drum, made its circuit, after the style of an ordinary horse-power. The drum was arranged so as to be released from the sweep while the tub was descending, its speed being controlled by a wooden friction, under the control of the operator. In April, 1878, the ordinary geared horse hoister, too well known to require description, was introduced, and soon became the only power used, with the exception of the windlass, which is even now used in sinking new shafts to some extent.

The first method of separating ore from waste was by sluices at the side of the creek, the ore, if attached to some other substance, being "bucked up" by hand power on a flat rock, with a sledge-hammer or cast "buck iron." Next came the "jig tank," still largely in use by small operators and at all new "prospects." This consists of a box about six feet square, three feet deep, and open at the top. Near the center of this tank is suspended a "jig box," which is about five feet long, eighteen inches wide, and ten inches deep, with a steel or iron bottom with half-inch perforations. This tank is filled with water, the box (often called the sieve bottom) is filled with ore or "gangue," and is then shaken up and down in the water by means of a spring pole and man power. The ore, being the heaviest, goes to the bottom, and the waste to the top. The latter is then shoveled off and the process repeated. In this way an experienced man will handle from six to ten tons per shift, though the fine ore which goes through the perforations usually has to be jigged again on a finer sieve to be in a marketable condition. By these processes all of the ores were prepared for market during the first four years, and they are still largely in use by the smaller operators, who mostly do their own work, and at newly discovered mines, until a sufficient ore body is developed to justify the erection of a mill.

By this time the necessity for more rapid and economical methods of pulverizing and dressing the ores was very apparent, and in 1881 Patrick Murphy and S. L. Cheney, large stockholders in the Empire Mining and Smelting Company, contracted with one Stowlinski, a foreign engineer (afterwards connected for many years with the Fort Scott Foundry and Machine Company) for the erection of a mill in which the crushing and cleaning should all be done by steam-power, and a capacity of handling fifty tons of ore in twelve hours. The mill was practically a success from the start, and was located on the north side of Short creek, in Empire City.

The following year Mr. Stowlinski furnished plans for an improved mill, which was built by Messrs. W. B. Stone, Howard Gove, and A. M. McPherson, on the northwest corner of the South Side Town and Mining Company's property in Galena. This mill has been operated most of the time since and is still in

good condition. It is now the oldest mill in the state—the Murphy & Cheney mill having been destroyed by fire a few years ago—and is known as W. B. Stone's No. 1. The success of this method of reducing the ores having been demonstrated, others followed, until, by January 1, 1902, over 130 such plants had been erected in the Kansas mining district. Improvements have also been made by which the capacity of each has been increased to about 100 tons per shift, or an aggregate of over 10,000 tons per day.

In 1879 the Galena Lead and Zinc Company built the first modern smelter for the reduction of lead ore into pig lead. The plant consisted of three "eyes," or furnaces, of the Scotch hearth pattern, and had a total capacity of 27,000 pounds of ore per day. The following year the Picher Lead Company, of Joplin, Mo., which had obtained some interest in the Kansas field, by agreement with the Galena Lead and Zinc Company, added two "eyes" to its plant; and, in 1881, a company composed of W. B. Stone, Howard Gove, and John M. Price,* of Atchison, under the firm name of H. Gove & Co., by a similar agreement, added three "eyes," all operated by power from the plant of the first-named company, with a combined smelting capacity of 72,000 pounds of ore per day. This arrangement proved to be very satisfactory and continued for two years, at which time the entire property was purchased by the South Side Mining and Manufacturing Company, successor to the South Side Town and Mining Company.

By this time the superiority of the Kansas lead ore as a flux for gathering the gold and silver of the Rocky Mountain ores had become firmly established, and, with a decreased supply of lead-bearing ore in the mountain territory, made a market for the Kansas product at better prices, much of the time, than could be realized by reducing it here, so that in the next ten years the larger part of this ore was shipped to the gold and silver smelteries at Kansas City and St. Louis, Mo., Omaha, Neb., Denver, Pueblo and Leadville, Colo., Chicago, Ill., and even some to Philadelphia, Pa. The plant at Galena, however, proved to be very profitable to the Galena mines, if not to the owners, for when outside purchasers would not pay full value for the ore it would be started up, which usually resulted in better prices being given. This very intermittent operation, however, was not profitable to the owners, and the plant was dismantled and sold.

The method of mining is described in an article written for the *Age of Steel* by W. B. Stone in 1897, from which I will take some extracts:

"In the mines of Kansas and of southwest Missouri the method of operation usually practiced is somewhat peculiar, but has the merit of giving the laborer an opportunity to receive the largest part of the profits, while he also bears part of the risk.

"The landowner or lessee usually surveys his tract into lots of about an acre each, and if it is in developed territory, where there is a fair certainty of finding ore, agrees to pay for lead ore taken out the sum of twenty-five dollars per thousand pounds of ore, when pig lead is worth seven cents per pound in St. Louis, and a proportionate sum as the price varies in St. Louis. On zinc ore the miner gets from seventy-five to ninety per cent. of its selling price. By this method thousands of men with no capital but their own energy have made fortunes, sometimes of large proportions. The landowner may not reap so great a profit, but there are no strikes or other disagreeable features arising from employing

*JOHN MORES PRICE was born at Richmond, Madison county, Kentucky, October 4, 1829. His father emigrated to Missouri, but when the boy was fifteen years old returned to Kentucky. In March, 1848, Mr. Price was admitted to the bar. Two years later he was elected county attorney of Estill county. In 1858 he came to Kansas and settled at Atchison. He represented Atchison in the senate and house of representatives several times. He was a state senator at the time of his death, October 19, 1898. He was the leading candidate for the United States senate in 1873, when John James Ingalls was first elected. In 1888 Mr. Price was one of a commission to revise the general laws of Kansas. He was a man of the greatest public spirit.

help, and each man being interested in the profits insures economical handling of the ores. Usually, from two to six or eight men form little companies for the purpose of 'prospecting.' They secure one or two mining lots in such places as suits them, and, with a windlass for hoisting the rock, unite in sinking one or more shafts. If ore is found, it is at first cleaned on a 'hand jig,' but as soon as the ore body is developed they have no trouble in securing machinery sufficient to handle it advantageously. In many instances, the miners erect expensive mills for concentrating their ores, while in other cases the landowners erect the mills and concentrate the ores at a nominal cost per ton. The ores, when properly dressed, are sold to the smelting companies, whose agents visits the mines daily to inspect and purchase them."

When the Kansas City, Fort Scott & Gulf railroad built into Baxter Springs it was the intention to go directly south to the Gulf of Mexico, as the name implies, but its plans were changed by the development here. Empire, in her strife to gain the ascendancy, sent her representative citizens to plead with the railroad people, and, as some of the officials and employees were interested personally on that side, it was not difficult for them to secure the railroad, and on October 18, 1879, the first train from Kansas City came into Empire over this road.

About 1882 the St. Louis & San Francisco railroad came in, giving us direct communication with St. Louis and eastern points. During the past year the two roads have consolidated, with some advantage to the place, as we are now on the main line of the 'Frisco, while before we were on a branch, connecting directly with the through trains. The Missouri, Kansas & Texas railroad is preparing to come through here, the survey having been made and the road-bed in readiness for the rails.

While the material side of life was receiving the major share of attention and interest, the people so disposed found time to devote to the needs of the spiritual side of man, and churches and Sunday-schools were established on both sides of the creek in 1877. During the first summer Sunday-school was held Sunday mornings in a temple provided by nature, with some friendly sheltering oaks as a canopy to protect them from the rays of old Sol, who beamed benignly on the efforts of the faithful ones. The first church properly organized was on the Empire side, and was under the protection of the Presbyterian society. Rev. Clark came here in the interests of the mission board, and by his affable, forceful manner soon organized a society and decided to erect a \$1500 building. The mission board would give \$500, the people here \$500, and the question of raising the other third seemed to be a difficult one to solve, so far as the people were concerned. Not so with Mr. Clark; he went East and in an incredibly short time returned with \$536 which he had collected among the Sunday-schools there. A commodious frame building, capable of seating several hundred people, was erected during the winter, and probably in the spring of 1878 was dedicated.

The Methodists had a small room in which they held services for a short time, but they have never had a permanent organization in Empire.

Among the first who preached on the south side of the creek was Rev. L. Z. Burr, a Congregationalist, although he did not organize a society of that denomination. The services were held in Corpenny's hall, up-stairs over one of the largest saloons in the place. At first all the denominations united in union services, and the first Sunday-school was known as the Union Sunday-school, where all Protestant denominations met in harmony and concord, and had one of the most interesting and successful Sunday-schools ever found anywhere—for in unity there is peace.

About the second winter a temperance wave swept over the place, which, by the way, was not confined to this locality, and a strong organization was effected by the temperance people. They erected a building known as the "Tabernacle,"

which was unique in its character, and could tell strange tales had it the gift of speech. On Sunday it was the temple of worship, while during the week the theater-loving, amusement-seeking part of the population could gratify their desires under the same roof. It was a large frame structure, hurriedly built, more attention being given to the utilitarian than to the artistic side in the construction, and one day a Kansas zephyr concentrated its force upon it and reduced it in a short time to a small-sized lumber-yard.

About this time the denominations began to make themselves felt, and in the course of a year or two several substantial church buildings were erected. In order to keep pace with the increase of population, at present about ten structures are required, varying in size and elegance to accommodate the church-going part of the population, representing nearly all denominations, and including one flourishing chapel under the dictation of Pope Leo XIII, which was erected in Empire soon after the settlement.

Those who had their families with them during the early days soon began to look about them for educational facilities, and one or two private schools were opened for a short time. In Empire City a school board was elected at the spring election, and on August 27, 1877, the school board elected the following officers: Doctor Woodworth, president; G. W. Campbell, vice-president; J. Shomon, clerk; M. M. Milligan and J. J. Chatham, members, being sworn in by W. P. Bennett, notary public. J. W. Hutchins, H. O. Hanawalt, and Ella Fry, as board of examiners, selected the following teachers: C. A. Clark, principal, Mrs. Emma Watzer, primary teacher; and thus the youth were provided with the means for fitting themselves for the places they were to fill. In 1879 a good frame schoolhouse was built, which has since proved adequate to accommodate the demands of the place.

On the Galena side, during the winter of 1877-'78, there were one or two private schools, of which we have no records, but in the fall of 1878 the district school which had been located northeast of this place, near the state line, was moved in here. At that time Squire W. R. Moore, J. W. Hodges and M. C. Mowry composed the school board, and in the fall of 1878 school was opened here, with the following teachers: Mr. Prichard, principal; Mrs. Miller and Miss Edith Conwell, assistants. Soon afterwards a four-room frame building was erected, and was adequate to meet the demands for the next few years. At present, however, it requires four large brick buildings and twenty-six teachers to care for the 1757 children enrolled.

During the winter of 1877-'78 the people were very much discouraged here, and many whose foresight could not enable them to see anything for them in the future went away, but those who had confidence in the outlook stayed, and many have been richly rewarded, while some, of course, have failed to meet their expectations—a state of affairs not confined to this place. There are four companies which were formed during the first year which are now operating on the land settled on at that time, and mention of the organization and personnel of the companies, together with an estimate of the output of the various tracts, may be interesting.

The West Joplin Lead and Zinc Company, owned by Mr. Patrick Murphy, of Joplin, and his brother, James Murphy, of Empire, and parties living in St. Joseph, Mo., leased their land, and it has not been possible to obtain many details in regard to it. That it has paid well, though, we may know from a partial report, which shows that in two years this company realized about \$825,000 from the sale of ore. At the present time the Patrick Murphy estate and James Murphy own all of the stock.

The Galena Mining and Smelting Company, was formed, with Edward Zellekin, S. H. Sanderson, Jno. M. Cooper and L. P. Cunningham as directors, and, after the town lots were sold, surveyed the remainder of their land into mining lots, when mining operations were immediately begun. It proved a very rich piece of ground, paying its owners handsomely since the beginning. Later it consolidated with the Carlin Lead and Zinc Company, their ground adjoining on the south, and took the name of the Galena Lead and Zinc Company, the board of directors consisting of Edward Zellekin, president; S. H. Sanderson, vice-president; Jno. M. Cooper, secretary; Levi Riseling, treasurer; and L. P. Cunningham. The present stockholders consist of the following: E. Zellekin, Riseling estate, Mrs. August Roos, Wm. Heinrichs, and Jno. M. Cooper.

The Craig Mining and Smelting Company, heretofore mentioned, organized as the South Side Mining and Manufacturing Company in May, 1877, with a capital stock of \$4000, in forty shares of \$100 each, with the following board of directors: W. B. Stone, Howard Gove, Wm. March, W. J. Lee, Wm. Craig, S. A. Day, and S. M. Ford. After organization, the board elected S. A. Day president; W. J. Lee, secretary; H. Gove, treasurer. This company, having lost the town site, immediately set to work to develop the land, and in July following was rewarded by one of the richest ore bodies then or since known in this section of the country, in what is still known as the Nevada shaft, and is still being profitably worked. In April, 1881, it merged into the South Side Mining and Manufacturing Company, capital stock \$500,000, with W. B. Stone, H. Gove, Jno. M. Price, F. L. Vandergrift and L. P. Cunningham as incorporators, and the following officers: W. B. Stone, president; H. Gove, vice-president; J. F. Mitchell, secretary; O. T. Street, treasurer.

On May 5, 1896, the original charter was amended, including five directors in place of three, viz., W. B. Stone, B. Cooley, S. L. Cheney, G. F. Braun, J. Shomon, and officers elected as follows: B. Cooley, president; G. F. Braun, vice-president; W. H. D. Brown, secretary; J. Shomon, treasurer.

In the following table we give the record of the South Side Mining and Manufacturing Company, from 1877 to 1901, inclusive, which seems to be the only company that has kept a record and continuously operated the same property.

OUTPUT OF THE SOUTH SIDE MINING AND MANUFACTURING COMPANY.

YEAR.	Lead ore.	Sold for.	Zinc ore.	Sold for.
1877.....	112,455	\$2,373 52	.....	.....
1878.....	3,570,003	63,911 82	.....	.....
1879.....	10,291,291	233,320 84	271,130	\$2,169 09
1880.....	9,553,204	215,939 59	.....	.....
1881.....	7,703,234	220,518 49	2,283,480	18,267 84
1882.....	5,007,410	115,591 66	4,650,250	37,202 04
1883.....	2,368,808	69,092 06	3,525,690	28,205 55
1884.....	1,351,847	97,066 03	3,054,320	24,434 55
1885.....	1,282,661	31,169 07	8,227,690	65,821 50
1886.....	1,671,813	49,659 20	14,475,180	115,801 47
1887.....	1,803,775	47,458 46	10,101,690	80,813 52
1888.....	1,329,277	20,604 51	14,579,770	116,638 16
1889.....	1,904,083	43,810 29	13,378,070	107,024 56
1890.....	1,070,360	25,146 28	3,977,890	38,823 12
1891.....	1,016,003	25,781 09	8,458,400	67,667 20
1892.....	1,018,229	21,815 44	7,615,110	60,920 88
1893.....	1,569,380	29,728 03	2,582,760	18,079 32
1894.....	1,272,090	21,185 80	3,249,450	16,728 86
1895.....	538,200	9,307 76	2,821,450	14,633 45
1896.....	1,036,136	15,640 92	2,363,490	14,327 21
1897.....	1,613,260	32,273 06	10,431,080	43,707 27
1898.....	1,121,470	24,926 40	14,399,240	78,269 55
1899.....	1,081,648	28,537 25	14,124,860	174,426 64
1900.....	1,712,031	41,705 55	12,503,980	132,593 23
1901.....	2,262,830	51,551 75	9,477,370	93,060 60
Totals	63,261,498	\$1,538,115 47	166,585,350	\$1,349,615 61

The fourth company composing the quartette is the Illinois Lead and Zinc Company, including, as stockholders, Hon. Adlai E. Stevenson, Major Pickett, Major Scott, of Bloomington, Ill., with V. W. Andrus as superintendent. It has been impossible to get many details regarding this company, but since 1886 their royalties have amounted to about \$150,000; so we see they have enjoyed their share of prosperity.

We might go on *ad infinitum* recording the developments of the individual interests in the vast territory included in the lead and zinc region of Kansas, but we may see from the amount of ore taken out and the sums realized from the same by these four companies that the hardships endured and energies exerted were not in vain.

In some respects a mining community is unlike any other, and has an atmosphere peculiar to itself, and, in lead and zinc mining especially, where the operator and miner may each have an interest, we find a very mixed and cosmopolitan population. We may say, without fear of exaggeration, that almost all parts of our own great country have sons and daughters here, and most foreign lands are represented.

As zinc ore has during the last fifteen years become such an important factor in manufacturing electrical supplies, zinc shingles, and for galvanizing purposes, many of those interested thought it might pay to smelt the ore here instead of shipping it to other points for that purpose. After repeated efforts to establish a smelter, in the spring of 1891 some parties from Pittsburgh, Pa., together with local operators, built a zinc smelter, which was operated a short time. It was modeled after those which are successfully operated in Illinois and other parts of this country, in which the gas generated from the coal is used in smelting, but a different process for generating the gas was tried here, and it was not a success. The gas could not be made fast enough to meet the demands, and after operating a short time it caught fire, as the result of imperfect construction, and was destroyed. While experimenting with it, however, the operators made and shipped about 225 tons of metal—spelter—and would no doubt have corrected the imperfection and made a success of it but for the fire. The zinc ore mined here, however, all goes to the lead smelteries, and is sold according to a schedule agreed to by operators and buyers, on a basis established by a reliable assayer.

The extent of area mined has increased from about ten acres to at least 10,000, and the best idea of what this little stretch of country is, the following table, compiled from reliable resources, will tell. No correct tables were obtainable before 1886.

OUTPUT OF THE GALENA-EMPIRE MINING DISTRICT.

YEAR.	Zinc ore.	Lead ore.	Sold for.
	<i>tons.</i>	<i>lbs.</i>	
1886	31,768	5,924,284	\$762,470 38
1887	32,795	6,152,380	784,604 98
1888	33,391	5,248,000	782,555 00
1889	32,950	7,985,000	974,455 00
1890	21,675	8,347,927	674,701 28
1891	20,641	7,204,420	636,373 83
1892	23,811	14,376,340	778,140 92
1893	25,028	10,279,180	667,103 42
1894	28,670	11,634,980	686,051 66
1895	41,232	25,075,290	1,295,340 75
1896	62,232	28,123,070	1,851,837 73
1897	75,553	29,294,450	2,034,988 00
1898	73,847	15,756,400	2,247,004 00
1899	64,052	14,166,670	2,673,504 00
1900	44,968	9,722,040	1,469,988 00
1901	33,930	10,540,540	1,060,010 00

During the years of 1881, '82, '83, '84, '85 and '87 the value of the output of lead was enhanced somewhat by reason of smelting the ore and marketing it as pig lead. The figures also show an average price of \$72.54 per 1000 pounds in 1884, and only \$29.16 in 1883. This occurred by holding some pig lead over from previous years and selling it in 1884. It will be noticed that the lowest average price was in 1879—\$12.35 per 1000—which was caused by the wonderful developments in the Leadville, Colo., district, while the low averages of \$15.50 in 1888 and of \$15.09 in 1896 were attributed to heavy importations of Mexican ores, under the law admitting silver-lead ore free of duty, and the general business depression of the period. Outside of these periods, lead mining has been a profitable occupation, and its future seems well assured.

The fluctuations of zinc ore, not being affected so much by the tariff duties; have not been so radical as those of lead, though the much greater investment necessary for the reduction of this ore has given the zinc smelters a wide margin of profit, and the producers a profitable and somewhat stable market. The one exception to this rule, in 1899, when zinc ore was advanced to fifty-five dollars per ton, was supposed to have been occasioned by a struggle for supremacy between different smelting concerns, resulting in unity of action, or what is commonly called the zinc trust, though zinc ore has not receded to the level of prices before that period. But the high price of ore for a few months brought on an era of the wildest speculation, through which only the most careful and conservative operators came out unscathed, while millions of foreign money was lost in the insane desire to "get rich quick," with the almost inevitable result of getting poor suddenly, not usually because of the absence of ore, but by reason of the extravagant and unbusinesslike methods employed. The lead and zinc mines of Kansas and Missouri were seriously injured by this season of wild speculation, but the recovery is nearly complete, and the promise for the future very satisfactory.

The success or failure of mining keeps pace quite closely with like experiences in other lines of business. We have good authority for the statement that more than ninety-seven per cent. of persons who engage in business fail at some time in their lives, though many afterward become successful. So in mining. Too many people suppose that mining is largely a matter of luck. A person who is imbued with that error should never invest in any mining enterprise. It would be as reasonable to expect to successfully operate a steamboat on the ocean with a pilot who knew nothing of the compass or the use of the rudder, and who paid no attention to his duties. On the contrary, it is an occupation which requires the same care and attention which is necessary for the success of any other business enterprise, and one in which there is possibility of very great reward.

Commercially, the city of Galena has grown to metropolitan proportions. With a population of over 7000, with water-works, electric lights, electric railways, free delivery, three excellent banking houses, whose business in 1901 amounted to nearly \$11,250,000, with excellent schools and churches, surrounded by a good farming community, the leading city in the richest county in the state in mineral and agricultural resources, we feel that we are entitled to a prominent place in the permanent history of the central commonwealth of the Union.

KANSAS AND THE FLAG.

DEDICATION OF A MONUMENT MARKING THE SITE OF
PIKE'S PAWNEE VILLAGE.

THE site of the Pawnee Indian village—where LIEUTENANT ZEBULON MONTGOMERY PIKE, on the 29th day of September, 1806, raised the flag of the United States, and asserted and enforced for the first time national sovereignty over the territory now known as Kansas—having been definitely located in section 3, township 2 south, range 5 west, in Republic county, through the instrumentality of the Pawnee Republic Historical Society, the legislature of 1901, by a unanimous vote in each house, passed the following law:

"CHAPTER 40.—PIKE'S PAWNEE INDIAN VILLAGE.

"AN ACT accepting title to the site of Pike's Pawnee Indian village, in Republic county, Kansas, making appropriation for fencing and suitably marking the said premises, and placing the same under the care and control of the Kansas State Historical Society.

"WHEREAS, Elizabeth A. Johnson and George Johnson,* of White Rock,

*GEORGE JOHNSON, son of Gile Johnson and Philena Salisbury Johnson, was born on his father's farm, one mile from Dayton, Cattaraugus county, New York, June 8, 1834. He was educated at Fairfield Academy, Herkimer county, first attending district school at Dayton. At the age of twenty-three years he went to the Pacific coast and remained ten years. He returned East, and in 1869 settled on White Rock creek, at his present home.

ELIZABETH AGAMONTA JOHNSON, daughter of Lawrence Walsh and Mary D. Y. Walsh, was born in New York city March 14, 1853. She was educated at the Baird street public school, New Brunswick, N. J., and from 1863 to 1867 at the convent of the Sacred Heart, Milwaukee, Wis. From 1867 to 1873 she lived at Brookfield, Mo. She settled in Republic county in February, 1873. Mrs. Johnson became interested in Pike's Pawnee village in 1874. In that great grasshopper year she returned on a visit to Brookfield, where she met her father. The men, during the early grasshopper raids, usually went to see their wife's folks. When she told her father where she lived, he replied that he did not know where Republic county was, and asked for the latitude and longitude. He had learned his geography that way. Mrs. Johnson continues: "I did n't know the latitude and longitude; so he got an atlas and I showed him where it was, and he said that it was just south of the fortieth parallel. And then he sat there in his chair—I can see him yet, swinging his cane and looking up at the ceiling—thinking about something. When I asked him what he was thinking about, he said: 'If I'm not mistaken, that is near where Pike encountered the Pawnee village where the Spanish flag was flying, and took it down and ran up the stars and stripes. Have you ever heard anything about it in that part of the country?' I told him I had n't, and then he told me of the travels of Lieutenant Pike, and all the sufferings he had endured.

"I went home with the intention of looking it up, for I would trust my father to know all there was about history. I spent all the time I had to look the country over, and asked the people about it, but I could n't find out anything at all. A band of Otoe Indians came to that portion of the country and I asked them if they knew about the site of any village around there, but they would n't tell me anything. One day in the spring of 1875 some of the neighbors wanted to go fishing in the Republican, about three miles from our house, and I went along. As we were driving across the country we came to a piece of ground that was like last year's circus grounds—up and down, up and down, as if we were really going over the edges of the rings. I had Pike on my mind, and I made them stop and let me out, and went over the ground and found the little embankments which had been around the wigwams, and all arranged in streets, as orderly as any city thoroughfare. I was delighted, and would have been glad to stay there all day, but the friends called to me that if I did n't come they would go on without me. On the way back I wanted to get out again, but they would n't let me, and they began laughing; and in fact every one laughed at me until the appropriation passed the legisla-

Republic county, Kansas, have, by their joint deed of general warranty, tendered as a gift to the state of Kansas a clear and unencumbered title to the following-described real estate situated in Republic county, Kansas, which deed is now held in escrow by the secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society, to wit: Beginning at a point six chains west of the southeast corner of the northeast quarter of section 3, township 2 south, of range 5 west, thence west sixteen chains, thence north seven chains, thence east sixteen chains, thence south seven chains to the place of beginning, containing eleven and two-tenths acres, more or less, being the site of Pike's Pawnee Indian village, which conveyance of title is to be made upon condition that within four years from the 29th day of March, 1899, the state of Kansas shall accept the title to said premises so tendered, and shall cause the said premises to be fenced and suitably marked to commemorate the first raising of the American flag on Kansas territory: therefore,

"Be it enacted by the Legislature of the State of Kansas:

"SECTION 1. That the title to the premises aforesaid, and described as follows, to wit: Beginning at a point six chains west of the southeast corner of the northeast quarter of section 3, township 2 south, of range 5 west, thence west sixteen chains, thence north seven chains, thence east sixteen chains, thence south seven chains to the place of beginning, containing eleven and two-tenths acres,

ture last winter. That was the last I saw of it for three years, as I had my children to take care of and other things to attend to. But after that I was over there a great deal, and I took all my visitors there, and pointed out the place as the site of the Pawnee village where Pike first raised the flag. The people made all sorts of fun of me, to tell the truth, but I persevered in my opinion.

"When I began to look up the matter, I found that Noble L. Prentiss had said that the place was at Scandia; but I stuck to my point, because the village was there. Several years after I went over to the site, and men were getting ready to plow it all up. I told my husband, and he said that he didn't see what it mattered, as the historians had the village located at Scandia. I went to the agent of the land and had the plowing stopped, and paid him five dollars for damages. I found in reading that Pike had said that he walked up to the bluff and looked down on the village, and we had a bluff where they could have done that, just along the river, and I knew that there was no bluff at Scandia; but when I came to a place in his book where he said that he went out of the village by the same road he went in, I knew that we had the place, for he could not have gotten out conveniently any other way. We got the books we wanted in the Historical Society. I tore the township maps out of the agricultural reports, and we followed Pike all the way until we got him to White Rock creek, about twelve miles from the site of the village. From there we had to prove that our place was the site instead of Red Cloud, Neb., which claimed it; but Red Cloud was fifty miles away, and Pike could not have been met, as he was, by the Indian chief Characterish, and have held a powwow, as he did, if it had been as far as that. Another thing was, that there was a mound described as devoid of grass, where Pike and the chief sat and smoked, and where the Indians ran down on both sides and executed their war maneuvers. There are even now two of the finest slopes from both sides which lead up to this hill, and there could be no finer place to have such a demonstration than here; but of all the things we had to guide us, the fact that he went out by the same way that he came in was the most conclusive proof that we had the right place.

"I took the books back to Topeka and talked to Secretary F. G. Adams about it, and told him I would point everything out on the map, and as we went along and got Pike to Buffalo, the secretary looked up and said: 'You're getting near home.' Then we followed him as the Indian guides took him away south of the right road, and then brought him back to White Rock creek. When we got that far he smiled and said: 'Well, I guess you've got him up a tree.' I then asked Secretary Adams what I should do, and he said: 'You ought to get two or three men from Red Cloud to look over the place, and if they found that your place was the right one, we could call in the Nebraska Historical Society, and, if we could n't agree, call in some one else.' I then got my husband and another man to take the trip to Red Cloud, and they found none of the landmarks described by Pike, and there was no trouble at all in getting Nebraska to relinquish the claim. One day I went over to the village and found that they were getting ready to plow it up again. I went home all broken-up and sat down and cried. Mr. Johnson said that there was n't any reason to do that; that if I wanted to have the property, to go and buy it, and have it in my name, and keep it. The next day I was off for Belleville to see the agent, and, after a little trouble, I got the quarter on which the village was situated for \$2300. The deed came in about a month, and I was about the proudest woman in the country. I felt like I had the whole state of Kansas, for it seemed that this was the height of my ambition." And thus Mrs. Johnson and her liberal and patriotic husband have associated themselves forever with one of the most interesting incidents in Kansas and national history.

more or less, being the site of Pike's Pawnee Indian village, tendered as a gift to the state of Kansas by Elizabeth A. Johnson and George Johnson, by their deed of general warranty, dated March 29, 1899, be and the same is hereby accepted by and on behalf of the state of Kansas; provided, however, that the title to said premises so tendered and accepted shall revert to the said donors in the event the state shall fail to fence and mark said premises as hereinafter provided within four years from the 29th day of March, 1899.

"SEC. 2. That upon the vesting of the title to said premises in the state of Kansas, under the provisions of this act, the Kansas State Historical Society shall have the care and control of said premises for and on behalf of the state, and shall fence the said premises and suitably mark the same by monument or otherwise, to commemorate the first raising of the American flag on Kansas territory.

"SEC. 3. That the sum of three thousand dollars, or so much thereof as may be necessary, be and the same is hereby appropriated out of any money in the state treasury not otherwise appropriated, to fence and suitably mark said premises by monument or otherwise, as hereinbefore provided; the money so expended to be paid upon warrants of the state auditor allowed and drawn upon vouchers approved by the secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society.

"SEC. 4. This act shall take effect and be in force from and after its publication in the statute-book.

"Approved February 14, 1901."

The Kansas State Historical Society promptly arranged to carry out the purpose of the law. It was resolved to erect a shaft of Barry granite, and to place an iron fence about the visible remains of the village site—the deed of Mr. and Mrs. Johnson having been modified so as not to require the entire eleven acres fenced. It was further resolved that there should be two demonstrations—the first upon the laying of the corner-stone, July 4, and the second upon the unveiling of the monument on the anniversary of Pike's visit, September 30, the 29th being the Sabbath. The following inscription on the monument was determined:

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

July 4, 1901, a large audience gathered in a handsome grove on the bank of the Republican river, probably half a mile from the portion fenced and enclosing the monument. Music was furnished by bands from Belleville and Courtland. The assembly was called to order by the secretary of the State Historical Society, in the absence of Hon. John Francis, of Allen county, president.

President of the day—Hon. R. B. Ward,* state senator, Belleville.

Vice-presidents—Hon. F. N. Woodward,† Republic county; Hon. C. E. Adams, Superior, Neb.; Hon. J. C. Morrow, Washington county; Hon. H. B. White, Jewell county; Hon. Harry McMillan, Ottawa county; Hon. E. R. Fulton, Marshall county; E. B. Cowgill, Topeka; Hon. William T. Short, Cloud county;

*R. B. WARD was born in Leicestershire, England, forty-nine years ago, emigrating to the United States in 1865. In April, 1871, he came to Kansas from Keokuk, Iowa, soon after settling at Belleville. In 1877 he entered the hardware trade, which business he has since followed. He was elected sheriff of Republic county in 1893 and 1895. In 1898 he was elected state senator from the thirty-second district, embracing Cloud and Republic counties, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Senator W. A. Mosher, to which position he was reelected in 1900.

†FREDERIC N. WOODWARD was born in Orion, Henry county, Illinois, forty-three years ago. He received a common-school education, and removed from Iowa to Kansas in 1880. He is by occupation a farmer, but he taught school for a short time after coming to Kansas, and from 1886 to 1891 was engaged in the mercantile business. In 1893 Mr. Woodward was elected county clerk of Republic county, and again in 1895, and has twice represented his county in the legislature, in 1899 and 1901.

Hon. R. W. Maintz, Washington county; Hon. John McKee, Clay county; Hon. J. W. Bogenrief, Jewell county; Hon. John Schlyer, Ellis county; Hon. T. C. Honnell, Brown county; J. C. Postlethwaite, Jewell county; Gomer T. Davies, Cloud county; W. H. Leigh, Hardy, Neb.; J. M. Doyle, I. O. Savage, C. W. Gulick, Thomas Schuler, T. W. Craft, and T. A. Lowe, Republic county.

Invocation—Rev. John A. Greer, Superior, Neb.

* * * * *

The program was opened by the presentation of the title to the land from Mr. and Mrs. Johnson, in an address by Mr. J. C. Price,* president of the Pawnee Republic Historical Society, who spoke as follows:

J. C. PRICE'S ADDRESS.

Were it possible by any system of investigation to find out the history of all the peoples who have occupied this country since the beginning of time, men would stand ready for the undertaking.

Were it possible to trace an immigration from the north through British America to our lands of gold and ice across Bering straits, south through Asia to some unknown "Garden of Eden" as the original home of our Indian predecessors, men and means would not be wanting in the enterprise. But the origin of these people is a closed book, and no one is found who can break the seal thereof, and we are defrauded of a heritage to which we are justly entitled.

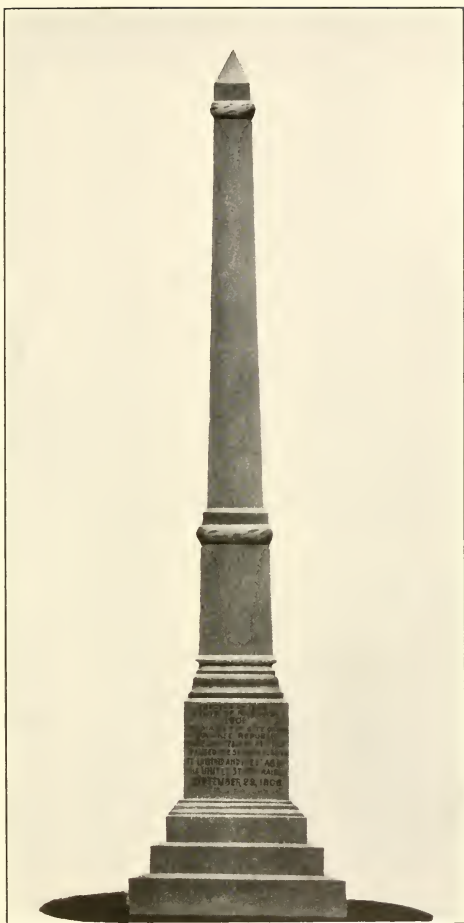
History, like nature, has its hilltops, and though our vision may be shaded by a misty past, much remains within the range of our observation and research which we may classify, record, and bequeath to those who come after us as a goodly heritage. This testament should convey not only the full complement of that which we have received, but increased and augmented by the results of our inquiry, our studies, and observation.

We meet to-day upon a natural promontory—the panorama presented is many miles in extent in all directions; and yet the prominence of this place is not its elevation above the surrounding country, but that it occupies a prominent place, and I might say the initial point, in our state's history.

We meet on this historic spot, this hall of fame, to place a tablet to the memory of one of our early heroes, and to dedicate these grounds to the cause of freedom, to which he gave his young life; to perpetuate the record of one of the greatest peaceful victories of our history, a victory only possible by the rare judgment, tact and personality of the gallant young officer, Zebulon M. Pike. History places him on these grounds, over which floated the flag of one of the greatest nations of the world, surrounded by hundreds of warriors who recognized the sovereignty of that flag, while he, with a little band of travel-stained and weary men, demanded the lowering of the flag of Spain and substituting the stars and stripes. Incredible as it may seem, this demand was complied with, and on September 29, 1806, Kansas breezes were called upon for the last time to unfurl that flag which has floated over more of misery, more of oppression, more of treachery, than any emblem ever designed by man.

We meet to transfer to this great commonwealth these grounds, where our children and our children's children may gather to learn lessons of loyalty, patriotism, and devotion to the principles which have made us the foremost nation on the globe. These grounds twice hallowed—hallowed by being the home

*J. C. PRICE was born at Cassopolis, Mich., in 1846. In 1869 he graduated from Kalamazoo College. He settled in Kansas in 1869. He taught school and read law, and was admitted to the bar in 1872. He first located in the northwest corner of Republic county, at that time a hundred miles from any railroad, and out of sight of any improvements. He moved to Republic City in 1882. He has served as county surveyor and county superintendent of schools.



See page 263.

of the republican Pawnees, a people whose identity is perpetual in the name of this county, the river that flows at the foot of these bluffs, and the name of yonder village; a people who, when they had accepted the sovereignty of the United States, were always loyal to the "Great White Father" in Washington.

Our sister state, Iowa, has just dedicated a monument to the memory of Sergeant Floyd, of the Lewis and Clarke expedition, at the cost of \$60,000, of which the general government contributed \$5000. We believe that this sum was wisely and justly expended, and leads us to anticipate a substantial appropriation for preserving these grounds.

The organization of the Pawnee Republic Historical Society was the inception of Mr. and Mrs. George Johnson, and to their devotion to its objects is due whatever of success may be attained. They have been tireless in consecration of time and means for the necessary investigations to establish the facts in connection with this interesting chapter of state and national history. May the time soon come when they will be appropriately remembered for the unselfish labor which they have devoted to this cause of preserving whatsoever remains of the history of our predecessor, the republican Pawnees, for honoring and preserving the spot upon which American dominion was first enforced in the disputed territory of the Louisiana purchase.

It has been the purpose of our society to arrive at exact truths in our examination of these historic grounds and the deeds here enacted which have made them of national as well as local interest; and when we had exhausted our own resources the results were turned over to the State Historical Society, which, with its better facilities, has carried on the labors to the successful termination. We will ever hold in grateful remembrance your late secretary, Franklin G. Adams, for the interest and assistance which he rendered our local society. Our only hope of retaining these grounds in their present position is the fact that George W. Martin cannot have them moved to Topeka, labeled, and placed on the shelf in the new historical rooms.

And now I am empowered, as the representative of the Pawnee Republic Historical Society, and through the generosity of Elizabeth A. Johnson, to deliver to your excellency, the representative of our great state, this indenture, conveying the title in fee of these grounds.

* * * * *

GOVERNOR STANLEY* ACCEPTS THE DEED.

To the efforts and devotion of a citizen of this community, Mrs. Elizabeth A. Johnson, who desired to preserve this place for the erection of a suitable monument, about which the future citizens of Kansas could gather and learn something of its early history, we are indebted for this initial meeting.

In the early days of the century that has just closed, at this spot, Lieutenant Pike hauled down the Spanish flag, which up to that time had been the emblem of authority to the savage tribes that peopled these plains, and erected in its stead the stars and stripes. Since that time the flag has had a memorable

* WILLIAM EUGENE STANLEY was born in Knox county, Ohio, December 28, 1844. He is of the eighth generation of the Hartford emigrants. He was reared in Hardin county, adjoining Knox county. He was educated in the common schools, and for two years was a student in the Ohio Wesleyan College, at Delaware, Ohio. He read law at Kenton and Dayton, and was admitted to the bar at Kenton. He came to Kansas in 1870, settling at Oskaloosa, Jefferson county. In 1874 he moved to Wichita. He served one term as county attorney of Jefferson county, three terms as county attorney of Sedgwick county, and represented Wichita one term in the house of representatives. He was elected governor in 1898 by a vote of 149,292 to 134,158 for John W. Leedy, and reelected in 1900 by 181,893 to 164,793 for John W. Breidenthal. Governor Stanley, in 1876, married Miss Emma L. Hillis, a daughter of a Wichita merchant.

history, and recently there has been a great discussion of the question whether the constitution followed the flag. Be that as it may, many things have followed the flag since Lieutenant Pike planted it here as a mark of American sovereignty over this territory. Then, the United States was composed of eighteen states and twenty-four territories, with a population of 6,000,000 people. Now, it is composed of forty-five states and six territories, counting Alaska and Hawaii, and excluding Porto Rico and the Philippines, with a population of 78,000,000.

The planting of the American flag here closely followed the Louisiana purchase, and marked the commencement of our internal improvements and the beginning of steamboat navigation. Now, the great Louisiana purchase embraces the richest part of our domain, our internal improvements have grown to immense proportions, and the protection of American commerce is becoming one of the pressing questions of the hour. Then, Uncle Samuel was a modest youth, unable to command any considerable share of respect or attention from foreign nations. Now, he is a mature and very vigorous gentleman, and commands the respect of the whole world. Then, we were a debtor nation and the ledger balance was always on the wrong side. Now, we are a creditor nation and the trade balance is largely in our favor.

About the time that Lieutenant Pike raised the American flag here, our imports were \$130,000,000; our exports, \$100,000,000—showing a balance against us of \$30,000,000, or 30 per cent. of our entire imports.

Now, our exports are more than \$1,500,000,000, our imports less than \$1,000,000,000, leaving a balance in our favor of more than \$500,000,000—making the trade balance on the credit side of the ledger one-half as great as our entire imports.

In a single century, we have grown from weakness to strength, from poverty to wealth, from a debtor to a creditor nation. The American flag is upon all seas, American products and the American merchant in all markets, and the United States enters upon the new century as a great world power.

But marvelous as has been the development of the United States, the development of Kansas has been more remarkable. For more than half a century after the flag was planted here, the territory which now comprises our state was known by travelers and geographers alike as a great desert. The development of that desert land into fruitful fields, the substitution of an energetic, thrifty people for savage tribes, the displacement of the wild herds that roamed in countless numbers over these prairies, by the Short-horn and the Hereford, the building of homes, schoolhouses and churches where formerly the wigwam stood, have been marvelous, and the history of that wonderful growth reads like a fairy tale.

Forty years ago Kansas was admitted into the Union as a state. It had scarcely more than 100,000 people, but these have grown and increased until we have within our borders 1,500,000 people—as devoted to home and law and order and good government and temperance as any people that were ever brought together.

We have developed along the lines of agriculture, until in 1900 and 1901, in two succeeding harvests, Kansas produced the astounding and unequalled yield of more than 150,000,000 bushels of wheat. Last year we had in Kansas more than 6,000,000 head of live stock—or more than four head for every unit of our population. We have realized the dreams of the theorists, and have a horse for every family and a cow for every individual in the state, with plenty of swine and sheep thrown in for good measure. We have grown from the crude business methods where pelts and robes were used as mediums of exchange to a banking system represented by over 500 banks, with an aggregate deposit of nearly \$70,-

000,000—or nearly \$50 for every unit of our population. The deposits of our state and private banks have increased in a single year over thirty per cent.

To carry the products of our pastures and fields to the market, we have nearly 9000 miles of railway. If built in parallel lines equidistant from each other, it would make twenty lines of railroad traversing the state from east to west.

But it is not in our rich harvests, our bursting granaries, our increasing bank deposits or our great system of railways that the state has made its greatest advancement. There was not a schoolhouse in Kansas for half a century after Pike raised the flag here. There are now more than 9000 in the state. There are 11,000 school-teachers, and an enrolment in our schools of 400,000 pupils. This shows that more than one-fourth of our population are enrolled in the common schools, and that one out of every 130 of our population is a school-teacher. That our schools are efficient is shown by the fact that Kansas has a smaller per cent. of illiteracy than any state in the Union.

One of the strongest influences in this wonderful development has been the public press. There are now published in Kansas 838 papers and other periodicals. These go into our homes and afford the people means of keeping in touch with all the topics of the day. The influence of the schools and homes and newspapers had a forcible illustration during the Spanish-American war, when, in four full Kansas regiments, enlisted from all parts of the state, there was not a single soldier who could not write a legible hand. A remarkable thing in all of this wonderful development is that it has taken place within the space of a single life.

Many of the men who molded and shaped public sentiment in Kansas in the early days are molding and shaping public sentiment still. Of the strong coterie of newspaper men who directed the current and trend of popular sentiment in the great struggle to make Kansas a free state, some still wield a ready pen in defense of the institutions which the early Kansas press made possible. Of these men, John A. Martin, of the *Atchison Champion*; Sol. Miller, of the *Troy Chief*; S. S. Prouty, of *Freedom's Champion*; T. Dwight Thacher, of the *Lawrence Journal*; F. G. Adams, of the *Atchison Free Press*, have gone; but D. R. Anthony, of the *Leavenworth Times*; M. M. Murdock, of the *Wichita Eagle*, and George W. Martin, formerly of the *Junction City Union*, now of the *Kansas City Gazette*, are still in the editorial harness. I think many fail to realize the great and successful fight that the early free-state press of Kansas made for freedom's cause and the influence it exerted to give breadth and purpose to Kansas civilization.

By every golden harvest, by every lowing herd, by every bursting granary, by every successful business enterprise, by every overflowing bank, by all of her increasing streams of business—already bank full—Kansas has reason to congratulate herself upon these evidences of material prosperity that have followed the planting of the flag upon her soil long before Kansas was born; but better than all these, in her many happy and contented homes, from the dugout to the mansion, in all of her public schools, universities, colleges, and academies, in her many churches, of whatever name, denomination, or creed; and in the product of all these, her noble type of manhood and womanhood, Kansas finds her real cause for rejoicing.*

*Extract from an address delivered by Geo. W. Martin, secretary of the State Historical Society, at the village, on the ninety-fourth anniversary, September 29, 1900: "Let us bring Pike back to the 'beautiful eminence' where he pitched his camp in 1806, and from whence he might have a view of the three counties of Republic, Cloud, and Jewell, these counties being emblematic of the development and culture of the entire state of Kansas. He had faith in the flag, and, of course will not be surprised. What will he see? A population of 55,128. The people of these counties produced in the year 1899 field crops, garden, horticultural and live stock to the

And this suggests two questions: If the hauling down of the Spanish flag and the planting of the American flag in its stead at this place in the early days of the last century has been productive of so much good, can the hauling down of the Spanish flag and the planting of the American flag in its stead in any other place at the closing days of the same century be productive of harm? If the hauling down of the Spanish flag and the planting of the American flag in its place brought so much of liberty and blessing to millions of people, and displaced a rude savagery by a high Christian civilization, is there any danger that the hauling down of the Spanish flag and the planting of the American flag in its place 100 years afterward will bring hardship, tyranny, or oppression?

And now, in the name of Kansas, in the name of her one and one-half millions strong, brave and law-abiding citizens; in the name of her public schools, the pride and glory of our state; in the names of her homes, her churches, her public press; in the name of her early pioneers, living and dead; in the name of the boys and girls who are soon to come forth out of our homes and churches and schools, the product of our civilization, to take upon their shoulders the responsibilities and cares of state; in the name of religion, temperance, and law; in the name of all that is good and inspiring in the history of Kansas, I hereby accept, in the name and behalf of all of these, the deed to this historic spot.

The ceremony of laying the corner-stone then followed, by the Grand Lodge A. F. and A. M., under the auspices of Belleville Lodge No. 129. The program was resumed at two P. M.

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FROM QUIVIRA TO KANSAS.

An address by HENRY F. MASON,* of Garden City, delivered at the laying of the corner-stone at Pike's Pawnee village, July 4, 1901.

There is an old story of an Englishman who inquired of an American friend whether there were any fine, old trees in this country, and then remembering himself, with thoughtful courtesy, begged pardon for having for the moment forgotten that this was impossible in so new a country as America.

Here in Kansas we naturally drift into the same point of view. Kansas has had so much history within the memory of men not yet very aged that it requires something of an effort to realize that it was the scene of transactions of historic interest antedating the slavery agitation. And so it is especially fitting that the people of Kansas should erect a monument to mark this spot and commemorate the incident we are met to celebrate. Nearly ninety-five years ago, Lieutenant Pike, with his little exploring party, consisting of but twenty-three persons all told, reached this place. He camped before the Pawnee village containing thousands of none too friendly Indians. He had come upon the recent trail of a Spanish force of 300 troopers—a force, in fact, sent to intercept him.

amount of \$10,970,964.28, and they had on hand live stock to the amount of \$4,837,743, and they were assessed for taxable purposes on \$11,323,379. They have 344.78 miles of railroads. There are 401 school districts, 500 teachers at work, with 10,844 school children in daily attendance, for which the people pay annually \$142,436.07, and they have invested \$349,905 in permanent school fixtures. There are in these three counties 1,200,214 fruit-trees and 7340 acres of artificial forest. There are churches, libraries, and all the religious, moral and social features of the highest civilization. I believe Pike knows this."

*HENRY F. MASON was born at Racine, Wis., February 1, 1860; removed to Madison in infancy. Completed course in public and high school 1876. Attended state university, at Madison, 1876 to 1881, but was not graduated, owing to taking elective studies instead of prescribed course. Engaged in newspaper work at Black River Falls, Wis., 1881 to 1886. Came to Garden City, Kan., in April, 1886, where he has practiced law ever since. City attorney of Garden City 1887-'88. County attorney of Finney county 1889-'93. Served in Kansas house of representatives in sessions of 1899 and 1901; in latter session was chairman of judiciary committee.

A grand council was held with the Pawnees. The Spanish flag was flying at the door of the chief. Under these circumstances, Lieutenant Pike demanded that the Spanish colors be surrendered to him and that the stars and stripes be unfurled in their place. With a vivid recollection of the superior size of the Spanish war party, the chieftains hesitated. Pike reminded them that as no man could serve two masters so no people could acknowledge two sovereignties, and insisted upon compliance. The red and yellow emblem came down and the folds of Old Glory were spread to the breeze.

As the daring act of an intrepid adventurer Pike's feat is worthy of note and of admiration. But it was no mere act of personal bravado. It was the expression of a lofty patriotism. As such it is well deserving of commemoration. But its true importance lies in its symbolic meaning. As under the feudal law the delivery of a twig from a tree typified and perfected the transfer of possession of vast domains, so the furling of the Spanish ensign and the raising of the standard of the Union symbolized and typified the yielding of the Latin to the Anglo-Saxon, the medieval to the modern, monarchy to democracy, tyranny to liberty. It was the visible sign and token of the beginning of the great change that lost to Spain the dominion of a continent, and culminated at Manila and Santiago and in the treaty of Paris. Viewed in this light, it is no exaggeration of language to say that we stand upon ground not unworthy to be commemorated with Runnymede and Lexington.

It may be said in disparagement of the historical significance of Pike's exploit that our title to the territory of the Louisiana purchase was derived from France, not Spain, and by purchase, not conquest. True; but this soil was not conceded by Spain to be a part of that territory. In 1800 Spain ceded the colony or province of Louisiana to France by the treaty of San Ildefonso, but by the terms of that treaty only restored to France such rights as she had formerly possessed—no more. Title by discovery and exploration is likely to result in overlapping claims. The early Spanish and French explorers were not restrained either by their natural modesty or by accurate geographical knowledge. The principle of representation—of a part for the whole—was strained to the utmost. Balboa, it will be recalled, upon discovering the Pacific ocean, formally claimed for his king jurisdiction not only over its waters, but over all the lands they might touch. La Salle, in 1682, erected a column near the site of New Orleans, and took possession of the Mississippi valley in the name of Louis XIV, in virtue of having descended the river. But in 1541 Coronado had traversed Kansas for nearly its length and breadth, setting up a cross, presumably on the Kansas river, with the inscription: "Thus far came the general, Francisco Vasquez de Coronado." So that the Spanish claim to this part of the disputed territory seems to have been supported by earlier and nearer explorations than the French.

The Spanish troops of Malgares, whose banners were here lowered to give place to the emblem of the United States, were the legitimate successors of Coronado's mailed warriors, whose coming here marked the first step in the progress from legend to history. Coronado was the true type of the Spaniard, as Pike was of the American. The Spaniard's errand was typical of the sixteenth century, as the American's was of the nineteenth. Coronado aspired to rival the feats of Cortez and Pizarro. Each of them had found in the new world fabulous hoards of gold and silver stored up through ages of Aztec and Peruvian civilization; and each had ravished the barbarian storehouses for the benefit of his enlightened monarch. In the light of such acts as these, fleeting rumors of wealthy cities in more northern latitudes found ready credence. Coronado headed an expedition to conquer the "seven cities of Cibola." Sore disappoint-

ment was the result. Cities he found and took, but they had neither gold, nor silver, nor gems, nor anything else worth the seizing. But even their poverty did not protect them from Spanish cruelty. City after city was captured and plundered. The country was laid waste; the inhabitants slaughtered.

And here ingenuity came to the rescue of the unfortunate aborigines. A tale was borne to Coronado of a region lying far to the northeast—the fabled kingdom of Quivira. Here, he was told, silver and gold abounded. The people lived in houses many stories high. The rivers were leagues wide, inhabited by fishes as large as horses, and navigated by sailing vessels decorated with precious metals and jewels. Even the cooking utensils and the commonest implements were of gold.

In another age or under other circumstances such a story might have been received with suspicion; but it fell upon willing ears. The exploits by which Cortez had won fame and wealth in Mexico, and which Pizarro had so closely imitated in Peru, Coronado hoped to repeat in Quivira. Guided by a captive Indian, known to history by the soubriquet of “the Turk,” Coronado and his followers marched across the “staked plains,” forded the river which he called the St. Peter and Paul, or the river of Quivira, but which we now know as the Arkansas, and may have passed by the very spot where we now stand. As our Kansas poet has said:

“In that half-forgotten era,
With the avarice of old,
Seeking cities he was told
Had been paved with yellow gold,
In the kingdom of Quivira—

“Came the restless Coronado,
To the open Kansas plain,
With his knights from sunny Spain,
In an effort that, though vain,
Thrilled with boldness and bravado.”

Instead of magnificent cities he found meager valleys; instead of palaces, huts of grass; instead of a civilized and wealthy nation, a people to whom gold and silver were unknown. He returned, despondent and broken-spirited. His expedition was considered a failure by himself and by his countrymen.

And yet he had discovered and explored a region potentially rich beyond the wildest tales brought to his credulous ears, capable of producing wealth in excess of his fondest imaginings. But to achieve this result required time, patience, and toil. The region that the doughty Spaniard abandoned 360 years ago proved, in the hands of another race, far better worth holding than the realms of the Montezumas or the Incas. The conquerers of Mexico and Peru gained but the temporary reward of a rich plunder. The conquerers of Quivira have gained a magnificent state. To quote again from Ironquill:

“Into loam the sand is melted,
And the blue-grass takes the loam
Round about the prairie home,
And the locomotives roam
Over landscapes iron-belted.

“Cities grow where stunted birches
Hugged the shallow water-line;
And the deepening rivers twine
Past the factory and mine,
Orchard slopes and schools and churches.”

Lieutenant Pike was not seeking any mythical empire to be despoiled of legendary treasure. As a sturdy, unpretentious citizen and soldier, he was engaged in the service of his country, blazing a way through the wilderness, seeking information as to the newly acquired domain of America, as a preliminary to its occupation and cultivation by a race who were willing to render an equivalent for wealth in labor.

We are perhaps prone to mistake what is merely incidental for what is typical; to discover analogies where none exist; to draw general conclusions from insufficient data. But surely we are here afforded a just illustration of the contrast, not merely between Coronado and Pike, but between the Spaniard and the American, between the Latin and the Anglo-Saxon, and between romance and reality.

In the early dreams and disappointments, and the later labor and realization, we find a type of the world-wide, world-old law that whatever is possessed of real worth is acquired only by strenuous effort. The rainbow-hued dreams of youthful ambition disappear before the stern realities of life, only to be reproduced later in more substantial if less brilliant form as the result of toil and struggle. So we see Coronado's vision of Quivira fade. His imagined cities and towns and temples and palaces and gold and silver and gems are replaced by treeless, trackless, sun-baked, wind-swept prairies. But on the ruins of the fabled Quivira there arises a fairer and firmer fabric. Through sorrow and disappointment, through toil and effort, through struggles and grief, through storm and strife, we pass from romance and myth and legend to fact and reality and victory, from Quivira to Kansas, through trials to glory.

In the development of the United States of America we note four important stages, each marked by a specific act. First, independence, marked by the declaration adopted a century and a quarter ago to-day. This was the first step toward the formation of a new nation. Second, federation, marked by the adoption of the articles of confederation, a makeshift bond of union that soon proved ineffectual. Third, nationality, marked by the adoption of the constitution. Prior to this time the United States were; since then the United States is. Fourth, expansion, marked by the Louisiana purchase, the first acquisition of new territory by the new nation.

As the day on which we have met commemorates the first of these stages, so the place where we are gathered is a memorial of the last. It would have been a bold man who would have prophesied, when Pike took down the Spanish flag on this spot ninety-five years ago, that within the century Spain would be crowded off the western continent, and that the stars and stripes would replace the emblem of Castile and Aragon in the Asiatic islands.

What are the near and what are the remote causes of so great a change? The facts are too recent to give opportunity for even so just an estimate as the perspective of history affords. We can weigh the visible and direct agencies with reasonable exactness; but as to those less obvious, though perhaps more effective, we can but speculate. No thoughtful, reverent mind will doubt that in a universe of law each event bears a due relation to all others, as a part of a wise and beneficent plan. But it is futile for finite man to attempt to interpret with exactness the purposes of an infinite intelligence.

Why war and pestilence and famine should have a place in the economy of a benevolent providence is an unsolved and insoluble problem. Yet at times we seem to catch a glimpse of an evidence of a benign purpose back of some present calamity, without indulging in the crude notion of the vengeance of an offended deity.

How long the American people might have submitted to the offensive spectacle of the misgovernment by Spain in Cuba without interference, had it not been for the wrecking of the *Maine*, it is impossible to say. As to just how much effect that disaster may have had upon the final catastrophe of war it is perhaps fruitless to conjecture. But certainly, while not ostensibly a direct part of the cause of the war, the *Maine* incident had much to do with bringing matters to a crisis.

It is conceivable that the sacrifice of the *Maine* and its crew was necessary to arouse Americans from their lethargy; to bring home to them the horrors that were being enacted on Cuban soil; to electrify them into action in behalf of suffering humanity. Had the *Maine* belonged to any other powerful nation on earth than the United States, vengeance for its destruction, swift and immediate, would have been visited upon the Spaniard. But to the credit of the people of America be it said, that, in the face of this awful tragedy, an investigation was entered upon coolly, calmly, and deliberately. With judicial fairness the inquiry was prosecuted and concluded, and the decision reached that the explosion was the result of external causes. The Spanish authorities might have accepted this result and disclaimed responsibility. But such was not their attitude. They investigated on their own account, and decided, not that the cause of the explosion originated outside of the *Maine*, but from causes beyond their control; that the explosion was internal, and due to lax discipline on board the Yankee ship of war. The issue was thus made up, together with the other matters in dispute. At that time so little had modern battle-ships been employed in actual warfare, that data for the forming of an exact opinion in the matter might seem to be lacking. But certain scientific experiments made at Manila on the 1st of May, and at Santiago on the 3d of July, demonstrated beyond cavil that upon this issue the United States was right and Spain was wrong.

The passing of the power of Spain at Manila and Santiago was so swift and complete, and was accompanied by such marvelous absence of casualties on the American side, that it is little wonder that to many it seems plain that the result was accomplished by divine interposition, much as the tide of victory among the Greeks and Trojans was turned by the direct interference of the Olympian gods. That the result was accomplished under divine guardianship may well be conceded, but the problem of reading the purposes and methods of providence is not so simple as in Homer's day. The machinery is not so obvious; the moving causes are more remote.

On the morning of the 3d of July, three years ago, when the Spanish fleet sailed from Santiago harbor, the power of Spain on the western hemisphere was still great. The relative strength of the two navies was still debatable. Within a few hours, almost without loss or injury to the American fleet, Spain was swept from the ocean. Her hold upon the western hemisphere vanished almost on the spot where it had originated, some 400 years before. It might well be imagined that some miraculous protection was accorded to our arms; that some guardian deity turned aside from our battle-ships the bolts hurled from the Spanish guns. Yet a little reflection shows that the result was not the work merely of a few hours. The influence of a favoring providence began further back than that. For days and weeks the fleet of Sampson, with tireless and sleepless vigilance, had patrolled the Cuban coast by night as well as by day. The hopelessness of escape was not due to a few hours of spasmodic activity, but to weeks of patient and systematic blockade. More than this, for months the great ship *Oregon* had been plowing her way through the bosom of the Pacific, around the stormy cape and up through the billows of the Atlantic, arriving before Santiago in time

to take an important part in the culmination of the great drama. More than this, for years patriotic and far-seeing American statesmen, often in the face of harsh criticism, had labored for the upbuilding of a new navy; and by patient and persistent training officers and men had been brought to a state of discipline that made success not a speculation, but a demonstration.

And yet more than all this, and reaching farther back into prime causes than all this, hundreds of years before, the blue-eyed and fair-haired Saxons had overrun the island of Britain, and from this ancestry came the cool head, the clear brain, the keen eye and the steady nerve of the Anglo-Saxon that decided the result of the Spanish war centuries before it was begun.

With the ratification of the treaty of Paris came new responsibilities, new duties to be met, new problems to be solved. No wonder that many view with doubt and apprehension the career as a world force we have entered upon. No wonder, even, that some foresee in the vast change of conditions thus suddenly thrust upon us a threat of evil that imperils the very existence of our constitutional government.

We have met on a day dedicated forever to celebrating and inculcating patriotism. What is patriotism? Not, surely, as Doctor Johnson said, the last refuge of a scoundrel; nor, as a later imitator has amended, the first refuge of a scoundrel. These satirical remarks have obviously been made with reference to a spurious and insincere emotion, a mere pretense. We are taught to reverence the constitution of the United States as the palladium of our liberties. Every public officer, upon assuming his sacred trust, is sworn to uphold and defend the constitution. We even use devotion to the constitution as a synonym for patriotism, and, with possibly some limitation or reservation, this is fitting and proper.

But let us reverently inquire, What is the constitution of the United States, and in what does devotion to it consist? It is of record that in response to the question, "What is the constitution?" asked in the course of a public-school examination, a precocious pupil replied that it was something which is printed in the back part of a book and which nobody ever reads. If, to the question suggested, we return the answer that the constitution is the written instrument adopted at the foundation of our government as the basis of our federal union, and merely this, we shall, perhaps, not have improved much upon this school-boy definition.

It is true that the founders of our government, in the formation of a written constitution, performed a task little short of miraculous. As ordinary mortals might have drafted a set of by-laws for a debating society, they prepared a charter for the government of a struggling nation of thirteen separate states lying along the Atlantic seaboard; a charter which has marvelously served the purposes of a nation of seventy millions of people, occupying lands stretching from ocean to ocean, and extending to, and including, the far-away islands of the sea. Yet, by however great genius inspired, it is not possible for human language to frame an instrument of this character that shall not involve and imply vastly more than is expressed. Of very necessity, much must be left to interpretation.

Our scheme of government is confessedly modeled upon that of England. Many of the specific provisions of our national constitution are but expressions of principles of government derived through years of controversy between popular rights and kingly prerogative, and crystallized in decisions of courts and decrees of parliament and declarations of conventions.

The government of Great Britain is a constitutional and limited monarchy. Yet the constitutional limitations are founded on no single instrument, and in a literal sense are nowhere committed to writing.

It was natural, it was inevitable, that controversy should arise over the interpretation of our bond of union. It is not possible to frame language so carefully, clearly and precisely that men of equal ability, learning and honesty may not differ radically as to its meaning. A vast amount of the business of our courts grows out of disputes as to the effect of written contracts. A still larger part arises from different opinions as to the meaning of statutes. It is, therefore, no cause for surprise that hardly had the constitution been adopted when various controversies arose as to the true effect of different parts of it, and that in the course of time almost every paragraph and line of the instrument have been the subject of dispute, and that now, at the end of more than a century of debate and discussion and application, we still have differing schools of construction, and the possibilities of the constitution as material for controversy are far from exhausted.

In view, then, of the obvious and familiar fact that the constitution as written does not mean to one man what it does to another, what is devotion to the constitution? Is it in each individual loyalty to that rendering of it which accords with his private views? If so, what is passionate devotion to the constitution in one may be violent opposition to it in another.

How is this paradox to be avoided? The constitution itself affords the means of answering the question. If you and I engage in a private dispute which involves the construction of the federal constitution, we naturally frame an issue for the courts. Say that you base a right upon the provisions of a local statute, and I contend that the statute is void because obnoxious to the national constitution. We go before our district court and the decision is in your favor. This perhaps raises a presumption that you are right, but it is not conclusive. I appeal to the state supreme court, and the decision of the district court is affirmed. This increases the probability that you are right, but does not settle the matter. In due course of time the controversy reaches the supreme court of the United States, and by that august tribunal it is decided, though perhaps by a divided court, that I am wrong. Now I am wrong. Not because the individuals comprising the supreme bench are possessed of any superhuman wisdom, or are necessarily infallible in judgment, but because in the nature of things the power and duty to decide such questions must be lodged somewhere, and by the constitution itself it has been lodged here.

So in any private or public controversy growing out of different renderings of the text of the constitution, when a decision is reached in the federal supreme court the rule of construction adopted becomes essentially a part of the instrument itself. And loyalty to the constitution of very necessity implies acquiescence in and submission to that interpretation adopted by our court of last resort. Not, however, that such interpretation must of necessity remain final and undisturbed. The power to finally decide implies the right to reconsider. Moreover, the constitution itself contains provisions by which its body and substance may be changed.

It is related that a law student in Massachusetts sought admission to the bar, and in the course of his examination for that purpose it was developed that he had devoted but little attention to the text-books—to the commentaries of the master minds of the profession upon the fundamental principles of our legal system. In excuse or palliation of this, however, he urged that his time and energy had been largely devoted to acquiring an intimate and accurate knowledge of the provisions of the statutes of his state. The astute examiner in charge relegated him to his studies with the remark: "Young man, the next session of the legislature might repeal all the law you know."

If devotion to the constitution is conditional upon its containing any specific provision, it is conceivable that that particular portion of it might be eliminated by amendment, leaving the devotee with no shrine at which to kneel. And since the constitution itself can be changed by popular will, it follows that in its last analysis the constitution of the United States is but the sentiment of the American people. The real constitution of the United States is written in the heart and brain of the people. And further, the whole is no greater and no different from the sum of all its parts. The people as a whole are but the multiplication of the individual. The future of our state, the welfare of the republic, depends upon the character of the individual citizen; not, unfortunately, upon the character of the best citizen, nor, fortunately, upon the character of the worst citizen, but upon the character of the ordinary, every-day, average citizen, with his human faults and frailties and his divine possibilities.

“What constitutes a state?
 Not high-raised battlements or labored mound,
 Thick wall, or moated gate;
 Nor cities proud, with spires and turrets crowned;
 Not bays and broad-armed ports,
 Where, laughing at the storm, rich navies ride;
 Nor starred and spangled courts,
 Where low-browed baseness wafts perfume to pride.”

(And we may prosaically interject, not formulated laws, of whatever degrees of excellence.)

“No; men, high-minded men,
 With powers as far above dull brutes imbued,
 In forest, brake, or den,
 As beasts excel cold rocks and brambles rude;
 Men who their duties know,
 But know their rights, and, knowing, dare maintain;
 Prevent the long-aimed blow,
 And crush the tyrant while they rend the chain.
 These constitute a state.”

Popular government is but an experiment. A century and a quarter seems a long time considered in connection with the duration of a human life. It is but a moment in the history of a nation. Few are so optimistic as not to see some danger threatening our national existence. But opinions as to its character differ widely. To one it is our financial system; to another, centralization of the power of government; to another, consolidation of capital. The real danger, the real trouble, lies further back than any of these. That something is wrong may be conceded. You are wrong, and I am wrong; human nature is wrong. Individual selfishness is our national danger, as it is the danger of any popular government.

In a community made up of individuals who have a just regard for the public welfare and the obligations of citizenship the details of written laws are not vital. But no system of government that can be devised can safeguard the public against the evils of maladministration springing from individual selfishness. The theoretical governments of the Spanish-American republics are modeled closely upon that of the United States, yet the practical result approaches the Spanish character more nearly than the American, for the people are of the type of the followers of Coronado. But let a body of Americans be thrown together anywhere on earth, without the protection of written law, and they will evolve a stable provisional government in twenty-four hours, for they are of the type of Zebulon Montgomery Pike.

Loyalty to the constitution is, therefore, loyalty to the people of America, to

her traditions and her destiny. And this is patriotism. In paying homage to Pike we honor the spirit of our institutions, the type of our citizenship, the very constitution of our country. Our observances here have a practical side. The stability and permanence of our government depend upon the character of the individual citizen—upon his unselfishness and devotion to the commonwealth. It is the purpose and effect of such memorials as we to-day establish to inculcate and foster patriotism, not merely from motives of sentiment, but as a matter of enlightened self-interest, as a guaranty for the preservation of free government.

There are well-meaning, self-styled philanthropists who profess to see an inconsistency between devotion to one flag and one country and a due love of humanity. There is no such inconsistency, at least in an American. The success of the experiment of self-government is vital, not to the United States alone, but to all the nations of the earth. The flag that Pike here raised promises ultimate free government to all mankind, and in that flag alone is such a promise found.

"That star-flowering banner should never be furled,
For its blossoms of light are the hope of the world."

* * * * *

LEST WE FORGET.

An address by MARGARET HILL McCARTER,* of Topeka, at the laying of the corner-stone of the Pike monument, Pawnee village, July 4, 1901.

"There has been no great people without processions," says George Eliot, "and the man who thinks himself too wise to be moved by them to anything but contempt is like the puddle that was proud of standing alone while the river rushed by."

Since the tribes of men first rose to a sense of community in religion and law their moving toward the liberty that makes men free has been measured off by their power to create better excuses for their ceremonial days and nobler rites by which to observe them. By the purpose and character of their "processions" may be known the mold and fiber of the people. The savage festival, celebrated by torturing, and drinking the blood of human victims; the reverent laying down of a corner-stone on which to uprear a monument commemorating the love and heroism of a man for his fellow-men—between the two lie all the struggles of civilization, and each step of it has been marked by appropriate "processions."

In the lavish splendor of oriental pageantry history can think of humanity only in blocks of thousands and tens of thousands. But by this very pageantry the smallest unit in the thousands rose to a higher sense of the power and wealth

*MARGARET HILL McCARTER was born near Carthage, Rush county, Indiana, May 2, 1860. Her parents, Thomas T. and Nancy Davis Hill, were both Southern people, having lived in North Carolina until 1858, two years before the birth of their youngest child, Margaret. They were both lifetime members of the Quaker church, and in this faith they reared their children. Through her mother Mrs. McCarter traces her ancestry through many generations. Among the Quakers who, under William Penn, settled about Philadelphia, were the Parker and Wickersham families, the direct ancestors of Nancy Davis. The Davis family of North Carolina married into the branch of the Parker family who, in the latter part of the eighteenth century, migrated to the "Old North State." Mrs. McCarter's education was obtained in the country schools, at the Carthage high school, at Earlham College, Richmond, Ind., and the State Normal School, at Terre Haute, Ind. From the last-named institution she graduated in June, 1884. She was for nine years a teacher in the public schools of Indiana. She came to Kansas in 1888, to take the position of teacher of English in the Topeka high school, which position she occupied for nearly six years. On June 5, 1890, she was married to Dr. William Arthur McCarter, of Topeka. They are the parents of three children, Katharine Davis, Jessie Isabel, and William Hill. Their home is in Topeka. After her marriage Mrs. McCarter united with the First M. E. Church of Topeka, of which church her husband was a member, and into which their three children are also christened.

of the vast domain of which it was a part. The Roman rabble, howling itself hoarse at the passing of the victor's triumphal chariot and all the following train of captive princes and glittering trophies, gained by it all so much of patriotism, and to the humblest plebeian it seemed "to be a Roman was greater than a king." The waving flags and flapping bunting, and bands that play "God Save the Queen," have saved the queen a hundred times, and turned the English people from anarchy to loyalty; have helped to make their sovereign, by the grace of God, sure ruler of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and empress of India; have helped to produce a well-nigh invincible nation, whose possessions hold the four corners of the earth, and whose reveille the burst of sunrise waits for. From the building of a triumphal arch for the home-coming of a nation's hero down to the country-town band that meets the afternoon "limited" bearing a commonplace congressman for some rural district, there is a meaning in it all whose purpose it is well to think upon.

On this sunlit July day, the nation's first natal day in the new century, from all this region of the state have come up her goodly people to a celebration, to a Kansas "procession." It is good just to look into your faces; and to be accorded the privilege of talking with you and to you on such a day as this is one of the things to be remembered with pleasure. The occasion is too sacred, even if I could do it, for me to indulge in any sounding oratory for the sake of rounding out some ringing sentences that would beat somewhat of music upon the summer air. And the company before me is not one on which to lavish any flattering phrases, because you yourselves would be first to recognize them and despise them. Whatever else may be said of the people of this state, that they are soundly sensible is true every day. Leaving out, then, all effort at forensic eloquence, I am come here, a Kansas woman, to represent in my own humble fashion the women of my state. This day is one that the historian must mark with a white stone, and for the honor of it I would rather have a part upon this program to-day than on that of any other celebration in all Kansas history.

There comes to me here an opportunity to once in my life talk with those of you who have helped to make this commonwealth. Bowed and gray-headed though you are, with toil-hardened hands and seamed and wrinkled faces, in tenderness my heart turns to you, the brave men and earnest women who have built the state—who fought 'gainst drought, and plague, and prairie fire, and swirling cyclone; who outwitted the cunning savage and outgeneraled the ruffian and border outlaw. There is a warmth in your hand-clasp, an impress of genuine worth upon your faces, most helpful to us who come after you, and we are thankful to you for the lessons the years of your lives have taught us.

"For your steady faith and courage

In that dark and evil time

When the golden rule was treason,

And to feed the hungry, crime;

"For the poor slave's house of refuge

When the hounds were on his track,

And saint and sinner, church and state,

Joined hands to send him back."

For you no monument will be unveiled; but without you this monument, for which an hour ago was laid the corner-stone, this tribute to a great man's memory, could never have been built.

Again, mine is the opportunity to-day of meeting here the younger men and women, the pride and glory of Kansas, and "the rose in expectancy of our fair country." Verily you are the people, although wisdom shall not die with you.

In every rank and calling of life you forge your way to the very front. We send our country boys and girls to the great universities and they come back wearing medals of honor. We send our best young men, a company a thousand strong, to battle in the sun-kissed isles of the far-away orient, and they come back, like the Spartan warriors, bearing their shields or on them. In art and literature and science and good government Kansas men and women are among those who lead American thought to-day, and close behind these leaders are the rank and file of intelligent young manhood and womanhood. From little Fred. Funston, who did what other men were telling still other men that somebody ought to do, down to the least known and noted among you, you are the people who are *doing things*. Is there a sweetness comes up from this prairie sod? Is there an inspiration in these splendid skies and the soft sweep of blue haze that folds the distant landscape? Is there a spirit of freedom and high love of truth in these winds at the bidding of whose imperious will the thunder-clouds are hurled in anger, or the grasses bend in gentleness? Do these things bind themselves with the fine strength and nobleness of those who have gone before you and help to make you noble? Some force there is potent in your character that may thrill your heart-strings till, like the Roman of old, you well may feel on your "procession" day "to be a Kansan is greater than a king."

'Tis a grand old commonwealth to live in—this land of Kansas—with its fertile soil for harvests, and wide areas for grazing; with its mines of coal and salt, and factories whose smoking furnaces blacken the air; with its cities clean and beautiful, and country lands like a garden; with every institution of learning, from the sod schoolhouse to the towering university; with hospitals for defective bodies, and churches for sick and undeveloped souls; and not the least jewel in its crown is the recognition it gives to women. I stand to-day for Kansas womanhood. All the more haltingly I speak when I think of what I stand for. Through a thousand avenues has the beneficent influence of Kansas women been felt. Sometimes as silent as the stream underground that feeds the never-failing well with pure, clear water; sometimes where cannon roar on battle-fields; sometimes where fraud and sin wage strife at the ballot-box. Wherever in the state intelligence adorns, or art beautifies, or virtue strengthens, the hand of the Kansas woman helped in the shaping, "not as though she had already attained," but reaching up toward better things. For her this commonwealth has done much, and for her it shall do more.

But after all Kansas is only a part of the nation. Its people are American citizens; its flag, the stars and stripes; its love of light and law, the common love of this great domain. It is fitting on this 4th day of July to think again what manner of nation is ours to glory in or blush for—whether it is the "puddle," or the "rushing river" on which we float to destiny. For 125 years has the Goddess of Liberty been our patroness. Our armies, once the subject of European ridicule, to-day before all Europe rank this nation a power—I had almost said the power—among the great governments of earth. The United States navy, cruising in all waters, has suddenly made itself so feared and honored that it will be in at the shaping of all future history, and the haughty and aggressive governments will never again question our prowess when our armored battle-ships steam out to conquest and clear their decks for action.

"For we spoke at Manila,
We said it at Manila.
Oh, be ye brave or be ye strong,
Ye build your ships in vain,
The children of the sea queen's brood
Will not give up the main.
We may hold the sea against the world,
As we hold it against Spain."

I have called these the United States. They are more united now than they have been for half a century; and while the echoes of the old rebel yell may still resound against the hilltops of the Southland, the nation's feud, "the slowly-dying cause," is not less surely a *dying* one. To-day

"The boys in blue and boys in gray
Sleep peacefully together,
And God's own stars shine through the flag
And make it pleasant weather.

The wider education of the people and common national purposes are slowly creating a new brotherhood; and the bells of this young century's New Year's must sooner or later

"Ring in the nobler modes of life,
With sweeter manners, purer laws."

But the glory of our nation, the thing, after all, for which it stands, is individual liberty.

"It is the land that free men till,
That sober-suited freedom chose;
A land where, girt by friends or foes,
A man may speak the thing he will.

"A land of settled government;
A land of old but just renown,
Where freedom broadens slowly down
From precedent to precedent."

A people ruled by the principles of protestant religion and representative government have come nearer to that

"Divine, far-off event
Toward which the whole creation moves"

than any other people may ever hope to come. The rights of a man are greater than the divine right of kings. This truth is the corner-stone of our national structure.

But now, "Lest we forget, lest we forget," to-day we lay the corner-stone of the monument to the memory of Zebulon Montgomery Pike.* Almost a century

*MRS. SARAH STURDEVANT, living at Larned, Kan., is a niece of Lieut. Zebulon M. Pike. She is the daughter of Pike's favorite sister, Maria Pike. Her first husband was named Joseph Wardell. Her second husband was a Presbyterian minister. They came to Kansas in 1875, and located at Olathe, where her husband died in 1886. She then moved to Larned, where one of her daughters is the wife of Col. Wesley Rowe Adams, and her only son, Charles Sturdevant, is engaged in business. She was a year old when Pike was killed, and her recollections are vivid and of marvelous interest. She has always been an ardent politician. Her son-in-law, Colonel Adams, was born in Ross county, Ohio, August 12, 1833; was educated in the common schools and at the Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio. Enlisted in the Union army August 1, 1861, and served as a private, corporal and sergeant in company A, 27th O. V. I., for about thirteen months; was in the battles at the siege of New Madrid, Mo., Island No. 10, and Corinth, Miss. Was appointed captain of company K, 89th O. V. I., September 6, 1862, and was with that regiment in all its marches and battles. Was captured, together with all of the brigade, or what was left of it, at the battle of Chickamauga, Sunday evening, September 20, 1863, and confined in Libby prison until February 8, 1864, when he escaped through the tunnel, reached the Union lines in safety, and joined his company at Ringgold, Ga., and took part in Sherman's campaign. Was commissioned colonel of the 175th O. V. I. near the close of the war. He has a diary of his prison life and a brief account of his escape, which he is keeping for his children. He came to Independence, Mo., in 1865, and married Miss Jennie Sturdevant in 1866; moved to Olathe, Kan., in 1869, and to Larned, Kan., in 1873. While in Missouri he was engaged in farming and stock business, and in Olathe in the real-estate business. As president of the Larned Town Company, laid out the town of Larned in 1873, and since then has laid out his homestead in additions to Larned. Officiated as clerk of the district court of Pawnee county during the first term of court ever held in the county. Was the first school

wave of time has passed since Pike with his twenty men stood on that height above us. About him, grim and silent, were hundreds of Indian warriors. There were giants in those days—the sinewy, stalwart Pawnee braves, who stood six feet in their moccasins, and the square-shouldered, broad-chested squaws who helped them rear their dusky race. Over yon Indian stronghold floated the flag of Spain, a flag not dearer to us now than in the struggle against it our own have suffered and died.

Ninety-five years ago the Louisiana purchase was an American possession only on paper. It was one thing to sit in Paris and receive cessions of land tracts; to stand out on these level prairies and claim them for our own was quite another story. The Spaniard was already here. The unspeakable Spaniard! Before him was the Indian, upon whose barbarity the gentleman from Spain is only a refinement. It was a stout heart, “a heart of triple brass,” that could front the situation with unwavering courage, could command in tones no Indian could mistake that the flag of Spain should droop and furl itself into obscurity, and that in its stead Old Glory should swell and float on the September air. Wherever it unfurls its radiant waves of light “the breath of heaven smells wooingly,” and the land caressed by its rippling shadow smiles back to the skies above it.

But what came down when the Spanish flag lay at the feet of Zebulon Pike? What does that symbol betoken? Ask the men who made the Dutch republic—the stout-hearted old Netherlanders—and they will tell you of starvation and beggary, and a land drowned by the sea. Ask those martyrs who fed the wrathful jaws of the holy inquisition, and their spirits, so long in paradise, must quiver even yet when they recall the unutterable torture of that priest-ridden time when Spanish history could give points even to the minions of the Sultan or the Chinese boxer. Ask those who served in the thirty years’ war or fought the invincible armada what that flag stands for, and they will tell you of a bigotry too narrow and a cruelty too horrible to be written out in an expurgated history. Ask the Cuban and the Filipino—aye, question any people who have ever lived under the hateful black shade of that banner—and their groans and tears and terror are all-sufficient reply. Against these things our friend, Lieutenant Pike, was lifting a hero’s hand when he dragged down that

director, organized the first school, and appointed the first teacher in Pawnee county, paying a salary of \$33.33 per month. Held the office of probate judge by appointment one year and by election four years. He holds the oldest commission of justice of the peace, though he never qualified as such. Was the first Methodist to locate in the county, and helped to organize the first Sabbath-school and church, in the early part of 1873.

MRS. MARIA H. GRAFTON, in the Topeka *Capital*, says:

“A number of interesting incidents concerning the Pike family, and which have never been published, were related to the writer recently by Mrs. Sarah W. Sturdevant, who was the daughter of General Pike’s only sister, Maria Heriot. Mrs. Sturdevant now lives at Larned. When General Pike (he was lieutenant then) started on his history-making expedition through the Southwest, he was accompanied by his wife and sister as far as St. Louis. The general was very fond of his sister, and took the liveliest interest in her welfare and training. He desired that she be well educated. He was particularly desirous that she become a good speller, and in his letters to her took from her letters the misspelled words and placed them in a column and in an opposite one he again placed the words correctly spelled. Mrs. Pike and her sister kept journals, as diaries were then called, but after the death of Mrs. Sturdevant’s mother they were in some way destroyed.

“Lieutenant Pike was called upon to take command of the expedition going north at the request of General Dearborn, whose health was such that he was unable to make the trip. In order that he take command of the expedition it was necessary that he be made a brigadier general. This promotion he refused to accept unless his father, Major Zebulon Pike, who had served long and creditably in the army, was also promoted. The government acceded to his demand, and his father was made a colonel.

“General Zebulon Montgomery Pike left one child, a daughter, Clara Brown, named for her mother, whose maiden name was Clarissa Brown. The daughter married Symms Harrison, the eldest son of President William Henry Harrison. He died early in life, leaving his widow with six little children, three boys and three girls. The death of the husband seriously affected the wife, and to the end of her life her mind was clouded. She died from taking the wrong medicine during a slight illness. Of the six grandchildren who were left by this sad occurrence

flag of Spain. Pike stood for Saxon civilization, and he never, says the historian, "conceded anything to an Indian." He put the tribes in subjection, and all subsequent history has proved his wisdom. Except for isolated instances of nobility and development, the very best thing to be preserved about the Indian is his *fossil* remains. How much this man Pike was building for the state of Kansas on that September day! The thing of granite that somewhat in pride we put down up there just now is but dust and ashes compared to the durability of the corner-stone he laid—the foundation rock that secures the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity. I tried a little while ago to pay a sort of tribute to the good people of this state. It was but poorly done, I own, yet no word of mine is needed to fill your souls with honest pride. But the lessons of this day's teaching, the influence of this "procession," may well make us thoughtfully humble. Such events as these are needed lest we forget, in our pride and vigor, what made us strong, and what we owe to those who follow us.

The lesson of heroism, of courage to face and fight a dangerous foe—there are no Indian republics now like that of the Pawnees, but there are foes on other fields. Such days as these go far to nerve the arm and steady the eye of every brave boy who goes out from among us to fight for his country. The realm of politics has its hostile Pawnee braves whom the valiant man must compel to run up the stars and stripes. Society has its lurking savages. Their war-paint is "public opinion." There is always a need for those whose steadfastness to a conviction against popular prejudice is absolutely sure. It was not to keep himself "solid" with the crowd at Washington that Pike, out on this lonely prairie, played a hero's part. It was the duty that lay nearest him that he did so perfectly. He was not out hunting a site for his own monument, but he was traveling in his own country, under his own flag, and he had too brave a heart to salute the symbol of Spain or let it taint the air above him. With all our nation's boasted strength and glory, it still is true that

"Security is mortal's chiefest enemy,"

and there will always be crises such as came here; always the call for

"A man with a head, heart and hand

Like some of the simple great ones gone forever and ever by.

One still, strong man in a blatant land.

* * * * *

One who can rule and dare not lie."

solely in the care of Mrs. Z. M. Pike, the eldest, Pike Harrison, was, after his grandfather's death, adopted by the government and educated at West Point. He was killed by the Indians somewhere in the West during a skirmish in which the troops and regulars were engaged. Symms Harrison, jr., was killed by lightning while crossing the Rio Grande river in a boat. William Henry married, settled in Kentucky, and reared a large family. The eldest granddaughter was named Zebuline, in honor of her two grandfathers. Two of the daughters married physicians. The death of the elder sister was most pathetic. The younger sister died of cholera and the body was taken to the home of the eldest for burial. The body arrived shortly after noon and was buried at sunset. The remaining sister was stricken with the malady, and died at sunset on the following day.

"Mrs. Sturdevant is the representative of the Pike family in Kansas. Her husband was a Presbyterian minister. For many years they conducted a boarding-school for girls, first at Springfield, Ohio, and later at Indianapolis. They followed their children to Kansas. Rev. Sturdevant died in Olathe several years ago, after they had been married more than fifty years. Mrs. Sturdevant is eighty-nine years old. She takes an interest in everything about her, keeps up with current events, and is refined, cultured, and companionable. She lives with her widowed daughter, Mrs. Clara S. Byrne, who will be remembered as having visited Judge and Mrs. McFarlane in Topeka some years ago. Her other daughter is the wife of Colonel Adams, of Larned. She had one son. Col. Zebulon Pike, the father of Zebulon Montgomery Pike, was once honored by a visit from Lafayette, and a warm friendship existed between the two. Many of the family mementoes were destroyed in a fire. Among them was the British flag which General Pike ordered folded and placed under his head when he was dying, the suit he wore when he received his fatal wound, a life-size oil painting of himself, and a number of presents given him by the Spaniards while they held him a prisoner of war. The Spaniards also sent Mrs. Pike costly presents, among them a beautiful white silk dress-pattern, which later made her daughter's wedding gown.

"General Pike seemed to have had a presentiment that he would not return from his expedition to the north. He visited his daughter, who was in school in Philadelphia, and wrote on the margin of a letter to her mother loving messages and requests, one being to look after an orderly who had been with him long, and to whom he was much attached. General Pike's last words were, 'Keep the flag floating.' He was loyal to his country, a courageous commander, and a loving, indulgent husband and father."

There is a lesson here of patriotism—a lesson that cannot be too often taught. Sometimes there is a tendency on the part of the thoughtless to consider that this matter of patriotism is a trifle overdone, and that the price we pay for some things is out of proportion with their value. To these the old soldier is only a pension-grabber, and the flag he fought for but a gaudy decoration, much in evidence at street fairs and flower parades and on the Fourth of July. If any of you here retain with affection the name and face of "Old Pap Thomas"; if any of you went down behind Sherman from Atlanta to the sea; if any of you remember how that flag looked when you came again into God's country out of Andersonville prison; if any of you can recall Malvern Hill and Cold Harbor, and Spottsylvania Court-house; if any of you fought through those blazing July days at Gettysburg—to you the old soldier is something more than a government beggar. And nothing in all the heavens above nor the earth beneath can stir your hearts like the sight of that old flag for which in your young manhood you forsook father and mother, brother and sister, wife and children, houses and lands, and followed it, and battled for it, and saved it for yourselves and your children, forever. To you it must have value. And this day shall teach us to value it more than we have ever done before. It was here that this flag first floated over Kansas soil. To-day it brightens every sea; it is run aloft on tower and dome in every state and territory from Hell Gate to the Golden Gate, from everglade to iceberg, and it glints back the sunlight in the far-off islands of the seas. We need, very much we need, processions, lest we become the "puddle" instead of the rushing, glorious "river"; lest we forget the heritage that is ours.

One more lesson is ours to-day, the lesson of character. That state only can be enduringly strong that has honor in politics, honesty in commerce, courage on the battle-field, industry in the workshop, intelligence in the schoolroom, and virtue at the fireside. It is manhood that counts. Paper monuments are always subject to a reconsideration; even stone and bronze may come in time to blush at the thing they stand for. But the worth of a man is eternal. In creation's dawn it was the impress of the Master's hand upon His creature, and God saw that it was good. That quality in a man that enables him to confer large benefits upon his fellow men gives to his name an imperishable place on earth and to his spirit a wider sphere in the larger life beyond life. Firm set as are the everlasting hills, 't is not outside the power of the God of nature to rive them with storm wind, and thunderbolt, and earthquake, until even Pike's Peak may bow to the very level of the sea. But no force can wrest the name of Zebulon Montgomery Pike from the annals of the Louisiana purchase and the record of the beginnings of Kansas. Year after year his monument shall look down from yonder height upon these sunny fields. And we know by that divine seventh sense, teaching us the hidden things of eternity, that somewhere, somewhere

"Beyond the path of the outmost sun through utter darkness hurled—
Further than ever comet flared or vagrant star dust swirled—
Live such as fought and sailed and ruled and loved and made our world."

And he is one with them. And the lesson is for us who come after. Shall not this day's celebration, then, inspire us to better building?

And now, no part of this occasion could be complete without fitting tribute be paid to the one woman through whom it came about. For twenty years has Mrs. Elizabeth Johnson been planning and hoping and waiting and doing for the whole state that which preserves its traditions, enriches its history, beautifies its landscape, and inspires its citizens. In the name of the women of Kansas, I am commissioned here and now to say to her that she shall be honored among us because she considereth a field and buyeth it. With her own hand she planteth a

vineyard. And that years hence, for the good work she hath done, our children shall rise up and call her blessed.

"There has been no great people without processions." There can be no great processions without banners whose inscriptions tell the purpose and symbolize the character of those who bear them. On a ceremonial day here in Kansas might be borne aloft four banners. On the first could be read "Loyalty"—that kind of loyalty that brands with shame forever the Judas whose hand is lifted against it. So long as that banner floats anarchy must crawl about only in the darkness and bite the dust in ignominy.

On a second banner is "Heroism"—self-sacrifice, self-forgetfulness; the courage that leads its followers to put on the whole armor of warfare, and, having done all, to stand. It has made our history glorious and our battle-fields few and quickly cleared. 'Tis the latent force in the farmer, the carpenter, the preacher, and the man of business, springing into terrible activity only at the high call of duty.

On a third banner should be "Individual Liberty"—freedom of speech, freedom of citizenship, and freedom of conscience; the power to stand openly for the right and denounce the wrong; a voice of equality in the affairs of government; an emancipation from social caste; the opportunity to put off the tanner's coat for the insignia of the commander-in-chief of the army and navy, to go from the tow-path to the White House; freedom of creed, the right to study out the Master's lessons as He alone can teach them.

On the fourth banner, the inscription from the coin of the realm would tell the whole story—"In God we trust." Not yet have I grown old enough nor scholarly enough to invent a better prayer than the one my mother taught me, beginning with the words "Our Father." By this sign must we conquer. Without this banner the rest are but idle show.

But in this day's celebration we do not need four banners. For loyalty, heroism, freedom and trust in God are written all together in the red, white and blue of Old Glory; and whosoever carries that flag bears them all gathered close in its folds, their sign and symbol forever.

For ninety-five years has that flag been planted in Kansas soil. To our proud, rejoicing hearts there comes here the lesson of remembrance also. And faith and hope and love combine in promise that the work of Zebulon Montgomery Pike shall not be forgotten; that the harvest of his sowing shall be garnered in an hundredfold, down through the future years, and that this "young queen of nations," that to-day passes her 125th milestone, in security and honor,

"Shall wrap the centuries round her again and yet again,
Till their gleaming braids have wound her in a thousand years and ten."

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Hon. John W. Haughey, grand master of the Grand Lodge, Independent Order of Odd Fellows, closed the exercises with a speech on "Fraternity and Patriotism."

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The exercises Monday, September 30, 1901, began at 10:30 A. M., with the unveiling of the monument. Mrs. Elizabeth A. Johnson had been selected by the Daughters of the American Revolution to perform this ceremony. She was assisted by Mrs. Lucy B. Johnston, of Topeka, state regent of Kansas. A chorus of many voices rendered the "Star-spangled Banner."

Immediately following, a salute to the flag, of twenty-one guns, was fired by the Sixth battery field artillery, United States army, Capt. Granger Adams, commanding.

In the grove, immediately following, Hon. John Francis, of Allen county, president of the State Historical Society, called the meeting to order.

President of the day, Col. John C. Carpenter, of Neosho county, past department commander.

Invocation, Rev. R. P. West, of Concordia.

Address, "Patriotism," Col. C. E. Adams, of Superior, Neb., representing Governor Savage. Colonel Adams modestly yielded his space in these pages to the Kansas orators. He is a stockman and banker at Superior, Neb., but a few miles from the site of the village, and he has at all times taken the greatest interest in the efforts of the neighbors to preserve and mark the ground. He made a brilliant and patriotic talk on each occasion. He was born at Monroe, Wis., served in the Fifth Wisconsin battery light artillery, and came West in 1875.

Address by Mrs. Katherine S. Lewis, of Wichita, past state regent for Kansas of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

Address by Hon. Noah L. Bowman, of Anderson county.

Address by Hon. William T. Short, member of the house of representatives from Cloud county, in behalf of the Grand Army of the Republic.

Address by Hon. F. Dumont Smith, of Edwards county.

Address, "The Progress of Women," by Miss Helen Kimber, of Labette county.

Address by Hon. W. A. Calderhead, member of Congress, fifth district.

An exhibition drill by the Sixth battery field artillery, United States army.

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PIKE A TYPICAL AMERICAN SOLDIER.

An address by JOHN C. CARPENTER,* at the unveiling of the monument at Pawnee village, September 30, 1901.

On Friday, the 9th day of August, 1805, under instructions from the commander-in-chief of the United States army, Lieut. Zebulon M. Pike, with one interpreter, one sergeant, two corporals and seventeen private soldiers of the First infantry, embarked at St. Louis to make an exploration of the Mississippi river to its source. A journal of this voyage was daily kept by Lieutenant Pike, as also one of his second expedition, to the westward, which started July 15, 1806, both of which I have read with great interest and information, taking in, as they do, all that transpired on that memorable visit to the Pawnee village, located on the spot where we now stand.

The great progress that has characterized the career of our country has nowhere been more marked than in those sections of it that were the scenes of Pike's travels and adventures. The great, silent river of his day, flowing through a wilderness rarely trodden save by the foot of the savage, is now one of the main arteries of a colossal commerce. Mighty cities adorn its banks. The roar of the falls of St. Anthony, where he secured from the Indians land for a military post,

*COL. JOHN C. CARPENTER was born in Indiana, Indiana county, Pennsylvania, February 5, 1838. He completed his education in a local academy and at Kenyon College. In May, 1857, he came to Kansas, settling at Geneva, Allen county. In 1859 he returned to Pennsylvania, and took a complete law course. In 1861 he enlisted in the Sixty-seventh Pennsylvania regiment, serving until the close of the war. In April, 1866, he returned to Kansas, settling in Neosho county, where he has since remained. He was department commander, state of Kansas, Grand Army of the Republic, in 1868. He is now serving his fourth term in the state senate—first in 1869-'70, then 1877-'79, and 1893-'95, and is again a member, representing the counties of Neosho and Wilson. He served four years as United States revenue collector. He is now a member of the World's Fair Commission, and its chairman, busily engaged in preparing for Kansans at the coming Louisiana Purchase Exposition at St. Louis. In the summer of 1901 President McKinley offered Colonel Carpenter the position of pension commissioner, which he declined.

is lost in the ever-increasing hum of industry. The buffalo has passed forever from the plains; the idle desert waves in fields of wheat and rustles in fields of corn.

There appears to be a wide-spread want of proper information among the people inhabiting the portion of the country first explored and described by Pike as to the character and make-up of the man. To the masses his name appears to have been kept alive solely on account of its association with the great peak in Colorado.

There is some general information that he crossed the great plains and penetrated the mountains, but, at the best, it is extremely vague. That, in the century that witnessed the exploits of this pioneer of pioneers, who first raised the flag of the United States upon this historic ground, his identity should be virtually lost, and his deeds forgotten by those who, afterward, under very different conditions, stern though they may have been, followed in his footsteps, seems strange indeed. Pike's indomitable perseverance, undergoing great privations, surmounting all obstacles, is well illustrated in the narration of this undertaking. But the most important work of this wonderful man's record is his expedition to the Rocky Mountains. It is of most absorbing interest; in point of daring adventure and enduring fortitude, it is scarcely surpassed in American history. Poorly provisioned and appointed, Pike led a handful of men, in the dead of winter, into the heart of unknown mountains, 800 miles from his country's frontier.

His simple, unaffected recital of the dangers met and the hardships endured compels our utmost sympathy and admiration. The picture of that broken file of emaciated, half-clothed, half-starved heroes, strung out over the January snow-fields on the steeps of the Sangre de Cristo range, will never fade from the memory. In the military annals of the republic there is scarcely anything more pathetic.

The relations existing at that time between the United States and Spain were under great strain. The Louisiana purchase had been consummated, but the limits of the grant, especially toward the southwest, were disputed, and much jealousy was manifested on both sides. Each side claimed Red river, while the Spaniards asserted dominion far to the northeast of that stream upon the great plains.

War was confidently expected as the outcome of the dispute. In addition to the tension in the then far West, the country was agitated by the intrigues of Aaron Burr. He was suspected of cherishing a design of forcing a secession of the country west of the Alleghanies, while it was notorious that an invasion and conquest of the northern Spanish provinces was in contemplation.

The commander-in-chief of the United States army was James Wilkinson, who was also governor of the territory of Louisiana. It was generally suspected that between him and Burr some bond of union existed. It subsequently developed that he had been the recipient from Burr of cipher letters bearing upon the conspiracy, and it was charged by Burr, under solemn circumstances, that these letters had been answered. It is true that Wilkinson was the chief witness in, if he was not the instigator of, Burr's prosecution, and that Wilkinson was acquitted of complicity in the plot; but the country was greatly excited and almost wrecked by revolution, being in a high state of alarm, and Wilkinson was looked upon nevertheless with great suspicion. Pike was a protege of Wilkinson, and it was from him, and not from the secretary of war, that the orders for this expedition were given.

It is not then to be wondered at that it was widely charged, and to some ex-

tent believed, that Pike was the emissary of the supposed conspirators, and that the expedition bore a very direct relation to Burr's enterprises. Pike, upon his return, promptly and vigorously denounced the imputations and calumnies against him, and no one who reads this journal, kept by him from day to day, and there discerns the lofty, patriotic soul that inspired the writer, can for a moment suspect his fidelity to his country and its laws. Whatever may be thought of Wilkinson, no cloud rests upon the memory of Pike.

The last record made by him, on the 1st of July, 1807, breathes forth the loftiest sentiments of true patriotism, and could only emanate from a loyal, liberty-loving heart.

Upon beholding the flag of his country, which, by reason of being a prisoner in the hands of the Spaniards, he had not seen for several months, he says: "Language cannot express the gaiety of my heart when I once more beheld the standard of my country waved aloft. All hail, cried I, the ever-sacred name of country, in which is embraced that of kindred, friends, and every other tie which is dear to the soul of man!"

I learn from a perusal of this journal of his that the impression which prevails that he scaled the peak now bearing his name is erroneous. His diary shows that he failed in that undertaking, a fact not at all to his discredit, when his physical condition, his want of knowledge of the country and the inclement season of the year are considered. The height which he climbed was probably Cheyenne Mountain, now well known as the spot where Helen Hunt Jackson was first buried. Major Long, a member of the topographical engineers, United States army, who explored the Arkansas river in 1816 in a flat-boat, which was considered a great feat in that day, was the first person of whom we have any record getting to the top of the peak, which was consummated in 1819.

Pike was evidently a soldier. His intrepidity under disheartening misfortunes, the stern discipline he maintained in his little band and his dignified bearing in the hands of his captors stamp him as a leader among men. He did not shield himself behind his rank when danger and hardship were to be met. "He was the scout of his forces; he was the hunter for the command; he carried the pack." The West, with few historic associations beyond our own times, and no other remote hero, may look back upon this one fondly and with pride. It is a picturesque and bold figure, that of this young officer, dressed in a pair of blue trousers, moccasins, and blanket, coat and cap made of scarlet cloth, lined with fox skins, before the Spanish governor at Santa Fe, in March, 1807. We may be assured, however, that this uncouth attire detracted no particle from the natural dignity of its owner, who was well aware what was due from, as well as to, an American soldier, representing his country in a strange land.

He was born near Trenton, N. J., on the 5th day of January, 1779. His father was an officer in the revolution. When a boy, of slight build and gentle disposition, there showed in him a resolute spirit that was to carry his country's flag over vast tracts of unknown land destined thereafter to constitute an important part of the United States.

His conduct on the two expeditions of which he has left accounts was such as to earn him his appointment as brigadier-general as he entered his thirty-fourth year. While it was awaiting confirmation of the senate, on April 27, 1813, his brief, but brilliant and active career was crowned with a soldier's death, as he was leading the assault upon the British works at York, now Toronto, Canada.

In his last moments he maintained the utmost fortitude. Upon his person, after death, there was found a pocket volume, in which he had written two rules

by which he wished his young son to be guided; they were that the boy should always preserve his honor free from blemish, and that he should be ready at all times to die for his country. There can be no doubt that these were the cardinal principles directing Zebulon Montgomery Pike throughout life.

His monument in Colorado, than which no man has a prouder, looks down upon the scenes of his daring western march. To those who know his story, the great "white mountain" seems to gather a new dignity by the addition of his name, and for all yet to come shall that mighty peak yet preserve his memory, even as it holds its everlasting snow. A soldier of the republic when it and the former century were young, earnestly devoted to his duty, he deserved well of his country. For it he lived; for it he died.

We have, fellow citizens, assembled here to-day, on this historic ground, to pay our tribute to his memory in the unveiling of this shaft, that future generations may see that Kansas, historic Kansas, has not forgotten the sacrifices and patriotic sufferings endured by him whose name we honor, whose loyalty we recognize, and whose patriotism is an inspiration to us all.

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CONGRATULATORY ADDRESS.

By MRS. KATHARINE S. LEWIS,* past state regent of Kansas, at the Pawnee village, September 30, 1901.

Are we not met here to-day, as brothers and sisters, to reverence the memory of our hero-brother. You remember the reply of the schoolboy to his teacher's question: "Willie, whom did George Washington marry?" "The widow Custis, ma'am." "Had he any children?" "Yes, ma'am, the sons and daughters of the revolution." So we are here as one family. While summering amid the lofty peaks of the Rocky Mountains, in Colorado, word came from our state regent of this interesting ceremony, and I was asked to take the place of our president-general, Mrs. Fairbanks, who could not be present. At any other time, in any other place, I might have declined the invitation; but there, in the midst of the majesty of creation, with suggestions about us of the toils and sacrifices of our hero of this hour, impressed with the same patriotic enthusiasm that led him to do his noble work here—that same patriotism rising in us like the huge tongues of fire soaring heavenward from our great camp-fires—could one, under such inspiration, refuse to speak for our hero and our country's flag? Never! No, never!

For the Daughters of the American Revolution only one cause of regret mars this grand gathering, and that is the absence of our honored president-general, whom we expected to meet here. However, enthusiasm is not lacking; we daughters have hearts full of it, and we do especially rejoice that now we have a local history, purely our own, to celebrate. For several years we have been seeking out antiquity for Kansas; we felt that our state was too new to be interesting. You know we love old things, old customs, old manners. We are not girls of the period; we are not summer girls; but unlike, perhaps, some of our sex, we desire

*KATHARINE STERLING LEWIS was born in the city of Bridgeport, Conn., and was educated at the high-school and the Ward Ladies' Seminary. In 1872 she married Dr. G. F. Lewis, a graduate of Yale University and Medical College, New Haven. After many years of successful practice in Bridgeport and New York, a less rigorous climate was sought, and, in 1891, Doctor and Mrs. Lewis removed to Wichita, Kan. There was then no organization of the Daughters of the American Revolution in the state, and Mrs. Lewis worked zealously to organize the Eunice Sterling chapter, which was named for one of her distinguished ancestors. For five years she was elected chapter regent, until called to the state regency. Mrs. Lewis traces descent through a long line of worthy forebears—revolutionary officers, Indian fighters, and colonial workers—back to Charlemagne.

to be old. We glory in the past; we worship heroes who lived centuries ago for our country. Their history was our history—our colonial and revolutionary history. Our parallels extended eastward to Virginia and westward to California.

During the revolution this was a part of the Louisiana territory. So we can trace with interest Lieutenant Pike's route through here, to where he was seized by the Spaniards, while he was geographically exploring Louisiana. Some day we hope to see more memorials erected to him, and to other revolutionary heroes who lie undisturbed and unmarked on these plains, but whose spirits, like those of our beloved martyred presidents, are marching down through the ages to inspire mankind with lofty ideals. Now we come upon events that enhance our own locality. We have found a hero who was trained by a hero, even his own father, a soldier and officer in the revolution, whom we are here also to honor. We have listened to the story of this hallowed spot; we have shaken hands with the descendants of that tribe of Pawnees whose bones lie buried on yonder hill, where now stands the beautiful monument we are here to unveil.

We daughters are glad that the Historical Society has done so much to preserve these records. We thank our legislators for the appropriation granted to keep this place as a park and a memorial; most certainly the Daughters of the American Revolution take much pride in lending the helping hand in this grand work.

But, above all else, we are very grateful to that good woman whose patriotism and perseverance made this celebration possible, and saved this place for the good of future generations.

We have just sung the "Star-spangled Banner," whose broad stripes and bright stars were raised here by Zebulon Montgomery Pike. That old flag of 1794 had fifteen stripes and fifteen stars, of which this is a pattern, which I have made to present to you on this occasion. We thrashed the British under that flag. The different companies carried odd devices for flags then. One was called the "Liberty Flag"; one was, "On Appeal to Heaven"; "The Pine-tree of the North"; "The Rattlesnake" of the South. All these were emblematic. In 1812 the flag raised over Fort McHenry had fifteen stars and stripes. But in the year 1818 Congress declared the only official flag to be one of thirteen stripes, and as many stars as states. Such is Old Glory of our times.

What means the flag? Charles Sumner said: "It is a piece of bunting lifted in the air, but it speaks sublimity, and every part has a voice. White is for purity; red is for valor; blue for justice." It is to be cherished by all our hearts and to be uplifted by all our hands.

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FOOTSTEPS OF LIBERTY.

An address by NOAH L. BOWMAN,* of Garnett, at the unveiling of the Pike monument, September 30, 1901.

In the year 1620, on the coast of Massachusetts, landed the Pilgrim fathers, filled with the spirity of liberty and self-reliance. In the same year, 1620, on the coast of Virginia, was landed a ship-load of negro slaves, filled with

*NOAH L. BOWMAN was born on a farm one mile northwest of Tower Hill, Shelby county, Ill., December 22, 1858. He was educated in the public schools in Tower Hill and a country district adjoining. Moved to Kansas in 1872, and settled on a farm in Linn county. He continued his studies in the public schools of Linn county, State University, at Lawrence, Agricultural College, at Manhattan, and Lane University, at LeCompton. He served as professor of mathematics in Lane University, county surveyor of Linn county, county attorney of Anderson county, and represented Anderson county in the legislature of 1901. He has taught school and practiced law in Garnett since May, 1886.

the spirit of dependance and abject submission. The negroes were slaves to the white colonists of Virginia, and the white colonists of Virginia and Massachusetts were practically slaves to England.

I once saw an old coin bearing date 1773; as to its history, I was informed that it was made in England for use in the colonies of North America. In its center were the words, "Our cause is just," and on its margin were the words, "Unanimity is the strength of society."

In the old Concord burying-ground, I am informed, is a stone monument, bearing the same date, 1773. It marks the place where was laid the body of John Jack, an old negro, and on that monument to-day can be read the words: "God wills us free; man wills us slaves." In these eight words we find a complete statement of the cause of every war that has ever occurred, not only in North America, but on the face of the globe. God wills to every man his own powers, and the product of those powers, applied to nature's resources. . . . Man in a thousand ways seeks to control the natural powers of his fellow man and to appropriate the product of those powers when applied to nature's resources. And as man's God-given powers and the product thereof are controlled and appropriated by his fellow men against his will, to that extent he is a slave; and against it, if worthy the name of man and the image of God, he rebels, and, for freedom, goes to war.

The colonies of North America grew in number to thirteen, all peopled with British subjects except New York and Delaware, which were peopled by the Dutch. The historian tells us that New York became subject to British authority by "conquest" from the Dutch. By that mild-sounding word "conquest" is meant a proceeding very similar to that adopted by a big dog when he sees a little one in possession of a nice, juicy bone. He just steps up to the little fellow, gives him a whipping, and takes his bone. England saw little Holland feasting off New York, and England just stepped over, conquered the Dutch, and took New York. I am inclined to think that it made very little difference to the Dutch whether they were enslaved by England or Holland, except, referring to the motto on the coin, "Unanimity is the strength of society," they were then united with the other colonies of North America, with only England to fight for their freedom instead of England and Holland both.

Those English colonies finally concluded that it did not matter so much that their fathers, under various modes of taxation, in the levying of which they had no voice, had had taken from them by the English government, without their consent, their entire earnings all their lives, and had been to the English practically slaves; and it mattered not so much that they themselves should be compelled to deliver to England the product of all their labor except a mere living, which any master gives his slave; but that they should so far recognize and submit to the system as to bequeath to their offspring a condition of slavery seemed to them too cowardly, and long before it was known in England a few of the colonists had solemnly determined to control and appropriate the fruits of their own labor, or labor no more.

They met at Concord, with ox teams, dragged from the timber trees, lashed them together, set one end in the ground, and on the other end they put a flag. It was not the British flag, nor the flag of Holland; nor was it the symbol of cruelty and slavery which Spain everywhere raises over her victims; nor was it the stars and stripes which Pike unfurled to the breeze on the soil of Kansas in the year 1806, for as yet the stars and stripes had not been seen; but it was just a flag, meant as a mild hint that, since all nations and governments adopt flags, that they were something worthy of a flag themselves; and for want of a particular

design they painted on the old flag the picture of a common, every-day pine tree, and denominated the whole thing a "liberty pole." In April, 1775, 800 regular British soldiers left Boston under orders, among other things, to burn that liberty pole. A battle followed, insignificant in itself; in its results, beyond the hopes and fears of mankind. On the one side were as well-drilled soldiers as ever marched; bayonets gleaming in the sunlight; equipped with the best instruments of death; backed in whatever they might do by a strong nation fighting for greed. On the other side was a group of hardy pioneers—no nation and no treasury behind them—fighting for humanity, and backed alone by the sanction of God and the consciousness that their "cause was just"; for

"If humanity shows to the God of this world

A sight for His fatherly eye,

'Tis that of a people, with banner unfurled,

Resolved for their freedom to die."

The British burned that liberty pole, but on that spot to-day waves the stars and stripes over the homes of the most independent, liberty-loving and self-reliant people that the sun ever shone upon.

In the year 1541, Coronado, a Spaniard, stepped on Kansas soil, because of which Spain claimed the territory. In 1606 the king of England, without looking for Coronado's tracks, and without making one of his own, granted the territory to the London and Plymouth companies, who claimed it as a British possession.

In 1673 Father Marquette, a Frenchman, entered the territory in which Kansas was included, without either actual or constructive notice of the British "filing upon the land," but I am persuaded with actual notice that Coronado had "staked the claim"; for from his report we learn that he went across the territory "in a boat" until "within five days' journey of the Gulf of Mexico," when he turned back for fear he would fall into the hands of the Spaniards, then took possession of the whole country in the name of France, and called it Louisiana.

The territory including Kansas then had three distinct chains of title, Spanish, English, and French, until 1762, when France "quitclaimed" to Spain. In 1800 Spain "quitclaimed" it back to France; and the "pioneer life in the far West" had, on account of a little transaction at Yorktown, become so distasteful to the British that they voluntarily relinquished their right under their filing and abandoned the territory; thus the entire title was gathered up by the French. We shed tears of gratitude when we think of the unselfish assistance the French extended to us in our war for liberty with Great Britain; and I would not have it changed, because it expands our souls and drives out selfishness and egotism. I would still let our children compare La Fayette's greatness and goodness with that of Washington, and make him out, if they choose, the greater, because of his apparent unselfish love for us, and his grand, disinterested self-sacrifice; it broadens and teaches them generosity. But I want to whisper to you in strict confidence, "on the dead," that the revolutionary war was a proceeding *in rem*, in which the French interplead, and quieted their title to the entire Louisiana territory, worth \$15,000,000.

In 1803 the title to the Louisiana territory, being quieted against the British, and in the French in fee simple, the old pioneers who defended the liberty pole, adopted and made sacred the stars and stripes, under the national name of the United States of America, and purchased it; yes, purchased it, and paid its full value, \$15,000,000. They could have walked over and taken it, as England took New York by "conquest." But they were then, and God grant they

may be now and forever, a nation of defenders and not conquerors—defenders of liberty, equality before the law, and of honest ownership of property; never conquerors for slavery, inequality before the law, or for ill-gotten gain of any kind.

When our forefathers purchased the Louisiana territory of France the Spanish occupied it, and the Spanish flag, everywhere the symbol of cruelty and slavery, in mockery waved in the Kansas breeze.

In the year 1806, Napoleon Bonaparte, by "conquest," had extended his power over all southern Europe; that year he converted the Batavian republic into a monarchy, and bestowed the sovereignty upon his brother Louis; that year, by "conquest," the crown and kingdom of Naples he bestowed upon his brother Joseph.

While Napoleon with his army was enslaving all Europe, and while Spain was appropriating and squandering the wealth of the murdered Inca of Peru and the Montezumas of Mexico, and holding in slavery the inhabitants of Cuba, Zebulon M. Pike, on this spot, was hauling down the Spanish flag of oppression, and erecting instead the stars and stripes of our own free land; thus quietly dedicating the Kansas and Nebraska territory to liberty, equality and justice for oppressed mankind forever.

This freedom, this liberty and equality, however, were not maintained without a struggle. But beneath the inspiring folds of that banner, on Kansas soil, the God of liberty raised up a John Brown, at whose grave Wendell Phillips made this prophecy: "He has abolished slavery—you say that is too much; men walked Boston streets when night fell on Bunker hill and pitied Warren, saying 'foolish man'; 'threw away his life'; 'why did n't he measure his means better.' . . . Now he stands Colossus on that blood-stained sod, severing that day the tie which bound Boston to Great Britain. That night George III ceased to rule in New England. When the tempest uproots the pine on yon hill it looks green for months, but it is only timber and not a tree. John Brown has loosened the roots of the slavery system; it only breathes, it does not live hereafter."

Beneath the clear sky, in the pure air, on the broad prairies of Kansas, is where the true type of free-born American citizens live; that class who, believing themselves as much entitled to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness as the king of England, raised their flag and walked out on the battle-field to maintain that right or die; that class who, a few years later, believing that slavery of the black man by an individual citizen was in principle no better than the slavery of an entire white nation by another nation, marched onto the battle-field to secure to the black man the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. . . . That class who, recently believing that the creole girl on the island of Cuba was as much entitled to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness as the queen of Spain, marched to battle again. The "cause was just." . . . Liberty won. . . . The Spanish flag of oppression and slavery again came down, and the stars and stripes again went up. May the banner of liberty wave over Cuba and the stars and stripes over Kansas as long as time shall last.

THE ANGLO-SAXON AND HIS CONQUESTS.

An address by F. DUMONT SMITH,* at the unveiling of the Pike monument,
September 30, 1901.

"Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth." I take it that refers to the Anglo-Saxon. For the past 400 years he has been inheriting the earth at a rate unexampled in history. The other heirs have not always been satisfied. It has frequently required the litigation of the sword to compass our claims, but in the supreme arbitrament of battle the Anglo-Saxon has always prevailed.

When Lord Bacon had finished writing the immortal works of William Shakespeare, less than 5,000,000 people could read or understand the tongue in which they were penned. To day it is the daily speech of 150,000,000, and it is the official language, the language of schools and courts and governments, of more than 500,000,000—one-third of the human race. Then, the Anglo-Saxon was confined to a tiny island, a mere speck upon the map, less than 50,000 square miles of territory—two-thirds the extent of Kansas. To-day, his title is unquestioned to 16,000,000 square miles, or nearly one-third of the earth's surface. And on the sea, wherever the tides follow the shifting moon and the salt surges bow to the ocean winds, the Anglo-Saxon is the unbeaten, the unchallenged monarch of the sea. Whether behind the wooden bulwarks of the "Great Harry" or in the steel fortress of the "Oregon," whether at the masthead floats Old Glory or flies the meteor flag of England, the Anglo-Saxon sailor rules the great salt waters of the world.

Such growth, such power, such increment of territory, unparalleled by any race since time began, are not born of chance or accident. Deep in the racial blood, transmitted impulses and energies, heredity of thought and purpose, ruling us from graves long forgotten, have driven us forward resistlessly on this world-conquering path.

In that long struggle that through the ages, slowly as the coral insect builds, has lifted man from barbarism, other races have ruled and been forgotten, laid down the scepter of a day, and vanished.

But from the dawn of history, emerging from the mists of tradition, the Anglo-Saxon race has borne one torch—the torch of liberty; followed one instinct—the instinct of self-government; and sought one goal—the goal of equal rights and exact justice.

When our Germanic ancestors emerged from the forests about the foot of Mount Caucasus, and, moving westward in search of elbow-room, conquered a place in western Europe, they governed themselves. Heredity of power was unknown among them. Their chiefs were elective, and the kingly office was an office, not a property.

When Hengist and Horsa landed on the Isle of Kent and began the conquest of England, their scepter of power was the gift of the Anglo-Saxon freemen who

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followed them. When Egbert had consolidated that conquest, and the Saxon kingdom at length ruled all England, their kings were elected, their laws made and their leaders chosen by the Saxon freemen.

When the tide of Norman conquest had passed, when the oppression of King John had welded the Saxon franklin and Norman baron into one common purpose of resistance, their demand was for a return to the "laws of Edward the Confessor," the last but one of the Saxon kings.

The great charter signed at Runnymede was no new thing to the Anglo-Saxon, no novelty in human government, but a return to Saxon habits of law and self-government, for a time overwhelmed by foreign conquest.

What was the demand that John, with reluctant hand, answered at Runnymede? What was that declaration of the great charter, that corner-stone of Anglo-Saxon government: "No freeman shall be disseized or distrained of his liberties or rights, or in any other wise damaged, nor will we send upon him or take him or his property, or outlaw him or banish him from the realm, except by the lawful judgment of his peers and the law of the land."

There it is, the word made flesh; the vision of a government by law reduced to practice; the supreme achievement of the Anglo-Saxon, that which marks him and sets him apart from all others.

Six hundred years later another body of Anglo Saxons on this continent framed a new declaration, the constitution of the United States, that instrument under which we legislate and live to-day.

Let us see how much they had improved in 600 years upon that declaration of Runnymede: "No state shall deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law, or deny to any person the equal protection of laws."

Different in phraseology, in the idiom of its expression, it is yet identical in spirit, in intent and purpose with that earlier declaration.

Even then, in 1215, in those dark ages of the world, when the other nations of Europe were sunk in abject slavery, prostrate at the foot of thrones stained with every crime, our ancestors had wrung from their monarch, sword in hand, that guaranty of their liberties, that regis of government by law instead of human caprice. Even then they had the idea of self-government, the ideal of manhood, freedom; an ideal not new to them, but old—old as the race. They could not improve upon that ideal. They might reword its expression in terms of human thought; they might improve in practice of the art of self government, that art that demands so much of self-control and self-restraint; but that ideal was as changeless as the stars they had followed in their wanderings. It was the ark of the covenant, borne with them and cherished in every migration; sometimes lost, but never forgotten.

It was that instinct, that ideal, that made of the Anglo-Saxon the greatest colonist the world has ever seen. When the old hive overflowed, and the young swarm went forth to conquer new lands, as they reared their homes in the strange, wild places where their wanderings had led them, they reared with them and on the same foundation a stable, autonomous government of equal rights and exact justice.

The Frenchman, the Spaniard, of the seventeenth century was a helpless being the moment he stepped from beneath the immediate shadow of that despotic monarch who ordered every act of his daily life. And, in the race to conquer this new world, the Anglo-Saxon won, and America became English, rather than French or Spanish, because the Anglo Saxon, trained for centuries in the exacting school of self-government, had the initiative, the autonomous instinct, the robust, hardy spirit that won the prize of that 300-year struggle.

The Anglo-Saxon adventurer needed no royal patent, no kingly commission laden with barren phraseology. That which he desired he put forth the strong arm and seized, and seizing, held; and holding, governed. He instituted his own legislative assemblies, his own courts that administered justice to all alike, according to the law of the land—that ancient law that he had brought with him from his native shores. The king's power over him was but a shadow, and when the ministers of George sought to substitute for that shadow the substance of an arbitrary rule he grasped the sword.

The English ministry might have robbed the colonies with impunity, might have crushed their industries and destroyed their commerce by arbitrary laws; but when it laid its violating hand upon that sacred ideal—that ideal of self-government—when it taxed him without representation, vetoed his self-made laws, haled him beyond the seas to answer political offenses, and, above all, when it denied him the right of a trial by jury, that right for which their common ancestry had battled with kings, the blood that fought at Naseby and Marston Moor, the blood that defied King John and King Charles, awoke, and committed his cause to the god of battles.

And when that struggle ended, and we stood forth among the nations of the world, a feeble, scattered folk, our territory, small as it then seemed, was all too large for us. Thousands of miles of it were trackless waste, forests unexplored, unknown. The wise man said it is enough. Let us pause here. Let us settle and claim our estate before we seek for more. But the inextinguishable wanderlust of the Anglo-Saxon still drove him on to the new lands, and the world-old land hunger of the race still sought for new possessions. France had a farm to sell and we bought it, and so Zebulon Montgomery Pike, lineal descendant of a race of adventurers and explorers, blood kin to Raleigh and Hudson and Boone, came by pathless ways to this spot where we celebrate to-day.*

He found here the emblem of a foreign sovereignty, here on soil that belonged to the stars and stripes. His men were a handful, the savages were thousands. He had no express mandate for such a case. He was not sent forth to conquer territory or levy war. He had no commission and no armed force to compel obedience to his flag, but the instinct of his race, the hardy, self-confident blood of the Anglo-Saxon, neither doubted nor hesitated. At his command the flag of Spain fell to the dust, and our flag for the first time saluted the Kansas sun-

*On Memorial Day, May 30, 1901, there was unveiled at Sioux City, Iowa, a monument erected to the memory of Sergeant Charles Floyd, a member of Lewis and Clark's expedition, who died near that place on August 20, 1804. It cost nearly \$20,000, and is built of sandstone. It is an Egyptian obelisk, and consists of a main shaft ten feet square at the base and six feet square at the top, the total height above the base being 100 feet. Capt. H. M. Chittenden, of the United States army, an engineer of acknowledged ability, was the architect and designer of the monument. It is a work of art, beautiful in design; such a monument as will forever mark the last resting-place of the first soldier of the United States who gave up his life in that vast territory, and was buried, but its aim goes far beyond that. It bears two bronze tablets, one on the east face, the other on the west. One reads as follows: "FLOYD. This shaft marks the burial place of Sergeant Charles Floyd, a member of the Lewis and Clark expedition. He died in his country's service, and was buried near this spot August 20, 1804. Graves of such men are pilgrim shrines; shrines to no class or creed confined. Erected A. D. 1900 by the Floyd Memorial Association, aided by the United States and the state of Iowa." The other tells the larger story. "In commemoration of the Louisiana purchase, made during the administration of Thomas Jefferson, third president of the United States, April 30, 1803; of its successful exploration by the heroic members of the Lewis and Clark expedition, of the valor of the American soldier, and of the enterprise, courage and fortitude of the American pioneer, to whom these great states west of the Mississippi river owe their secure foundation." It was a delightful inspiration which prompted Kansas to keep step with Iowa in a like patriotic undertaking the same season at Pike's Pawnee village. The Lewis and Clark party gave Kansas her first Fourth of July celebration, on Independence creek, in Doniphan county, July 4, 1804.

shine. That act was typical, and emblematic; it bore the imprint of the Anglo-Saxon spirit, and Pike himself was the heir and exemplar of that long line that, stretching back through the centuries, yielding to-day a Funston, to-morrow a Baldwin, ends not till the race shall perish and its blood cease to flow in the veins of men.

This spot from thence on was sacred ground. It is altogether fitting that here that stately monument should rise, this festival be held, and these tributes paid. And while we honor the dead, let us not forget the living. Let us honor the woman's heart, American in every fiber, that conceived and planned this dedicated pile, whose steadfast purpose and unfaltering energy are here to-day rewarded. This monument is not less hers than his whose name it bears.

Since Pike here raised that flag, its far-flung power and unstained achievements have amazed the world. To-day it salutes the sunrise from Porto Rico; the lone outpost of the Atlantic; before our sunset gun bids it good night in the Philippines, England's traditional boast has become our own. And while we have grasped the scepter of this continent, our Anglo-Saxon kinfolk have not been idle. To-day England's king rules over more human beings than ever before in the history of the world acknowledged the sway of a single government. The Anglo-Saxon race to-day, if wielded to a common purpose, might safely defy the oppugnant nations of the earth; and, prouder boast than that, wherever either flag floats is a government of law, of ordered liberty, of equal rights and exact justice.

The history of our race has no parallel in the annals of mankind. Unique in purpose and spirit, unrivaled in the achievements and conquests alike of war and peace, it stands to-day upon the very pinnacle of this world's power and glory. In this world of ceaseless permutation, where nothing is certain save uncertainty, where nothing is immutable save the laws of change, no man may affirm aught of the future.

It may be that, from where we now stand, the shadows fall the other way; that in this summit of power and splendor we but linger for an hour, to thence begin our decline, as other nations have gone before.

If it be so, if future generations shall regard this period and future historians record these late events as the zenith of our race, there is no sign or indication of such a fate. Nowhere is perceptible the chill of advancing age, the token of national senility. Nowhere can be seen that corruption of blood, that social gangrene, that political decay, that precedes the downfall of nations. On the contrary, that racial instinct, that energizing spirit that has animated and informed our past, has but yesterday added a new and glorious chapter to our history.

The civil war, that lamentable struggle, left behind a legacy of fratricidal hate that seemed imperishable. But at length there came a day when the president called for volunteers to defend the flag. In that splendid burst of patriotism that followed, this government was embarrassed with more soldiers than it could arm and equip, and they came from every state and territory beneath the flag. Southern bands played "Yankee Doodle," and that flag was cheered on the streets of every Southern city. That burst of patriotism from a long disloyal section was not born of impulse; it was not the mood of a day. It marked a profound and lasting change of sentiment. It was the result of long-considered lessons of war and peace—the fruit of forces as slow and silent and yet as irresistible as those with which nature has effaced the trenches at Fredericksburg and clothed with flowers the battered hillsides of Antietam.

A month later there stood in battle array on the soil of Cuba men who had

sought to drag that flag in the dust. Side by side with them stood those who had risked all to keep it sacred and triumphant. Side by side with them stood descendants of those who had worn the shackles of slavery and bowed beneath the lash. Side by side with them stood descendants of those red aborigines from whom we have wrested the soil of this continent. There they stood, rebel soldiers, Union soldiers, negroes, and Indians, fighting upon foreign soil for the freedom of an alien race.

They wore the same uniform; they answered to the same bugle-calls; their hearts thrilled to the same martial music; and over their heads, the object of equal devotion, there floated the stars and stripes. In that hour we learned the undying splendor of the Anglo-Saxon character; its lofty purpose; its altruism; its ability to heal the wounds of civil war, and bend to its own form and purpose the stubborn metal of alien races; its splendid vitality, as youthful, fresh and unconquerable as in the hour when the barons confronted King John, or the thirteen colonies defied the power of George.

We feel, we know, the hour of Anglo-Saxon decay has not yet struck; that the Anglo-Saxon still holds the center of the world's stage; that, in the fulness of his powers and the meridian of his strength, he is still to bear the white man's burden.

That flag has witnessed the growth of an empire since Pike planted it here for the first time. The face of the world has changed; space has ceased to exist, and time has been annihilated. We have bound the continent together with iron bands and hung the whispering wire from ocean to ocean. Necromancy and magic have been surpassed; witchcraft and sorcery are sober facts; and all the djinns and fairies of the olden time now work in harness at the bidding of man. And not less startling than these changes, stranger than the fabric of dreams, has been the rise, the growth of the history of Kansas. When Pike led his followers through this valley it was a land of desolation. Gray, monotonous plains stretched to a horizon unbroken, unmitigated by the habitation of man, or sign of tillage; barren, vapid, intolerable to the eye. To day no fairer landscape stretches to the sun. There is nothing bold or sublime in it. No towering peak pierces the sky. No sparkling waterfall laces the rocks with spray. No gloomy gorge holds the heart in awe. No snow-clad summits lift it in wonder. But it has a beauty all its own—the beauty of harmony and ordered line and well-tilled field; a peaceful, smiling, well-fed, well-clothed beauty; a fat and hearty beauty, with no angles and no rough places.

But the same dazzling sky that smiled on Pike still bends over us. The same sun gilds the dawn with splendor and sets in cloudless benediction. The same air that inspired Pike a hundred years ago breathes upon us to-day, fresh and invigorating as the ether of creation.

And still that combination of natural forces that we call climate inspires, exalts, impels our hearts with faith and courage.

Now as then, and now as always, the man who faces a Kansas dawn and sees the sun rise from its illimitable horizon knows no doubts, no fears, no trepidations. For him the future holds no terrors, the past no regrets. For him the world is new created, splendid with life and promise.

Of all the forces, good and evil, that have wrought and struggled in Kansas, whose contending storm and fret have formed this commonwealth, none has been more potent, none more vital, than this, our life-giving, nerve-racking, invigorating, depressing, baffling, inconsistent Kansas climate, that bans and blesses with a breath, insults analysis and defies comparison, blasts prosperity with ruin, and defeats calamity with the very prodigality of plenty.

Its influence is worthy of note, because Kansas is now passing to the control of a generation born in Kansas, bred of this soil and climate; bone of the Kansas bone and flesh of the Kansas flesh.

The men who made Kansas are passing away. The scepter of power is slipping from the grasp of age. At best, they brought to her service but a divided allegiance. In the hour of doubt and trial, the hills and valleys, the fields and brooks, of earlier homes called to them with a strenuous and disturbing voice.

But this new generation, cradled and nourished on the bosom of Kansas, knows no other mother. They have no past but hers; they ask no other future.

They are strong with the brawn and vigor of a new land. They are brave with the blood of martyrs and pioneers.

They take the reins of power beneath a flag on whose far-flung glory the sun never sets. They are the heirs of all that vast estate of liberty and law our fathers died to win. They are the beneficiaries of all the blood and tears that have kept that banner sacred and triumphant. And here, upon these plains of Kansas, where Pike first raised the flag, they shall rear the grandest commonwealth the world has seen since the morning stars sang together.

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THE PROGRESS OF WOMEN.

By MISS HELEN KIMBER, at the unveiling of the Zebulon Pike monument, September 30, 1901.

A pleasant task is mine, that of tracing the development of the world since 1806 by telling of the progress of woman during this period. This, too, is fitting, since a certain poet has facetiously said:

“There is no gift of earth or heaven,
There's not a task to mankind given,
There's not a blessing or a woe,
There's not a whispered 'yes' or 'no,'
There's not a life, or death, or birth,
That has a feather's weight of worth,
Without a woman in it.”

But I am to deal with woman's progress since 1806—given that date because we are here to-day in proper commemoration of an event destined to help forward the world at a mighty rate of speed.

In 1806 Lieutenant Pike pulled down that red and yellow rag, understood to mean tyranny and oppression, and in its place, upon this then sacred spot, ran up the flag of liberty; this banner which represents the ideals for which men have died, and which expresses our country's character of freedom and obedience to law.

It is my flag, and I should have the privilege of helping to make the laws to sustain its ideal. It is your flag, and you should have the privilege of making the laws that shall protect it, as it represents the ideals and aspirations of our country and its constitution. But it is more than this, it is the symbol of the whole nation, and represents our history, past, present and future. It is our flag, not for a day, but for all time. It calls for our respect, our reverence, and our devotion; not for a trivial fondness, but for such worship as can be given by serious men and serious women. It is a symbol that speaks of benevolence, humanity, justice, liberty, obedience to law, and independence. It shadows forth the thought that gave this nation life—“Equality to all.”

What called for our starry banner? Our foreparents said self-evident truths, that “life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness” are the right of each individual, and that just governments derive their powers from the consent of the governed.

It was the banner of that little band of colonists, few in number, but mighty in thought and action. It is the emblem that marks the milestone in the history of the world, when a people bound by the tradition of the dark ages—"a king can do no wrong"—did, under the oppression that came from conservatism and misunderstanding, sever the ties that bound them, and declare: "Henceforth, these colonists are and ought to be free and independent." This banner is the emblem of the guaranty of liberty, and has become, in thought, the banner of all people striving for political liberty. Composed as it is of its starry field and crimson bars, it is a thing of beauty. Its greatest glory lies in what it symbolizes—the divine right of liberty and of the individual.

Fitting indeed it was that in its make-up a woman should have a share, as under its protecting folds she is fast becoming the peer of any. Let us for a moment go back to that little room in Market street in Philadelphia where, with the father of his country, stood Lieutenant and Mrs. Ross and planned this emblem.

"It was in the early evening, twelve hours flew by;
From dusk to dawn the livelong night
She kept the tallow-dips alight.

"And fast her nimble fingers flew,
To sew the stars upon the blue,
With weary eyes and aching head
She stitched the stripes of white and red,
And when the dawn came up the stair,
Complete across a carven chair
Hung Betsy's battle-flag.

"The simple stone of Betsy Ross
Is covered now with mold and moss;
But still her deathless banner flies
To keep the color of the skies.
A nation thrills, a nation bleeds,
A nation follows where it leads;
And every one is proud to yield
His life upon a crimson field,
For Betsy's battle-flag."

But woman's progress under its folds since 1806 is my text. Woman's progress—that means the world's, for woman is ever one step behind man.

In 1806 no high school was open to woman; her only opportunity for getting an education was through private teachers. To-day, in 1901, 40,000 girls are taking university courses.

In 1806 men said: "Woman's mind is incapable of grasping anything beyond reading, writing, and a little music and dancing." In 1901 men say: "Let women themselves prove their ability, and with pleasure hand out the diploma to the girl graduate."

In 1806 men said education would render women indelicate, masculine, dissatisfied, and unfit them for the sphere designed for them by God and nature. In 1901 men say: "God and nature will see to it that woman's enlarged faculties better fit her for her special sphere."

In 1806 men said: "Woman's secluded life makes education unnecessary." In 1901 men say: "Through her special sphere, her loyalty and devotion, woman's life touches the outer world; give her all the development such a responsible position demands."

In 1806, and until 1880, women students were forced to bear ridicule and insult. In 1901 women are welcomed as students to most of the principal colleges of the world.

In 1806 a married woman was said to be dead in law. In 1901 a married woman's will is respected in our Union, in Great Britain and her entire possessions, and in most of the European countries.

In 1806 a man selected woman's food, clothing, religion, and education. In 1901 woman makes her own choice of these things.

In 1806 man could punish his wife, just as he punished his children. In 1901 a man's wife is his social equal.

In 1806 a man could have his wife publicly dipped in a river for scolding, and the law was on the statute-books of New Jersey until twelve years ago.

In 1806 no married woman could legally collect her wages. In 1901 married women may collect their wages in all states except Louisiana and Texas, though there is a slight restriction in Missouri and Oklahoma.

In 1806 the married father was sole guardian of his children. In 1901, in nine states in the Union, Kansas being one of them, a married mother has as much right to her child as a married father.

In 1806 only two occupations were open to women. In 1901 all occupations are open to women, though that of law is refused in some states, and that of ministry in some churches.

In 1806 thirty-five women were employed in financially remunerative occupations. In 1901 more than five million women are thus employed.

In 1806 there was not one woman millionaire. In 1901 there are 400 women millionaires.

In 1806 women were not allowed to teach and usurp authority. In 1901 more than 200,000 women teachers are employed in the public schools of the United States alone. To-day many professorships in colleges and universities, representing every phase of scholarship, are held by women.

In 1806 there was not a woman newspaper reporter. In 1901 there are thousands of them thus employed.

In 1806 women dared not frequent public libraries because of public disapproval. In 1901 as many women as men patronize the libraries and are there employed.

In 1806 popular sentiment forbade woman's organizations. In 1901 more than two million women are organized, and for whatever purpose they choose.

In 1806 popular opinion forbade women to petition. In 1901 there are more than a million women petitioning for the ballot, and one petition alone bears the signatures of two million women.

In 1806 girls were advised: "If you happen to have any learning, keep it especially from men, for they are jealous of a woman of understanding." In 1901 the general citizenship expends millions of dollars for woman's education, and joyfully boasts of her knowledge.

In 1806 girls were considered fortunate who enjoyed poor health. In 1901 gymnasiums are fitted up to encourage the general health and development of brain and body.

In 1806 women physicians were not thought of. In 1901 women have been appointed surgeons on the medical staff of the army with the rank of lieutenant.

In 1806 woman's opinion was not worth securing upon any question, except from the few, thus "proving the rule of the exception." To-day, 1901, women have been accorded the right of limited suffrage in twenty-five states, and of full suffrage in four states. Thus has the starry banner waved aloft freedom of the individual and consent of the governed.

But I have spoken only of the United States, which led the way to a popular government. Nearly every country of Europe has granted some form of these

privileges to women. They are encouraged in securing an education, are accorded free public speech, the right to organize for purposes of self-culture or philanthropy, and in some countries partial and full suffrage. In Russia they must secure the consent of the czar for a political organization. In Australia they are given no special privileges, as they have the privileges of any.

Thus has the world moved forward. "The muffled tramp of years comes stealing up the slopes of time." Old Glory has looked upon a struggling world and it is struggling still.

I have given only statistics. These do not record the struggles, the bitter heartaches, and weary waiting for the victory over conservatism and misunderstanding, as to the usefulness and gratitude of the people of a republic. This does not record the opposition of men of all classes and professions, and of many women, to every step of this development. It does not mention the drawing aside of the skirt of some women when women students passed by. It does not record the ungallant unchristian speeches our own men have made when women sought an education. It does not tell of the bitter fight in Boston over the establishment of a high school for girls. It does not tell of the bad eggs, the good eggs, the mud, the snowballs, the brickbats, that were thrown at the women who insisted upon the privilege of an education, of organization of literary clubs, of philanthropic and temperance societies, of the right of going to the bank and of attending to business, of the right of opinion and of speech. It does not tell of the weary waiting before legislatures praying that the father might not have the right to give away her children; of securing the right to wages, to property, to self. It does not record the entreaties to help make school laws, to register an opinion on questions of taxation, and to help select the officers who shall execute a free people's will.

We accept, with much pleasure, the blessings of to-day, yet, had not some one been brave enough to oppose existing conditions, there would have been no progress. Yet to-day might the American bridegroom have caused his bride to be publicly ducked if she resented his statement contrasting her biscuits and his mother's.

There has been bitter opposition at every step, at every turn, at every new demand. Yet a few brave souls, to whom the veil was lifted and the light of the promised land shone, have borne the insult and bitter humiliation and disapproval of the general public. And here we are at the beginning of the twentieth century, claiming it not for men alone nor for women alone, but for the individual.

Mighty have been these strides. The old flag has ever held aloft its model of patriots, and with unequal step its citizens have for a space of a century moved forward, overcoming inheritance, prejudice, and conservatism. No one can say that this development has brought harm. No one of faith can say that a further development will bring us harm. We are moving upward and onward, not otherwise. When the American objectionist has recovered from his intoxication of pessimism, he will see how quickly, how quietly, have become assimilated the destiny of our men and women. It is merely a broadening of the track; latent faculties have become developed and demand the right to be used. Our banner swings aloft, saying: "Broaden your horizon, Uncle Sam, for the benefit of all your citizens."

The great heart of this nation will yet confront and survive mighty dangers, and will continue to shower upon the weak as well as the strong, the unpatriotic as well as the patriotic, the one of belated citizenship, as well as those who have always been the peer of any, the blessings of civil liberty. And Kansas, the

child of the nation, rich with unprecedented progress, and the accumulated prosperity of fifty years—fifty wonderful years, too—stands upon the threshold of equality.

Kansas is still in her youth; yet 't is free substantiation to say, "The child is father to the man." Kansas is a leader in this nation—a royal leader in many things; yet have we allowed our neighbor, Colorado, younger by a number of years, to more freely and fully interpret our country's banner; and there, there is no bond or free, black or white, male or female, but all are equal under the folds of Old Glory.

O Kansans, let not sectional pride longer suffer this humiliation of inequality. This flag, set floating on our soil on September 29, 1806, inspired us to proclaim as our motto, "To the stars," and, as though that were not enough, it was reiterated, and with emphasis, "Yes, to the stars—even through difficulties." Our aim was to the height, but we only measured up to the pace set by the declaration of independence and held aloft by the red, white, and blue. Yes, "To the stars."

But the dear, old Sunflower state can't reach that degree with only half of its citizens. Gradually have our people accepted the benefits coming to civilized life. Let us continue our faces toward the stars, and when Kansas, in the great hereafter, is called to answer for the deeds in the body politic, may she respond, "Our motto was to the stars," and we learned to live up to the light shadowed forth by the emblem of justice and civil equality.

* * * * *

WHERE WAS THE PAWNEE REPUBLIC?

An address by ELIAS BRANSON COWGILL, delivered September 29, 1897, under the auspices of the Pawnee Republic Historical Society, at the site of the "Old Pawnee Village," on the ninety-first anniversary of the first flag-raising on the prairies of Kansas by Lieut. Zebulon M. Pike, which occurred September 29, 1806.

As one approaches the Rocky Mountains from the east, by any route between thirty-eight and forty degrees north latitude, there appears, 100 miles or more away, something more substantial than a cloud, while yet the great ranges are below the horizon. The first published description of this sentinel of the Rockies was dated November 15, 1806, and written by Lieutenant (afterwards General) Zebulon M. Pike, of the regular army of the United States. He, with a small command, was ascending the Arkansas river on a tour of exploration. Here are his words: "Marched early. Passed two deep creeks and many high points of rocks; also large herds of buffalo. At two o'clock in the afternoon I thought I could distinguish a mountain to our right, which appeared like a small blue cloud. Viewed it with the spy-glass, and was still more confirmed in my conjecture, yet only communicated it to Doctor Robinson, who was in front with me; but in half an hour they appeared in full view before us. When our small party arrived on the hill, they with one accord gave three cheers to the Mexican mountains. Their appearance can easily be imagined by those who have crossed the Alleghanies, but their sides were whiter, as if covered with snow or a white stone. These were a spur of the grand chains of western mountains which divide the waters of the Pacific from those of the Atlantic ocean; and it divides the waters which empty into the bay of the Holy Spirit from those of the Mississippi, as the Alleghanies do those which discharge themselves into the latter river and the Atlantic. They appear to present a natural boundary between the province of Louisiana and New Mexico, and would be a defined and natural boundary."

The noble mountain here described has been fittingly named Pike's Peak,

and it will ever stand a monument to the patriotic explorer of western wilds then unknown to civilized man.

Prior to 1803 the territory of the United States lay exclusively on the east side of the Mississippi. It nowhere touched the Gulf of Mexico. Florida and all that part of Alabama and Mississippi south of the 31st parallel belonged to Spain. Louisiana extended from the Gulf of Mexico to the British possessions; its eastern boundary was the Mississippi river, throughout the entire length of that stream, and its western and southern boundary began at Sabine pass and extended along the east side of Sabine lake, to and along Sabine river, to and along the 94th meridian, to and along Red river, to and along the 100th meridian, to and along the Arkansas river, to and along the main range of the Rocky Mountains, to and along the 106th meridian, to and along the 42d parallel to the Pacific ocean. South and west of this all was Mexican or Spanish. The north line of Louisiana was the 49th parallel, the present boundary between British America and the United States west of the 95th meridian.

In 1803, under the administration of President Thomas Jefferson, the United States purchased this vast domain, called Louisiana, from France for the sum of \$15,000,000. This gave the United States the first outlet to the Gulf of Mexico; an outlet to tide-water which *has* been used surprisingly little to this day. The territory acquired was almost unknown. The Indian tribes were more or less hostile. The Spanish had scarcely conceded the right of France to much of the country, and they were little inclined to concede it to the United States. Lieutenant Pike was commissioned to explore a portion of the country and to adjust treaties with the Indians. His report constitutes a most interesting book of travel, exploration, adventure, and diplomacy. The fact that he unwittingly got over into Spanish territory on the Rio Grande, and was taken in by command of the Spanish governor at Santa Fe, and was deprived of his papers, compelled him to make a large part of his report from memory, and this fact accounts for some omissions and some inaccuracies which otherwise would not have occurred; but the substantial correctness of the report in its principal features shows that the lieutenant was a careful observer, and had a good memory.

It was while on this expedition that Pike traversed Kansas, and at the Pawnee Republic, on the Republican river, caused the American flag to be raised instead of the Spanish flag, which was laid at his feet; and it is to commemorate this event that we are met here to-day, ninety-one years after its occurrence.

One of the most interesting questions as to Pike's travels is as to the location of the Pawnee village known as the Pawnee republic. I state nothing new to an audience in this county by saying that until recently the authorities have mapped it as in Nebraska, and I shall not render a better service than in recounting some of the investigations on this point.

In his work of "The Expeditions of Zebulon Montgomery Pike to Head Waters of the Mississippi River, through Louisiana Territory, and in New Spain, during the years 1805-'06-'07, etc., by Elliott Coues, late captain and assistant surgeon United States army, late secretary and naturalist United States geological survey, member of the National Academy of Sciences, editor of Lewis and Clark, etc., 1895," that authority says:

"I must emphasize here the fact that I have failed in every attempt to locate the precise site of the Pawnee village. One would suppose it well known; I find that it is not, and have yet to discover the ethnographer who can point it out. Correspondence addressed to persons now living in the vicinity was as fruitless as my exploration of the sources of official knowledge in Washington, where several friends interested themselves in my behalf to no purpose. I know of no

closer indication than that afforded by Gregg's map of 1844. This letter "Old Pawnee Village" on the south bank of the Republican, half way between longitude ninety-eight and ninety-nine degrees west, and thus, as I judge, about opposite the present town of Red Cloud, Webster county, Nebraska. (Gregg runs the Republican entirely south of latitude forty degrees north, *i. e.* in Kansas; but the place where Pike struck it was certainly in that portion of its course which runs in Nebraska, just over the Kansas line. Gregg in fact gives his river a recognizable northward convexity along here, and if it does not overreach the fortieth degree that is a fault of absolute, not relative position. We are here much less concerned with latitude than with longitude.) The river is running approximately from west to east in Webster county, and the main point is how far west the village was, as that would affect details of the route from the last point at which I have been able to locate Pike. (Near White Rock.) It will be necessary to discover the exact situation of the Pawnee village before the cloud over the end of the journey can be dispelled and the beginning of the journey from the village to Great Bend, on the Arkansas, can be set in a clear light. For the present, I can only tentatively assume longitude ninety-eight degrees and thirty minutes west."

It is but fair to state that Doctor Coues has greatly modified the views here quoted.

Gregg's map, which Doctor Coues took as almost authoritative, is contained in his book entitled "Commerce of the Prairies, or the Journal of a Santa Fé Indian Trader during eight expeditions across the great Western Prairies, and a residence of nearly nine years in northern Mexico, illustrated with maps and engravings. By Josiah Gregg. 1844." Nowhere in the book does the writer claim to have visited any part of the Republican river. His map, which covers the country from western Missouri to the great divide of the Rockies, and from the Platte river to the middle of Texas, appears to be a more or less successful attempt to correctly delineate the entire region. On it he traces what he supposed to be Pike's route. Turning to Pike's map, we find that he located the Pawnee village considerably south of the fortieth parallel and near the twenty-fifth degree of west longitude. Gregg's map changes Pike's location of the village, moving it a little further north. But Pike's longitude is undoubtedly wrong, not only here, but also at the great bend of the Arkansas, both of which places it would locate about where the west line of Kansas now is. It is important to note here that nowhere in Pike's published report does he state the longitude of any place except as indicated on his map. Doubtless his notes, taken from him by the Spanish, contained observations for the determination of geographical positions. In the receipt, or memorandum, which the Spanish officers gave for Pike's papers, item 20 reads: "A book in quarto, manuscript, in pasteboard, with copies of letters to the secretary of war and General Wilkinson, and various observations, astronomical, etc., relative to the commission of the lieutenant, in sixty-seven pages."

In Pike's instructions from his superior officer may be found the following: "The instruments which I have furnished will enable you to ascertain the variation of the magnetic needle, and the *latitude with exactness*; and at every remarkable point I wish you to employ your telescope in observing the eclipses of Jupiter's satellites, having previously regulated and adjusted your watch by your quadrant, taking care to note with great nicety the periods of immersion and emersion of the eclipsed satellite. These observations may enable us, after your return, by application to the appropriate tables, which I cannot now furnish you, to ascertain the longitude."

Pike was not neglectful of his general's instructions. On August 28 he wrote and sent in a report from "Camp Independence, near the Osage Towns" (probably in southwest Missouri), in which this paragraph occurs: "Since our arrival

here I have ascertained the variation of the compass to be $6^{\circ} 30'$ east; the latitude, by means of several observations, $37^{\circ} 26' 17''$ north; and by an observation on three different nights, obtained two immersions of Jupiter's satellites, which will enable us to ascertain every geographical object in view."

Later Pike sent a report under date "Pawnee Republic, 1st October, 1806," in which he said: "The latitude of this place, I presume, will be about $39^{\circ} 30'$ north, and I hope to obtain every other astronomical observation which will be requisite to fix its geographical situation beyond dispute."

A letter to General Wilkinson was dated "Arkansaw, 24th October, 1806, latitude $37^{\circ} 41' 9''$ north." This was forwarded by a small detachment of Pike's command which, under Lieutenant Wilkinson, proceeded down the Arkansas to New Orleans, while Pike and the remainder of his command ascended the Arkansas, and, as before stated, were taken by the Spaniards. A sketch of the streams crossed and such other features of the country as Pike was able to place upon paper was forwarded with this letter. From this brief report of the journey thus far, Pike was able to refresh his memory when making up his full report, after his return to Washington. It is noticeable that he nowhere undertakes to state his longitude. His map, which is as accurate as could be expected as to latitude, shows that he greatly overestimated his distances west. The geographical location of the confluence of the Kaw with the Missouri had been previously determined with approximate correctness by Lewis and Clark. Pike availed himself of this information. But in drawing the Osage river, which stream he ascended, he got points which may be easily identified over 100 miles too far west. So, also, his tracings of the Republican, Solomon, Saline, Smoky, and the Arkansas, while they show a knowledge of those streams, place all the identified points on them too far west by several degrees of longitude, but miss the mark less as to latitude.

Neither Pike nor Gregg appear to have known that the Republican is anywhere north of the fortieth parallel. This can be accounted for only by the fact that the only observations of the river by white men, their only determinations of points on the river prior to the times at which these maps were made, were south of the fortieth parallel. This renders necessary only a correction as to the longitudinal position of Pike's Pawnee village. The point at which we are assembled agrees well with what are known to be the fairly accurate features of Pike's map and recorded descriptions, and these disagree with this place only in the direction in which Pike's map is obviously in error, and to no greater extent than the map and descriptions are clearly shown to be wrong. Any fair interpretation of Pike's entire report, considering the loss of his notes for determination of longitude, the preservation of his approximate estimate of latitude, his description of the country, and that of Lieutenant Wilkinson, both descriptions taken from memory after many other events had transpired—any fair interpretation of this report must place the site of the village in which the American flag first supplanted the Spanish colors on the great prairies on the right side of the Republican river, after it has crossed the fortieth parallel, which constitutes the north boundary of Kansas. That there was here, at some time in the past, a large Indian village fortified by an embankment, there can be no doubt.

In January, 1896, the Kansas State Historical Society appointed a commission to investigate the question of the identity of this village with that visited by Pike in 1806. This commission consisted of Judge F. G. Adams, secretary of the State Historical Society, Noble L. Prentis, editor *Kansas City Star*, and the writer. Two members of this commission visited the site in company with mem-

bers of the local Pawnee Republic Historical Society. The writer published the following in the next number of his paper, the *Kansas Farmer*:

"Leaving St. Louis July 15, Pike and a few companions ascended the Missouri to the Osage, ascended the Osage, entering what is now Kansas on that stream, and, pursuing its more southern branches, crossed the divide to the Neosho; followed the Cottonwood branch of the Neosho and crossed the divide to the Smoky; crossed the Smoky, the Saline—which he named—and the Solomon and the smaller streams between these, and came to the Pawnee republic, on the Republican river, which stream had taken its name from the tribe.

"After making his treaty with the republic Pike crossed over to the Arkansas, evidently having reached that stream above the mouth of the Walnut, and having crossed the Cheyenne bottoms and both branches of the Walnut. From his camp above the mouth of the Walnut, or probably near the junction of the two Walnuts, he sent Lieutenant Wilkinson and a few companions down the Arkansas, and himself, with the remainder of his command, proceeded up the Arkansas. It was on this trip that he discovered and measured the height of the great peak which was afterward named for him. He was later taken prisoner by the Spaniards, who deprived him of much of the records he had made. These valuable records have never yet been recovered.

"Returning to the work of the Historical Society's commissioners, they found that from the earliest settlement of the country it has been known that there were evidences of an extensive Indian settlement on the high ground on the southwest side of the Republican river, nearly opposite to Republic City. Various relics have been picked up by the curious. The commissioners found many circular excavations, with low banks around them, varying from thirty to fifty feet in diameter. A portion of the site has never been plowed, and on this the circles resemble last year's circus rings. They are overgrown with grass. An embankment is traceable around the village, except where it has been obliterated by cultivation. Only one of the circles is outside of this embankment. Rather more than half of the village site has been cultivated for several years. Here the embankments are somewhat obliterated, although some are still distinct. But in plowing many relics have been turned up, such as broken mills, made of stone pottery, scraps of copper, remnants of hoes, whetstones, flints, undressed flint, pipes of red pipe-stone, some of which are unfinished. A few weeks ago a small copper kettle was plowed up. This had been patched, the piece being riveted on. In plowing through the middle of one of the circles last spring, a piece of wood was struck which, on being dug out, was found to be of oak, about five inches in diameter, and was doubtless the base of a center-pole. The village seems to have been well supplied with corn, and to have been destroyed by fire, for the plows continually turn up charred corn. The Indian cemetery has been but little explored and its extent is scarcely conjectured. A few graves have been dug into accidentally and otherwise. They are five feet deep, and with the bones are found Indian trinkets. In one was a well-preserved tomahawk. Pike's encampment was on an eminence on the opposite side of the Republican. At a place which corresponds well with Pike's description, the present owner, who homesteaded the land, found, a few years ago, a piece of oak wood which had been planted in the earth some three feet deep. The top was rotted away, but the lower portion was comparatively well preserved. It has been conjectured that this was the base of Pike's flagstaff.

"The Pawnee Republic Historical Society has taken a commendable interest in the identification of the location of the Pawnee republic, and a committee of this society has explored the Republican river for evidence of any other Indian settlement which might correspond with Pike's description. The committee found a favorite crossing further up the river, but no evidence of a permanent settlement.

"In view of all the facts in the case, the commissioners of the Kansas State Historical Society are of the opinion that the site on section 3, township 2 south, range 5 west, in Republic county, Kansas, is the site of the village of the Pawnee republic, at which Lieutenant Pike, on the part of the United States, induced the Indians to haul down the Spanish flag and fly in its stead the stars and stripes, September 25-30, 1806."

A fuller report was prepared by Secretary Adams and presented at the next annual meeting of the State Historical Society. It is as follows:

"At the annual meeting of our Society, in January last, a committee was appointed to investigate the subject of the situation of the village of the Pawnee Indian republic which was visited and described by Lieut. Zebulon M. Pike in September and October, 1806. The subject had been brought to the attention of our Society by the officers of the Pawnee Republic Historical Society, an organization composed of citizens of Republic and Jewell counties residing in the neighborhood of an ancient Indian village site, believed by them to be that of the Pawnee village mentioned. In July last two members of the committee, Prof. E. B. Cowgill and the secretary (the other member, Mr. Noble L. Prentiss, being unable to participate) made as full an investigation of the subject as was practicable. The conclusion arrived at was that, with scarcely a possibility of mistake, the site pointed out to us by the officers and members of the local society is the site of the village visited and described by Lieutenant Pike. In the first place, the description and map in Pike's report of his expedition point almost directly to the place where this village site is now found. Much additional light on the significance of Pike's journal and map has been given in the recently published annotated edition of Pike's journal, by Prof. Elliott Coues, of the Smithsonian Institution. The judgment of Professor Coues coincides with that of our committee as to the identity of the site. The investigations made by the local committee mentioned support this opinion. The region of the Republican valley, above and below, has for many years been settled up and brought into cultivation.

"Intelligent and trustworthy officers and members of the local society have made diligent inquiries of all of the inhabitants calculated to throw light upon the subject. The only other locality believed by any to have been the site of an Indian village was visited, and was found to have been only a temporary Indian camp, having no remains characteristic of those always found on the abandoned sites of the older and permanent Indian villages. At the place now identified are clearly exhibited evidences that there was at a time as remote as that of Pike's visit an Indian village of the character described by him. In respect to this the evidence are quite conclusive. The markings conform fully to those well-known artificial features which have identified sites of other ancient villages of the Indians of the plains, notably that of the Kaw village, near Manhattan, described in volumes 1 and 2 of the Collections of this Society. Here, upon the site of this Pawnee village, are clearly marked remains of surrounding walls, and, within the bounds of the same, circular ridges showing the situations of numerous permanent earth lodges. There is the debris left from the destruction of these habitations. These evidences are distinct and unmistakable. From such considerations your committee arrived at the conclusion that the spot visited is the identical site of the village in question; there can be but a bare possibility that it can be otherwise.*

"On the site of this village, on the 29th day of September, 1806, Pike, by

* J. C. Price, in a letter to the Kansas State Historical Society, in December, 1900, says:

"My first visit to this site of the Pawnee village was in the spring of 1871. There were few settlers in the vicinity and no improvements, except occasionally along the valley of the Republican and White Rock creek. I was called to survey sections 2 and 3 of what is now White Rock township, Republican county. In running the south line of section 3 we came to a tract which showed that it had once been cultivated. It had been ridged up and had the appearance of a field that had been listed and allowed to sod over. The ridges, however, were farther apart than is usual in listing, probably about five feet. I immediately recognized it as an Indian corn-field, having seen several such fields in southern Michigan.

"None of our party knew anything of the history of the place, but, by inquiry from soldiers who had been in a company guarding against the Indians, found that it was known as an old Pawnee village.

"During the summer of 1871, out of curiosity, I again visited the place and found, to the north of the ground that had been tilled, a large tract of ground covered with rings resembling old-fashioned circus rings. I found no one who could enlighten me in regard to the purpose for which these rings were made, some thinking that they were used in sports of the Indians, while others thought them the remains of walls of their habitations. From those who have made a study of the habits and customs of the Indian tribes, we find the latter theory the correct one.

"The land now reserved and conveyed to the Historical Society contains, to the best of my recollection, about one-third of the ground originally covered by these rings, the rest of the land covered by rings and all of the land which had been ridged having been under cultivation for several years.

"If the site was chosen from an artistic instinct, or from a practical and strategic consideration, the object was fully realized. From all directions the observer has an unobstructed view for ten miles or more. From the northwest the Republican river flows in full view and makes a graceful bend from the east to the south, its banks on either side fringed with a heavy growth of cottonwood timber, yet the citizens of this village could look down upon it all. The river flowing at the base of the bluffs, and the timber along the bank supplied shelter and water for the stock, while a spring near the summit supplied water for culinary purposes. It would

consent of the chiefs of the village, took down a Spanish flag found by him there floating, and put in its place the flag of our country; no doubt the first flag of the kind erected upon our Kansas plains.

"The place where are now found the remnants of that ancient village embraces portions of sections 2 and 3, township 2, range 5 west, in White Rock township, Republic county, on the west side of the valley, across the river from Republic City. On the 29th of September last, under the auspices of the Pawnee Republic Historical Society, a multitude of people gathered on that site to celebrate the ninetieth anniversary of Lieutenant Pike's flag-raising by erecting a flagstaff and displaying upon it another flag, a fine example of the flag of our country, provided for the occasion by Mrs. George Johnson, through whose intelligently directed zeal and influence is due the movement for the identification and commemoration of this village site."

After the Pawnee Republic Historical Society had produced evidence that it had discovered, at the spot on which we are now assembled, the remains of the Indian village, and had communicated its information to Dr. Elliott Coues, at the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C., that gentleman was quick to appreciate the importance of the discoveries made and to write to members and officers of this society his hearty acceptance of the correct view. A sample of these letters is the following, to the secretary of the Society:

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Gomer T. Davies, Sec'y Pawnee Hist. Soc.:

March 1, 1896.

DEAR SIR—I acknowledge with pleasure the reception of your interesting letter of February 21st, relating to the supposed location of the Pike camp of 1806, and to the good progress made by your society in promoting historical research. You already know the great interest I take in the matter; indeed, I shall consider it fortunate, rather than otherwise, if my own leaving of the location of the Pawnee village open in my book leads to such active endeavor and fruitful results as those of your society. At present I see no reason to doubt that you have the right of it, and that, when you have fully formulated your results, there will remain no question of the exact location of the Pawnee village or of Pike's memorable camp. You will see by the large map which I sent, and which, I believe, is now in Mrs. Johnson's hands, that I trailed Pike directly to White Rock; and all your present research confirms the impressions I formed at the time, though I did not venture to commit myself to final conclusions. The doubts of my own work which then arose in my mind was mainly due to the Gregg map of 1844, which puts the Pawnee village near Webster City, Neb. But I am now satisfied that this is an error. With regard, very truly yours,

ELLIOTT COUES.

Letters from Doctor Coues to Mrs. Geo. Johnson and Mr. E. D. Haney* are

seem that nature had furnished all the requirements for the wants of the inhabitants of this deserted village—timber, water, a good soil to raise their crops, and especially a grand lookout for game or an approaching enemy.

"Until Quivira can be located beyond cavil, this must remain the initial point in Kansas history: Colorado's world-renowned peak is dedicated a monument to one of our early heroes, and while the monument honors the name of Pike, his name is also an honor to the mountain. Kansas has no mountain peak upon which to inscribe the name of Pike and commemorate the deeds of this valiant leader and his little band of soldiers. Instead, she has presented to her the spot where, surrounded by hundreds of Indians, they took down the Spanish flag and replaced it by the banner of freedom."

*E. D. Haney, of Courtland, received the following letter from Mr. Coues, dated Washington, D. C., January 18, 1896:

"I congratulate you on the organization of the Pawnee Republic Historical Society, which I am glad to see includes the ladies, and which I have no doubt will do good work. I should judge you are quite right in claiming the sight of Pike's Pawnee village at the bluffs on the Republican river opposite Republic City, a little below the mouth of White Rock creek.

"I had trailed Pike *exactly* to the site of the present village of White Rock, but then became a little undecided in my mind on account of the alleged position of the village on Gregg's map of 1844. I ought to have had more confidence in my own judgment. Gregg's position is *far out of the way*, as I now see. So is Scandia, which has also been claimed as the right place. I have no doubt your society has the right of it.

"I send you by same mail with this a map on a large scale, showing all the topographical details very clearly. Please do not fold it or let it get soiled, and return it after you have laid it before the society. Please stick a pin in the precise spot of the Pawnee republic. I have

quite as frank and as ready to accept the correction of the surprising error of location into which he was led by the Gregg map.

But we shall find our greatest satisfaction in noting the identity of what we see before us with Pike's description. Nothing can be more interesting than his account of his reception and the events which took place ninety-one years ago to-day. Let us begin with his record of Thursday, September 25:

"We marched at a good hour, and in about eight miles struck a very large road, on which the Spanish troops had returned, and on which we could yet discover the grass beaten down in the direction which they went.

"When we arrived within about three miles of the village we were requested to remain, as the ceremony of receiving the Osage into the towns was to be performed here. There was a small circular spot, clear of grass, before which the Osage sat down. We were a small distance in advance of the Indians. The Pawnees then advanced to within a mile of us, halted, divided into two troops, and came on each flank at full charge, making all the gestures and performing the maneuvers of a real war charge. They then encircled us around, and the chief advanced in the center and gave us his hand. His name was Characterish. He was accompanied by his two sons and a chief by the name of Iskatappe. The Osage were still seated, but Belle Oiseau then rose and came forward with a pipe and presented it to the chief, who took a whiff or two from it. We then proceeded; the chief, Lieutenant Wilkinson and myself in front, my sergeant, on a white horse, next, with the colors, then our horses and baggage, escorted by our men, with the Pawnees on each side, running races, etc. When we arrived on the hill over the town we were again halted, and the Osage seated in a row; when each Pawnee who intended so to do presented them with a horse, and gave a pipe to smoke to the Osage to whom he had made the present. In this manner were eight horses given. Lieutenant Wilkinson then proceeded with the party to the river above the town and encamped. As the chief had invited us to his lodge to eat, we thought it proper for one to go. At the lodge he gave me many particulars, which were interesting to us, relative to the late visit of the Spaniards.

"I went up to our camp in the evening, having a young Pawnee with me loaded with corn for my men. Distance, twelve miles.

"From the eastern branch (Smoky) of the Kansas river (by our route) to the Pawnee republic, on the Republican fork, the prairies are low, the grass high, the country abounding with salines, and the earth appearing to be impregnated with nitrous and common salts. The immediate borders of the Republican fork, near the village, consists of high ridges, but this is an exception to the general face of the country. All the territory between the forks of the Kansas river for a distance of 160 miles may be called prairies, notwithstanding the borders of woodland which ornament the banks of those streams, but are no more than a line traced on a sheet of paper when compared to the immense tract of meadow country. For some distance from the Osage villages you only find deer, then elk, then cabrie, and finally buffalo. But it is worthy of remark that, although the male buffaloes were in great abundance, yet, in all our route from the Osage to the Pawnees, we never saw one female. I acknowledge myself at a loss to determine whether this is to be attributed to the decided preference the savages give to the meat of the female, and that consequently they are almost exterminated in the hunting-grounds of the nations, or to some physical causes, for I afterwards discovered the females with young in such immense herds as gave me no reason to believe they yielded to the males in numbers.

"The Pawnees are a numerous nation of Indians, who reside on the rivers Platte and Kans; they are divided into three distinct nations, two of them being now at war; but their manners, language, customs and improvements are in the same degree of advancement. On the La Platte reside the grand Pawnee village, and the Pawnee louns on one of its branches, with whom the Pawnee republicans are at war. Their language is guttural, and approaches nearer to

marked where I suppose it to be, and also Pike's camps of September 23 and 24. Where do you suppose Pike was camped between September 25 and October 7? It was not exactly at Pawnee village, and I think a little further north.

"What you say of the old Pawnee trail to Buffalo creek is interesting. The distance, 'eighteen miles,' is just about right. But now please inform me exactly where this old trail struck Buffalo creek. Was it nearest to Jamestown, or Randall, or Jewell? You will find me speaking of this old trail on page 420 of my book, and fetching Pike there to Buffalo creek, but I did not know exactly where the trail crossed the creek."

the language of the Sioux, than the Osage, and their figure tall, slim, and high cheek-bones, clearly indicate their Asiatic origin; but their emigration south, and the ease with which they live on the buffalo plains, have probably been the cause of a degeneracy of manners, for they are neither so brave nor honest as their more northern neighbors. Their government is the same as the Osage, an hereditary aristocracy; the father handing his dignity of chieftain down to his son; but their power is extremely limited, notwithstanding the long life they have to establish their authority and influence. They merely recommend and give council in the great assemblage of the nation. They are not so cleanly, neither do they carry their internal policy so far as the Osage; but out of the bounds of the village, it appeared to me that they exceeded them; as I have frequently seen two young soldiers come out to my camp and instantly disperse a hundred persons (by the strokes of long whips) who were assembled there to trade with my men.

"In point of cultivation [agriculture] they are about equal to the Osage, raising a sufficiency of corn and pumpkins, to afford a little thickening to their soup during the year. Their pumpkin they cut into thin slices and dry it in the sun, which reduces it to a small size, and not more than a tenth of its original weight. With respect to raising horses, the Pawnees are far superior to the Osage, having vast quantities of excellent horses, which they are daily increasing by their attention to their breeding mares, which they never make use of; and in addition, frequently purchase from the Spaniards.

"Their houses are a perfect circle (except where the door enters), whence there is a projection of about fifteen feet, the whole being constructed after the following manner: First there is an excavation of a circular form made in the ground, about four feet deep and sixty in diameter, where there is a row of posts, about five feet high, with crotches at the top, set firmly in all round, and horizontal poles from one to the other; there is then a row of posts forming a circle about ten feet wide in the diameter of the others and ten feet in height; the crotches of these are so directed that horizontal poles are also laid from one to the other; long poles are then laid slanting upward from the lower poles over the higher ones, and meeting nearly at the top, leaving only a small aperture for the smoke of the fire to pass out, which is made on the ground in the middle of the lodge. There is then a number of small poles put up around the circle, so as to form the wall, and wickerwork is run through the whole. The roof is then thatched with grass, and earth is thrown up against the wall until a bank is made to the eaves of the thatch; that is also filled with earth one or two feet thick, and rendered so tight as entirely to exclude any storm, and make the houses extremely warm. The entrance is about six feet wide, with walls on each side, and roofed like our houses in shape, but of the same materials as the main building. Inside there are numerous little apartments constructed of wickerwork against the wall, with small doors; they have a great appearance of neatness, and in them the members of the family sleep, and have their little deposits.

"Their towns are by no means so much crowded as the Osage, giving much more space; but they have the same mode of introducing their horses into the village at night, which makes it extremely crowded. They keep guards with the horses during the day. They are extremely addicted to gaming, and have for that purpose a smooth piece of ground cleared out on each side of the village for about 150 yards in length, on which they play the three following games: One is played by two players at a time, and in the following manner: They have a large hoop, about four feet in diameter, in the center of which is a small leather ring. This is attached to leather thongs, which are extended to the hoop, and by that means kept in its central position; they also have a pole, about six feet in length, which the player holds in one hand; he then rolls the hoop from him, and immediately slides the pole after it; and the nearer the head of the pole lies to the small ring within the hoop, when they both fall, the greater is the cast. But I could not ascertain their mode of counting sufficiently to decide when the game was won. Another game is played with a small stick, with several hooks, and a hoop about four inches in diameter, which is rolled along the ground, and the forked stick darted after it, the value of the cast being estimated by the hook on which the ring is caught. This game is gained at 100. The third game alluded to is that of *la platte*, described by various travelers [as the platter or dish game]; this is played by the women, children, and old men, who, like grasshoppers, crawl out to the circus to bask in the sun, probably covered only with an old buffalo-robe.

"The Pawnees, like the Osage, quit their villages in the winter, making concealments under ground of their corn, in which [cachés] it keeps perfectly sound until spring. The only nations with whom the Pawnees are now at war are the Tetaus [Comanches], Utahs, and Kyaways. The two latter of these reside in the mountains of north Mexico. The former generally inhabit the borders of the upper Red river, Arkansas, and Rio del Norte."

Record of Friday, September 26:

"Finding our encampment not eligible as to situation, we moved down on to the prairie hill, about three fourths of a mile nearer the village. We sent our interpreter to town to trade for provisions. About three o'clock in the afternoon twelve Kans arrived at the village, and informed Baroney that they had come to meet us, hearing we were to be at the Pawnees' village. We pitched our camp upon a beautiful eminence, whence we had a view of the town, and all that was transacting."

Here is the record of Monday, September 29, ninety-one years ago to-day:

"Held our grand council with the Pawnees, at which were present not less than 400 warriors, the circumstances of which were extremely interesting.

"The notes I took on my grand council held with the Pawnee nation were seized by the Spanish government, together with all my speeches to the different nations. But it may be interesting to observe here (in case they should never be returned) that the Spaniards had left several of their flags in this village, one of which was unfurled at the chief's door the day of the grand council, and that among various *demands* and *charges* I gave them was that the said flag should be delivered to me, and one of the United States flags be received and hoisted in its place. This probably was carrying the pride of nations a little too far, as there had so lately been a large force of Spanish cavalry at the village, which had made a great impression on the minds of the young men, as to their power, consequence, etc., which my appearance with 20 infantry was by no means calculated to remove. After the chiefs had replied to various parts of my discourse, but were silent as to the flag, I again reiterated the demand for the flag, adding 'that it was impossible for the nation to have two fathers; that they must either be the children of the Spaniards or acknowledge their American father.' After a silence of some time, an old man rose, went to the door, and took down the Spanish flag, brought it and laid it at my feet; then received the American flag, and elevated it on the staff which had lately borne the standard of his Catholic majesty. This gave great satisfaction to the Osage and Kans, both of whom, decidedly avow themselves to be under the American protection.

"Perceiving that every face in the council was clouded with sorrow, as if some great national calamity were about to befall them, I took up the contested colors, and told them, 'that as they had shewn themselves dutiful children in acknowledging their great American father, I did not wish to embarrass them with the Spaniards, for it was the wish of the Americans that their red brethren should remain peaceably round their own fires, and not embroil themselves in any disputes between the white people: and that for fear the Spaniards might return there in force again, I returned them their flag, but with an injunction that it should never be hoisted during our stay.' At this there was a general shout of applause, and the charge was particularly attended to."

Who that attends to Pike's description of the village and examines the ruins of the village before us can fail to see the resemblance. Here are the remains of an Indian settlement at a point on the Republican river which harmonizes fairly well with Pike's astronomical observations, and is the only point on the Republican river at which any evidences of permanent settlement are found. To within but a few miles of this point has Pike's route been unmistakably traced by Dr. Elliot Coues. Here are the remains of circular lodges, each with an opening at one side. The explorer of ninety-one years ago says: "Their houses are a perfect circle, excepting where the door is placed, from whence there is a projection of about fifteen feet."

Here have been circular excavations for the lodges. The explorer says:

"There is first an excavation of a circular form made in the ground of about four feet deep and sixty in diameter." The lower end of the pole has been dug from one of these ruins. The explorer tells how they set poles in the ground to support their roofs.

Here is charred corn in profusion. The explorer tells how they concealed their corn during their winter absences. It was probably burned by an enemy.

What appears to have been the base of an oak pole, possibly a flagstaff, has been dug from the slope of the hill beyond the Republican river. The location may easily be that described by the explorer as the camp of his command ninety-one years ago.

Here is an extensive cemetery, which, so far as explored, shows by the buried trinkets a state of advancement about like that described by the explorer.

Here remnants of pipes, cooking utensils, hoes, primitive grinding millstones, guns and various arms have been found in quantities. They are such as were used by the Pawnees, with little improvement, when the writer met them, near Great Bend, upon the occasion of their removal to the Indian Territory, in 1873.

Doctor Coues traced Pike's route from St. Louis up the Missouri, up the Osage, up the Neosho and Cottonwood, over to and across the Smoky, across the Saline and the Solomon, and to White Rock, in this vicinity. Here he was misled by placing too much reliance on the map of another, and lost the trail. By the investigations of your society the missing link has been supplied. The remains of the village have been identified almost beyond a doubt, and the site of the explorer's camp has been made out with a strong probability of correctness.

Let us now endeavor in imagination to transport ourselves to the scene enacted here ninety-one years ago to-day. The brave young lieutenant with his small, faithful command stood here, hundreds of miles from other white men, surrounded by half-naked savages in their own fortified village. He spoke to them words of peace, words of wisdom as to their intercourse with other tribes and with the treacherous Spanish. He told them the good intentions of the United States towards them. He impressed upon them the important duty of loyalty to the government under whose dominion they had fallen. He made a great impression on those children of the prairies, for they were ever afterward loyal to the United States. He saw at the lodge door a Spanish flag. They feared the Spanish, who had awed them by their numbers and their military display, but a few days before. But in that memorable speech to those dusky warriors he demanded that they deliver to him the Spanish colors and raise the stars and stripes instead. It was a momentous occasion. There was an ominous pause. An old man arose, went to the door, took down the Spanish flag, and brought it and laid it at the feet of the young lieutenant. To-day we give the same colors to the breeze of the same prairie in commemoration of the substitution of the reign of a just government for the treacherous dominion of the cruel and bloodthirsty Spaniard. He had been by a better civilization crowded out from Louisiana in 1803; crowded out from Florida, Alabama and Mississippi in 1819; crowded out from Texas in 1845; crowded out from California and other territories ceded in 1848; crowded out from the Gadsden purchase in 1853, and maybe he will be crowded out of Cuba in 1897.

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THE OLD ROAD AND PIKE'S PAWNEE VILLAGE.

Written for the Kansas State Historical Society by CHARLES S. SCOTT, mayor of Cassville, Mo.

Things that happened yesterday are forgotten to-day. The important event—the act that will interest the masses a hundred years from now—is scarce made a matter of record on the day of its occurrence. Man is prone to act on the theory that events in which he may take a part, and which may shape the destiny of a nation, will exist for all time, like the pyramids or the granite cliffs, trusting

to the impression they make upon the public mind for preservation and perpetuation, rather than to recording them upon parchment, to be filed away in musty vaults, that they may be preserved for a coming generation.

For this reason, acts and events that are laden with the most intense interest to a people of to-day have had the most meager record made of them at the time of occurrence, and in order that these things may be preserved at all, it has been necessary in all ages, for those who would preserve the trend of the world's events, to go for their material from which to write history to those who remember things as they saw them, to those who remember things as they were told them, and to the scant memoranda left as the only written record by those who participated in the event. These being the facts as they exist at present and always have existed, it is not strange that comparatively little is known now of the acts of Pike, the subject of this paper, in his important work from day to day, and more especially with his daily acts so far as they relate to that territory now known as the state of Kansas.

It has always been the custom of man, in traveling through unexplored countries or in settling up a new country, to first explore the coast-line, then the principal streams, next the tributaries, after which, by degrees, the stretches of country between coasts, and between streams and their tributaries, have been explored, then settled. The reason for this is plain. To traverse an unknown land is, at the least, an arduous work. The topography of the country is unknown, and conditions may be met with that would make it necessary for miles of march to be retraced. In following a stream one is assured of a certain grade, and no obstacle more formidable than a lateral branch of a stream, which may be easily crossed, or an abutting mountain which may be easily scaled, need be expected. These reasons, together with the assurance that wood, water and game are to be found in abundance make it plain why an explorer and early settler always follows the main watercourses when the first exploration or settlement of a country is made.

These facts I wish to present in substantiating my theory in regard to the route that Pike and his party took after crossing the Solomon river, near the present site of Glasco, in Cloud county. The memoranda of Pike's march being meagre, it is but natural to suppose that he would follow the same rule governing the acts of all explorers, and follow the lines offering the least resistance to travel and affording the most protection to man and beast.

By consulting a map of Cloud county, it will be noticed that a small stream, known as Fisher creek, branches off from the Solomon, and has its source at a point nearly north from where it empties into the river. (From the fact that at a place near the mouth of this creek some broken cooking utensils and a bronze-barreled pistol was found, it may be safely conjectured that Pike camped at this place.) Presuming that he wished to go in a northerly course, it is probable that he followed Fisher creek to its source, after which he crossed a narrow divide and found himself on Buffalo creek, which traverses the north part of the county. This stream takes nearly a northerly direction, crossing into Jewell county, and having its source not far from the head of Big Timber creek, which Pike calls a "branch of the White Rock." Here, according to the memoranda of Pike, a stop was made, and the spot was ideal. The place is secluded, and the elevation is such that a reconnoissance could be had for several miles in every direction and approaching danger detected.

To the north of the head of Big Timber creek, and extending east for ten or twelve miles, is a line of bluffs that abut on White Rock creek, and stretch to the south, forming a high table-land. This table-land has an elevation of 150 or

200 feet above the creek bottoms, and slopes gradually away, forming the high prairie south of White Rock creek. It extends east to within a few miles of the site of the Pawnee village, where it drops to the level of the creek bottom, and from this point the ground gradually rises with more or less undulation until the promontory is reached, upon which the Pawnees had their congregating place. It was probably from the elevated ground at the eastern extremity of this table-land that Pike and his party got their first view of the village, as in his memoranda of the trip he says that they "viewed a village from a hill overlooking it," and mentions that their encampment was located about "twelve miles distant from the village."

The wide expanse of prairie lying south of White Rock creek and west of the Republican river was until 1870 the grazing place of the "main herd" of buffalo, and from its appearance and location probably had been for a hundred or more years. This scope of country, bounded on the east by the Republican, on the north by the White Rock, on the southwest by the Solomon, its interior being traversed by the Limestone, Buffalo, Big Timber and several other small streams, also having within its boundaries the salt marsh, made it a favorite grazing place for these noble beasts.

The buffalo, either for protection or some other cause, were always to be found in large numbers, whenever found at all, and, after grazing upon the prairie they would seek a stream for water, the whole herd would follow the leader, not going in a large drove, but in file, a few taking the lead and the rest following. In the heat of summer the buffalo would congregate at the larger streams and stand in the water, in order to protect themselves from the tormenting insects. In the evening they would take to the prairie, where they would graze until the following day, when they would again go to the stream. Also in time of winter, when the smaller streams would be frozen over, the buffalo would repair to the large streams for water. While the herd ranging the prairie grazed in an aimless way, and were apparently guided in their movement by the scarcity of the forage in one place or its abundance in another, yet when it came to moving from one grazing ground to another, where the grounds were some distance apart, or when going from a grazing ground to a stream, they always followed an established trail. Many of these trails can no doubt be seen to-day, though forty years have passed since they were traversed by the buffalo.

At a point somewhat southwest of where Mankato is located there could be seen in 1871, and may be seen in places yet, what might have been taken for an old road. It was twenty or thirty feet wide, hollowed out in the center on the level prairie; was depressed below the general surface a few inches, but where it crossed a ravine at the banks on either side was worn down, in some cases to the depth of three or four feet. At the time of which I write this old trail was sodded over, and could not be told from the adjoining prairie, except for the depression as noted. This trail commenced, as stated, somewhat southeast of Mankato, and took a northeast course, running well up on the high table-land south of White Rock creek; thence keeping an easterly course, it passed down from the table-land at the south end of what is known as the "Switzer Gap," and from there went northeast in nearly a straight line, crossing the old Persinger claims, and ended at the Republican river, at the head of Beaver island, where the rocky ford crossed the Republican river. This was the trail made by the buffalo in passing from the grazing grounds south of the White Rock to the river. Another trail could be traced from a point somewhat west of Mankato to a point on the Solomon river east of Spirit Springs.

At the time Pike and his party discovered this trail, it had undoubtedly had

every appearance of being a road, as it must have been worn bare of grass by being traversed by the buffalo; it may also have been used by the Spanish troops in passing through the country, on their expeditions from their headquarters in the southwest to the various points on the Republican river which they may have had occasion to visit.

We have located the probable line of travel of Pike, and rely for the proof of our statement that he pitched his camp on the head waters of Big Timber creek on the fact of the existence of the trail, which he mentions as being a "very large road." It would appear that Pike retained his camp at this place on Big Timber the greater part of the time that he remained in this locality, for in his memoranda he says: "On the 24th September, camped on a branch of the White Rock; September 25, marched a good hour, and in about eight miles came to a *very large road*, on which Spanish troops had recently traveled. When within about three miles of the village we were requested to remain, as the ceremony of receiving the Osage was about to be performed. When we arrived on the hill over the town we were again halted. Lieutenant Wilkinson then proceeded with the party to the river above the town and encamped. I went up to our camp in the evening having a young Pawnee with me loaded with corn for our men. Distance twelve miles."

What is known as the "Pawnee Village" is located on a promontory about one-half mile west of the Republican river and the same distance south of the White Rock creek, in Republic county, Kansas.* The actual site of the village was on the lowland that lay between the base of this promontory and the Republican river, and the point on the high land above was used as a cemetery.

My attention was first called to this now interesting place in 1872. At the time little had been done that would obliterate any mark left by the former dwellers of this place. On the high land, the ridges thrown up by the squaws, where they planted the corn for the use of the tribe, though sodded over, were distinct, and now and then a thin slab of flint could be found with which the weary toilers of former days had cultivated the soil. At another point on the promontory could be seen a great number of circles thrown up in the sod. These circles were of various sizes, the smaller ones were ten or twelve feet in diameter inside, while some were as large as sixty or seventy feet. All appeared to be scooped out in the center, the earth being thrown so as to form an embankment

* WINFIELD, KAN., March 21, 1901. *Geo. W. Martin, Topeka*: DEAR SIR—I learn from the daily papers that you have recently returned from a visit to the site of the Pawnee village in Republic county where Pike found a Spanish flag, pulled it out of the sky, and "set the stars of glory there." I am curious to know the location of that village, and have often wondered if it is not the same site selected by myself in April, 1860, for a town, to be the confluence of two railroads. I will relate the circumstances as near as possible from memory. I settled at Marysville, Kan., in October, 1859. I was a land surveyor. Frank Marshall was a long-headed man (for a democrat) and was an important factor in Buchanan's administration, so far as Kansas was concerned. At the date of March, 1860, a bill was pending in Congress for the construction of a railroad to the Pacific ocean. It provided for two initial lines, one from the mouth of the Platte river and one from the mouth of the Kaw river, to converge at some point less than 200 miles west, and thence west as one line. Marshall Craig, of Missouri, Congressman Montgomery, of Pennsylvania, and other national statesmen, were in the move to name the point of concentration, and without visiting the locality in person had decided that the point on or near the line between Kansas and Nebraska, where the Republican river turns south, known as the "big bend of the Republican," would about fill the bill, if the lay of the land was favorable. So, without giving me very much information on the subject, Marshall fitted up a team and equipped it with axes, saws, nails, provisions, etc., and engaged me to take five men, exclusive of myself, and go over there and select the town site, lay off one or two streets, and build four houses. We drove from Marysville down to Irving to reach a wagon road going west known as the "parallel road"; we followed that road to the Republican river; thence up the river on the military road until we reached the state line. I had no trouble find-

about eighteen inches in height and three or four feet across. There was no depression on the outside of the circles. All were sodded over and silent witnesses of the industry of their builders.

It was said that these rings, or circles, were embankments that had been thrown up by the Indians as a protection to their tents, but examination of the circles proves to the contrary. In all of them, whether large or small, there repose all that is earthly of this one time independent and warlike people. Here, on this bold headland, swept by the fierce blast of winter from the north, and kissed by the first balmy breeze of spring from the south, was given back to Mother Earth, with tender, though savage hands, with breaking, though untamed hearts, all that remained of those they held most dear. The brave warrior who defended his home and tribe against the foes that beset them, and who met his death while engaged in this glorious duty, lies sleeping beneath this headland's verdant sod. The aged chief whose days were numbered, and who was gathered unto his fathers, the youth, the child, all lie here sleeping that sleep that shall have no end. Here, on this slanting hill, where the first rays of the rising sun call forth the lark to cheerful song, and where the declining sun casts his beams while all else is wrapped in shade, they sleep. It is fitting that this place should be marked by a monument, and upon it in the boldest type, and in the best work of the sculptor's art, the glory of Pike should be presented to all who may read. Yet on one small tablet should be inscribed in fitting words some inscription sacred to the memory of those who lie sleeping here awaiting the final call.

At the foot of this hill, in 1872 and for several years after, could be seen the marks left by the Indians, where they had their village. Their camp-fires could be located by the presence of coal mixed with the earth, rock, broken pottery, pieces of cast cooking utensils, etc. Many of the large trees showed the effects of the tomahawk. In some of the larger trees, in which cavities existed, were found the implements peculiar to the tribes of the early days. In one were found parts of an old flint-lock musket and some rude lead bullets. Nearly thirty years have elapsed since I first saw the Pawnee village. My father, Dr. J. Z. Scott, located at a point south of the place, and for several months my brother, Frank M. Scott, and myself, devoted a great deal of time exploring it. From the circles we took many articles, such as beads, stone hatchets,

ing the township and section corners on the state line, and found land for a beautiful town site between the north bank of the river and the state line. The land was twenty-five or thirty feet above the river bed and about ten or fifteen feet above the bottom land, and had a gentle slope to the south. At that point, which was right where the river made its turn to the south, the distance between the river and the line to the north was about one mile. It was a model town site; just slope enough for perfect drainage; the soil was loam, with clay subsoil; heavy sod; extended and picturesque view of valley to the west and south, and the point where the military road left the Republican river on its route to Fort Kearney (of this last statement I am not so absolutely sure, but think I am right), and about three miles north of the mouth of White Rock creek. A fine body of timber grew about the confluence of White Rock and the Republican, especially on the west side. I laid out one mile square (I think it was section 4, township 1 south, range 5 west) on my map of town site and staked out two streets, one north and south and one east and west, and superintended the laying of the foundations of four log houses at the intersection of these streets. Having thus inaugurated the enterprise, I returned direct east on a mule across the pathless and uninhabited country to Hollenberg station, fifty-eight miles distant as the bird flies. The party remained and completed the houses, except windows, doors, and floors. That summer the Indians burned down the houses, and the following winter the kindling fires of rebellion burned up the democratic Pacific railroad bill in Congress. Later a new measure, with somewhat different provisions, became the law. Now, I would like to know how near to this ideal spot, selected forty years ago, is Pike's Indian village. I have never been at that "historic town site" since.—E. C. MANNING.

Mr. Manning was one mile west, six miles north, and on the opposite side of the Republican river.—SEC.

pipes, tomahawks, etc., also great quantities of bones. In the eastern part of the grounds, where burials were made, there would be two depressions in the sod, with a ridge between them. We supposed that probably prominent members of the tribe were buried in these places. The larger circles were at the eastern part of the grounds and were complete. As the grounds extended westward the circles decreased in size, and some of them were incomplete, showing that the circles were not made complete, at once, but were extended as interments were made until the circles were complete, when another would be started.

I am aware that the position I have taken, both regarding Pike's camp and the location of the village, is different from that taken by others who have written much on this matter, but I have this to say: The account of Pike's travel through what is now Jewell county, as given in his memoranda, supports my claim. His mention of the "old road," and the distance, as he states (twelve miles), would locate him on Big Timber creek, and to the west of the "road." Last, his arrival at a "hill overlooking the village," locates the village on the Republican river, below the promontory.

While I have been so unloyal to the state as to leave it, yet I shall never live to see the day when my mind will not go back with loving remembrance to its wonderful prairies, its beautiful streams, its invigorating (sometimes disintegrating) breezes, and its generous people.

I well remember the day when I first saw the border lands of the state. In September, 1870, my parents left Iowa (Linn county) for the West, with no particular point in view. We traveled westward to Omaha, from there to Lincoln, then, taking a southerly course, went to Crete. Here we came upon some emigrants who were going into the Rose creek valley, and we kept company with them until they arrived at their destination. While there, a man by the name of Pharis came along, going to the Republican river country, and, in talking with him, my father learned that he was living neighbor to a man, Doctor Taylor, who had formerly lived in Langworthy, Iowa, and with whom my father was acquainted.

This decided our course; so we took the trail again, passed over the broad prairies of south Nebraska, crossed the Republican river where Superior is now located (though no sign of habitation existed there at that time), and went to a point about twenty miles up the river on the south side of the stream. Here we learned that Taylor lived at the mouth of Big Timber creek, on White Rock creek. We moved across the divide and located temporarily on a homestead belonging to Aaron Taylor, who in after years became county attorney of Republic county. After making some arrangements for the comfort of the family, my father went to White Rock City and purchased a claim from D. W. Hamilton, to which we moved during the winter. This claim was located one-half mile from the Republican river, and about one-half mile due south of the old Pawnee village.

While camped, or rather while living, at the mouth of Big Timber creek, in Jewell county, I made excursions along the stream, and on one of these I discovered the old camping-ground, which in after-years I have been led to believe was the camping place of Pike and his party while in that locality, and I have no doubt but any one would arrive at the same conclusion, after having read his diary and then traversing the territory between this point and the village.

In those days "settlements" were unknown. Taylor lived at the mouth of Big Timber, a Swede by the name of Gabrelson lived on John's creek. Chas. King lived at a point about five miles west of White Rock. Thomas Lovewell lived below White Rock, Geo. Johnson, now the husband of Mrs. Elizabeth A. John-

son, was the next settler, and at the mouth of the creek lived the Charles family, Mrs. Charles being the mother of Gomer T. Davies, whose friendship I am proud to claim.

South and north of the creek for miles was an unbroken stretch of buffalo-grass. With 1871 came the great rush of home-seekers into the White Rock valley, and it was but a few months until every quarter-section that was of any value was taken. Many changes have taken place since the day I first was in Republic county. Then, I could stand on the promontory by Pike's Pawnee village and look south as far as Concordia, west as far as Burr Oak, north to the Broken Bow country, and east as far as Harbine, and no sign of settlement appeared. No house was in sight, and no railroad nearer than Hanover. Now, one can stand at the same place and see the whole landscape dotted with houses and villages, and the engine-whistles on railroads may be heard; trains may be seen running on four of the lines.

Since coming to this country I have continued to "dig into the past," and have found much to reward me for my effort. On every hand, where the progress of the white man has not been too marked, I can see the evidence of the red man's having formerly lived here. On Boat mountain, south of the White river, I have located the site of an Indian town which must have been of considerable size. In Rock creek canyon I have found another site. At this place is a mortar cut into the top of a limestone ledge, where in days gone by the children of the forest have prepared their meal.

ELIAS BRANSON COWGILL was born at Martin's Ferry, Ohio, March 27, 1845. His ancestors came to America with William Penn in 1682. He was educated in the common schools and at the Iowa State University. He came to Kansas in 1871, locating at Great Bend. He edited a college paper, also a republican paper, at Enterprise, Miss., in 1870. He founded the *Sterling Gazette* in 1876. He held the chair of physics and engineering at the Kansas State Agricultural College in 1885, '86, and '87. He became editor of the *Kansas Farmer* in 1891.

MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS.

SURVEY OF THE NORTHERN BOUNDARY LINE OF KANSAS.

Written by C. W. JOHNSON for the Kansas State Historical Society.

IN 1854, shortly after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska act, my uncle J. P. Johnson,* then being in Washington, became an applicant for the position of surveyor-general of Kansas and Nebraska. He was well backed, but still he lacked the support of Mr. Douglas, and he learned that Douglas would control that appointment. He called upon Mr. Douglas, and that gentleman told him that he desired the appointment for his friend, John Calhoun. Believing that Douglas would carry the fight, notwithstanding his strong backing, my uncle withdrew from the contest, upon a compromise to the effect that he was to have the running of the base line (the boundary), the standard parallels, and the sixth principal meridian.†

About the 1st of September, 1854, my uncle William Sugg, a Swiss, from Highland, Ill., and myself, started from St. Louis, on the steamer "White Cloud," to organize the surveying party to run the base line. We landed at Fort Leavenworth after an eight-day voyage on the waters and sand of the Missouri. John Calhoun was to have come on our boat, but, coming aboard just as we were to start, he discovered that a ten-gallon keg of brandy he had ordered was not aboard, whereupon he went ashore to look for it, and was left. The "Star of the West" was, however, to pull out the same evening, and he boarded her, believing his brandy was aboard. On the second or third day out we grounded, the "Star of the West" passed close alongside, and we then learned that John Calhoun had not found

*JOHN P. JOHNSON was born in Illinois, when it was a territory, December 6, 1817. His parents moved from North Carolina to Tennessee in 1799, and thence to Illinois in 1816. He attended country schools, thence to McKendrie College, graduating from Harvard University August 26, 1846. He was married March 23, 1847, to Sarah A. Norton, of London, Ohio. He came to Kansas soon after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, in 1854. He selected the town site of Highland, in Doniphan county, in 1856. He made the place his residence in 1859. He died at Highland June 1, 1898. He served several terms in the Kansas legislature. He was a great banker and landowner, and, when he died, left an estate worth over \$1,000,000. He owned over 60,000 acres of land, 10,000 acres being in well-stocked farms.

†Instructions to the surveyor-general of Kansas and Nebraska, dated August 26, 1854, Senate Documents, Second Session XXXIIIrd Congress, volume 1:

"The boundary line between Kansas and Nebraska it is proposed to make the *principal base line* wherefrom to start the surveys, both on the north in Nebraska, and on the south in Kansas; and that boundary is the parallel of forty degrees north latitude.

"For reasons of expediency, because of the apprehensions of hostile interruptions from the Indians, it is not deemed proper and prudent to survey a base line further to the west than 108 miles distant from the Missouri river, at the precise point where it is intersected by the fortieth parallel of north latitude. At some future time, when necessary, it is proposed to start a principal meridian, extending on the north of such base to the Missouri river in Nebraska, and on the south of the same to the southern boundary of Kansas, which is the thirty-seventh parallel of north latitude. Although the public surveys will count from the principal meridian precisely as if the same were surveyed, the labor of such meridian survey will be now omitted, and that labor will be directed to insure practical results of more immediate importance.

"Your first operations will be to run and establish the base line, and continue the same for the distance of 108 miles on the parallel of forty degrees north latitude. Your township corner

his keg of brandy. Arrived at the fort, we found that Mr. Calhoun had got ahead of us a day or two, and on our landing another rumpus was kicked up about that keg of brandy, and it was found stowed away in the "White Cloud," safe and sound.

We remained at the fort two or three weeks, and Ira H. Smith then became one of our party, to act as first assistant of the survey. While lying at the fort we heard a great deal about those d—d squatters who were trying to steal the Leavenworth site. Our party went down there, and took a look at things, and I saw the roof going on the first business house in Leavenworth.

We left Leavenworth about the middle of October and went up the river, on the Kansas side, to Weston, and then crossed over to Missouri. Weston was then a very pretty hemp, tobacco and nigger town, and exhibited that sleepy, drowsy air of plethoric thrift so peculiar to a prosperous Southern town. In due time we marched to St. Joseph, a pretty little town of 3000 at that time. From St. Joe we marched to Oregon, in Holt county, and there organized and equipped our party of thirteen, our outfit being hauled in two wagons. When our outfitting was complete we moved down to the Missouri, opposite the Nemaha, to await the arrival of Robert E. Lee,* of the engineer corps, who had been detailed to determine latitude forty degrees north for us with precision. Major Lee was there two weeks before; he had got fully ready to give us the latitude. I became quite well acquainted with the gentleman who was subsequently to be hero of the rebellion, and was assigned to duty in the "observatory," taking down the figures called off with each observation. My impression is that the latitude and longitude of the point was established as the mean of about 100 observations. When it was established, it was found we were too far up the river by perhaps a half mile, and we triangulated down and across the river to the "very spot" that was to mark the dividing line between Kansas and Nebraska. Our teams, wagons, etc., were ferried frontier fashion, by placing a pair of wheels in one canoe and a pair in another, and, launching out, the horses and oxen were swum across the river.

It was on the 18th of November, I think, when the first link was stretched on

binding on the Missouri river will be the southeast corner of township or fractional township No. 1 north of the base line of range No. 18 east of the meridian lying in Nebraska, and which will correspond with township No. 1 south of the base of range No. 18 east of the meridian lying in Kansas; and at the intersection point on the Missouri a conspicuous and enduring monument is to be erected by your deputy.

"On the base line proceeding west you will establish and mark the appropriate boundary corners, to wit: At every half mile for quarter-sections, at every mile for sections, and at every sixth mile for townships north of the base and east of the meridian, as far as the one hundred and eighth mile. The township corners and those intermediate will thus be regularly established for each range, starting from range No. 18 east and proceeding to range No. 1 east of the meridian. This retrograde course of procedure is adopted to save time and labor, by obviating the necessity that otherwise would exist for traveling over the same ground. . . .

"Judging from the printed map at hand, it is estimated that the principal meridian, as proposed, will pass near the junction of 'Solomon Fork' with the Kansas, and between it and the 'Republican fork' of that river. This, however, is very doubtful; it may pass to the west of the junction of 'Solomon Fork' with the Kansas. The principal base, at some time hereafter, may be extended to the western limits of the territories of Kansas and Nebraska; but its present proposed breadth of 168 miles will not interfere with any Indian claims, and be likely to prove sufficient to include the present settlements and prospective wants of settlers in both territories within the region to which the Indian title has been extinguished."

* In a letter to the Hon. J. M. Harlan, dated August 31, 1865, J. M. Edmunds, commissioner of the general land-office, says: "The fortieth degree of north latitude, as the common boundary line between Kansas and Nebraska, which is also the principal base for the survey of the public lands therein," was "astronomically established in 1854 by Capt. T. J. Lee, topographical engineer, U. S. A." This is found in Governor Samuel J. Crawford's messages, 1865.

the line, and we were eighteen days running out the 108 miles to the intersection of the sixth principal meridian. My uncle J. P. Johnson ran with a Burts solar compass when the sky was clear, and a transit instrument was used by Mr. Smith when the sky was obscured. Where it could be done, both instruments were used to verify the work. Errors were distributed at every township corner. There was a double set of chain carriers, using what is known as compensating chains.

The work that devolved upon the narrator was that of corner marking, and he was prepared with a set of tools for chasing in stone or carving in wood.

This line, with all our care in running it, was paid for, but not accepted. Mr. Calhoun had begun to long for an excuse for breaking his bargain about the supposed fat surveys. A Mr. Manly, and a Mr. Joseph Teidley, a surveyor from Springfield, Ill., reviewed this work with a compass and chain, and condemned it. Uncle Sam probably thought it cheaper to pay for both surveys than to run a third to determine which was right. We attempted to run a true parallel of latitude; that is, a curve which is at right angles to all meridians passing through rough corners. Such a curve passes considerably north of a straight line, and would depart a good deal from a compass line run before the variations of the needle were established, which would be mostly at right angles to one or two departure meridians.*

We saw buffalo after crossing the Little Blue and elk several times on our route. We came across a few squatters' cabins—one, I remember, on Roy's creek; another on Turkey creek, in what is now Nemaha county, Kansas. On our return we got back to the Missouri in six days from starting, which was, I think, December 10. We came back by the California trail, and crossed the Big Blue where Marysville now stands. Somebody had a little store and ferry there, and sold powder and shot and bacon and whisky. Besides this white man's lodge, I think two or three Indians had shanties there, plump on the river bank, which ran, I think, by the bluff at that point. It runs in my mind that this man's name was Moore, though many attempts have since been made to make me believe it was Frank Marshall, for whom the county was named.

The country, in 1854, had suffered much from a drought—a late summer and autumnal drought. The grass had been burned off as far as the eye could reach, and when a little dead grass found in a bottom or protected spot, it was so pinched and starved as to impress me very unfavorably with the future of Kansas. In the valleys and bottoms we found the soil very deep and very black. It was no uncommon thing for us to walk in grass cinders and grass charcoal in the hazel patches of a bottom, nearly or quite ankle deep. We thought, after the first fifty miles out, that we were beginning to see evidences of the "Great American Desert," and the field-notes contained many observations as to the fertility of the ridges and the richness of the bottoms.

After crossing the Little Blue, we were told that what was called the desert lay before us. We hauled water for the remaining twenty miles, and acted wisely

* Under date of November 8, 1855, Surveyor-general John Calhoun said: "The progress of the surveys in this district, for the present year, have been retarded by the discovery of an enormous error in the base line and by an unusual amount of sickness. The error in the base line, a full and detailed account of which has been communicated to you, lost us the benefit of the two best months in the year for surveying operations—May and June." The detailed account is nowhere to be found in the published reports of the secretary of the interior for 1854-'55; but we find, in a tabular statement, that the date of the contract with J. P. Johnson, for establishing the base line was November 2, 1854, and that the plats were forwarded to the general land-office January 12, 1855. The contract price was \$1296; the net amount was \$1192.32. The following is under the head "Remarks": "Final return; survey set aside by the department; corners ordered to be erased, and sixty miles resurveyed; \$296 deducted for breach of contract; \$110 allowed for loss of time, as per contract; \$1006.32 balance paid."

in so doing. I have been "scientifically dumbfounded" to note the difference in the streams then and now. Walnut creek, in this county (Brown), contained no running water, and we trailed up it a mile and camped by a stagnant pool containing perhaps ten barrels of pond water, full of tadpoles and wiggletails. The south fork of the Nemaha was scarcely better. The same was true of some parts of the Vermillion we crossed; so of Turkey creek and many others. This was doubtless largely due to the drought of that year, but also largely to the fact that, because of the unbroken turf covering the whole land, but little waterfall penetrated the soil to feed that slow, continuous drainage we call springs.

There was but one fact of political importance, I believe, connected with this survey. An election occurred some time about the last of November, and our party was out beyond the Blue. It was voted for the proslavery ticket at Marysville. On our return to that point the proprietor told us that they had voted us twelve for the South and one for abolition. Abolition got one on account of the very decided Yankee looks and speech of Ira H. Smith.*

The winter of 1854-'55, the writer kept a school eighteen miles from Oregon, Mo., near Rev. John Dunbar's residence, and had among his pupils Prof. John B. Dunbar, at one time of Washburn College, Benedict Dunbar, of Wabaunsee, and their sisters; the Dunbar family contributing seven pupils to the school. Our school was the good old-fashioned log-cabin pattern, sycamore-slab seats, and walnut-board shelves set in against the walls for desks. I "taught" them after the latest improvements in the schoolmaster's art then extant, which, as everybody knows, was to pour in to overflowing, though nothing was drawn out. I was in Oregon, Mo., when Charley Blakely drew up his squad of the long-haired to start for the first Lawrence war.

In the spring of 1855 I was going over to Highland to look after my claim, when I was overtaken on the road to Iowa Point by Capt. Charles Blakely and his party of long-haired, who were going over to vote at the election held that spring. The captain halted me, inquired my age, if I was going to vote, etc. I assured him I had no intention of voting, and the captain, with whom I had become personally acquainted, let me off, with the remark that if he thought I was going over to vote the abolition ticket he would tie me to a tree in the bottom till he came back. One of the party suggested that he believed they ought to hang me anyway, but Captain Blakely said he, too, believed I was an abolitionist, but that as I was so young and pretty smart he thought I might outgrow it, and I was passed by the party, who left me at a canter. On reaching the river at Iowa Point I was detained until near four P. M. before getting over. The long-haired, by a preconcerted arrangement, were to meet there early, cross over, and tie up the ferry on the Kansas side, so that the abolitionists could not get over that day if they had wished to.

I had a claim near Highland; had "a foundation" for a house, etc., in 1855, but it had been jumped by a long-haired Missourian named Reynolds. My uncle and I went to see if we could reason with him, but as revolvers were drawn in less than ten minutes, I gave up my claim, and in the spring of 1856 returned to Illinois, disgusted with the Kansas war, but more especially to finish my collegiate career.

The town of Highland received its name at the instance of my uncle, in the hopes that a Swiss colonization could be induced to the town from Highland, Madison county, Illinois, through the instrumentality of the Switzer in our party.

* In his report dated October 20, 1856, Surveyor-general Calhoun says: "The work between the second and third and fourth standard parallels in Kansas has been but partially examined, one examiner having been taken sick and another driven from the field by abolitionists."

Thus you see that your narrator is among the very fathers of Kansas, and can look down with a feeling of pity upon such neophytes as Col. John A. Martin and others, who came in 1857 and 1858.

One other personal circumstance, while teaching near Oregon, Mo. I attended a debating society in that town, in the winter of 1855-'56. All went pleasantly enough until on the occasion of a discussion of the relative wrongs of the negro and the Indian. Now, the injuries of either were considered platonic and not worth mentioning, but I expounded the side of the negro with sophomorical ardor, and gave them a condensed version of "Uncle Tom's Cabin." I came very nearly being bounced that night at the hotel, kept by a Virginian of the first-family type. I moved later, and from that time on until I left I was harassed and insulted as an abolitionist. Yet that county contained a great many free-state men, and I was secretly assured that not a hair of my head should be touched.

SETTLEMENT OF THE FRIENDS IN KANSAS.

Written by WILLIAM H. COFFIN,* for the Kansas State Historical Society.

THE repeal of the Missouri compromise line and the passage by Congress of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, thereby throwing open an immense area of choice land to the encroachment of slavery, was the real beginning of the contest which resulted in the civil war.

As the result of whether these rich territories, to be formed into states, were to be slave or free, was to be left to the vote of the settlers when these territories were sufficiently populated, a great stimulus was given to both North and South to form emigration parties, each having their own views. Much the largest emigration went in from the North and West, and these were uniformly for free state or territory.

In the month of October, 1854, Eli Wilson, Benajah W. Hiatt and myself met at Richmond, Ind., at the Friends' yearly meeting, and agreed to go West and examine these new territories, which had been open for settlement for only a few months.

We first expected to go by private conveyance through the state of Iowa, which then was quite new and had much government land open for entry; but the season being late, we found we had no time before winter would set in, and so concluded to take public conveyance for the new territories first, and if they did not suit, to examine Iowa in the early spring, as our object was to find a

*PASADENA, May 2, 1901. *Maj. H. N. Rust*: ESTEEMED FRIEND—I enclose photo to you as requested. I was born in Wayne county, Indiana, September 26, 1825. My parents were Elijah and Naomi Coffin, who came west from North Carolina to get away from slavery, and were descended in a straight line from Tristram Coffin, who, with others, purchased the island of Nantucket and adjacent isles; was governor and judge for many years, and died there in 1681, and from whom all of the name in America are descended. My grandfather was a whaler, but left the sea and removed to North Carolina, as did quite a colony of others from Nantucket, of liberty-loving, energetic persons, of Macys, Swaines, Starbucks, and Folgers, and many more, and built up a real New England settlement in Guilford county, North Carolina. They were all honored and influential members of the Friends or Quakers, and though surrounded by slavery, were *intense* in their opposition and hatred of it. Levi Coffin was first cousin to my father, and they grew up together.

Probably the first Sabbath-schools in any of the Southern states were those which my father and Levi Coffin organized and successfully carried on Sunday afternoons among the slaves of the neighborhood, until stopped by pretended law and force. Levi Coffin was instrumental in freeing over 3000 slaves, and none were ever captured after once coming into his hands. It was his life-work from early manhood almost to the civil war, and his memory as the president of

good location and make a Friends' settlement on government lands, Benajah and I having young families of mostly boys growing up, and Eli some married sons, and others younger. At that day it was considered a long journey and a great way off from civilization west of the Missouri river.

We took railroad to Terre Haute, and from there to St. Louis by stage across Illinois, taking near three days and nights to reach St. Louis. Neither of us had ever seen the Western prairies; and the immense expanse of the broad, rich, grand prairies of Illinois, mostly yet unsettled, except in spots and along the streams, was a novel, inspiring sight to us. At St. Louis we took passage on a steamboat bound for Fort Leavenworth, a journey then made in from four to eight days, according to the stage of water.

The river steamers were fine, large, well-appointed and furnished boats, doing all the passenger traffic, as there were no railroad lines yet built in the West. We found many passengers from the South, East, and West, going, like ourselves, to see the new territories, among them Secretary Woodson and others, government appointees to the offices.

After a five days' run on the sinuosities of the Missouri river, we arrived, without incident, about two o'clock one morning, at Westport Landing, near the mouth of the Kansas river. We little thought at that time how great a commercial city and railroad point it would so soon be. Leavenworth city, thirty miles farther up the river and contiguous to the fort, had only just been laid out and

the underground railroad is historical. I owe much to his encouragement in the early settlement of Kansas, in which he took a deep interest. In my younger days I loved to be at his house in Newport, Ind., which was considered the grand central depot for escaped slaves on their way to Canada.

My father and mother were influential leaders in religious and philanthropic work, removing to Cincinnati, Ohio, for a time, but finally settling at Richmond, Ind., where he died in 1862, and she four years after. My wife, Sarah Wilson Coffin, and I were married late in 1845, lived near Richmond, Ind., until Kansas territory was first opened, and crossed into it before any survey lines were run. I could write of many interesting incidents of early life, but forbear to lengthen this sketch.

I cannot write of many things of myself without appearing egotistical, and think I will give you some items which you may use if you like, without being over and in my name. My life work, religiously, had been largely in Sunday-school work for more than fifty years, most of that time as superintendent and teacher and organizer in union missions as well as church work. At the close of the civil war, when the young men came home after four years of camp-life, they would congregate on the street corners and spend Sabbath together. We organized union Sunday-schools for afternoon work, and, by the help of their captains and officers, got them into the school, which they much enjoyed and loyally supported; and now we find these men getting old and grizzled, but nearly all who thus took part church members, and I have been rather astonished to find many of them joined the Friends. I was a delegate to the International Sunday-school Convention, at Indianapolis, in 1892, which adopted the uniform-lesson system now universally used.

General Grant, and General Howard, of the Freedmen's Bureau, applied to the Friends of Indiana yearly meeting, near the close of the civil war, to take charge of the many hundreds of colored orphans and schools in the freedmen's work, which they did, at the expense of many thousands of dollars in addition to the government aid, and many scores of our best young men and women as teachers, turning over to us for shelter and school service the military barracks at Helena, Vicksburg, Lauderdale, Miss., Maryville, Tenn., and other points South. I was one of the managing missionary board in this arduous and truly great work for many years. Southland College, near Helena, built up by this board, is yet sustained at large expense by the Friends, and is one of the most successful institutions in the South, has fine accommodations, and has graduated hundreds of colored teachers for school work among their own people.

I was connected with the Indiana Reform School for some time by commission from Governor Baker, and at Lawrence, Kan., was connected with Doctor Marvin, ex-chancellor of the State University, in the building and organization of the Indian school in its first start in life.

For any further reference, I give Timothy Nicholson, commissioner of the state board of charities, and Prof. Joseph Moore, ex-president of Earlham College, both of Richmond, Ind.; Prof. Edmund Stanley, president of Friends University, Wichita, Kan.; William or Asa Kennedy, Lawrence, Kan.

Truly, Wm. H. COFFIN.

the first lots sold. It was a better site in every way and was universally thought to be the point for a large city; nothing prevented it from afterwards becoming so but the disagreement among capitalists and the divergence of one or two leading lines of railroad to Kansas City, as Westport Landing was afterwards named. Westport was a small, thrifty town, four miles from the Missouri river, on the border of the Indian Territory, in Missouri, and was quite a trading point with the Indian tribes, and also received the trade of New Mexico over the great Santa Fe wagon road, of which the landing was the terminus. A heavy trade for years had been kept up in Indian supplies, furs, and buffalo-robcs. A line of warehouses, stores and saloons faced the river for perhaps two squares; all back was exceedingly rough, hilly, and unpromising.

We went to the one hotel, a two-story building, and stayed until morning. We started on foot early, taking the Santa Fe road, and soon arrived at Westport, passing through the state of Missouri in Jackson county, an exceedingly rich country, producing all the cereals in great profusion, and large quantities of hemp. All along these border counties were many slaves.

After leaving Westport, we crossed the line and entered Kansas territory, passing directly a large Methodist mission of several hundred acres of the finest farm land and large buildings, soon coming to the Friends' mission farm and house of 320 acres. Here, Friends for many years* had been engaged in keeping up a school among the Shawnee Indians, who had a large reservation of splendid land for many miles on the border. Davis Thayer and wife, of Indiana, were the superintendents, and Richard Mendenhall and others teachers and helpers, with most of whom we had been well acquainted. We felt very much at home with our friends, and were exceedingly interested in the country.

But few settlers had as yet come in, the strongest colony being at Lawrence, some forty miles up the Kansas river, under the convoy of Dr. Charles Robinson and others. The prairies were generally slightly rolling and very rich, and the timber lay in bands or patches along the streams. This description applied well to the whole territory.

After remaining a few days at the Friends' mission, we hired a pony and returned to Westport Landing, intending to procure some supplies and pack our blankets and camp outfit on the pony for a more extended tour. After getting our outfit about ready, we met on the landing the head chief of the Peoria Indians, Baptiste† by name, who could talk broken English. He was very clever and sociable, and invited us to go home with him, he being up with a wagon for supplies and about ready to start. This gave us a good opportunity to ride, and we were glad to avail ourselves of his invitation. It proved a long day's ride to the southwest of about fifty miles, mostly over Shawnee reserve, until we came to the Peoria lands and village, the home of the chief and the present site of the prosperous and beautiful city of Paola.

We were shown an empty log cabin, picketed out our pony on the abundant prairie-grass, and, rolling up in our blankets, lay on the hard puncheon floor, just as it had been split out of logs, with no dressing down. We were tired with the long, hard day's travel, but I do not think I ever turned over so many times in one night to try to find a change or a softer place.

In the morning, with the chief for pilot, we started on a tour of observation to the west and south, in order to examine a scope of country that had but for a short time been open for settlement. We found everywhere the same rich, rolling country, interspersed with groves of timber and fine valleys along the streams.

*The mission was founded in 1834. See reports of commissioner of Indian affairs for succeeding years.

†A brief sketch of Baptiste Peoria is given in Andrea's History of Kansas, page 876.

In the afternoon, we came to the *Marais des Cygnes* (pronounced *Mary de Zeen*), and, crossing it, we followed down for some miles to near the junction of the *Pottawatomie*, where both streams come together and form the *Osage* river. Heavy timber lined both streams as they deflected from each other to the west and northwest, and between was rich, rolling prairie land in easy reach, so as to make a paradise for a colony.

Here Baptiste, the chief, left us for home, and we camped on the banks of the *Marais des Cygnes*, in the heavy timber, no settlers having yet made claims anywhere near. It was a novel experience for us as we sat by our camp-fire at night and cooked fish that we caught with a pin hook; but very comfortable to tired men, as we were, when we lay rolled up in our blankets on a bed of leaves, with our feet to the fire. The large timber wolves howled around, but did not disturb us.

The next day we spent in taking claims along the river and extending far enough into the prairie for good farms. The whole territory was yet unsurveyed, the general surveyors being engaged in establishing a principal meridian line running west from the *Missouri* river, in order to make the survey of the new territory. In making squatters' claims, you had to run the risk of the survey lines getting the quarter-section on which your cabin was located, so that settlers were careful to not have their cabins nearer than 900 yards of each other. This was law by tacit agreement, and was observed, settlers all combining to get their land.

On the second day a gentleman from Rochester, N. Y., Orville C. Brown* by name, arrived on the same lands, heading a colony of twenty-six men, who had a sawmill back at Westport Landing, and all the necessities to build a town and form a flourishing settlement, being intelligent Eastern people. They encamped with us, and after looking around for a few days, liked our point of settlement very much, and proposed to us to join them and build up a town, a beautiful site for one being close by on the prairie, between the rivers. We really were not yet ready to make a permanent settlement, being out on a tour of investigation, and Benajah and I having not yet sold our homes in Indiana; and so, after consultation, we thought best to give up our claims to them, much desiring to stimulate the settlement of such colonies of intelligent free-state men, and also wanting to find a location where we could form a Friends' settlement of our own. They were very friendly with us. We went around with O. C. Brown and viewed the location together. They agreed on the town site, and in camp were unanimous in calling the new town *Osawatomie*, after both streams, the *Osage* and *Pottawatomie*, the *Marais des Cygnes* being called sometimes the *Little Osage*. O. C. Brown must not be confounded, as he frequently is, with "Old John Brown." "Old John Brown," with his sons, came the next succeeding spring,† and settled

*ORVILLE C. BROWN was born in Litchfield, Herkimer county, New York, February 25, 1811. Through his own exertions he acquired a good education, engaging meanwhile in various pursuits, among them codfishing and whaling. In 1836 he entered the mercantile business, in which he continued until coming to Kansas, in October, 1854. He founded the town of *Osawatomie*, naming it for the two streams in the vicinity—*Osage* and *Pottawatomie*. He at once became identified with the free-state men. The town was sacked June 6, 1856. August 30 of the same year the town was not only sacked but the buildings were burned by Reid's proslavery army, and Spencer Kellogg Brown carried a prisoner into Missouri and detained for six weeks. Mr. Brown rebuilt his house, which was immediately crushed by a tornado. With his health broken, he returned to New York state with his family, where he has since remained. His son, Spencer Kellogg Brown, was executed as a spy at Richmond, Va., September 25, 1863, though captured as a prisoner of war while destroying a rebel ferry-boat. He had previously been promoted to fourth master of Commodore Porter's gunboat "*Essex*" for gallant service.

†John Brown's sons came to Kansas in February, 1855, and John Brown himself the following October.

on claims on the Pottawatomie, a few miles above Osawatomie. He made this whole section of country famous in after-years by his exploits in favor of freedom and a free state.

The season being far advanced and cold weather approaching, we concluded that we had best defer further investigation of the territory until spring, and so broke camp and returned to the Peoria village. Next day we walked near forty miles, occasionally one of us riding the pony; but he was pretty well loaded with our pack, and had to be favored. Starting very early and going until nine o'clock in the evening, it finally became too dark for us to see, and, fearful of losing our way, we encamped in a grove, building a camp-fire against a fallen tree trunk, and went supperless to rest, our supplies being exhausted, as well as ourselves.

Next morning we were awakened by a cock crow near by, and found we were but a short distance from an Indian house. With doubly sharpened appetites, we went there and were met kindly by an old blanket Indian and his squaw, who said, in broken English, they had nothing but "hoggy meat"; so we made a breakfast on "hoggy meat" and coffee, and, paying fifty cents each for the privilege, we went on our journey, soon finding we were but a few miles from the Friends' mission, where we arrived joyfully, and were well received by our friends.

On our return, we stopped at Westport Landing again, over night; and next day, while waiting for the steamer, we walked from the hotel, perhaps half a mile or more, to the mouth of the Kansas river, where it empties into the Missouri. The whole river bottom at the confluence was then covered with heavy timber, mostly cottonwood. We understood that it could be purchased for about fifty dollars per acre, which would certainly have given a profit that any one should have been satisfied with, considering that all the ground we then walked over is now covered densely with large buildings, the union depot, and business houses of a great commercial city. We returned home *via* Chicago, striking a railroad in central Illinois, building south at Mattoon.

In the early spring of 1855, Benajah W. Hiatt and myself, having sold our farms in eastern Indiana, made preparation for removal to the new Western territory, leaving our families behind us until we could make locations to suit us, and proceeded *via* Indianapolis to New Albany, on the Ohio river, where we took passage on a river steamer for St. Louis. Eli Wilson's wife and a portion of his family went with us, he having, with some of his boys, gone some time previous, for the purpose of putting in crops on lands rented of the Shawnee Indians near Friends' mission, expecting to make location with us when we found one that seemed suitable.

At St. Louis we took passage on the steamer "Golden State." She was very heavily laden with freight and passengers, with several hundred Mormons bound for Salt Lake, *via* Fort Leavenworth, on the steerage deck. We were eight days on the river to Westport Landing and the fort, the river being at low stage and much detention by sand-bars. After being out a few days, the cholera broke out in the steerage, and there were several deaths and much sickness among the Mormons. No inland quarantine regulations then existed in the United States, and it looked to us that we were in close quarters, cooped up as we were, with a deadly disease aboard and no opportunity to help ourselves. It was very sad to run to the shore at wood-yards, of nights, and bury the dead away off among strangers. We had on board the Rev. Wm. H. Goode,* a devoted Methodist minister, going as a missionary on behalf of his church to set up and organize

*The "Outposts of Zion," published by Rev. Wm. H. Goode in 1864, in the Society's library, relates largely his missionary experiences in Kansas and the West.

churches of his denomination in the new territories. We used to take our Bibles and retire to the top of the boat and read such promises as we found in the thirty-seventh and ninety-first Psalms, and commend ourselves to the Lord's protection. I think that I never before saw the adaptation of the book of Psalms, in the close places David got into, to such states and conditions as we were then in, and it enabled us to take strong hold upon and trust in divine protection, strengthening our faith for many incidents that came upon us in after-years.

When we arrived at Westport Landing, Eli met us and his family, who debarked there, intending to make their home for a few months at the Friends' mission, until we could investigate farther and secure locations. Benajah and I went on to Leavenworth city, adjoining the fort. It was then only a few months old, a small scattered town of cottonwood shanties and saloons, of a few hundred inhabitants; but a splendid natural site for a large city, with a good landing, and the prestige of a large, old and important government fort adjoining, with its heavy patronage and supply trade over the great military roads to the interior forts and stations located all through the Western plains and mountains. It was the universal opinion at that time by all men of judgment that the rising little town would make the largest city above St. Louis. We landed at its wharf and proceeded out some two miles to Uncle Joel Hiatt's who came out the previous fall, when the territory was first opened up for settlement, with Nathaniel Henderson and others, old neighbors and relatives of ours from eastern Indiana, and had taken excellent and valuable claims near by the town, the territory being at the time we landed yet unsurveyed. Our Uncle Joel took a lively interest in showing us around, being very desirous for us to settle and form a colony of Friends somewhere in reach of the fort and town. We spent much time in making tours in different directions, pretty thoroughly surveying the country. We found the best lands and locations pretty much all claimed by border Missourians for ten miles out west to Big Stranger creek.

Our object at that early day was to get as near the river and some good commercial point that would likely grow into a large city, as we could; to form a colony and get good land. We finally found a section of good, well-watered country, interspersed with groves of timber, and open, unclaimed prairie land sufficient to form a large settlement, just west of Big Stranger creek, and lying between Fall and Walnut creeks, some four miles apart, and from twelve to eighteen miles to the fort or city. At that day it was impossible to tell even where the lines of the best common roads would be located; and railroads had not yet been thought of only as an improvement in the far-distant future. Benajah and I bought off two Missourians who had taken heavy timber claims near the mouth of Fall creek, and made prairie claims adjoining in the fine bottom and rising land as it receded from the creek on the north side. The broad, rich prairie land, waving with green grass and wild flowers of every kind, seemed to us a paradise for a young, energetic Western farmer.

We were now ready to see our friend Eli Wilson, and so making our way by a straight Indian trail, thirty miles, to the Delaware crossing of the Kansas river, on a rope ferry, we were within a few miles of the Friends' mission, where we soon arrived. Here we were glad to meet, not only with all of our friends of the previous fall, but with several other families, as well as the family of Eli Wilson, who had recently arrived and were stopping until they could get settled homes. I had procured an excellent Indian pony for riding purposes, and Eli and Benajah wanting some, we went among the herds of wild horses that had been raised near Bent's Fort,* New Mexico. These were brought in every spring

*"The Journal of Jacob Fowler," edited by Elliott Cones, contains the following:

"Bent's Fort was a noted place for many years. Fort William was an alternative name of the same establishment—so called after one of the Canadian-French Bent brothers, who were William, George, Robert, and Charles. In 1826 three of them, with Ceran St. Vrain, built a rude

and herded by cowboys trained to throwing the lasso. They rounded up a herd of from 50 to 100 horses and ponies, mostly broncos, branded, but wild and unbroken, and gave us choice. When two fine ponies were pointed out, they rode slowly around until they cut them out of the herd. Then a long run by three or four well-mounted men, until they were lassoed, bridled, and saddled, and were then counted broken. They made very tough, serviceable riding horses, but for weeks they could not be trusted.

We three now made a detour to the southwest, across the Shawnee reserve lands, near fifty miles, coming out on Sabbath afternoon to a grove of timber on the Wakarusa, where we found our friend Rev. Wm. H. Goode holding a meeting. Settlers had gathered from far and near, until there was quite a large company assembled. In the midst of his sermon, the people being seated on logs and benches in the shade, quite a commotion suddenly took place, women jumping up on benches, stopping his discourse, until a rattlesnake could be dispatched; an object-lesson enforcing his sermon on the uncertainties of life. From here we went on northwest, until, late in the evening, we came to the town of Lawrence, founded the summer and fall before on the Kansas river. The best lands were mostly taken up for miles around Lawrence, many settlers having come in during the fall and winter. The town had a good many temporary tenements; some sod houses, and a hotel built of poles set in the ground, weather-boarded and covered with shakes, I think situated a little west of where the Eldridge House afterwards was built. We called to the proprietor and asked if we could stay all night, and the laconic answer came: "Yes, if you can put up with darned hard fare"; so we lariatied our ponies on the abundant prairie-grass near by, and were very thankful for the bread, molasses, and coffee, and the comfortable beds of prairie-grass in bunks of shakes, fastened up against the wall.

The Kansas river was high—nearly bank full—and no ferry as yet of any kind established; but we arranged with a man by the name of Baldwin, who soon after established a rope ferry, to take us over in his skiff, one at a time, swimming our horses by its side, which was rather a dangerous feat; but we safely reached the north bank in the heavy timber of the Kansas river bottoms, and took an Indian trail which we thought would lead us to Leavenworth city. Somehow we missed the right trail, and rode all day, crossing Big Stranger several miles too far south. The creek bottom was festooned with grape-vines, running on the thickets and heavy timber. In one place we had to stoop very low on our horses to get through. My cousin Benajah was always the life of the company, and was in the lead, we riding Indian file. As he stooped to his horse's neck and went under the vines, he called low to me: "Look up, Will., but say nothing. As I went under, I looked up as best I could, and saw an enormous blacksnake just above, with head erect, and tongue licking out within a very few inches of my face. Our friend Eli Wilson ducked under, and then we dismounted and killed it. I think that it measured near seven feet in length.

We were now on the Delaware Indian reserve, which extended along the Kan-

stockade on the north bank of the Arkansas, above Pueblo—perhaps half-way up to Canon City. In 1828 they moved down below Pueblo, and began the erection of the permanent structure called Fort William, which was long better known as Bent's old fort. It existed until 1852, when Col. Wm. Bent destroyed it with fire and gunpowder. He immediately selected a new site lower down the Arkansas, on the same (north) side, in the well-known locality of the Big Timbers, where he erected Bent's new fort in 1853, and used it as a trading post until 1859, when it was leased to the government; Colonel Bent moving to a point just above Purgatory river for the winter of 1859-'60. Next spring Bent's place became Fort Wise, so named for the governor of Virginia; but in 1861 this name was changed to Fort Lyon, in honor of Gen. Nathaniel Lyon, who was killed at the battle of Wilson Creek, Missouri, August 10, 1861. In the spring of 1866 the river undermined this post, and it was moved to a point twenty miles lower down, though the old post continued to be used as a stage station by Barlow, Sander-son & Co."

sas river for forty miles, and twenty wide, to the north. The Indians still lived in their various settlements on the reserve. Night coming on, we camped, long after dark, in an open space surrounded by trees, rolling up in our blankets, with saddles for pillows, but nothing to eat. As soon as daylight came, we found that we were in an old Indian burying-ground. We arrived at Uncle Joel's in the forenoon. After looking around the town and fort, we went with Eli out to the section of country we had found and looked it over. He was very much pleased with our choice, and at once proceeded to buy out a timber claim joining ours on the west, and to take and secure several fine quarter-sections of prairie land for each of his children. The timber groves almost everywhere had been secured by an advance line of squatters who were professionals in that line, and were ready to sell out and go on.

Before leaving eastern Indiana, Eli and Benajah had arranged to send a lot of their Durham cattle, with a heavy ox team and wagon, across the country, and, soon after, they arrived at our location, under the management of Simon P. Hawkins, Azariah Walker, and a hand or two. We all took possession of the cabin on our timber claim and cooked together for a short time, until we could build other cabins, break prairie, make farms, and arrange to bring out our families. We worked very hard for the next few months, cutting house logs, sawing boards, building cabins on the prairie, breaking prairie sod and chopping in corn with an ax, and finally sowing wheat. Thousands of rails had to be split, which we hired done, but hauled and put up good stake-and-rider fences. For all this work we used heavy ox teams, finding them the cheapest and most serviceable, as the range was fine and they required no provender much of the year. Settlers came in rapidly, mostly from the North—Missouri and Iowa; but all staunch free-state men.

From Leavenworth city we had to pack our provisions on our horses, there being no available wagon crossings over Big Stranger without going a long distance around. The first settlers to the south of us were the two brothers Wright, of Missouri; Otis Marsh, of New Hampshire; H. Dunlap and sons, of New York; on the southeast, Henderson; across the creek, east, Doctor Allen and Doctor Wood, both Southern men, from Missouri, and many others; to the north, J. Renfro; S. P. Hawkins and others on the west. Over on Walnut creek, almost all the land was taken and settled directly.

About this time Uncle Joel came out to see us. We rode all around; and south of us was high prairie that overlooked the whole country, interspersed with fine groves, and almost all quarters well watered with fine springs. Uncle Joel was raised a Friend; many years before had left the church, but was still warm in his regard for it, and a man of excellent judgment. As we sat on our horses, on the high prairie overlooking the country, "Boys," he called, "I can see from here a strong Quaker settlement and meeting. Right over yonder," pointing north to a grove of timber about two miles off and half-way between the streams, "will be the Quaker meeting-house. I can see them now, coming from every direction, on Sunday, to it; and then I can hear some one preaching." And rising in his stirrups, he sang out, in regular old Quaker style, "Keep silence before me, O ye islands, and let the people renew their strength." All his predictions were in time literally fulfilled. A nice church has stood at the exact spot for thirty years or more, and for many years was filled with people.

Our first experience in camp-cabin life, especially in the art of cookery, was rather unique. With no supplies, except such as could be packed for twelve or fourteen miles on our ponies, generally side meat, flour, and molasses—which latter article had to be carried in a gallon jug, which we were sure to be without

at the very time we were wanting it the most—neither of us used to the business, having experts at home in our good wives; with no utensils but a tea-kettle, a frying-pan or skillet, an oven to bake our bread, with a large open fire-place, and stick and clay chimney, it is not remarkakable that we were awkward, and, coupled with our hard work, grew thin on the kind of diet we had. Among our first meals—I well recollect Benajah officiating as head cook—we undertook to make gravy; the meat had been fried and taken out; a roaring fire and bed of coals on the hearth; but when the skillet, with its hot grease and water, was set back on the coals, the grease suddenly took fire, blazing nearly as high as our heads, so that Benajah seized the skillet and, running to the door, threw grease, skillet and all out on the prairie.

About this time a young lawyer of our acquaintance came visiting us. We were hard at work, and had no time to cook for ourselves, and in no situation for dead-beats. We would have been glad of his visit if he could have helped us; but he would neither cook nor wash dishes, but lay on our bed and lounged. We soon found that he could not eat mush very well, and so, in the morning, Ben. would say, "Will., what shall we have for dinner to-day?" and I would answer, "mush"; and we had mush twice or three times a day, until the poor fellow was in a condition to leave, disgusted, as we afterwards learned, with the territory of Kansas. Benajah, however, soon became quite a good cook. We learned to make light biscuits with baking-powder; caught fish; and one day had a dinner, a notable one, with our friends Wilson, Hawkins, and others; Hawkins, assistant cook; the dinner consisting not only of our common doings, but of turtle soup, from an enormous mud-turtle we had caught; and, also, we had a large blue crane roasted, so that the shanks reached well across the table. All together, after the men arrived with the cattle and our wagons, we had a very genial company, the presiding elder of which was our friend Eli Wilson.

The spring and summer soon passed; and, after planting sod corn, sowing wheat, and building two cabins on the prairie on our quarter-sections, we left our claims in the care of our friends, and returned to eastern Indiana for our families. It took us until late in the fall to get our business settled up, make public sales, and prepare for what was then considered a long journey. Indeed, most of our friends called in question the propriety of taking our families clear beyond all civilization, into an unsettled, and, from appearances, likely to be for some time, much troubled state of society. But in the tenth month, 1855, we started, going by St. Louis, and steamboat to Leavenworth city, where we arrived, and went out to Joel Hiatt's with our families until we could buy household outfit; and so arrived at our cabin homes late in the tenth month. The prairies looked dreary by this time, having been all burned over. For a while our women were homesick; but all went bravely to work, and, for that kind of life, were soon reasonably comfortable.

Our friend Eli Wilson had removed his family during the course of the summer, and was living on his claim adjoining ours. Also his married sons, James and Jehu Wilson, had arrived before us from Indiana and were settled on their land, and we began to have quite a company of Friends about us. The general survey lines were made and the land sectionized, and corners all marked, by the time we arrived in the fall. We banked up our cabins on the outside high with dirt, and burned around our fences and haystacks, and prepared for cold weather. The winters in Kansas territory were generally mild, not setting in usually until the first of the year; but the winter of 1855-'56 was one of marked severity. The thermometer went as low as twenty-five below zero, with very deep snows after New Year's, which lay on until late in the spring. A pretty

good wagon road had been constructed to Leavenworth city while we had been away, so we could get our supplies from the river by team.

It is not the intention to enter into a description of the slavery controversy in connection with these notes, except so far as our individual and personal contact with it is concerned, narrating only such incidents as were coupled with our own settlement, as the whole of early Kansas history, voluminously written by able writers, is very largely on this point. It is well known that the territorial election, in the spring of 1855, for the organization of a territorial legislature, was carried by thousands of Missourians, in the proslavery interest, crossing the border, taking possession of the polls, and electing their own men. Gov. A. H. Reeder, although appointed by the proslavery element at Washington, was an honest Pennsylvania democrat, and too honorable to give certificates of election to persons elected through such wicked fraud. But the members thus elected met just over the line, near Westport, at the Methodist mission, and made a code of the most outrageous laws possible. While Eli, Benajah, and I, the summer before, were at the Friends' mission, this legislature was in session. We went to it one day. Many Kansas men from Lawrence and other points were also near to guard the governor from violence, as they threatened loudly of lynching him, in order to force him to become the creature to assist in carrying out their infamous purposes; but the governor remained firm, and at length President Buchanan, at Washington, removed him, leaving Woodson to act until Governor Shannon, his successor, arrived.

The Kansas actual settlers, even at this date, were almost unanimous for a free state, and they would not recognize this legislature nor obey any of the laws thus enacted, nor pay any taxes to its officers. The new settlers who were all the time coming were of the same description, almost universally. But little slave property could be moved into such a community; and so, by the time we had our families well fixed and settled, the first actual conflict at arms to force the settlers to obedience took place. The proslavery leaders had been molding public opinion in the border counties of Missouri all summer. Their idea was to terrorize the free-state settlers of Kansas into obedience to their domination, and to stop the free-state emigration from the North. The Kansas settlers were, as a rule, a brave, energetic, independent set of men, nearly all of whom, as yet, had gone there to build up homes for themselves and families in that beautiful and desirable country. There was nothing they so much desired as peace, and, for the future prosperity of the country, and for almost every other consideration, a free state.

Through the early spring and summer and that fall, after removal, we were frequently at Leavenworth city; and, through our uncle, Joel Hiatt, who acted with the proslavery party, met and became well acquainted with many of the leaders who were the managers of the party; such men as the Stringfellow,* Mar-

*BENJAMIN F. STRINGFELLOW was born in Fredericksburg, Va., September 3, 1816. After receiving a collegiate education and being admitted to the bar, he removed, about 1838, to the state of Missouri, where he entered upon the practice of the law. He early received the appointment of circuit attorney for eleven of the northeastern counties of the state. In 1844 he was elected a member of the Missouri house of representatives, and served four years as attorney-general of the state, being appointed by the governor in 1845. He then entered into a legal partnership with Col. P. T. Abell, at Chariton, and afterwards at Weston. Upon the opening of Kansas, he became greatly interested, and in the fall of 1854 became secretary of the Platte County Self-defensive Association. That year he issued a pamphlet entitled "Negro Slavery no Evil; or, the North and the South; the effects of negro slavery as exhibited in the census, by a comparison of the condition of the slave-holding and non-slave-holding states, considered in a report made to the Platte County Self-defensive Association, St. Louis, 1854." Although taking an actual part in the slavery controversy in Kansas, he yielded to the will of the majority, and in 1855 took up his residence in Atchison, where he had large property interests. Here he labored diligently for the upbuilding of the town, and was for many years an attorney of the Kansas City, St. Joseph & Council Bluffs railroad.

*DR. JOHN H. STRINGFELLOW was born in Culpeper county, Virginia, November 14, 1819. He received his education at Caroline Academy, Virginia, Columbian University, Washington,

shal Donalson,* Judge Lecompte,† and many others. We heard much of their talk; and when they found the free-state men would not succumb or pay taxes or recognize their officers, the whole talk for months was invasion, to drive the abolitionists out, as they called every one who was in favor of a free state. We could hear this continually on the border. In a guarded way, their papers all teemed with it. Many of those worst men of the leaders were our friends, on account of our uncle, and they would talk to us privately and warn us of what was coming; but always professed friendship personally, and desire to see our colony protected. Uncle Joel had told them in our presence that we were Quakers, stock men, peaceable, would n't fight, but would be obedient to the laws no matter how things were settled; and, though we did not believe in slavery and would vote for a free state, yet we would never interfere with their "niggers," and would be the best kind of citizens. We did not take much interest in this kind of talk; but it was our best policy at this time to keep still, and act when we had the opportunity to effect anything, which I believe we all bravely did.

D. C., and in the medical department of the University of Pennsylvania, graduating there in 1845. He soon after visited Missouri, where his brother, Benjamin F. Stringfellow, had preceded him. His marriage with Miss Ophelia J. Simmons, niece of Gov. John C. Edwards, decided him to remain in Missouri. He practiced medicine at Brunswick and Carrollton until his removal, in 1852, to Platte City. Upon the opening of Kansas to settlement, he crossed over into the territory and selected a town site on which he located a claim. Then with his friends he formed a town company and laid out the town of Atchison. Doctor Stringfellow was founder and editor of the *Squatter Sovereign*, and was speaker of the first territorial house of representatives. February 29, 1856, he was commissioned captain of the Atchison company, Third regiment of militia, by Acting Governor Daniel Woodson, and, April 22, colonel of the Third regiment, by Governor Shannon. On the death of his father he returned to Virginia to administer the estate, and was detained in this business until after the opening of the war. He entered the Confederate service as captain of a Virginia company, but was at once detailed to act as surgeon, and served in that capacity only. Doctor Stringfellow returned to Atchison in 1871, and remained there until 1876, when he removed to St. Joseph, Mo., where he and his wife still reside. In the "Annals of Kansas," under date of January 7, 1858, is found this record: "J. H. Stringfellow writes to the Washington *Union* against the admission of Kansas under the Lecompton constitution: 'To do so,' he says, 'will break down the democratic party at the North and seriously endanger the peace and interests of Missouri and Kansas, if not of the whole Union. The slavery question in Kansas,' he says, 'is settled against the South by immigration.'"

* ISRAEL B. DONALSON was born in Bourbon county, Kentucky, January 12, 1797. He removed with his parents to Ohio when a child, but returned to Kentucky at the age of sixteen. In 1835 he was elected representative to the state legislature by the democrats of his district. In 1839 he removed to Pike county, Illinois, was elected probate judge, and served in the Mormon war. In 1847 he raised a company for service in the Mexican war, was elected major, and placed in command of five companies. He was voted a sword by the Illinois legislature for his services in the war. In 1849 he went to California, and remained two years. In 1854 he was tendered the position of United States marshal for Kansas territory by President Pierce, and served through the administrations of four territorial governors, finally resigning. He was in Washington at the time of the execution of John Brown, December, 1859, engaged in the settlement of his official accounts. He remained at his home in Canton, Mo., during the civil war, and removed to Hays county, Texas, in 1865. His death occurred at San Marcos, Tex., October 27, 1895.

† SAMUEL D. LECOMPTE, one of the most prominent figures in the early days of Kansas, was born on the eastern shore of Maryland, December 13, 1814. His early life was spent in Cambridge, Md., where he studied law and was admitted to the bar. He at one time was a member of the Maryland legislature. October 3, 1854, Mr. Lecompte was commissioned chief justice of Kansas territory by President Pierce, and was assigned to the first judicial district, north of the Kansas river and east of Soldier creek. He held this position until March 9, 1859, when he was succeeded by Judge John Pettit. His sympathies were strongly proslavery, fully in touch with the administration at Washington. Under date of October 6, 1856, in reply to an inquiry of Governor Geary, he gave a brief resume of his official acts to that time. This document is published in the fourth volume of the Society's Collections, page 602. After the war Judge Lecompte became a republican, and was four years probate judge of Leavenworth county. He was one session a member of the state legislature. He died in Kansas City April 24, 1888, at the residence of his son.

On the 27th of November, 1855, Governor Shannon called out a posse to assist Jones,* postmaster at Westport, Mo., who claimed to be sheriff of Douglas county, Kansas, in the enforcement of the bogus laws; 2000 men from the border counties of Missouri responded, probably all being organized beforehand. This was what was called the Wakarusa war.† Their object and full expectation, as we well knew from their previous talk and secret arrangement, was to concentrate on Lawrence first; burn and destroy it, and then spread out in detachments, and terrorize and drive off all the free-state settlers who were in any wise obnoxious, which comprised about all, especially Eastern men. The main army took the Westport road to Lawrence; but 500 men, with cannon and all the paraphernalia of war, which they had taken from the United States government arsenal at Liberty, Mo., passed on the high-prairie road leading from Leavenworth city to Leecompton, but a short distance from our location, in plain view. They were composed mostly of the offscouring of Missouri bad men, but marched by and committed no depredation on us. It was an anxious time with us, as well might be expected, for the next three weeks.

The free-state men had organized at Big Springs‡ the September before, and in October, at Topeka; and, while disavowing any intention of conflict with the governor, were fully prepared and concentrated for defense at Lawrence, against such an invasion. Eight hundred men were ready, fortified, composed of settlers who rallied for the war. When the Missouri horde, who camped in the Kaw bottoms, saw there was going to be a desperate fight, which they had not looked for, expecting an easy conquest, the leaders, with Governor Shannon at their head, held a conference, and concluded it best to call off their posse and send them back. An incident to show this came under our notice, and is not down in history.

Uncle Joel was prominent among the proslavery leaders, though he took no part in the invasion; but while in camp at Lawrence, at their conference, they sent him and Colonel Burns,§ a leading lawyer of that day in Missouri, to the free-state camp in Lawrence to consult with General Lane and the committee of safety, and, more probably, to discover the temper of the free-state men, how they were armed, and whether they were likely to fight, it being the settled opinion of all the proslavery men of that day that one Southern man could whip four or five "Yankee abolitionists," as they called the settlers. They passed

*SAMUEL J. JONES, then serving as postmaster of Westport, Mo., was elected sheriff of Douglas county, Kansas, by the first territorial assembly, and received his commission from Acting Governor Daniel Woodson August 27, 1855. This office he continued to hold until some time in 1857, though his resignation, which he tendered December 16, 1856, had been accepted by the board of county commissioners the same day and William T. Sherrard appointed in his place. Governor Geary refused to commission Sherrard because of his bad character, and he was shot in a public meeting in a controversy regarding his appointment. He died from the effects of the wound February 21, 1857. James F. Legate made the acquaintance of Sheriff Jones in Westport shortly after his appointment. He was then about thirty-five years of age, an extremist, full of enthusiasm in the cause of slavery. His official acts are included in the executive minutes of the territorial governors published in the earlier volumes of the Society's Collections. In the summer of 1879, Col. Wm. A. Phillips found him on his ranch at Mesilla, N. M., surrounded with the comforts of life, though suffering from the effects of a stroke of paralysis which sadly hindered his speech. The two old Kansans talked over the early days. Mr. Jones manifesting the kindest interest in his old political enemies. On being accused of having become a republican, he denied it with spirit, but laughed good-humoredly when his wife and son declared that they were republicans.

†See "Kansas; its Interior and Exterior Life," 1856, chapters 8-11, written by Mrs. Sara T. L. Robinson.

‡For proceedings of this convention, see Andreas' History of Kansas, page 108.

§For a biography of Col. Jas. N. Burns, see Paxton's "Annals of Platte County," page 165.

the guard and were taken before the committee of safety. They saw the free-state men parade the streets, and all the fortifications and preparations. And then General Lane addressed them, and sent the following message: Tell General Richardson that we shall place flags on a certain building where our sick and some of our invalid women are, and we want him to respect them; but as for the balance, we are ready for them, and tell him to come on as quick as ——— please." They reported to their leaders, on their return to camp, that the "Yanks" would fight to the death if they undertook to storm the town, and a great many men would be killed; which, no doubt, was true, and it had the effect in the result as designated.

Uncle Joel and Colonel Burns, on their return, stayed all night with us, and related the above. About this time, I think on the 14th of December, it turned fearfully cold, with a driving norther that froze them all out of camp, and they were glad to go home. Several good men, however, of our acquaintance, who lived near Lawrence, were murdered by scouting parties, greatly intensifying and increasing the bitterness of feeling.

Some time early in January, 1856, the weather being bitterly cold and a deep snow on the ground, late one evening, while chopping stove wood at the wood-pile in front of my cabin, Stephen Sparks, a prominent free-state man, who lived four miles north of us in a heavy settlement on Walnut creek, came galloping his horse along the trail, and hailed me to get my gun and get ready as soon as possible to join all the other neighbors at the Wright settlement across the creek, where they were all expected to rally and march for Easton, six miles above us; that they had just been informed by a courier sent on purpose that a large body of Missourians, well mounted, with the "Kickapoo Rangers," were coming over, and were on the road to "clean out," as he expressed it, all the abolitionist settlers on Stranger and Fall creeks.* We well knew our Wright neighbors and others near us were strong free-state men and determined fighters, having been at Lawrence at the recent struggle and incurred the displeasure of the proslavery leaders.

My wife was in the house with our four little children and knew nothing about it and I said nothing. We could expect no favor from such a body of men, composed, as they were, of the worst description of border men, of the Jesse James type, and I had little confidence or expectation that a hurried rally of the neighbors would succeed in stopping them, organized as they were. I do not think that I was afraid at that time, being young and excitable; but my education

*The author probably alludes to the disturbances precipitated in Leavenworth county by the coming free-state election for state officers and members of the legislature under the Topeka constitution, set by the Lawrence nominating convention for January 15, 1856. Two of the nominees, Mark W. Delahay, for congressman, and H. Miles Moore, for attorney-general, were residents of Leavenworth. Proslavery sentiment was so strongly opposed that the free-state mayor of Leavenworth resigned his office, together with several members of the council. Dr. J. H. Day, then acting mayor, issued a municipal order forbidding the holding of the election. It was however held, a stocking being passed surreptitiously for the ballots. The election at Easton, Leavenworth county, was delayed until January 17. The polls were attacked by proslavery men and defended vigorously by free-state men, under the command of Stephen Sparks, a proslavery man by the name of Cook being mortally wounded. Mr. Reese P. Brown, of Leavenworth, candidate elect to the free-state legislature, and other free-state citizens of Leavenworth, were at Easton during the election to see that matters were fairly conducted. As he and his friends were returning to Leavenworth the morning of the 18th, they were met by a company of "Kickapoo Rangers" and taken back to Easton and detained until evening, when Brown was brutally murdered, being taken home in a dying condition. His wife afterwards married Dr. A. G. Richardson, of Stonebluffs, Iowa, who gave the Society a blood-stained diary found in Mr. Brown's pocket after his death, and a commission issued by James H. Lane to Mr. Brown as major of the First regiment, first brigade, Kansas volunteers, for the protection of Lawrence, November 27, 1855.

was such I could not, with conscience, kill a man; but when I got to reasoning with myself about my duty in the protection of my family, my faith gave way. I had an excellent double-barreled gun, and I took it outdoors and loaded it heavily with buckshot. It was near bed time; my wife and children soon went to sleep, and I barred the door and set my gun handy, and made up my mind I would shoot any man or set of men that undertook to break in. A cabin, built as they were, of logs at that time, made a pretty good fort; but I could get no sleep, having laid down with my clothes on. Finally, towards midnight I got up, wife and children peacefully sleeping, drew the loads from my gun and put it away; and then, on my knees, I told the Lord all about it and asked His protection; and so, casting all my care upon Him, I felt easy, went to bed, was soon asleep, and slept until sun-up the next morning. The free-state men had rallied in force the night before and had a battle; several men shot, one killed, and others wounded; but it had the effect to divert the route of those wicked men till they had not reached our location, but crossed the Stranger higher up the stream.

These occurrences made our women nervous, and the Wilsons and I concluded to go to Friends' mission, thirty-five miles southeast, and visit them for a few weeks. We had a heavy ox wagon, with a bed sixteen feet long, and wagon-cover; so we put all our women in, took two yoke of heavy oxen—some of the men rode horseback—and started, camping at night on the Delaware Indian reserve, in the timber near an Indian cabin, our women staying in there with one squaw, who was almost famished for something to eat. They fed her bountifully, and then questioned her as to the men. She said, in broken English, "Gone to Missouri; buy things; come home to-night, mebbe drunk." Then our women were yet more nervous; but the squaw barred the door, and they sat by her all night, but were not disturbed by drunken Indians. Next day we went on, and arrived at the mission after dark. They were all glad to see us; several families of Friends, who had recently come in, living in their outhouses and spare rooms. We had a pleasant visit of near two weeks, but by that time my wife and I greatly desired to return home, and so we left the Wilson wives and families for a few weeks longer, and only we men and my wife and children returned.

The first day out we made near fifteen miles; but a very deep snow was on the ground, and that day the wind came from the northwest, and the thermometer went down to twenty-five degrees below zero. We stopped and stayed near the Indian chief's, Johnnycake, in a house.

Next morning we went on, and did not realize how cold it was until we had gotten away from the settlement of Indians, on the high prairie. Late in the afternoon we arrived at a deserted cabin in the timber, on Stranger creek, only six miles from where we started in the morning. We logged off some dead trees and rolled them in on the ground floor, and built a rousing, log-heap fire; so we were pretty comfortable, but it was cold for our oxen chained up to trees. Next morning, cold as ever; but we thought we could reach home by a desperate effort. After getting out on the high prairie away from the timber, with the road obliterated and snow two feet on the level, and many places drifted until our oxen could not go through at all until the horsemen, going on in the lead, tramped a road, with the wind blowing and the air full of fine, freezing snow, thermometer from twenty-five to thirty degrees below zero, it really seemed at times more than any human being could stand a moment longer. My wife and children were in the wagon-bed, covered up with bedding; but there was no alternative for us men—four of us—but to take the storm and cold. One had to walk, wade the drifts and drive the oxen, and it was all one man could possibly

do to keep them going, facing the awful cold and storm. I do not know but it saved my life—the extreme active exertion it took to drive over that high prairie, with our lives in our hands. Eli Wilson and his boys, James and Jehu, were men of iron will and determination. We were all young, in the prime of life and vigor, but it took all the will power we had to live through this experience. The two young men and Wilson rode on, after we had got out some miles where the drifts were not so bad, and built a fire in a ravine where was some timber. After taking a good rest and warm, we went on some three miles farther and came out at Benajah's cabin, in the creek bottom, where we found a huge blazing fire, home comforts, and Benajah's family overjoyed to see us again. I think none of us who passed through that memorable trip but lifted up his heart to our Heavenly Father for His deliverance and our preservation. This was some time in February of 1856.

The next day was first day, and we held our first Friends' meeting, which was probably the first Friends' meeting held in Kansas territory outside of the Friends' mission.

The winter, as has been stated, was long and very cold. Snow-banks lay on the north hillsides until the last of April. We killed a great many prairie-chickens and wild turkeys, which materially helped out our living, and so passed the winter quite comfortably. Eli's family came home when the weather became warmer, and some other settlers began to arrive as spring opened. Benajah Hiatt moved into his cabin on the prairie; and early in the spring Vierling K. Stanley, a young man of our acquaintance from Indiana coming in, we employed him for a teacher, and our first school, and probably one of the first north of the Kansas river, away from the principal towns, was opened in the cabin in the timber.

We were all busily engaged in fencing, breaking prairie, and enlarging our farms. The slavery question, however, was the all-absorbing matter, as the political proslavery leaders on the border, backed by the whole South, and also by the administration in power, saw the necessity of urgent action, as, if left to a vote of actual settlers in the adoption of a state constitution, it was most surely going to be a free state. We could hear mutterings all along the border among the proslavery men everywhere, that when the grass grew in the spring they would drive the "abolitionists" out. It was plain, long before they commenced action, that a deep-laid conspiracy of some kind had been concocted.

About this time an election was held over the territory for local officers. We all went to Leavenworth city to cast our votes. A great many Missourians had come over from Platte county and were congregated in the streets. For some reason, they concluded to let the free-state men cast their votes, and then break up the poll.

In the afternoon, when I had just voted, as James Wilson came next to me he was collared by an armed man and thrown to one side; and then a large body of men, armed with guns, revolvers, and bowie-knives, knocked in the window at the voting place, captured and carried off the ballot-box, and beat nearly to death one of the judges, Wetherald by name, a worthy young man and a member of our society, living in the city. The free-state men were utterly overpowered by numbers, and made no resistance, which was the very best thing, under the circumstances, to have done.*

As soon as the river was fairly opened and free from ice, in April, 1856, large companies of men,† armed and equipped for fight, began to arrive from South

*No reference to this election has so far been found in the Historical Society's records, though the author may be correct. The Bogus Statutes, page 727, section 2, provide for township and city elections on the first Monday in April.

†See foot-note, page 37, this volume.

Carolina, Florida, Alabama, and Georgia, under command of such leaders as Colonel Titus, Buford, and others. Also, the border counties of Missouri furnished a large contingent of such men as the Jameses, Youngers, and others, who in after-years figured largely as the worst and boldest bank and train robbers the country was ever cursed with. These men north of the Kansas river were placed in camps at Leavenworth city, which was so near Missouri that they could govern it; and on all the main roads, especially leading to Lawrence, at points in the country a few miles out. Those who went south of the Kaw river fortified themselves in different camps in the middle and southern counties, with Lecompton for their headquarters, which was now constituted the proslavery capital of the territory, and was where Governor Shannon and the territorial officers were quartered.

Our policy was to stay quietly at home, open our farms, and mind our own business, as did the free-state men generally until raids upon them began to be made.

Toward the end of May Sheriff Jones, with the aid of United States Marshal Donaldson and the governor, went to Lawrence, and a second time surrounded it with camps of South Carolinians and others, whom they had summoned as a posse to assist in arresting some of the leading citizens for "treason." This time they had some show of legal authority, and the free-state men could not resist without coming in conflict with the United States government, to do which was against the policy of all conservative and thinking settlers. So the Lawrence men agreed to let them come in and serve their writs and make arrests, on solemn promise of protection from the mob, which was given; and on the 21st of May they entered the town, which was sacked and robbed, Governor Robinson's house burned down,* the new Free-state hotel (of stone, a fine building, just finished and opened) torn down and destroyed, and the *Herald of Freedom* office, with its valuable new press and material, also destroyed. They were then drawn off, without further damage, to Lecompton.

About this time—I think on the 27th of May—I went over to Leavenworth for a few supplies, on horseback, the easier to elude the camps. I saw on my arrival posters everywhere calling on all law-abiding citizens, which meant these proslavery camps, to meet that day and conclude on some immediate action, as the "abolitionists" had commenced their work of "murder" and had "just killed several men" on Pottawatomie creek, in southern Kansas.

In a short time there was a commotion; drums beat to arms, and a company of South Carolinians paraded the streets, arresting and taking prisoners the leading business men of the city who were free-state men; threw picket guards out on all the roads and streets leading away from the city, with orders to shoot any man who dared to pass. I heard these orders delivered, and was an eye-witness to all I write. I quietly stood among the crowd, not knowing what moment I, also, might be taken, but principally they were after those who had been prominent as political leaders, such as H. Miles Moore† and many others. In a short

* See "Life of Charles Robinson, the first state governor of Kansas," by Frank W. Blackmar, 1902; "The Kansas Conflict," by Charles Robinson, 1892; "Kansas, its Interior and Exterior Life," by Sara T. L. Robinson, 1856, 1899; also sixth volume, Collections of this Society, page 187.

† H. MILES MOORE, one of the original proprietors of Leavenworth, was born September 2, 1826, in Brockport, N. Y. He received an academic education, and was admitted to the bar in 1848. He spent the years 1848-'50 in Louisiana in the practice of law, then removing to Weston, Platte county, Missouri. In 1854 he settled at Leavenworth, being in sympathy with the Southern policy, but the outrages of the proslavery party soon led him to identify himself with the free-state men. He was elected attorney-general under the Topeka constitution. In 1857 he represented Leavenworth county in the territorial legislature, and again in the state legislature of 1868. He has served as city attorney of Leavenworth several terms and has long been identified with the democratic party of the state.

time they came marching these men down the street, taking them out to some vacant lot to shoot them. Only by the urgent solicitation of such men as General Richardson* and other leading proslavery officers were they prevented from doing this; these men well knew reprisals of the bloodiest character would follow on the other side; so they put them in jail under guard, and, some time afterward, took 200 of the best business and influential free-state men of Leavenworth city (among them our old and valued friend Mr. McCracken), marched them aboard a river steamer, and banished them to St. Louis. The guards were kept out till sundown. I found a place I could slip out, and taking my groceries and sack of flour, which was about the last we had for a long time, arrived home after night, glad to escape and thankful for preservation.

Trouble now began in earnest. These marauding camps commenced to raid on the free-state settlers, taking all the horses they could find and living off the country. This action forced the free-state men to organize and go into camp, with Lawrence as headquarters.

The men of Fall and Stranger creeks—our settlement, outside of Friends—organized a military company of eighty men, with John Wright, our neighbor on the south, as captain. I think that Otis Marsh was first lieutenant. He was a young man of fine education, was from the New England states, and had a military training. Simon P. Hawkins had the claim adjoining us on the north, and he and Marsh kept house together. I had bought but a short time before, when spring opened, two excellent horses; one of them, a fine, large bay, I paid \$150 for; this horse was taken by a scouting party from the proslavery camp on Little Stranger, and the other one I turned over to Simon P. Hawkins, as the company were all mounted men. This left Eli Wilson, Benajah and I with our ponies; these we kept hid for awhile out in the thickets. Oxen they could not use, as yet, and so we had our ox teams for service. All these men soon went off in camp to Lawrence, leaving none but the women and children at home; or if any men came back for a time, as they did, they lay out in the thickets and bushes.

No law but the right of the strongest now prevailed. The territory, especially in the border counties, was at the mercy of guerrilla parties from both sides, of robbers and irresponsible men, and there was no security for human life or property, as is always the case in such a state of affairs, and especially on the Missouri border at that time.

The country was on the eve of a presidential election, and the wrongs of "bleeding Kansas" were rung on all the changes through the Northern states. This brought another class of men from the North, who came on purpose to

*The Historical Society has no record whatever of William P. Richardson. The territorial council, February 14, 1857, adopted the following:

"WHEREAS, By the mysterious dispensation of an all-wise and overruling providence there has suddenly been called away our much esteemed friend and fellow member, Gen. Wm. P. Richardson, in whom was concentrated the various virtues and ennobling qualities which dignified the man and elevated him far above the common level of his race: therefore, be it

"Resolved, That it is with feelings of the moist poignant regret and sorrow that we receive this announcement of an event which strikes down in our midst and deprives us of the enlightened counsels and companionship of one so greatly endeared to us by our long associations and the intimate relations which have subsisted between the individual members of this body and our departed friend.

"Resolved, That we tender our sincerest condolence to the family and relatives of the deceased, and assure them that whilst they mourn over the tomb of a departed husband and father, we mingle our tears with theirs and claim to share in their sorrow.

"Resolved, That, in testimony of our respect on this occasion, the seat heretofore occupied by the deceased in this chamber be craped during the remainder of the session, and that the members wear the usual badge of mourning for thirty days.

"Resolved, That one member of the council be appointed by the president to accompany the remains of the deceased to his family residence.

"Resolved, That the several papers in this territory be requested to publish these resolutions.

"Resolved, That the council do now adjourn until Monday morning, ten o'clock."

fight, many of whom came through Iowa, as the river was blockaded against all Northern emigrants.

Old John Brown now began to be heard from in the southern counties, as being at the head of a company in that region, as was Major Abbott,* Captain Walker,† Colonel Harvey,‡ and others at and around Lawrence. General Lane's name was the figurehead and scarecrow of the border men. Henry J. Shombre, a young lawyer and a most estimable man in many ways, who was an old acquaintance and friend of ours from Richmond, Ind., was killed about this time while heading a charge on Titus's camp, which was taken and routed near Lecompton. One of the company brought a letter to me from his person, and spotted with his blood—a letter from my brother Charles. Joe and Jake Sinex, also men from Richmond, were in the same fight, in Captain Walker's company. They were with him all through the Kansas troubles, and afterward in the Kansas Seventh cavalry, known as Jennison's regiment in the war of the rebellion.

We had not yet been seriously disturbed, except from the danger of being on the public roads and the impossibility of getting any supplies from the river, as

*JAMES B. ABBOTT, born in Hampton, Conn., December 3, 1818, came to Lawrence with the third colony of New England emigrants, in October, 1854. He was a natural mechanic, and made his knowledge of service to his neighbors in the building and various enterprises of the young community. He was appointed judge on the election board of March 30, 1855, by Governor Reeder, but withdrew when the majority of the board decided that the Missourians had a right to vote. He was soon afterwards appointed lieutenant of a militia company, and in August went to Boston, raised money, and procured arms for the company, and secured the brass howitzer, now in the Historical Society's rooms. He led the company which rescued Branson, November 22; led a company in the fight at Franklin in the spring of 1856; participated in the battle of Black Jack, and was prominent in the defense of Lawrence against the 2700 in the spring of 1856. He was first elected a member of the house and then of the senate under the Topeka constitution. He served as member of the first state house of representatives, 1861, and state senator in 1867 and 1868. He led the party who rescued Dr. John Doy from the jail at St. Joseph in 1859. From 1861-'66 he was United States agent for the Shawnee Indians, and led a party of them in the Price raid. Through his efforts the state school for feeble-minded children was established. He removed to De Soto, Johnson county, in the summer of 1861, and thereafter made it his home. He was a director of the Historical Society from 1885 until his death, which occurred at his home, March 2, 1897.

†SAMUEL WALKER was born October 19, 1822, in Franklin county, Pennsylvania. In 1848 he removed to Ohio and engaged in cabinet-making, a trade in which he had served an apprenticeship in his youth. He visited Kansas in the spring of 1854, and after examining the country returned to Ohio, removing to Kansas with a large party of emigrants in April, 1855, and settled near Lawrence. About six weeks later he was warned by the sheriff of Douglas county to leave the country. The next day he assembled eighty-six free-state men, who organized a military company called the "Bloomington Guards," Mr. Walker being first sergeant. In 1856 he was promoted colonel of the Fourth cavalry, and participated in all the military campaigns of the free-state men. He was present at the sieges of Lawrence and Fort Saunders, and commanded at the capture of Fort Titus. He was elected a member of the lower house in 1856, under the Topeka constitution. In February, 1858, he found the returns of the election under the Lecompton constitution hidden in a candle box near the office of Surveyor-general Calhoun, in Lecompton. He served from June, 1861, to May 24, 1862, as captain of company F, First Kansas volunteer infantry. He was then promoted to the rank of major of the Fifth Kansas cavalry, serving in this capacity until the regiment was mustered out. October 8, 1864, he was made colonel of the Sixteenth Kansas cavalry, and in 1866 was brevetted brigadier general of volunteers for service against the Sioux. He was four times elected sheriff of Douglas county, his first term commencing October, 1857. In 1872 he was elected state senator. He died at Lawrence February 6, 1893. (See Historical Society Collections, vol. VI, p. 249.)

‡JAMES A. HARVEY was commissary of a company of twenty-six emigrants fitted out for Kansas by the citizens of Chicago in June, 1856. On reaching Leavenworth by steamboat, the emigrants were turned back by proslavery men, and finally reached Kansas through Iowa and Nebraska, arriving at Topeka August 13, twenty-six of them having dropped out by the way. At Iowa Point Harvey was elected captain of the company. "We were at once called to assist in the troubles, which had just broken out afresh. We immediately repaired to the scene of ac-

we should have to pass a camp of proslavery men at the crossing of Big Stranger some two miles north, and another camp some five or six miles east of us on Little Stranger, of the worst kind of raiders. These men were committing murders on inoffending men if they happened to be from Lawrence, or otherwise known as free-state men. One man, totally unarmed, was shot out of a buggy and scalped in the Indian style, and the scalp paraded in the Little Stranger camp as an "abolitionist scalp."*

It was now midsummer. One hot day I went out to hunt my oxen. I was dressed *a la* Missouri, with nothing on but hickory shirt and pants, barefoot, and a battered straw hat with a portion of one side of the rim gone. My saddle pony was a pacer, and an excellent riding animal. I had hunted all through the timber on Fall creek to the junction of the Big Stranger, and then followed down the stream more than half way to what we called Jarbalo, some four miles or more to the southeast of our settlement. Not finding them, I concluded to strike off on an Indian trail that led west on the high prairie. I had ridden near a mile from the creek and timber when, looking back, I saw a couple of uniformed men, on fine Missouri horses, coming for me at full speed. They were scouts from the Little Stranger camp, as I knew at sight, and were heavily armed. My first impulse was to put the spurs to my pony; but I was a mile or more from the timber and hazel thickets on the north, and I knew would be overhauled and at once shot down if I ran. So I kept on at a moderate gait, and, as they began to near me, rode slower and never looked back. I lifted my heart to God in earnest prayer. They galloped up each side of me and commanded me to halt, and began to question me. I knew they would not be likely to hurt me until they found out to which side I belonged. They pointed over to Captain Wright's house and farm and asked me who lived there. I told them. "Is he at home?" "I do n't know." "Where is Joe Wright?" "I do n't know?" "Where are the Dunlap men?" "I do n't know." One of them leaned off his horse toward me and, hissing through his teeth with an oath, said in a loud voice: "What *do* you know?" I looked up with a kind of foolish grin and said: "I believe my pony can outpace anything you have." They looked at each other for a moment, and both broke out in a laugh, and we rode on slowly. They soon got tired of asking me questions. I pointed out in the direction of home, and asked them to

tion, and were actively engaged in marching and fighting from the time we arrived until the 18th instant. It was the intention of the company to locate claims immediately upon our arrival in the territory, but we were requested, when we reached Lawrence, to remain in that town and assist in its protection." Harvey was at this time made colonel of the Third free state regiment, and had the confidence of the men who followed him. Governor Geary's first action on his arrival in the territory, in September, was to disband the military parties, both proslavery and free state, and reorganize the militia of the territory. In this reorganization Harvey was commissioned first lieutenant of Samuel Walker's Lawrence company. After the disbandment of this company Harvey and party of ninety free-state men, out of provisions and work, were taken by Thaddeus Hyatt to Anderson county, and that winter erected from native timber a hotel, store and blacksmith shop on the town site of Hyattville, and cut rails and timbers for their own claims in the vicinity, on which they settled in the spring of 1857. In Harvey's written statement, found among the Hyatt manuscripts in the collections of the Society, from which the above quotation is made, Harvey gives his age as twenty-nine, and says he has a wife and child in Chicago, and property worth \$3000. W. A. Johnson, in his "History of Anderson County," page 276, mentions the founding of Hyattville, and says Harvey was a soldier in the Mexican war. He died on his claim, near Hyatt, in 1858. Mrs. Eunice A. Allen, widow of Colonel Harvey, of Barnum, Colo., gave the Society, some years ago, the sword of Col. H. T. Titus, which was received by Colonel Harvey August 16, 1856, at the time of the capture of Fort Titus.

*This was the murder (August 19, 1856) of Mr. Hoppe, brother-in-law of the Rev. Ephraim Nute, by Fugit, a proslavery man, who had made a bet that he could bring in the scalp of an abolitionist in less than two hours. (Andreas, page 427.)

go with me and get dinner. They then used me civilly, and thanked me, and I have no doubt concluded I was probably some of the pro-slavery Missouri settlers, a few of whom lived above us on Fall creek; at least, was not worth robbing, and had not sense enough to be worth killing; and so they let me go on a trail leading off towards home, where I soon found my oxen in the hazel thickets. It was one of the times when it was necessary to be "wise as serpents and harmless as doves." We never, in such cases, prevaricated, but told the truth; but I am free to say that sometimes we told as little as possible.

One evening we were warned by a messenger from Doctor Wood, who lived east of Stranger, and was, though a proslavery man, a warm friend to us all, that a company was coming to "clean out" Fall creek, as they termed it, and take our horses. We hid our horses as best we could. Benajah's family and mine stayed together, and the Wilsons all congregated in one cabin, and so we concluded to stay quietly at home. It was a long night, but we were not disturbed.

Finally, our provisions being pretty well exhausted, and it being difficult without much risk to get more, as we had not yet had time to raise crops, after consultation, we concluded it would be our best plan to take our stock, wagons, and teams and cross over into the border counties of Missouri, where there was plenty, for a few weeks. We knew we could be in no more danger than where we were. There was but little trouble to pass the camps, the river pickets, and the ferry, with women, children, and stock, as many Missourians who lived on claims were going back all the time to their old neighborhoods and were passed without question. We drove the direct road to Fort Leavenworth, the women riding the ponies, and camped in the Missouri bottoms, and were not disturbed. We met United States Marshal Donalson near the fort, with whom we were all well acquainted. He expressed sorrow at seeing us going out, but frankly told us it was the very best thing we could do, and gave us to understand that arrangements were all made to destroy Lawrence, and drive all obnoxious settlers out; but that he would give orders to the camps to respect our settlement and location and protect it as far as possible, as he considered us peaceable and law-abiding citizens.

We crossed the river at Weston, and went back into Buchanan county some fifteen miles, near Liberty Mills, where we found an empty house, which we obtained leave to go into temporarily, and partly camped. We found plenty of provisions; and the Missouri neighbors were very kind to us, having heard we were Quakers and could take no part in war. There seemed to be no kind of prejudice against us, and I believe yet that the very best service we could have done, the free-state cause was to make just the move we did. It opened the eyes of many well disposed but ignorant persons, who had always been surrounded by slavery and were misled by their designing political leaders, and made to believe that the "abolitionists" were a murderous, dreadful set, with hooked nose, hoofs, horns, and tail, metaphorically speaking.

We remained in Missouri about three weeks, passing the time very pleasantly together in camp. After being over there a week or so, Eli Wilson, Benajah and I concluded we would go back to our claims and take a wagon-load of flour and meal, many of our neighbors, with the men gone, being out of provisions, except such living as they could pick up of vegetables. We loaded an ox team at Liberty Mills, and were not questioned at the ferry by the guards, as supplies for the camps and Missourians were being hauled in that way all the time; but on arriving at our Uncle Joel Hiatt's, in Salt Creek valley, near the fort, we began to meet stragglers on horseback, and wagons in great numbers. These were the Missouri recruits retreating home. Some of them stopped us, and all seemed panic-struck, and said that the abolitionists under Lane were

killing and driving everybody out. We soon found that the battle of Hickory Point, ten miles west of our location, had just taken place. Some 200 free-state men from Lawrence, under Colonel Harvey, and all our company on Fall creek, had attacked the camp of fortified proslavery men and routed them, clearing that part of the country. While waiting in the barn-yard with our teams for the crowds to pass, a company of proslavery uniformed rangers, under Captain Burgess, rode up. All knew Uncle Joel, and they dismounted and ate watermelon. Uncle and aunt wanted us to go into their cellar and hide; but we sat still in the house, none recognized us, and they soon passed on. Uncle Joel offered us a proslavery guide, saying we would be killed sure; but we declined, as we were wholly unarmed, and peaceable Christian men, and depended on a higher source; but considering it not prudent to go on, we left our load in Uncle Joel's care and went back to our families. Being in the rear of the battle, we now found the pro-slavery men were thoroughly scared and willing to get out themselves.

One morning we were called on to go over to a neighbor's house, named Thomas Burnham. We found a company gathered there. They had a prisoner, a man who had stopped in the night, having lost his way, and represented himself to be from Kansas, out of Lane's army, saying that he had deserted, and was trying to get home, in some part of the East. He came on horseback. We were requested to question him and see what we thought of him. This we did very closely, and he soon tangled himself up. We told the company he was lying, and knew nothing about Kansas. They were pretty rough men, and they at once appointed a committee of three to hang him. One of them put a rope around his neck, saying to him he had acknowledged himself to be one of Lane's men, and they hanged all of that kind over there. They led him off to a thicket near by, threw the rope over a limb, and made ready. He requested to pray. I never saw a man so weak and pale in my life, and I pitied the poor fellow to the bottom of my heart; but he prayed, and so pathetically that he drew tears from the eyes of these rough men. They let him up, and told him now to tell the truth and make a clean breast of it; and he proved to be a horse thief, who had stolen a horse not ten miles off—his first offense. They concluded to send him off to jail, as he was a native Missourian. We were secretly pleased to see the tables turned in that way.

One day about this time, while at the mills, quite a large company of men were gathered. One man, who had just come back, was descanting to them about the fine farms, with houses and everything, that could be had for the taking, and urging all to go over and help themselves, as the abolitionists were all off at Lawrence and would soon be driven out, which was really the program. They called us up and asked about it. We had now to be very guarded, but told them they could judge better by just turning the case around. We said: "Suppose, gentlemen, the free-state men were to come over here, a colony of them, while you were away, and take your farms and property, how long would they get to stay in peace? What would you do? This thing will not last always." Then we said: "You would waylay and shoot every one of them. It would be a hot place to live, wouldn't it?" They were respectful and fully agreed with us, and none of them went over after farms. I think we did the free-state cause a real service in this line.

The battle of Osawatimie occurred about the last of August, 1856, in which old John Brown and the settlers met Col. John W. Reid, of Missouri, with 400 men. I refer to these occurrences of history in order to make my narrative of our doings more complete, but shall not enter into their detail more than necessary.

On or about the 1st of September, Daniel Woodson, acting governor, and a bitter proslavery man, in accord with all the arrangements foreshadowed to us by United States Marshal Donalson, issued a proclamation, which was immediately responded to by a large force (2700 men), who rendezvoused at Westport, Mo. The intention, fully laid and concocted, was to march on Lawrence with all their forces concentrated and destroy it, and then drive all free-state settlers out that were left in other parts. They had all the territorial officers. Shannon had been superseded by Governor Geary,* of Pennsylvania, who was on the road, and they desired to get in their work before he arrived. They immediately marched on Lawrence and arrived at Franklin, four miles off, in the evening of the 14th of September. They sent a reconnoitering party of cavalry of 400 men to see what the Lawrence men were doing. Major Abbott, Colonel Walker, old John Brown and the Stubbs company of rifles were thrown out on the prairie as skirmishers, and when they neared them sufficiently fired on the reconnoitering party. The ruffians appeared surprised and retreated to the main body, concluding to not make an attack until early next morning. Meanwhile Governor Geary was too quick for them, having heard, as he came up the river, of their plans and movements, and came direct from Leavenworth city, upon landing, to Lecompton. He had the United States troops at the fort at his command, and immediately ordered General Cooke down that night to Lawrence, with a regiment of men and a battery of artillery, and interposed them between Lawrence and the proslavery army. Governor Geary immediately issued a proclamation to all armed bodies to disperse; held council with the proslavery leaders, and ordered them all out of the territory, stating that he had the United States troops at his command and proposed to put this whole thing down and maintain order without their help.

This ended the third Lawrence invasion, but did not yet rid the territory of the camps; and in order to do that and have them under his control, Governor Geary enlisted them all as United States soldiers for temporary service, and concentrated them at Lecompton under his orders. He also enlisted a large number of free-state men under Colonel Walker and stationed them at Lawrence. This was a master stroke of military policy on the part of the governor, but was not understood for awhile at the North. Governor Geary was a democrat, from Pennsylvania, but a good, true, able man, of great executive ability, and in his feelings strongly free state. Afterwards, all through the war of the rebellion, he was an able general in the Union army. The administration had discovered something must be done immediately or they would lose the election for president of the United States, which election was approaching. The fire-eating element of the South, who were then in Kansas for the purpose of enforcing slavery on an unwilling people, and also for murder and rapine, were very much disgusted at this action. We could hear philippics and cursing everywhere among their leaders, as it completely defeated their plans.

This opened the way for us, for although robber bands and guerrilla parties of irresponsible men infested the country, there seemed more likelihood of a show of law. We loaded our wagons and went back, crossing at Weston, and taking abundant provisions with us. We found our cabins and claims undisturbed, although we could see where men had slept in them; and there were deserted camps near the creek crossing. We were glad to get to our homes again.

The first land sales were to come off in November, and we were naturally anxious to secure our titles from the government. It was a question with us how to

*For biographical sketch and executive minutes of Gov. John W. Geary, see volume IV, Historical Society Collections, and "Geary and Kansas," by John H. Gihon, 1857.

get our money, mine being at Richmond, Ind., and wholly unsafe to have it sent, as the mails had been tampered with, express companies robbed in the territory, and the river blockaded for a long time. I concluded to go immediately after it. Leaving my family, I took passage from Weston, Mo., down the river. Sarah Wilson, with her little daughter Ida, then a babe, went with me to visit her folks at Plainfield, Ind. Many proslavery men were on board, going back South. Doctor Few, of Leavenworth city, a leading free-state man, came on at Leavenworth, and we took a stateroom together, kept quiet, and were not disturbed. It was a great surprise to my father and brother at Richmond when I walked into the bank. My father could not speak, but shed quiet tears for several minutes. Old friends rallied around me in crowds along the streets, to hear direct from my mouth. The papers all over the country had been teeming about "bleeding Kansas," and the sympathy of the whole North was fully aroused. Richmond, Ind., and vicinity had sent out many recruits to Kansas, as it afterwards did to the war of the rebellion.

Colonel Walker, whose name in history is so well known, was really an unassuming, quiet man in private life, and a good citizen; and yet he proved to be a born leader and a man of fearless bravery, iron will, and determination. He and Major Abbott probably did more real fighting with their companies than any other leaders, unless it might be old John Brown in the Southern counties. Colonel Walker went to Kansas about the time we did, with the Barbers and others, from New Paris, Ohio, only six miles from Richmond. Thos. Barber was murdered by a guerrilla party at the first Lawrence raid, in 1855. Joe and Jake Sinex, sons of Captain Sinex, were also from Richmond, and I had known them from boys. They were members of Captain Walker's company, and in all the fights, and were both afterward in the war of the rebellion. Colonel Walker's home was at Medina, Ohio.

I stayed but a few days, and returned again in time for the land sales. At St. Louis, the river being yet unsafe and the blockade not raised on Northern men going up, I paid my passage and labeled my baggage on the boat for Weston, Mo., to avoid suspicion. When about to start, to my chagrin, a military company near 200 men, from the South, came marching on the boat. I kept to myself and talked to no one. I noticed among the passengers two well-dressed young men, intelligent, and of regular Yankee build and speech. They kept much together, and soon attracted the attention of the company. I could hear them talking in groups about the two "Yankee abolitionists" on board. After it became dark, and we had entered and were going up the Missouri river, I saw a commotion on the forward deck and a thick jam of all the ruffian men of the company. One of the young men had his back against a heavy post; the South Carolina captain was shaking his fist in his face and swearing and calling him an "abolitionist." The young man kept perfectly cool, and was talking to him very intelligently about the great benefit it would be to have the negroes educated. I thought him exceedingly imprudent, and looked every moment to see them either murder him right there or throw him overboard, which they were threatening loudly to do.

Presently I saw his comrade come out of a stateroom, and come up to the crowded company, as if he wanted to help his friend. He had a short cloak thrown over his shoulders, which was very common then with well-dressed young men. He would push in among them a little way, then come out and try another place, and so on. I stood off, a quiet spectator, awaiting the result. In a short time the steamer whistled for a wood-yard, and turned up to the bank and threw out her planks. The crowd ran to the windows a moment to see, and the

young men both darted to a side door and were gone. Soon the boat was under way and they were looking for the abolitionists, swearing what they were going to do. All at once one fellow missed his pocketbook, then another, and so on, till they found that a great portion of them who had had anything were robbed. The staterooms belonging to them had been entered, and everything loose in the shape of watches and valuables belonging to the officers was gone, and the pick-pockets, for such they were, had left the boat at the wood-yard.* I was again secretly pleased at the triumph of the river abolitionists, and said nothing. This company got off at Westport Landing, and I suppose they went into the southern counties of the territory, as I never saw more of them.

I went on to Leavenworth city, and found everything in much better shape, and quiet north of the Kansas river as to marauding camps. On the return of Colonel Harvey's command to Lawrence from the battle of Hickory Point, they were met by a company of United States dragoons, and placed under arrest for disregarding the governor's proclamation, the battle being fought just after the proclamation was issued. A large portion of them escaped between guards in the night, who secretly favored them; but over 100 were taken to Leecompton, and quartered in an old building with a company of South Carolinians for guards, and on very short rations, so they claimed. Many of our neighbors, of Captain Wright's company, were among them, including Otis Marsh, S. P. Hawkins, Sinex, Bowers, and others.

The North had become thoroughly stirred up and was now beginning to send aid to the free-state men. On my arrival home, I received several hundred dollars in drafts, without solicitation whatever, from Friends in Philadelphia and other points, to assist worthy free-state families or men who were needy. It was quite a responsibility to dispense such a trust, but a satisfaction to have the means to do it; and the funds relieved many of the families of the free-state men on Fall creek, Walnut, and Stranger, who needed it, mostly by orders for clothing or groceries in the cities. Marsh and Hawkins had left their trunks at our house when they went to the free-state camp. I concluded to risk going to Leecompton to look after them, and, after my wife had fixed up a lot of clothing, V. K. Stanley and I went across on horseback. It was a military camp with guards all around. We had no difficulty in passing the guard at the ferry. On arriving early in the afternoon and feeding our horses, we went to United States Marshal Donalson's office. He received us kindly, but was much surprised to see us there. I told him my business and requested leave to see the prisoners, but was told that the governor alone had authority to permit this. Though kind and respectful, he said it would not do at all for us to attempt such a thing; in fact, advised us by all means to get out of the camp as soon as possible, if we valued our lives; said he would be glad to protect us, but to undertake to visit the free-state prisoners would at once make us an object of notice, and we might be shot from across the street, or from somewhere, and he could not help it. No free-state men from Lawrence or anywhere, as yet, had been allowed any communication with them, as they had been afraid of a rescue by the free-state army. I saw that I could do nothing, and thanked him for his kindness and interest in our safety.

I then went over to Governor Geary's office; found him just arrived from suppressing disturbances in the southern counties. He was surrounded by guards of regular soldiers, and tents of them were all around his house. The office was full of such men as Sheriff Jones and the principal men of the party. While he was gone they had procured a writ † from Judge Leecompte and had released some

*See mention of robbery of Buford's men while coming up the river, in foot-note about emigrant aid companies, page 37, this volume.

†The release on bail of Charles Hays, murderer of David C. Buffum, Gihon, page 171.

notorious murderers of the free-state men of their own clique, whom the governor had been at much trouble to arrest. The governor was pacing the floor, upbraiding them, and very mad. I was introduced to him, and requested a private interview, which he immediately accorded me, and, when I explained what I wanted, said: "Certainly you shall see your friends." Turning to his secretary, he had him make an order admitting me, and sending along a guard, without any request. He was well acquainted with Friends, and took an interest in talking to me, and seemed glad to meet some one just then he could affiliate with. He berated unsparingly the action of those men, and so passed me out.

We found the jail building heavily guarded, a battery of cannon pointing at the door, and men on duty by them, with a fire burning night and day. It must be remembered that these camps now on guard were composed of all those Southerners and raiders who could be gathered in and enlisted as government troops, in order, as the governor had just explained to us, that he could have them under his immediate command and guard them with United States regulars until things were settled and he could send them out of the territory.

Our friends were overjoyed to see us, and we had the pleasure of distributing some clean clothing and giving them orders for much more, besides distributing some money, and making arrangements to secure their land for them at the coming land sales, if they were held imprisoned too late to attend them. Joe Sinex quietly told me, "I'll be down to your house in a few days." We bade them good-by; but we took several letters secreted on our persons to their friends at Colonel Walker's camp, near Lawrence. This was not right and was imprudent, but it was hard to refuse the poor fellows. We got out quietly and were passed through the guards, and then took a turn in the road for Lawrence; but, a few miles off, went direct to Colonel Walker's camp, all of whom were our friends. Here we gave out a few more orders to those who needed them. After dark I pursued my journey home alone, Vierling stopping at Lawrence.

It was exceedingly dangerous to travel, especially the public roads, on account of robbers and guerrillas. I had taken an Indian trail that I well knew, after crossing the Kansas river. It ran straight to our settlement, across the Delaware Indian reserve twenty-five miles, still unsettled and held by the Indians, intending to ride home in the night. After going some three miles or more, and congratulating myself that I had got well away, I heard a footfall coming behind me. A man in the darkness rode up by my side, heavily armed and in uniform. He accosted me civilly, and we rode on. When I came to see his features, I knew him for a Missourian who had killed one or two men some time before. I tried to entertain him as best I could. I knew that he had seen me in the camps and very likely thought I had money about me. My first object was to undeceive him, as adroitly as I could, so that he should know that I had nothing. We rode on and talked for miles. About half way was a deep, wooded ravine, through which the trail meandered. Then he fell in behind me. I prayed silently and earnestly to God for divine protection. I had no arms whatever and depended on His help alone. Then I talked earnestly on religious matters, and brought the subject home to him as best I could. He was taciturn for awhile, and he could have shot me at any moment, but we went on and on, until we came out on the high prairie again. Then I saw in a moment, by the tone of the man's voice, a change had come over him. He talked sociably and tenderly like, and we kept it up until reaching my place to turn off, when he bade me good-by, kindly acknowledging that the night's ride had been good for him, and went on. This same man some time afterward was shot through the head while camping out in his tent. I arrived at home about two o'clock in

the morning, thankful for divine interposition and preservation through the whole trip.

In a few days Joe Senix came walking up to our house, reported that two of them had been sent to the river with two buckets apiece for water, accompanied by one guard, with his gun behind; but while the other man got the guard's attention at the river, he had himself picked up a stone and knocked him down and had taken his gun, and both of them had crossed the river and got away in the bushes. Senix brought a rifle with him, and he was thin and poor from hard living and sickness. He worked for me many months afterward.

The first land sales were now approaching, at Fort Leavenworth, of the Delaware trust lands that we were on. These lands were held in trust by the government, to be sold for the benefit of the Indians, being considered very valuable. They had been appraised, much of them at \$2.50 per acre, in order to protect them from going below by combinations. More than 1200 settlers were on the lands and had, in many instances, large farms. It had been part of the proslavery program to rally at the sales in force, and bid in the free-state men's lands; but Kansas had been so glowingly advertised all through the Northern states as a paradise and garden spot, that a large number of capitalists and speculators found their way to the fort. It was said that there was more than three million dollars on deposit to buy land when put up. This scared the proslavery men who were actual settlers, and there were a good many on the eastern border next to the Missouri river; so they made overtures to all settlers to combine, without regard to party or the past, and to stand by each other at the sales, until every man got his title. This the free-state men were glad to do; and when the public sale came off, about the middle of November, 1200 men stood there day after day, crowded back all speculators, and bid in their land at the appraisement, the government commissioner recognizing it quietly. In fact, it was nothing but right, after the years of privation and suffering these men had gone through, to get their homes.

We stayed at our old friend Nathaniel Henderson's at night through the sale; he and Uncle Joel coming early enough from Indiana to get valuable claims almost adjoining Leavenworth city, selling them pretty soon after titles were secured for a nice sum of money. Judge Lecompte bought out Uncle Joel, and Uncle Joel and Henderson went over to Salt creek valley, joining the fort on the north, and settled again on very rich land. Henderson was a staunch free-state man all through, but quiet and reserved. Every one felt an uplift on getting his land title, and it at once gave a great stimulus to improvement; but it was late in the fall when the sales came off, and the following winter of 1856-'57 set in about Christmas and was exceedingly cold, with deep snow, quite as much as the winter before, so that not much could be done till spring.

The free-state prisoners at Lecompton were released just before the land sales, and, as winter set in cold, most of the Southern men at Lecompton were discharged from service on condition of leaving the territory. Many of the men went to Nicaragua on a filibustering expedition, were taken prisoners, and most of them were shot, or otherwise lost their lives. Into the next season the country was cursed with robber bands, until all parties joined and formed vigilance committees and cleared them out, shooting and hanging many of them. It was a heroic remedy, but effectual in the chaotic condition of society.

In January, 1857, Benajah Hiatt, Eli Johnson and myself went up to Atchison county, some forty miles or more, on business. It was exceedingly cold weather and a deep snow.* We rode all day and missed the road, as all roads

*A cold-weather note, a little late in this narrative, but it loses none of its interest. See pages 334, 335. The *Cleveland Daily Herald*, January 21, 1856, said:

"Many of our readers know Mr. E. C. K. Garvey, formerly of this city, and now editor of the *Kansas Register*, published at Topeka. Garvey, with others, was taken prisoner of war by

and trails were obliterated, and too cold for travel to open them, the country being unsettled and no habitations. We traveled until late at night, and came, after dark, to a hog track in the deep snow, and concluded to follow it. It led us off the high prairie directly into a wooded ravine and up it for a mile or so to a settler's cabin, with a haystack near it. We were on horseback, but almost frozen, and called, inquiring if we could stay all night. A rough man with a great shock of hair came to the door and told us to "light and tie our horses to the stack." We unsaddled and went in. They had a large fire on the hearth, two or three big dogs lying around it. The woman was tall, lank, and yellow, smoking a cob pipe with a very short stem. She went right to work to get us a meal, as we had ridden through the storm and cold the whole day with nothing to eat. She kicked the dogs out of the corner near the fire, cut some pieces of fat side-meat for the skillet, made corn-dodgers with meal and water, put them in her little bake-oven with coals on top, and provided strong coffee, with no sugar or cream, which Ben. called "cherry pectoral"; but we were wolfish enough to relish what she had. She smoked and talked all the time she was preparing the meal, made apologies, said she had no "sass to give us but tongue sass, as they had no sass hole." Missourians call all vegetables "sass" or sauce, and dug a hole under their cabin floors to keep them in, in winter. All was quiet with us and the man on the slavery question, as we had no idea what he was, or he us, and both afraid to say anything; all through that part of the country had been located the meanest proslavery men in Kansas, close to the border of Missouri. After we had eaten and got warm, our host, with his great rough exterior, said: "Now, gentlemen, you 'ns are tired, but mebby you 'ns would like to jine our family worship; we 'ns allers has family worship." It removed a load from off our hearts, for we knew at once he was a free-state man; and it was so unlooked for. He took down a well-worn Bible from the shelf, read, and we all kneeled and joined most heartily in his prayer. Next morning we had breakfast, and, after talking freely on matters, he would take nothing for pay; we went on our journey to Atchison.

Atchison was founded by old Dave Atchison and Stringfellow, and was so ultra proslavery that it killed the place. It was naturally a good point and had recently fallen into other hands, who were offering strong inducements to free-state men. General Pomeroy, of the New England Emigrant Aid Company, about this time bought up an interest, and it has now become a railroad point and a large city. Majors & Russell, the great road freighters for the government, had also bought here and located their headquarters.

We returned home without further incident. Uncle Chas. Dickinson, George

the border ruffians while on his way to Lawrence, disarmed, and ordered to the camp of the enemy. In his paper, after the war was over, he mentions the following incident connected with the imprisonment. Sabbath morning, 9th inst. [1856], was very cold and windy. Suffering ourselves severely from the severity of the weather, we approached our venerable friend, Ozias Judd, Esq., late of Lockport, N. Y., that we might sympathize with him as a fellow sufferer. We were struck with the fortitude of the old gentlemen and the degree of patience manifested by him. Upon our approach, the first words we heard from him were, 'Thank the Lord for this cold night! O Lord, send it a little colder.' We inquired why the shivering old friend was desirous of greater suffering. His reply was, 'One more cold night would send the Missourians home to care for their slaves.' The reply was followed by an earnest petition to the throne of grace for the conversion of the ruffians. As for ourself, we honestly prayed that those who detained us might have a warmer place in the other, if not in this, world. We are willing to accord to those who tendered to us all the comforts of a hostile camp such meed of praise as we can; and in this connection we desire to say that Doctor Royal, of Fort Leavenworth, has our thanks for his kindness to us while a prisoner of war."

E. C. K. Garvey came to Kansas and located at Topeka in the spring of 1855. He was an ardent free-state man, and editor of a free-state paper, the *Kansas Freeman*, July 4, 1855. He was born in Longford, Ireland, came to this country when he was twelve years old, settling at Milwaukee, Wis. He died in Topeka November 12, 1884, in his seventy-first year. He was father to W. C. and H. O. Garvey, of Topeka.

Dickinson, and Thomas Newby, with their families, removed from Richmond, Ind., and made locations in the spring with us. This was a great addition to our Friends' settlement. Charles and Hannah Dickinson bought out J. Renfro, near where we subsequently built the meeting-house, but afterward sold it to Jones Jeffries and removed to near the head of Fall creek. George and Sarah Dickinson settled over on Walnut creek. Thomas Newby and wife Alice first lived for a while in a cabin we had built on the prairie near the timber on my land. Alice taught school for us in the spring and summer of 1857. One day Alice killed a large timber rattlesnake that had come in at the door unperceived and was crawling slowly toward her baby on the floor. We frequently killed very large and dangerous specimens. I shot one coiled ready to strike one day, thick as my arm at the wrist, with seventeen rattles. In after-years I lost a good many sheep by them, but they were gradually thinned out. Thomas and Alice finally bought at the head of Fall creek, as did many other Friends who came in afterward.

The first Friends' meeting held in Kansas territory, outside of the Friends' mission, as has been stated before, was held in Benajah Hiatt's cabin, in the timber on Fall creek, about one mile above its confluence with Stranger creek, in the second month, 1856. After that, we held them in each others' cabins regularly on first days until we went over to Missouri. They were resumed on our return, and continued so to be held until seventh month, 1857, when we commenced on both fourth and first days, in a cabin on Jehu Wilson's land, which we seated for the purpose, he being gone for a year's visit to Indiana. About that time, or soon after, we organized a first-day school, which all attended, young and old. Alice Newby taught the infant class, which was large; and after they were settled I have known her repeatedly to ride some miles, from where they lived, on horseback, and carry her babe, and a boy behind her. James Wilson's wife and Jehu Wilson's wife, Maria and Sarah Wilson, also Alice Newby, were all superior women, educated and intelligent, with an aptness for teaching and a love and concern for the work. They could always be depended upon, and did all they could to sustain and make interesting both school and meeting. Maria Wilson taught a day-school for us sometimes. She has been dead for many years, and the above notice is only a slight tribute to her memory on account of her work and service for the church. The others are still active and alive to duty at this date of writing. I suppose the Sabbath-school alluded to above was the first organized among Friends in Kansas, outside the Friends' mission. I have mentioned none of the men in this connection, as they all gave their service and influence to the best of their ability. This Sabbath-school was a permanent institution as long as we continued to live in that country, and I suppose may be kept up yet.

Improvement was now the order; breaking prairie, fencing lands, and building more comfortable cabins. I built on the high prairie about this time a hewed log house with stone chimney, and dug, and found an excellent well of water.

Governor Geary resigned early in the spring, and Governor Walker,* of Mississippi, came. He was an able man, and, though a thorough administration and Southern man, was too honorable, like Governor Geary, to lend himself to wholesale fraud to force the Lecompton slave constitution on an unwilling people. The free-state men had not voted since the first election of territorial delegates, in 1855, as they had been overpowered by fraudulent Missouri voters. Governor

*A biographical sketch and the executive minutes of Gov. Robert J. Walker will be found in the fifth volume of Collections of the Historical Society.

Walker had perception enough to see that it would be impossible to make it a slave state, no matter what Congress did; and he was anxious to get a fair vote of the settlers at the coming election for territorial delegates to the legislature and for member of Congress. The free-state men, on account of his assurances of fair play, concluded to all turn out and vote, which they did in October of this year, and carried by a large majority the election. This at once did away with the bogus laws. Then, in a few weeks, the Lecompton constitution with slavery was submitted, and almost unanimously defeated. Some stirring scenes of the order of the summer before happened at these elections. The free-state men generally armed, and United States soldiers were placed to guard all exposed polls near the border. Eli Wilson, Benajah Hiatt and I were detailed by the authorities at Leavenworth to go to Kickapoo* and watch the polls and report. A great crowd of outrageous men came over to that point in the morning, from Missouri: appointed their own judges of election, and cast 900 votes in a precinct where there were but 160 voters of all parties.† They had a loaded cannon and were all armed. We kept quiet, and they did not notice us; but when we were thoroughly satisfied how it was going, we went to Leavenworth city and reported to the mayor and committee of safety, who immediately sent Gen. Thomas Ewing and other influential men up there to take testimony to place before the governor. Toward evening, however, the free-state men at Leavenworth city, who were thoroughly organized and had a regiment of drilled Germans mustered under arms, went up to Kickapoo, took the cannon, drove off the rabble, and brought the returns down to the city.‡ They also seized a boat-load of Missourians who had crossed over in the forenoon, and marched them down into a cellar until evening.

For a while after the election it was an anxious time to know how the governor was going to act about the fraudulent returns. All the power and influence of the administration and of the slavery propagandists of the South were brought to bear upon him. A "grapevine" telegraph was kept up between Lecompton and Weston, Mo. One night I heard a "Hello!" went to the door and found a man on a mule, who said he was lost—had missed his road in the

*See correspondence of Governor Walker and Colonel Harvey in relation to placing troops to protect the polls. (Hist. Soc. Coll., vol. 5, pp. 310-312.)

†Scott J. Anthony, in his testimony before the territorial investigating committee, says that out of the 995 votes cast at Kickapoo at this election only 153 appear on the election lists of December 21 preceding. (Report Board of Commissioners for the Investigation of Election Frauds, 1858, page 135.)

‡"LEAVENWORTH, August 22, 1884. *F. G. Adams, Secretary Historical Society, Topeka:* DEAR SIR—I am glad to know that you have secured the 'Old Kickapoo' cannon as a relic of the early history of Kansas for the State Historical Society, and in accordance with your request I submit a statement of my recollections of the early history of what is known as the 'Old Kickapoo' cannon, and the reason for taking it. In the first place, I would state that it is my impression that said cannon was captured in the Mexican war by General Doniphan, of Missouri, and was placed by him in the arsenal at Liberty, Mo., as a trophy of war, and when the trouble began in Kansas it was captured by the proslavery men of Missouri to use in Kansas, and was taken to Weston, Mo., and thence to Kickapoo, from which it derived its name.

"At the election on the Lecompton constitution, held December 21, 1857, there were polled over 1000 votes at Kickapoo. The election for state officers under the Lecompton constitution was to be held January 4, 1858, but the free-state men had concluded not to vote, knowing that they could not have a fair election. Col. Thomas Ewing had no confidence in Acting Governor F. P. Stanton, and he went to see him, told him the condition of things at Kickapoo, and said he wanted ten good men, he himself to be one of the number, to go to Kickapoo January 1, 1858, and see that there was a fair election; and he wanted an order for two companies of United States soldiers, to be placed in charge of Deputy U. S. Marshal Joseph Cowell, of Leavenworth. The governor made the order and General Ewing came home highly elated over his success. We had confidence in General Ewing, and concluded to take part in said election. General Ewing selected the nine men beside himself, General Losee and myself being of the number. General Losee was selected to challenge voters, and I was selected to take the names of those who voted.

"We started on the morning of the election bright and early, and got there some time before the polls were opened. They were there in force from Missouri. Their guns were stacked in an old house near the polls, and the 'Kickapoo' cannon was in the street, about fifty yards away.

dark, and wanted me to put him right. I suspected him in a moment, as I well remembered his voice and could see he was the same South Carolinian from the Clarkson camp on the Little Stranger that a year before had halted me on the high prairie south of us while hunting my oxen. I called Joe Sinex, who was working for me, and we made him get off and come in the house, and put up his mule, which he did with reluctance; said he "was in a hurry," etc.; but he was well armed and I almost knew carrying dispatches to proslavery men. By daylight he was up and wanted to go badly; but we would not let him until my wife could get him some breakfast. I got enough out of him to know he was a secret courier between the proslavery posts, and would have arrested him and sent him to the committee of safety at Leavenworth, but was afraid Sinex would kill him on the road, as he begged to take him. I thought it much better to return good for evil. As he mounted his fine Missouri mule I told him where we had met before, and he went off at full speed. Joe, soon after, unbeknown to me, followed him on horseback with his rifle, intending to make a cut-off and intercept him, but failed, for which I was very thankful, as I did not want a hair of his head touched.

We all knew by that time, even if the Lecompton constitution with slavery had been forced through Congress on the fraudulent returns, and Kansas admitted as a sovereign state, that we free-state men could have immediately elected all the officers under it, from the governor down, and then have knocked out the slavery clause of the constitution. The governor, however, stood by his pledges given, and threw out the returns from Kickapoo and Delaware Crossing; but soon had to resign his office.

Few have comprehended the awful character and extent of the desperate conflict in Kansas. But this ended any further Missouri interference, and also settled completely the slavery question so far as Kansas was concerned.

The Wyandotte free-state constitution was afterward formed and submitted to Congress, but was kept out all through Buchanan's administration by the Southern slavery propagandists. Kansas was finally admitted as a free state in January, 1861, when these men resigned their seats in Congress to strike at the life of the nation.

In December, 1857, we sent a request to White Water and Milford monthly meeting, Indiana, to which most of us belonged, for a "preparative meeting" of Friends, signed by all of our members, then numbering about fifty. This was granted, and a committee to attend the opening came to visit us May 10, 1858, composed of honored, worthy old Friends of that quarterly meeting, as follows: Absalom Dennis, John Newby, my uncle Mordecai Hiatt (a minister, and father to Benajah W. Hiatt), and John Pool.

manned, and bearing on the polls; and instead of the United States soldiers being placed in charge of Joseph Cowell, deputy United States marshal, they were placed in charge of Wm. Elliott, sheriff of the county, a strong proslavery man, and were stationed a mile or two away from the polls. We saw that we were sold, but we stayed, notwithstanding their threats. They polled over 1000 votes at this election. And the most remarkable thing about said election was, that there were only about 200 or 300 names on the poll-books of the January election that were on the poll-books of the December election.

"This action so aroused the free-state men of Leavenworth, that they resolved to take the 'Kickapoo' cannon at all hazards. The companies of Capts. Geo. P. Buell, James Dickson, and H. C. Haas, with other leading free-state men, some 300 or 400 strong, marched to Kickapoo on Wednesday morning after said election, got there about daylight, and captured the 'Kickapoo' cannon. On our return we were met at the outskirts of the city by a large concourse of people, and when we marched down Delaware street, there were more than 1000 people in the procession. The cannon was deposited on Dr. James Davis's place, in South Leavenworth, and that night we loaded it into a wagon, took it to Lawrence, and deposited it alongside of the 'free-state' cannon, in the Eldridge House repository.

"Our party consisted of Gen. I. G. Losee, Scott J. Anthony, J. A. Fitch, and myself. Not long after we needed the cannon here, and I think John Kendall, city marshal, was deputized to go to Lawrence and get it, which he did. It was turned over to our company, the 'Leavenworth light infantry,' of which Geo. P. Buell was captain, and some time after we turned it over to Col. H. C. Haas, captain of the Turnverein company, and it has remained in their charge ever since, until sold, and then purchased by you. Yours very truly, H. C. FIELDS."

With the spring of this year came many more of our friends: Henry Worthington and wife, who afterward taught school for us; Jesse D. Hiatt and wife, young married folks; Moses Harvey and family; Willis Robards, who married Rachel Bales, now Rachel Woodard, Willis having died some years after their marriage. Rachel Woodard is now, and has been for years, an honored minister in our church. These all settled pretty close together, near the head of Fall creek. About this time, Naomi Hosford, daughter of Doctor Hosford, through the kindness of her father and mother, came to live with us. She remained in our family for six years and then married, but died soon after. She was attractive, gentle, modest, and unassuming, a great favorite in the community, and we were greatly attached to her. Her older sister, Maria, was her counterpart in all respects, and married Thomas Jefferson Wilson. This notice is only a slight testimonial to the moral worth of Naomi Hosford and to her beneficent influence in our family and in the community, and is made to rescue her memory from oblivion.

"Full many a flower is born to blush unseen,
And waste its sweetness on the desert air."

My father and mother came to visit us from their home in Indiana the summer of 1858 and stayed nearly a month in July and August, visiting among our friends generally.

The summer and fall of this year were marked with much sickness, much malaria having been caused by the excessive rains, immense growth of grass, and newly turned prairie sod. I have never seen such rains, in quantity, in so short a time, and with such heavy thunder and lightning. The middle of the seventh month a rain fell in one night that raised Stranger creek over forty feet in depth, spreading over the bottoms. Our neighbor John Henderson lived in the edge of the timber at the confluence of Stranger and Fall creeks. The water was two feet deep in their cabin, so that the Wilsons, Benajah, myself and others had to rescue them and take the family temporarily to our homes. Their son-in-law had been low with consumption for some time and died in the midst of the storm. We were forced to make a coffin and construct a raft to carry it. Several of us swam the stream and conveyed the body to a private graveyard for burial, on the south bank of Fall creek. It was a novel funeral.

John and Asenath Kenyon, with their family, also came this year. We also received a religious visit this summer from Daniel Barker, of North Carolina, accompanied by his brother John, of Indiana. Benajah Hiatt took them around to the other neighborhoods and distant families of Friends. Daniel was an old minister of our church, and seemed very much impressed with the country, as one familiar to him, having, as he expressed it, seen it in a vision in North Carolina many years before. The vision, as he related it to me, was remarkable: He was called of the Lord to go North and West in His service; and, after traveling away to the Northwest, on the border of civilization, he came to a fine, open, rich prairie country, most beautiful and lovely; but the people who were there were in trouble, having much sickness, and in traveling over it he would come to spots of blood, and occasional dead bodies; the farther south he went, the the more blood; and, after getting away south, in sight of the seacoast, dead bodies were everywhere. Oppressed and overcome, he called to a ship coming near the coast: "What does all this mean?" and received the answer from a man in authority on deck: "It means that war and bloodshed shall not depart from the land until human slavery and oppression shall cease." It was literally fulfilled in what he saw in Kansas at the time, 1858, and three years after was fulfilled to the letter in the terrible war of the rebellion, ending in the complete destruction of slavery.

The year 1859 was seasonable for corn crops, and we began to raise something to spare. More Friends came, among them Anthony Way and family. His wife and daughter died soon after coming. Ansel Rogers, an old and able minister of the gospel, with his family and married sons, also settled with us. It was a great acquisition to our meeting. His history was remarkable and almost like a romance. He was left an orphan when a small boy in Ohio; went as a cabin-boy on the lake steamers for a while; finally drifted into western New York, then a new country; was hired on a farm by a Presbyterian minister; he became anxious about his spiritual condition, and was converted at fourteen years of age. His interest and religious concern for others were such that he invited the boys of his age to meet with him, and they held a prayer-meeting for a year in the barn. Then, he told me, the burden for others became so strong he asked leave of his employer, the minister, to appoint a public meeting for his associates, to be held in the barn the next Sabbath afternoon. The minister, unknown to him, gave out and published a public invitation, for everybody, which excited great curiosity; and on Sabbath the barn and barn-yard were full of people from miles around. Ansel said he was stunned and did not know what to do, but the minister told him he would open the service and help him; instead of doing this he merely introduced him to the company. Ansel said he then had no help but the Lord, and stood up in a wagon, with the Bible in his hand, and read the chapter in Matthew ending with "Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest." Then, in a tearful, broken manner, he took that for his text; and, he remarked, "I expect I preached, for at the close there was great tenderness, and they all pressed upon me to appoint another meeting."

That meeting was kept up for two years, and a great revival of religion ensued. This was in his sixteenth year. He never heard of Friends until in his nineteenth year. He accidentally met with them, was fully convinced of their principles, joined the church and was immediately received as a minister. He lived on the outposts of the church, and was active in getting up all the early meetings in Michigan, then in northern Iowa and Minnesota, and finally came to us. He was naturally eloquent, gifted, and spiritual. He removed in a few years to Ohio, where he lost his wife, and married Priscilla Grizelle, who became a gifted minister also. They went to Adrian, Mich., again for awhile, and then moved to Wayne county, Indiana, on Green's fork, joining my farm where I was living at that time, having removed also from Kansas. He died, after a short illness, in January of 1873. I have thought him worthy of the foregoing notice.

In the summer of 1859 we built a meeting-house on the grounds we had previously purchased, and located a burying-ground. Our Philadelphia Friends, who from the first had taken a great interest in the freedom of Kansas, contributed \$800 to help us, through the Worthingtons. Jesse Hiatt suddenly died about this time at Uncle Joel's, in Salt creek valley, being over there on business. His brother Benajah having gone East, I was notified in the night, and it became my most painful duty to go and inform his young and intelligent wife, who was at home and perfectly unconscious of it, as he had left the day before in perfect health. Eli Wilson and I went early next morning after him and brought his corpse home in the evening. The funeral took place the following day. It was a great shock to our community.

We also were granted a "monthly meeting," a committee of White Water "quarterly meeting" visiting us on our request, of whom my brother Charles and sister Miriam were members. We greatly enjoyed their visit.

A committee of Western "yearly meeting" arrived at our house in the fifth

month for the purpose of visiting some of the Indian tribes for mission purposes. They were old friends of ours—Robert W. Hodgson, Eleazer Bales, and Dr. Edmond Albertson. I took a conveyance and had an interesting trip of several weeks with them to the reservations, arriving at home in July. Then I went to Indiana for my wife and three children, who had gone there on a visit; returning with her father, John and Eliza Wilson, who had been visiting us in Kansas. We came home in September.

Robert and Sarah Lindsey came to Kansas, probably in the fall of 1857 or spring of 1858, on a religious visit, and visited all the families of our settlement. Benajah Hiatt took them to Cottonwood, where many Friends were settling, near 100 miles from our location. They were able, devoted ministers from England, but knew little of such pioneer life as we were passing through. I have heard Benajah relate that after one long day's ride they came to a Friend's house late one evening, and no other settlers near. They had moved into their cabin but a short time before, and there was but one visible bed. Robert and Sarah had never been used to seeing whole families eat, sleep, cook and live in one room. Robert got very uneasy; and, taking Benajah outside, said, very earnestly: "We can't stay here." "Why?" "There is but one bed." "Well, be perfectly easy; they will put you in that." "And what will the family do?" "They will make beds on the floor." And what will thee do?" "O, I will *lean up against the house outside.*" He did not laugh; it was too serious a matter. The woman of the house went about lively, in a good humor, got a good supper, and when bedtime came, sure enough, put Robert and Sarah in the bed, made a bed on the floor for Benajah, and backed their covered wagon up to the door and made beds for the family in that. Bless the pioneer women of the West! They were full of resources, and knew how to meet all manner of privations in a noble, self-sacrificing way.

Quite a large settlement of Friends had been formed on the Cottonwood, near Emporia, and had been holding meetings for some time in John Moon's house. Another settlement and meeting south of Osawatomie had also been formed by Richard Mendenhall, Daniel, his brother, and others, beginning their meetings soon after the battle of Osawatomie, in September, 1856, in each others' houses.

In the great drought in Kansas, from June 19, 1859, to November, 1860, not a shower of rain fell at any one time to wet more than two inches deep, and but two slight snows in the winter. Roads never got muddy, and the ground broke open in great cracks. There were no vegetables whatever, and a burning hot wind in July and August withered everything before it. Fall wheat came up in the spring, but withered and died. Most counties did not harvest a bushel. Low bottom lands, where well tilled, gave some corn, but most other lands dry fodder. Prairie-grass grew until July, then all withered and died—enough was mostly secured from the low bottom lands. Wells, springs and streams dried up. The people generally, where they had any surplus the year before, sold it off to get money, and were too poor and scanty of means to buy more. They had spent their money in improving their homes, after securing land titles, so that it was computed that 30,000 people left the territory temporarily to get subsistence; but at least 40,000 settlers stayed. The Northern states nobly responded, and sent over \$100,000, in money and provisions, for aid. Our settlement of Friends pretty much all stayed. We received near \$2500 in money and provisions from our friends in Philadelphia, New York, Indiana, and Ohio, to distribute, which we did through a committee appointed by our meeting, who also dispensed much of it to other neighborhoods of poor Friends. Ansel Rogers and I traveled for near a month to investigate for that purpose at our own expense. "Bleeding Kansas" now received the cognomen of "droughty Kansas."

In September of the year 1860, I went to Indiana yearly meeting. I took passage on one of the finest steamers* going down. There was a large company on board, of several hundred, going to the St. Louis fair and Eastern points. The third night out was cool, clear, and frosty, with a full moon, the river at a fine boating stage, and the steamer running at full head. A dance was in progress. It was near midnight. I had lain down with clothes on, except boots and coat. Suddenly we experienced a great shock, the steamer striking a sunken snag pointing up stream, knocking an immense hole in her hold. She was heavily laden with bales of hemp, besides fifty mules and some 300 or 400 live hogs, and over 200 passengers. Immediately there was a rush of the deck-hands and of the passengers for the top of the boat. I caught up a life-preserver, such as was placed in all staterooms, my coat and boots, and ran with the rest, the water coming into my stateroom before I could get out. I saw but one other person with a life-preserver. The boat settled to the bottom, across the current of the river, in about twenty feet of water, before the pilot could run ashore, which he had immediately attempted to do, leaving bare standing room on top, and threatening every moment to topple over. I stood aloof, as far as possible, from every one, with life-preserver on, boots and coat in hand to throw away, expecting every moment to be in the river and to have to swim. I was a good swimmer, but the water was cold and the shore looked a long way off, and I determined to stay on while any chance for life remained. Most of the mules were drowned, but a few had broken loose, and they and the hogs were swimming around, trying to climb on top of the boat, loath to leave it, greatly adding to the danger, and hard to keep off. Some men were cool and collected, and

*During the '50's a great business was transacted on the Missouri river, there being no railroad competition. The steamboats were most elegantly equipped, ably manned, and were perfect floating palaces. To give an idea of their number a few may be mentioned. These were the *Morning Star*, Ben N. Lewis, Edinburgh, F. X. Aubrey, Meteor, Cataract, Sacramento, Australia, Silver Heels, Peerless, Delaware, Iuba, John Warner, White Cloud, Hesperian, Polar Star, Twilight, Columbia, Stonewall, James H. Lucas, Saranac, Cornelia, Peoria City, Elvira, Sonora, Timour No. 2, Glasgow, Fannie Ogden, Eb. Ogden, Joseph Kinney, W. J. Lewis, Honduras, Martha Jewett, Omaha, Ben. Johnson, Waverly, Jered B. Allen, E. H. Durfee, Marcella, Mollie Dozier, H. S. Turner, A. B. Chambers, Rowena, Belle of St. Louis, Minnehaha, St. Luke, Clara, Anna, and Cora. These boats made twenty-two miles an hour up stream and thirty miles down stream. While many a passenger was carried across the Atlantic in a sailing vessel (sixty days from Liverpool to Buenos Ayres), the Missouri river was the home of floating palaces, equipped with a magnificence which the ocean liner did not acquire until years afterward. Bands, balls, banquets and gambling served to make the time pass quickly and pleasantly. The boats were very profitable, pilots sometimes commanding \$1500 and \$2000 per month. During the '50's, '60's, and early '70's, as many as ninety boats would tie up at the wharf in Kansas City during a summer. In the early '80's the navigation of the river began to cease. Old river men said the railroad bridges destroyed the river, but railroad competition, principally in speed, probably killed the business. The Washington correspondent of the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, under date of March 14, 1902, notes the end of the effort to save and restore:

"After having spent something like eleven million dollars in an effort to preserve and improve the Missouri river as a navigable stream, the government, so far at least as the house committee on rivers and harbors is concerned, has decided to give it up as a bad job. For fourteen years the government has contributed something like \$785,000 a year in carrying out plans of the war department, and the net result has been so wholly unsatisfactory that the rivers and harbors committee has declared its unwillingness to recommend continuance of these large appropriations. . . . With the first appropriation came the fight against the treachery of the river, which has been, since the days of Lewis and Clark, marking out its own course through seven states, changing its channel in a night, wiping out farms and boundary lines, destroying property on its shores, and menacing burdens placed upon it by transportation companies. . . . The rivers and harbors appropriation bill was killed in the last Congress, and the commission ceased work when the pay was stopped. Since that time the river has taken care of itself, and the results have not been any different from what they were when thousands were being spent annually to curb the troubled stream. There is not water enough in the stream now to lead a hope of future development of navigation interests, and the committee, in the bill now pending, recommends that the Missouri river commission be abolished. . . . The report of the committee shows that the present traffic on the Missouri is very small. The freight carried on the river below Sioux City in 1899 amounted to only 263,114 tons, and above Sioux City, in the 1600 miles to Fort Benton, to 23,041 tons."

ready to act under the order of the captain. Most were demoralized. Many tried to pray, but did not know how. Some of the dancers—ladies—promised the Lord on their knees, if He would only save their lives this time and forgive them, they would never dance any more. The deck-hands, as they ran by the bar, had gathered bottles of whisky, and were too drunk to be of any use. As soon as possible, the yawl and life-boat were launched, by help of the passengers, and took many loads to shore. Some determined men had to stand with hand-spikes to guard the boats and keep a rush of passengers or deck-hands from overloading and sinking them. By common consent and the order of the captain, the women were all taken off first, and finally all got safely to shore, except one or more caught in the steerage. A large fire was built in the woods. The captain sent the yawl to some point down the river and chartered a steam tug and some coal boats, which arrived near noon next day, took us off, and on to St. Louis. We were but a short distance from the mouth of the Missouri. Our steamer was a total wreck.

Indiana yearly meeting of 1860 was a marked period in the history of the society of Friends, being the beginning of the forward, evangelistic movement of the church. One first day evening, at the request of the young people, a most remarkable meeting for that day was held; probably 2000 or more were present; prayer and testimony until midnight. It was the first time I had ever met J. H. Douglass, then a young man, who has been such an instrument in the hands of the Lord in the conversion of souls. Lydia Butler, now Hinshaw, came back with me on my return to take a position as teacher at Friends' Shawnee mission. She was full of missionary spirit, a model teacher, and the life of the institution. She is still active in every good word and work.

The latter part of this winter was marked by a terrible accident. Our neighbor Wright had a steam sawmill on Stranger creek, and also ground meal. One cold, frosty morning it blew up and killed eight men of our neighbors, who lived on the creek, and were warming at the boiler, waiting for their grists.

Benajah Hiatt and I, in the winter and spring of this year, made new locations for stock farms five miles further west on the Lecompton road, and built good houses and barns. Eli Wilson and his son James had both built comfortable houses before. Jonathan Baldwin and my father came out in the spring of 1861, by appointment of Indiana yearly meeting, to examine into the Friends' Shawnee mission. Benajah Hiatt and I were also on the committee and Benajah drove us down in his ambulance. We went by way of Lawrence, and stayed at night with Jonathan and Phebe Mendenhall, ten miles east of Lawrence. They had settled there some years before, with George Rogers, Levi Woodard and Sarah; and, the neighborhood increasing, soon began to hold meetings in each others' houses. In the next year William Gardiner and wife, and Winslow Davis and Margaret, came from North Carolina and settled there. They were members of our monthly meeting; and when we had a quarterly meeting established at Springdale they applied and were set up as a monthly meeting. Alice Newby, myself, and others were at the opening of it, now Hesper. We went on to the Shawnee Mission the next day and gave it a thorough examination; also, the Methodist mission near by, and returned home by Pratt's Baptist mission among the Delawares, where we stayed at night. We were much interested in the methods employed in this effective and successful mission. Upon our report to the yearly meeting, it appointed an acting committee in Kansas to take charge, of which I was a member. It threw quite a responsibility on us, but we worked together for several years harmoniously.

The great war of the rebellion had now broken out, and the whole country

was full of excitement. Father and Jonathan hurried home, for fear the Hannibal & St. Joseph railway would fall into the hands of the rebels, as they had taken possession of the other lines of communication in Missouri. We had bountiful crops in 1861. Many of our Tennessee friends came, to get away from war and slavery; among them were Jacob and Ruth Bales, who are yet living, bright and useful Christians, near Lawrence. They lived many months in a cabin on our land, and were a blessing to us, like the ark in olden time at Obededom. When life ends with them here, the gates above will stand wide open for their admittance.

My father had been going down in health for several months, in the latter part of this year, with cancer of the stomach; and in December I received a telegram to come to him.

Traveling east from Kansas was very precarious, as Missouri was all in the hands of the rebels, except the Hannibal & St. Joseph road, which was guarded by posts of Union troops. I got a pass at Leavenworth city and went on to St. Joseph, but when I started for the station there was arrested by the guard and taken before the provost marshal. He was a very stern officer, and the room full of rebel prisoners. My turn for examination came. They questioned me closely, took my description minutely, and then ordered me to swear allegiance to the United States and to the state of Missouri. I told the marshal, quietly as I could, that, while I was loyal and true to the government, I could not swear. He would hear nothing more, but told the guard to take me away to another room. I felt very much downcast, as I was afraid that I would never see my father, and the train time about up; but in a few minutes the marshal came into the room and took me to one side, his manner altogether changed, and asked me quietly, "Are you a Quaker?" I told him I was. He whispered in my ear, "I am, too." Adding: "I was a member of Bloomington 'monthly meeting,' Illinois. Volunteered in the Twenty-fifth Illinois. Now I am a soldier, and these rebels have to be put down. I had to be rough to you before them." Nothing could exceed his kindness. He had held the train; gave me a pass and guard, and sent me away rejoicing.

After getting half-way across Missouri, we came to where there had just been a battle between a detachment of Union soldiers and rebels, and a long railroad bridge burned. I was fortunate enough to fall in with a Union general and colonel from Kansas City, on their way to St. Louis, who procured a government ambulance, and we drove twenty miles around, over back-country roads, striking the railroad again. I arrived at Richmond, Ind., without further incident, and my father was overjoyed to meet me again. I stayed with him until his death, which occurred about three weeks after, all the brothers and sisters being present. He served the church all his life faithfully, and his record is historical.

On my return, in February, I found the Mississippi river frozen over, so that passengers had to walk across on the ice, no bridges then being built. I carried a girl near ten years old who was not able to walk, and her mother very poor. It was more than a mile over, and I was about used up, though in the prime of life. It was bitter cold. At a place where the cars rounded a short curve, a rail broke and threw us off the track. We ran bumping on the crossing for a short distance, when the locomotive, tender and baggage-cars went over a steep bank, rolling and smashing for 100 feet or more, almost to the river. They jerked the passenger-car I was in almost half its length over the chasm, when the coupling broke and left it thus suspended. The engineer was buried under the debris, but the fireman jumped and saved his life. I arrived safely at home.

The war to preserve the Union was now on. Call after call came, until nearly

all the young and middle-aged men in Kansas had enlisted. I think that there was never any necessity for a draft. I had a young man working for me who had been with me for six years; an excellent hand, and a good, moral, faithful fellow. He finally enlisted and started south from Leavenworth, but took pneumonia from exposure and died before many weeks, calling, as I afterward heard, in his delirium, for his friend, the Quaker. This was the last of earth for poor Sam. Armstrong.

These stirring times some amusing things would occur, owing to imaginary fears. One exceedingly windy day, such as came occasionally in the spring in early Kansas history, I went over to my Uncle Charles Dickinson's. None of the men were at home, but my aunt and Elizabeth Worthington sat in the house, very sober. They asked me, the first thing, how the battle was going. I asked, "What battle?" "Why," they said, "the fort had been attacked, and the cannon have been firing all day"; adding, "There, now, listen; there it is again." I did hear plainly the boom of a distant cannon, and, in a moment or so, another. When firing at the fort, we could plainly hear them fifteen miles off. I went out, and at the corner of the house was a large water barrel, nearly empty, on a sled, with the bung-hole toward the wind, as it came in hard gusts around the house at intervals. I soon reassured the women, and we laughed it off; but it was no wonder, as every one then was looking for the rebels to attack and try to take Fort Leavenworth; Missouri was completely in their possession at that time, except at a few points.

I had arranged when at Richmond for a box of 25,000 tracts to be sent to me for distribution. I then expected to visit the border counties of Missouri for the purpose, but it became so dangerous for a Kansas man over there that I did not think it prudent to go. I did, however, visit Salt creek valley and around Leavenworth city, pretty well canvassing the country, winding up at the fort, where was a large garrison of regulars. Many rebel prisoners were also there, under a strict guard. I had leave from the commanding officer, but at the house where the prisoners were kept the corporal had stepped to one side, and I commenced giving out tracts to the prisoners, who were eager to get them. Some were sick, and I stepped in the house and was giving them out, with my back to the door. Suddenly I heard a sharp command, in Irish brogue, "Come out of that." I looked around to find a bayonet at me, and—I was *real good to mind*, and stood not on the *order of my going*. I soon explained matters to the captain, and was glad to have them take my tracts through a strict examination, but nothing treasonable was found, and the captain and soldiers all received some.

The border counties of Missouri were an exceedingly dark place, and, somehow, I felt a great desire to do something for their uplifting, but no way seemed to open. One evening, late in the fall, Abel Bond came walking up to my house from his home at Cottonwood, near 100 miles away. He told me he had had a religious concern to go into the border counties of Missouri and do what he could, and wanted to know my opinion, and whether I had any suitable religious tracts for him. I said but little that night, except it was very dangerous for loyal Kansas men over there just now.

That night I had a significant dream. I thought that I was standing on the brink of an amazing deep well. The horror of the depth and darkness of that well yet is oppressive to me. As I looked into it I thought that it seemed necessary for some one to go down into it to do something, but I could not see how, although there were a windlass and bucket all ready. While I was pondering over it, Abel Bond came energetically walking up, and desired me to let him down;

at the same time pulling off his coat and stepping into the bucket. He was to give a signal when he wanted to come out. I commenced to unwind. He was soon out of sight and hearing, and it seemed to me a long, long time before the bucket touched bottom in the horrible darkness and depth. After a while I received the signal, and commenced winding up; and, after a long time, the bucket came up, empty. Then I was in great trouble; but as I stood thinking what to do next, Abel Bond came climbing out himself. Next morning I told my dream to Abel, and that I was ready for him with the tracts. He had but a dollar and a half in money, and his clothes were threadbare, and no overcoat. I fitted him out, put my overcoat on him, and arranged to supply him with tracts. He was to let me know when he wanted to get home. For weeks I heard nothing, but at last received a letter from St. Louis stating what he had done; but he was now out of money and ready to go home. He gave no address, and I did not know how to reach him; but in a few days he came walking up, dressed better than he was, and with as much money as he started with. He had been well received everywhere, and distributed many thousand tracts in the camps of both parties, and his wants were supplied. "Commit thy way unto the Lord, and He shall bring it to pass." Such a man of faith was Abel Bond.

Our meetings now were very large, the house being well filled, under the able spiritual ministry of Ansel Rogers. The Sabbath-school was well sustained and largely attended by all. There were now organized meetings of Friends at Cottonwood, Spring Grove, and Hesper; and we had a quarterly meeting granted us in 1862, and at Cottonwood the year after. Isaac and Phebe Gifford, Dr. Samuel D. Coffin, and many of us from our meeting, were at the opening of the Cottonwood quarterly meeting.

I now had frequently to go to the Friends' Shawnee mission to meet with the committee having it in charge. In one of these trips, about this time, my wife being with me, we were hindered at the crossing, and it was after dark and through the woods and thickets, so I had to walk and lead the horse to keep the road. We arrived near nine o'clock at Charles Bluejacket's, close to Shawneetown. He was the chief. I was well acquainted with him, and hailed to get to stay all night, it was so late and dark. He had a good house and was well situated. I noticed no lights. He met me, but was quiet and reticent, and informed me that Quantrill's band of murderers from Missouri had just been there that day, and had murdered all they could find, sacked the place, and burned pretty much all the houses. He did not know whether all had left yet or not; but if I was willing to risk staying, all right. They had carried out most of their beds and valuables and hidden them in the thickets, but they lighted up, made good fires, carried in their beds, and made us welcome. He had several orphan Indian children in his family, and before going to bed called them all in for family worship, and got down his big Bible and laid it on my lap in silence. I opened to the 37th Psalm, which is so remarkable in its promises, and read. He seemed affected, for an Indian, and said that while all the riot, bloodshed and rapine were going on that day, he had assembled his family quietly in the house and read the very same Psalm, and that they had committed themselves to the protection of the Lord, trusting alone to Him, and that not one of the bloody men had disturbed them. We saw nothing of the band of marauders next day, and went on through the ruins to the mission, and home, when through our business.

About this time Hannah B. Tatum and Jane Trueblood, from Indiana, came out on a religious visit. Hannah greatly desired to have a meeting at Lawrence and, as I was well acquainted there, I took them over. The day was unfavorable, being rainy, and a rainy night, but I had handbills struck off and distributed, and

obtained the Methodist church, at that time a small frame building on Vermont street, just back and west of the Eldridge House. The congregation was small, but we had a good meeting, Hannah's communication being in warning words, and I was relieved when Jane smoothed it over somewhat with her loving gospel message. This was the first Friends' meeting held in Lawrence. In less than a month after Quantrill* swooped down by daylight one morning, with 400 men, robbed and sacked the place, burned all the business and principal houses, and murdered over 200 men. We saw the smoke at our settlement.

On account of these murderous raids from Missouri, General Ewing, then in command, ordered the abandonment and vacation of the two or three border counties south of the Missouri river, and made reprisals by destroying and raiding all property of disloyal men. Such is war! The Seventh Kansas cavalry, Colonel Jennison's regiment, was made up about this time, 1200 men. They obtained orders and crossed into Platte county, and, with a besom of destruction, swept the border river counties, freeing all the slaves, of whom long cavalcades, with wagons, carriages, mules, and stock, were crossing into Kansas continually.

Friends from our neighborhood had for a year or so been moving, and making locations on the Delaware reserve lands, south, and between our settlement and the Kansas river. This year, 1863, a railroad company having bought the land of the Indians, by ratified treaty of Congress in 1861, so that titles could be procured, a strong settlement, with a Friends' meeting, was formed at Tonganoxie, about half-way. Eli Wilson, Benajah and I would have chosen this location at the first, but it was impossible then to locate on it; we often looked at it in passing to Friends' mission or Lawrence.

As has been noted before, we saw the rise of the Friends' church in Kansas from the first unorganized meeting. Now, at this date, 1893, there are 8000 members and thirteen quarterly meetings in the yearly meeting of Kansas. Greater still has been the growth of population in the state. From nothing but a few traders in 1854, it has now a population of nearly one and a half millions.

We now close these notes. Owing to the poor health of my wife, we removed to Indiana in November, 1864. Many years after Uncle Joel Hiatt came to visit us and his other relatives. He was then an old man, but was soundly converted in a revival meeting at Richmond, under the ministry of Elwood Scott, joined the Friends' church there, and, returning to his home, died in a few months, a happy, trustful Christian.

Benajah W. Hiatt, whose name is so frequently mentioned in the foregoing reminiscences, writes as follows:

"COSTELLO, MONTGOMERY COUNTY, KANSAS, October 23, 1894.

"I herewith return the manuscript of 'Reminiscences of the Early Settlement of Kansas,' in which we were close companions, and find it a correct document, and of great interest. While you were gone to the Friends' mission that terribly cold weather, Colonel Emory came from Leavenworth city with thirty-one rebels for the purpose of hanging me. But they arrived after night, the thermometer twenty-eight degrees below zero, with deep snow, and were all so near frozen that they were glad to get into our cabin, with a huge, blazing fire. My wife got supper and breakfast for them, and the next morning the colonel told the company we had saved their lives, and should not be hurt. He was always my friend afterwards, and did me many kind favors, and I think is still living and remembers well the circumstance. We shall never forget that cold and lonely time, and how glad we were to see you return in the awful cold and exposure.

Thy sincere cousin,

B. W. HIATT."

Thomas Jefferson Wilson, a son of Eli Wilson, who was grown up at the time of the foregoing reminiscences and was participant in much of it, writes:

"LAWRENCE, KAN., August 20, 1893.

"I have read with very great interest the reminiscences in manuscript sent me. It brings vividly to memory many things which I had almost forgotten, and I find it correct so far as I know anything about and was cognizant of the circumstances, of which I was for the most part.

Truly thy friend,

T. J. WILSON."

* See "The Gun and the Gospel," by Rev. Hugh D. Fisher, and Dr. Richard Cordley's "History of Lawrence."

Lizzie Wilson-Walton was connected with most of the circumstances related, was a grown daughter of Eli Wilson, and now resides at Long Beach, Cal.

"I read the history with a great deal of interest. I did not notice anything incorrect, as I could remember, except the time we were coming to Kansas. I thought we were eleven days on the road. I may be mistaken. I think I could read it over many times and it would not seem stale.

"LONG BEACH, September, 1896.

(MRS.) L. C. WILSON-WALTON."

THE TERRITORIAL AND MILITARY COMBINE AT FORT RILEY.

An address by GEO. W. MARTIN, * Secretary State Historical Society, delivered before the Old Settlers' Association of Geary County, September 21, 1901.

THERE is no place like home, and there are no associations like the old. No matter how distant or how long absent, the thought of home and the old friends at times wells up the soul. So the invitation to prepare this paper touched and inspired me, coming from those with whom I have associated since boyhood, to whose help and cheer I owe all I may have achieved in this life, to say nothing of the loves and friendships I have enjoyed, which have been better than gold. I have been engaged in public controversy since the age of twenty, the greater portion within and in behalf of this county; am familiar with the record of every locality in the state, and notwithstanding occasional savage aspersions, no more generous, upright, just and chivalric people than those of Junction and Geary county abound anywhere within the limits of this highest type of community called Kansas. I have known the joys and sorrows of this people for forty years—their hopes, ambitions, and efforts—their successes and their disappointments, and in all of them I have shared. I thank God for the existence which has enabled me to see, in activity and comfort, the marvelous change which has been wrought from the unbroken prairie to the garden of today. Your schools and churches, your farms and railroads, fine homes, social advantages and comforts in living constitute a striking monument to your success in creating out of nothing a community equal to the highest, and especially to the heroism and foresightedness of your pioneers.

The history of Kansas is a never-ending theme. There is something in the soil or the ozone, or perhaps the moral and political circumstances of her settlement, which has given an inspiration to our people, beginning with the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska act and continuing to the current operations of Mrs. Nation or some other freak at home, and Fred. Funston and other heroic boys abroad, not peculiar to any other. Kansas is, without question, the most conspicuous spot on earth. We produce startling crops, startling men and women,

*GEORGE W. MARTIN was born at Hollidaysburg, Pa., June 30, 1841. He was educated in the common schools and the printing-office, completing a five years' apprenticeship in a book office in Philadelphia. His father came to Kansas in 1855; returning in the fall of 1856, he brought the family to Kansas April, 1857. George W. worked in the printing-offices at Lecompton from April, 1857, to October, 1859. He settled in Junction City August 1, 1861, becoming connected with the Junction City *Union*. He was postmaster at Junction City from January 1, 1865, to October 1, 1865; register of the land-office from April 1, 1865, to December 1, 1866; assessor of internal revenue 1867 and 1868, when he was reappointed register of the land-office, serving until 1871; was elected by the legislature state printer in 1873, 1875, 1877, and 1879; was Grand Master of the Odd Fellows in 1872-'73; represented Geary county in the legislature of 1883, and was mayor of Junction City in 1883 and 1884. He removed to Kansas City, Kan., July 1, 1888. In December, 1899, he was chosen secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society. He was married December 20, 1863, to Miss Lydia Coulson, who died June 7, 1900. He married Mrs. Josephine Blakely October 10, 1901.

and some startling reforms, and out of all these there is never a single year of failure. No matter how many indulge in historical research, each will find something of interest others may not in the record of this neighborhood, as well as that of every section of the state. A great interest existed in the centennial year, 1876, in historical writing, and it was deemed then that the early record of this city and county was about finished, but I find that, within the limit of the patience you will have for me at this time, this paper will not come down this side of that date.

The story of the settlement and development of a state covers a great number and variety of transactions. The ambitions of men and communities, their successes and failures, alike constitute history. We have in the collections of the Historical Society scores of bound newspaper volumes representing towns of the territorial era, and towns of the boom era during the '80's, which to-day do not exist. The advertisements of business men, and the glowing and enthusiastic editorials, that once marked present corn-fields, are too inspiring to be sad. The victims quickly adjusted themselves to other Kansas towns, or to the needs of Oklahoma, and they look back to their failures in town-building as so much fun. The activity which has characterized every portion of Kansas in every decade, the prominence of the state and her people before the world from the start down to the present, justifies the statement of Charles Sumner, in the speech for which he was caned, that Kansas was worthy to be the central pivot of American institutions.*

Oftentimes, but not always, the junction of streams is an important point in the development of a country. What promises to be the greatest city between the Mississippi and the Pacific ocean is located at the mouth of the river which forms in Geary county. Some twenty-five years ago I heard an army officer at Fort Riley say that he had been in Europe, Asia, Africa, South America, and all the parts of the United States, and that in his judgment there was no section of the world which would compare with the Kansas valley from Kansas City to Salina. The confluence of the Republican and the Smoky Hill has always been an important point with explorers, the army, and with Indians, and judging from investigations which have been going on in your midst for several years by students along this line, W. E. Richey and J. V. Brower, it was the seat of empire long since extinct. In 1870 a man named H. H. Sikes, an old mountaineer, visited in town, and said he was familiar with this neighborhood in 1835-'36. At that time the junction of these streams, he said, was very famous Indian ground, and that in those years Perry's fur company had two fights with Indians. One of these fights was on the hillside near Fogarty's mill, in which the whites had seven men killed. Seven graves were known to exist there after the settlement of the country, and a white man's skull from that spot was kept in a drug-store for years. In an address delivered before the State Historical Society January 14, 1890, Hon. Percival G. Lowe, who was a wagon-master in the army, gives his impression when he first witnessed this locality, in the fall of 1852:

*On May 19, 1856, Charles Sumner made a great speech in the United States senate, entitled "The Crime against Kansas." On the 22d, Preston S. Brooks, a member of the house from South Carolina, for this speech made an assault upon Sumner with a cane, from which the senator was years recovering. The house voted to expel Brooks, 121 to 95—not a two-thirds vote. Brooks resigned, and was reelected. Sumner said:

"Take down your map, sir, and you will find that the territory of Kansas, more than any other region, occupies the middle spot of North America, equally distant from the Atlantic on the east and the Pacific on the west; from the frozen waters of Hudson's Bay on the north and the tepid Gulf stream on the south, constituting the precise territorial center of the whole vast continent. To such advantages of situation, on the very highway between two oceans, are added a soil of unsurpassed richness and a fascinating, undulating beauty of surface, with a health-giving climate, calculated to nurture a powerful and generous people, worthy to be a central pivot of American institutions."

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

In 1855 the pioneers disputed the location of the garden of Eden on the Euphrates, in Asia, contending that the geography of Kansas agreed with the description by Moses in Genesis ii, 10: "And a river went out of Eden to water the garden; and from thence it was parted and became into four heads." The pace of Kansas boastfulness and enthusiasm was set early, for a pioneer thus commented: "That river now bears the name of Kansas, and its four branches are known as the Smoky Hill fork, Grand Saline fork, Solomon fork, and Republican fork. The former it seemed was known to the antediluvians by the name of Pison, and composed the whole region now known as southwestern Kansas, where, according to Moses, there is gold. The late discoveries of gold on the head waters of the Arkansas river are in the immediate vicinity of the head of the Smoky Hill fork. And those who adopt our views, and place full confidence in the Bible—and who does not?—should seek for gold in the next river north of the Arkansas, near its source in the Rocky Mountains." This may be the gold shale of Trego county in prophecy.

The editor of the *Herald of Freedom*, then the free-soil organ published at Lawrence, April 5, 1856, writes of a trip to Fort Riley, which he said was in "the prettiest and best part of Kansas—the upper country." To those on the eastern border, this region was then known as "the upper country," and was often so referred to in newspaper letters. But this section had its own boomer in 1855-'56, of exceeding interest, and probably more exact than Moses, because he was on the ground. I refer to Capt. J. R. McClure,* a young man then, who caught the Kansas spirit early, and whose numerous letters in the territorial papers, portraying the glories of the Smoky Hill and Lyons creek in general, and Chetolah†

*JAMES R. MCCLURE was born near Trenton, Franklin county, Indiana, twenty-eight miles west of Cincinnati. His father was William McClure, born in Henderson county, Kentucky, a cousin of Captain Eads, the architect of the St. Louis bridge. His mother was Minerva Flint, a niece of Timothy Flint, author of various historical and scientific publications. He attended the common schools until he was fifteen years old, when he went to Miami University, where he remained three years, until the smallpox closed the school. He contracted the disease, and was confined to his room for six weeks. He attended Miami during the presidencies of Doctor Jenkins and Doctor McMasters, who were the predecessors of Rev. William C. Anderson, D. D. (under whom Benjamin Harrison graduated), and whose remains rest in our beautiful Highland cemetery. Captain McClure was a classmate of John W. Noble, who was in Harrison's cabinet, and of Milton Saylor. He ran away from home and enlisted in the Fifth regiment of Indiana volunteers in the Mexican war, commanded by James H. Lane. When he returned he read law, was admitted to the bar in 1851, and in 1852 he was elected prosecuting attorney for the counties of Franklin, Fayette, and Union, serving until October, 1854. He started for Kansas, arriving at Kansas City November 2, 1854. He formed the acquaintance of Governor Reeder at Shawnee Mission, and became his personal and political friend. Reeder told him the capital would be located at Pawnee. In December, 1854, he visited this locality, and after several trips back and forth to Westport, located with his family at the mouth of Lyons creek. In 1855 he assisted in taking a census, by appointment of Governor Reeder. In 1859 he moved to Junction City, where he has since resided. He enlisted in the war of the rebellion as captain of company B, Second Kansas infantry. He was in the battles of Wilson Creek, Forsythe, Dug Springs, and Shelbina. At the latter place a cannon-ball took off his right foot. He was then made quartermaster and commissary, serving until August 5, 1865, being stationed much of the time at Fort Riley. He served from 1867 to 1869 as register of the land-office at Junction City.

†Chetolah was a town located on the first rise north of Wreford and just east of the Hunter Houston farm, a mile or so up Lyons creek from Captain Henderson's. The Historical Society holds share No. 53 in the Chetolah Town Company. It is dated March 14, 1855, and signed Will-

in particular, are as accurate as he might make them to-day. In March, 1858, the captain took a vigorous tilt at the Lecompton constitution, and also, incidentally, at the Topeka instrument.

Twenty-five years ago the *Union* vigorously maintained, principally on faith, that Geary county was in the region visited by Coronado in 1542. The march of Coronado, antedating the principal settlements on the Atlantic coast, has been a subject of continued investigation of unceasing interest. The later publications locate Quivira in Kansas, the preponderance of testimony being in favor of the Kansas and Smoky Hill valley, south side, from the mouth of the Blue west to McPherson, and across to the Arkansas at Great Bend. The gentleman who has given the greatest labor to this investigation, Mr. J. V. Brower, locates the principal number of the villages of Quivira in Geary county, south of the Smoky Hill, from Mill creek to Lyons creek. One of the villages he locates on Capt. Robt. Henderson's farm,* abundant evidence having been found on the brow of the hill between Logan grove and the captain's residence. Mr. Brower's publications, "Quivira" and "Harahey," are of much local interest.

In the early days before the city extended north on Washington street, somewhere between the schoolhouse and the residence of ex-Congressman Davis,† the tracings of a fortification were perfect, only in the springtime, in the different color of the grass. It was probably 100 feet in diameter; I remember seeing it, and it was distinct. Dr. E. W. Seymour, a scholar and a student, greatly interested in such things, spent hours two or three seasons in investigating that grass and the soil, but I never heard of any conclusion by him. But that the earth had been disturbed in the nature of a fortification, long before the days of the white man, there was no question.

iam A. Hammond, president, and N. Lyon, secretary. The Society also holds certificate No. 20 in the Pawnee Association, dated November 26, 1854, and signed W. R. Montgomery, president, and William A. Hammond, secretary; also a certificate in the Saline Association, issued in name of W. A. Hammond, dated March 26, 1855, and signed N. Lyon, acting president, and John N. Dyer, secretary.

* ROBERT HENDERSON was born in Ireland February 8, 1833, and came to America in 1851. He settled near Junction City in 1853, and his nearest post-office was Fort Riley. In September, 1861, he enlisted in company F, Sixth Kansas cavalry, and after ten months he was promoted to second lieutenant. He was in the battles of Cook Creek, Cane Hill, Prairie Grove, Prairie de Han, and Poison Springs. In this latter fight he was wounded and captured. He was in the rebel hospital at Camden, Ark., for some time, and then moved to a prison at Shreveport, La. He was then changed to Tyler, Tex., where he was confined for six months. While in prison he was promoted to a captaincy. He made his escape, and was twenty-six days and nights making his way into the Union lines at Fort Smith, Ark. He served four years as county treasurer of Geary county, and four years as postmaster at Junction City, under President Harrison. He was married in 1857 to Miss Elizabeth Douglas.

† JOHN DAVIS was born near Springfield, Ill., August 9, 1826. His parents were frontier farmers, public spirited, and of strong moral character. He completed his education at the Illinois College, Jacksonville, and, in 1850, opened a prairie farm ten miles east of Decatur, Ill. Here, in 1851, he brought his wife, Martha Powell, of Wisconsin, a noble woman, the sister of Maj. J. W. Powell, afterwards director of the United States Geological Survey, and also of W. B. Powell, superintendent of the public schools of Washington city. Her death occurred at Topeka November 6, 1900. Mr. Davis was antislavery in his sympathies, and an ardent supporter of the movement for the establishment of agricultural colleges. He stood by the Union cause during the war, and was a member of the republican party. In 1872 Mr. Davis brought his family to Kansas, settling on a farm two miles from Junction City. In 1873 he was president of the first Kansas farmers' convention, and was one of the organizers of the greenback party and its successors, the union labor and people's parties. Mr. Davis served two terms in Congress from the fifth district, 1891-'94. In 1875 he purchased the Junction City *Tribune*, and conducted its publication until 1895. He wrote and published several books and pamphlets in support of his views of public policy, and was the author of a "Life of Napoleon." Mr. Davis died at the residence of his daughter, in Topeka, August 1, 1901.

After Coronado's visit to Quivira, M. de Bourgmont, in 1724,* made a trip from the Missouri river, at about Atchison, west to the head waters of the Smoky Hill, where he visited the Padoucahs. He returned by a route parallel to the Smoky Hill and Kansas. Zebulon M. Pike, in 1806, crossed the Smoky Hill as far west as Saline county. Prof. Thos. Say, a member of the exploring party of Maj. J. C. Long, in 1819-'20, traveled the Kansas valley as far west as the Kaw village east of Manhattan.† In June, 1843, Lieut. John C. Fremont reached Junction, where he camped for several days. He crossed the Smoky Hill here and turned north. On his return, in 1844, he passed this way. The Smoky Hill and Republican river regions were shown through England in the later '40's, in a panorama intended to illustrate the travels of Fremont. In 1851 Capt. John Pope traveled down the Smoky Hill on a trip of exploration with topographical engineers from Santa Fé to Fort Leavenworth. A tramp printer, from the same office from which I started, the Hollidaysburg (Pa.) *Register*, made a trip through this country in the early '50's, and wrote a glowing account of the Smoky Hill valley. His name was Max Greene.

The first movement in the development of the country was in the location of Fort Riley, in the fall of 1852. Maj. E. A. Ogden left Fort Leavenworth under orders to locate a new military post at the confluence of the Smoky Hill and Republican rivers. He was escorted by troop B, First dragoons, under command of Maj. R. H. Chilton. Some temporary buildings were erected in 1853 and 1854. The Congress which adjourned March 4, 1855, made an appropriation for preparing Fort Riley for a cavalry post. The plans were prepared in Washington, and Major Ogden was placed in charge. Five hundred laborers and mechanics were brought up the river, and by wagon from Fort Leavenworth, and work in all branches commenced the first week in July, 1855. As soon as work began all the troops were sent out on the plains for a summer's campaign. The ones left were Doctor Simmons, the surgeon, Chaplain Clarkson, Band-master Jackson, Wagon-master Percival G. Lowe, still living in Leavenworth, the hospital steward, and a few members of the Sixth infantry band. On the night of the 1st of August cholera rapidly developed. It was said that the first case of cholera was at Pawnee, July 4, and this was one of the reasons urged for the removal of the legislature. On the morning of the second day Major Ogden was taken down, and the news caused a panic. Several died that day, and a gang of men was organized to dig graves. Work was suspended. Major Ogden died on the 3d of August. By this time two women, two children, Ogden's orderly and nine workmen had died. A wagon-master named Orton was sent to Fort Leavenworth for relief. He rode 130 miles on one mule in forty hours, never sleeping a wink, and stopping only to feed the mule.

The scourge lasted five or six days, and the number of deaths was not less than 75, nor probably more than 100. The *Lawrence Herald of Freedom* put the total of deaths at 128. There were 150 desertions among the laborers and mechanics. Much heroism was displayed, and also much despicable wickedness, during the panic, but the brotherhood of man prevailed and cemented all together. There was no military authority or force left in the garrison. A delegation of workmen demanded their pay, that they might leave, which could not be given them because there was no one to pay, and the money was locked in the safe. About noon of the third day a gang of men broke into Robert Wilson's store, scattered some goods about, and rolled out a barrel of whisky, knocked the head in, and helped themselves with tin cups. When well liquored up, they

*See manuscript journal of Bourgmont in the Society's collections.

†For description of this journey, see Historical Society's collections, vol. I, pp. 280-301.

broke open a big stone building used for the post ordnance department, armed themselves with guns, pistols, and ammunition, and in this drunken condition met on the parade-ground and aired their grievances, threatening to break open the safe and pay themselves. About twenty-five of them were making a very serious demonstration of attack when Wagon-master P. G. Lowe arrived from the camp, a mile or so off, on the Republican. The leader of the mob raised a revolver at Lowe, who instantly seized it and knocked the man down. Lowe held a revolver on him until he surrendered and begged for his life. The result was that each trade organized into squads to keep good order, everything settled down, and the construction of the post proceeded.*

As a result of the building of Fort Riley, the United States government did the first road-building known in the valley, by making a road along the north side of the river from Fort Leavenworth as far as the crossing of the Saline, putting in several bridges, at a cost of \$100,000. This was in 1857.

But the beautiful place called Fort Riley to-day is not the Riley that was built in 1854 and 1855. Those familiar with the post as it was twenty-five years ago would not recognize an inch of it as it is now. The old has been practically obliterated. With the exception of a few of the stables, the buildings have been torn down and more modern ones erected, the old parade-ground has been cut down at least four feet, roads so changed, and such a growth of splendid elms, that it is entirely a different place. The old fort for years was much neglected, and became very dilapidated. About 4000 acres of land, lying between the two rivers and the town site of Junction, was gobbled by a local company for bridge purposes in March, 1867. The bridge was built, the land divided, and then the bridge fell into the river. The neighbors became impatient with such a fine body of land unoccupied, and Congressman Anderson was urged to introduce a bill for the sale of all that portion of the reserve south and east of the Smoky Hill and the Kansas rivers. April 4, 1884, the military committee of the house reported against the bill, upon the recommendation of General Sheridan that the land was needed. This brought a letter from Sheridan, saying that the military authorities contemplated important things for Riley.† In his annual report, December, 1884, the general urged that Fort Riley be made an establishment worthy of the country. The legislature of Kansas, in 1883, ordered the reconstruction of the

*See P. G. Lowe's address, entitled "Recollections of Fort Riley," pp. 101-113, this volume.

†Frank C. Montgomery, in the *Kansas City Journal*, March 28, 1902, says:

"It is a trite saying that the rarest faculty in the world is the ability to recognize an opportunity. Ingalls voiced it in the majestic poem bearing the title 'Opportunity.' Every man, every town, every state, can gaze retrospectively and see the chances for greatness which came and went unheeded. And of this we are reminded by a telegram from Washington which states that the secretary of war is contemplating the concentration of 20,000 troops at Fort Riley for drill and instruction—the connection being made apparent in the recital of a bit of Kansas history. In 1874 Gen. Phil. Sheridan, then in command of the West, recommended the abandonment of a lot of military posts in his department and the establishment of two permanent posts in Kansas. One of these he located at Fort Leavenworth and the other at Fort Hays, Fort Riley being scheduled for abandonment. Colonel Swaim, then Sheridan's adjutant, prepared for submission to the Kansas legislature a bill ceding the jurisdiction of the reservations at Leavenworth and Hays to the United States government. When the bill came up for passage, W. N. Morphy, a brakeman who had been elected to the house from Ellis county, in which Fort Hays was located, opposed it so far as Fort Hays was concerned, and the name of that post was stricken from the measure. Thereupon General Sheridan recommended that Fort Riley be selected as a permanent post in place of Hays, and such was the action taken by the war department. When it was too late, the people of Ellis county began to realize the stupendous error committed by their member of the legislature. At the session of 1875-'76 their member voluntarily offered a bill ceding the jurisdiction, as had been asked for by General Sheridan, but the war department had fixed upon Fort Riley and would consider no proposal for a change. The point is that 20,000 troops might be stationed within a mile of Hays City instead of four miles from Junction City, if the people of Ellis county had grasped their opportunity. The people of Hays are now mightily pleased over a small educational institution which has been located on the Fort Hays reservation by the state of Kansas. Save for Morphy and his Hays City advisers, however, they might now be turning handsprings of joy all over the prairies."

bridge across the Republican, which was done August 15, 1885. Capt. George F. Pond, constructing quartermaster, arrived in the fall of 1885, and rebuilding began.

In 1886 the legislature of Kansas petitioned the general government to improve the post. The St. Louis Merchants' Exchange protested against the transfer of Jefferson Barracks to Riley, and the Leavenworth people were apprehensive. Congressmen Anderson and Ryan were active, but Senator Plumb was indifferent, and the rebuilding of the post dragged slowly. Plumb had some antipathy to the regular army. Thanksgiving morning, 1888, after I had removed to Kansas City, Kan., Capt. Bertrand Rockwell* wrote me that he had a letter from Plumb in which he said that "Fort Riley was merely a local affair, that nobody cared about it, and intimating that it was useless to do anything." That afternoon I prepared a column newspaper article in favor of Riley, and wrote a letter to each of fifteen newspaper men in Kansas asking them to reproduce my article or write in a similar strain. Every one responded enthusiastically, and as soon as those papers reached Washington Plumb joined the others with the greatest energy, and from that on Riley grew liberally.

The passage of the law of May 30, 1854, creating the territories of Kansas and Nebraska, opened the political ball. This section was about the first real victim of politics in the territory and state to be. If the seat of political power had remained where it was originally planned, at Pawnee, in Geary county, what speculation as to a different developement of Kansas might be indulged. The Leavenworth, Pawnee & Western was the first railroad company chartered. Andrew H. Reeder, the first territorial governor, was commissioned June 29, 1854. He arrived in the territory on the 7th of October. He declined to attend a banquet at Weston, which angered the Missourians. He made a tour of the territory, and on his return to Fort Leavenworth, November 10, he ordered an election for delegate to Congress on the 29th of November. J. W. Whitfield was elected. In the month of February, 1855, Reeder had enumerators at work making a census, and in five days after they finished he ordered an election of members of the legislature for the 30th of March, 1855. He set aside the election of thirteen members of the house and four members of the council, and ordered an election to fill these vacancies on the 22d of May. On the 16th of April he issued a proclamation convening the legislature at Pawnee on July 2, 1855. And here the fun, both material and political, began in Kansas.

On the 27th of September, 1854, the Pawnee Association was organized, composed of Col. W. R. Montgomery, commanding officer of Fort Riley, W. A. Ham-

* BERTRAND ROCKWELL was born at Warsaw, Ill., April 25, 1844. He was the son of George Rockwell and Catharine C. Westlake, who settled with him in Junction City, September, 1865. George Rockwell was an officer in the Mormon war in Illinois, and for three years during the civil war was captain in the Seventh Missouri cavalry. His grandfather, James Rockwell, was an officer in a Connecticut regiment in the revolutionary war. Bertrand Rockwell obtained such education as was possible in the public schools up to the age of sixteen. His first money was made by peddling watermelons. He acted as janitor for a Methodist church at forty dollars per year. When eleven years old he crossed the river into Missouri, bought ten deer, and taking them to Warsaw made ten dollars on the bunch. In 1862 he enlisted as a private in company K, Thirty-fourth Iowa infantry. He had a very strenuous service until the capture of Fort Blakely, the last engagement of the war, in which he had a part. The money he saved as a soldier was his capital for business in Junction City. From 1865 to 1891 he worked from sixteen to eighteen hours a day. Since then he has done much traveling, visiting California, Mexico, Central America, and Europe three times. He stands among the most successful merchants in Kansas. He is a brother-in-law of Maj. Gen. Adna R. Chaffee, who led the march on Peking, and now in command of the Philippines. Captain Rockwell was married to Julia M. Snyder September 29, 1870, in Junction City, by Rev. Charles Reynolds, D. D. Her great-grandfather, Gustavus H. Scott, was one of three men who loaned the United States \$100,000 with which to complete the first capitol building.

mond, afterwards surgeon-general of the army of the United States, C. S. Lovall, Ed. Johnson, Nathaniel Lyon,* the hero of Wilson Creek, M. T. Pope, R. F. Hunter, E. A. Ogden, M. Mills, G. M. R. Hudson, James Simons, D. H. Vinton, Alden Sargent, J. T. Shaaff, H. Rich, W. S. Murphy, Robert Wilson, J. N. Dyer, R. C. Miller, A. H. Reeder, A. J. Isaacks, I. B. Donalson, Rush Elmore, and L. W. Johnson. This was a strong combination of military and territorial officeholders and proslavery politicians, while the settlement itself seemed to be free-soil. Fourteen were officers of the army, and five territorial officials. Reeder was to have eighty acres, Robert Wilson eighty, Doctor Hammond forty, Montgomery having a joint interest with Wilson and Hammond. Montgomery was cashiered and dismissed the service, charged with running the lines of the reserve in the interest of a private speculation.

The legislature assembled, according to call, on the 2d of July, 1855, at Pawnee, in the building still standing between the Union Pacific track and the Kansas river. It was two stories, and the council met on one floor and the house on the other. The officers sat at the end of the building next to the fort, and the large hole, still there, left open through which to handle material, and not caused by a cannon-ball, was closed during the session by a canvas. Here the first legislative assembly met on Kansas soil; here the first governor's message was delivered; and here the first attempt at legislation made. The bogus code, and the first we had, was adopted in this county. The *Frontier News*, of Westport, Mo., said: "Many members of the legislature left here Wednesday for Pawnee, at which place the session is called. It is believed and appears to be understood by all parties that the legislature will organize at Pawnee, where there are no accommodations, and adjourn at once to the Mission, two miles from this place." H. D. McMeekin told me that he and Jim Lane slept on the prairie under the same wagon but 100 feet or so east or northeast of the capitol building.

*In Surgeon-general William A. Hammond's paper on General Lyon, published in the "Annals of Iowa," July, 1900, are the following stories of interest:

"Lyon had the utmost regard for law as distinguished from regulations or orders from the commanding officer, and frequently declared that he would disobey any order that was illegal. The then commanding officer was of a very unfortunate mental organization and greatly disposed to assume powers that did not belong to him. Finally Lyon had an opportunity of setting up his judgment in opposition to a military order, and he did not hesitate a moment as to the course to be pursued. One of the officers brought out with him from the East with his family a good-looking servant maid, who at once began to receive the attentions of the enlisted men. The one she especially favored was the Corporal Allender, the incident of assault upon whom, by Lyon, I have already related [a few days previous Lyon had abused the corporal, for which he most humbly apologized], and straightway the corporal applied to his commanding officer for authority to marry, and that his wife might be rated as a company laundress. Lyon accorded his permission, and then the girl announced to her employers that she was about to enter upon the marital relation, and that they would not in future receive the benefit of her services.

"The officer went at once to the commanding officer of the post, a man who, as I have already said, was disposed to be arbitrary and tyrannical, and obtained an order from him prohibiting Corporal Allender marrying Sarah Ahren. This order was sent to Captain Lyon with instructions to see that it was obeyed.

"I was present in Lyon's quarters when he received the order, and I have rarely seen a more striking instance of intense rage than he exhibited. He fairly foamed at the mouth, as he walked up and down the floor, gesticulating violently, and stammering over his words in a way that rendered them almost incoherent. It was very clear that he intended to disobey the order, and that, too, in a way that should leave no doubt relative to the motives by which he was actuated. After he became a little calmer, I understood that he regarded the order as illegal, and as an attempt to interfere most unwarrantably with the rights of a soldier of his company. There is no law or regulation prohibiting officers or men from marrying, but there was a regulation to the effect that soldiers' wives should not be allowed with the troops without the consent of the company commander and the commanding officer of the post. The only object that the corporal had in getting his captain's consent to his marriage was that his wife might be made a laundress, receive a ration, and be the recipient of quite a snug little sum monthly for washing the clothes of such of the men as chose to employ her. There was no power in the United States to prevent the man and woman marrying, but there was power to keep her out of the garrison. The commanding officer's order was therefore manifestly illegal. This was the ground that Lyon took, and I thought he was right, and still think so.

"Corporal Allender shall marry the girl if he wants to, and no illegal order like that shall prevent him," he exclaimed, as he paced the floor. 'Orderly,' he continued, opening the door and calling the soldier who stood in the passageway, 'tell Corporal Allender to come here.'

"In a few minutes the corporal made his appearance and, making the proper salute, stood at attention. 'Do you want to marry Sarah Ahren?' inquired Lyon, his small eyes sparkling

The papers say that J. H. Stringfellow, when he closed a speech accepting the position of speaker, invited everybody to a grocery. A member was urged to introduce a prohibitory liquor law, to which he made the significant reply: "Should we do so, it will be necessary to exempt a large majority of that body from the workings of the law." Another account said that the invitation by the speaker to the grocery resulted in a regular drunken spree, which was exhibited in their department in the house and council chamber on the following day. Wednesday, the 4th of July, a member made a speech about as follows, so reported in the papers: "We are about to declare the acts of Governor Reeder a usurpation. It will be a proud event for Kansas—the expelling of the free-state delegates from this body. Kansas is a slave territory, and it should never be otherwise. We have the power in our hand, and so long as we live we will keep and exert that power. Kansas is sacred to slavery." On the 5th, which was Thursday, a bill was introduced in the house, and passed through its several readings in that body, entitled "An act to establish the statutes of Kansas territory." Not one hour was consumed in its consideration. A member moved to substitute the code of Tennessee, but the Missourians pulverized him. At one p. m. on Friday, the 6th, the legislature adjourned, to meet at the Mission. The act extending the Missouri code was published July 14. Governor Reeder vetoed the bill changing the place of meeting, but he had to follow to the Mission.

The session has gone into history as the "bogus legislature," and its work as the "bogus statutes," but that which stamps it as eternally bogus with us is the fact that it did not remain and permanently establish the center of political and material development of Kansas within the glorious county of Geary. Although elected principally by Missourians and fraudulent votes, and free-state members were not permitted, no other body claiming and being recognized by the governor

with excitement. 'Yes, captain,' answered the man, saluting. 'And she wants to marry you?' 'Yes, captain,' with another salute. 'Then come here to-night at eight o'clock, both of you, and I'll perform the marriage ceremony.' 'Yes, captain,' and again saluting, the man turned on his heel and marched off. 'I want you to be present as a witness,' continued Lyon, addressing me. 'I'll show old ——— that he can't issue illegal orders to me with impunity.' 'Yes, I'll come,' I assented, laughing. 'But we shall both be arrested and tried, and Corporal Allender will be reduced to the ranks.' 'I'd like nothing better than to be tried on the charge of disobeying such an order as that,' he exclaimed excitedly. 'All right,' I replied, 'I'll aid and abet you to the extent of my power. The order is illegal certainly; but *you* don't propose to marry those people?' 'Yes, sir; marriage is a civil contract. I shall read them a chapter from Blackstone, make them a short address, ask them some proper questions, and pronounce them man and wife. Then we'll see what old ——— will do.'

"At eight o'clock I was in Lyon's quarters again, and shortly afterward Corporal Allender and his pretty sweetheart, accompanied by two soldiers as witnesses, entered the room. The happy couple stood up in front of Captain Lyon while he read an extract from Blackstone in regard to the nature of marriage. Then he made some excellent remarks on the duties of husband and wife one to the other, and finally asked them whether they took each other for husband and wife, and intended to live together in the bonds of wedlock so long as they both should live. The answers being satisfactory, he pronounced them man and wife, and forthwith made out a certificate to that effect, which I and others witnessed. Many years ago, Mrs. Allender, in order to recall herself to my recollection for a purpose that she had in view, sent me this certificate, and it remained in my possession until I gave it, a few years since, to my friend Charles Aldrich, for the historical museum of Iowa, of which he is the founder and curator. It reads as follows:

"Robert Allender and Sarah Ahren wishing to enter upon the marriage relation, I have pronounced to them the solemn obligations thereof, which they have assumed, in the presence of the accompanying witnesses. Fort Riley, Kan., April 23, 1855. N. LYON.

"Witnesses: William A. Hammond, Charles E. Hammond, John Trueman, Robert Long.'

"That night the commanding officer heard of Lyon's contempt of his order and my countenance, and before we went to bed we were visited by the adjutant and placed in arrest. I was released the next morning, in order that I might attend to my duties, but Lyon was kept confined to his quarters for several days. In the meantime the commanding officer awoke to the conception of the fact that he had made an ass of himself, and Lyon also was released. No charges were preferred.

"It is not to be supposed, from this account, that Lyon was an insubordinate officer. No one could have been more scrupulous than he in obeying to the letter every legitimate order that he received. No one in the army is required to obey an illegal order. He may, it is true, be compelled, by physical force, to do what he is told to do, whether the order is or is not in accordance with law, but he has a clear right to refuse obedience to any command that is manifestly contrary to law, and the officer giving such an order would probably be punished for his

and the federal government, I suppose it was both *de jure* and *de facto*; but still it was wretchedly bogus for leaving and going down within a mile of the Missouri line.

The legislature reassembled at Shawnee Mission on the 16th of July. On the 31st they learned of the determination of the administration to remove Governor Reeder, and they adjourned to celebrate the day. They passed a law which, if it had been possible of enforcement, would have prevented any one not believing in slavery to have lived in the state. B. F. Stringfellow wrote to an Alabama paper that the territory "has now laws more efficient to protect slave property than any state in the Union." No one but a proslavery man could hold office. The removal of the session of the legislature, and the distance inland, deprived this region of any participation in the border troubles between Missouri and Kansas in 1855-'57. An impression prevails that this region, because of the fort, was proslavery, and yet two elections indicate the other way. In October, 1857, Davis county gave thirty votes to E. Ransom, the proslavery candidate for Congress, and 126 votes for Marcus J. Parrott, the free-state candidate. Again, in August, 1858, the county cast 123 votes against the Leocompton constitution and twenty-seven for.

But what about Pawnee? Interest attaches to the place at this time because of an agitation started by the Abilene *Reflector* for the preservation of some of the historic landmarks of Kansas, resulting in the unanimous passage by the legislature of a joint resolution asking Congress to cede to the state the capitol building above referred to.* The lines of the military reserve were changed, and the people ordered off the town-site August 31, 1855. They were given until October 10. Those who did not move had their houses torn down over their heads November 27 and 28. Wm. H. Mackey, sr.,† was then a blacksmith at Fort Riley, and he made the hooks by which the houses were torn to pieces.

assumption of authority were the case brought to the notice of his military superiors. Any one, however, who, on the ground of its being contrary to law, refuses obedience to the order of his commanding officer, does so at his peril.

"An incident that occurred soon after the one I have mentioned gave Lyon an opportunity of showing the distinction that existed in his mind between an unjust and an illegal order. Two settlers named Dixon, and their families [there were four brothers, James, John, Thomas and Patrick Dixon; they remained in the neighborhood, prominent farmers and business men, and many descendants also], had settled upon land outside of the military reservation, as they had a clear right to do. For purposes of his own, of a highly dishonorable character, the commanding officer wanted them to move off, but they declined to do so. Determined to compel them to go, he extended the military reservation so as to include their settlement, and then ordered Lyon with his company to go and pull down the Dixons' houses, and put them and their families off the reservation. Lyon was, doubtless, selected for this work because he had stated as his belief that the action of the commanding officer was wrong, and that the men had a right to the land upon which they had settled, and further, with the expectation that he would disobey this order as he had a previous one. As I was considered to be Lyon's aider and abetter, I was ordered to accompany, as medical officer, this expedition of a company of infantry against two men and some women and children.

"But Lyon knew the difference between an outrage and a violation of law. He had been informed by his military superiors that the land upon which the Dixons had settled was a part of the military reservation. Whether it was or was not was none of his business. That was a matter that specially concerned the Dixons, and that might safely be left for them to bring to the notice of the highest authority. So he and his command proceeded to obey the order. The Dixons were at first a little disposed to resist, but Lyon told them that if they fired on his men he would return the fire, and that as to the ultimate result there would be no doubt. So they submitted. They went off, and Lyon with yokes of oxen tore down the houses and effectually demolished them. Then after his bloodless victory he marched back, and set himself to work preparing charges against the commanding officer of corruption and other crimes, upon which he was not long afterwards tried and dismissed from the service."

(For sketch of Nathaniel Lyon, see foot-note to paper entitled "Among the Sovereign Squats," this volume.)

* Pending action by Congress, the war department has issued to the Kansas State Historical Society a revocable license, and protected the building with a suitable sign on each end.

† WILLIAM HENRY MACKEY was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, September 15, 1828. His father William Mackey, was born in Scotland, and his mother, Elizabeth Henry, in Virginia. He attended the common schools, but obtained most of his education in a printing-office, in which he worked during the years 1845-'47. He lived in Covington, Ky., when he joined the Ashland party for Kansas. This colony arrived in Kansas, and settled in what was then Davis county,

A controversy has always raged as to whether there was any political significance to the destruction of Pawnee. It has been generally accepted that Jefferson Davis, then secretary of war, extended the lines so as to destroy Pawnee, because it was a free-state settlement, but it is also claimed that the officers at the fort disregarded instructions concerning the limits of the reserve, and manipulated the lines in the interest of a private speculation. The issue in the court-martial of Colonel Montgomery was whether the original order concerning the reserve lines was temporary or permanent. In a petition to the president, asking for a rehearing, strong affidavits were made by Governor Reeder, Robert Klotz, C. Albright, Robert Wilson (post sutler), S. P. Higgins, and others, stating that everybody regarded the lines made in 1854 as temporary. Nathaniel Lyon said of Pawnee, in his affidavit: "It was selected at the place located as the most eligible town site in that region of the country, as most suitable to derive advantage from business at and connected with Fort Riley." Gen. William A. Hammond prepared a paper on Nathaniel Lyon for the Washington Commandery of the Loyal Legion March 8, 1900, in which he says that Lyon, who was ordered by Montgomery to remove the Dixons, after he had destroyed the property of the latter, prepared charges against the commanding officer of corruption and other crimes. Again, he says that Lyon gave some damaging testimony against Montgomery.* The petition for rehearing was never considered. When the civil war opened, in 1861, Montgomery entered the service as colonel of the First New Jersey regiment, and resigned in 1864 a brigadier general.

south of the Kansas river, and located the town of Ashland April 11, 1855. He was married July 20, 1853, to Miss Anna E. Boher. The Ashland colony embraced Henry J. and Franklin G. Adams, Matthew Weightman, prominent afterwards in the history of Kansas. After Mr. Mackey's labor at Fort Riley, he moved to Easton, Leavenworth county, and there the couple saw much of the territorial troubles of Kansas along the border in 1856. From there they moved to Pottawatomie county, finally settling in Junction City about 1858. Mr. Mackey followed the occupation of a blacksmith and carriage-maker. Mr. Mackey was appointed post-master at Ashland December 29, 1855.

*The Boston *Post*, January 16, 1856, put the troubles in verse, as follows:

"The martial court that tried Montgomery
Has blown sky high the free-soil flummery
Which sought to canonize its leader,
The Kansas governor, Andrew Reeder.
Instead of making him a martyr,
He turns out nothing but a Tartar.
'Tis proved he took a lot of land
Reserved for public uses, and
Established there the capital,
That he might profit therewithal.
The legislature, he approved,
From Pawnee to Shawnee removed.
And thereupon the constitution
Lost all its force in Andrew's "fusion."
The governor swore like all tarnation
That they had spoilt his speculation;
The legislature was a bogus,
And all the laws were *hocus pocus*.

MORAL.

"The difference, once that none could see,
'Twixt tweedledum and twedledee,
No longer need excite our wonder;
'Tis Pawne, not Shawnee, gives plunder!"

A correspondent of the New York *Times*, writing from Council City (located in the north-east corner of Lyon county, a few miles from the present site of Burlingame), but now extinct, under date of January 9, 1856, said:

"In connection with the recent court-martial of Colonel Montgomery for alleged complicity in the 'Pawnee' speculation, used by the administration as a pretext for the removal of Governor Reeder, some facts concerning that enterprise may not be uninteresting. It is well understood that the object of this court-martial was, not to bring in a just verdict, but a verdict of guilty; and hence no surprise was felt at the unjust degradation of that officer, whose sacrifice was imperatively demanded to the technical consistency of Jeff. Davis.

"When Colonel Montgomery took command at Fort Riley it was one of his first duties to make a military reservation. Unable to examine, survey and define it immediately, he, with-

The only statement in existence by a resident of Pawnee is from Lemuel Knapp. He settled there December 25, 1854. Knapp had a family of nine, and by March 4 he had completed a story-and-a-half log-cabin, fifty feet long and sixteen feet wide. He kept a boarding-house, and fed as many as 100 men a day. In the winter the Knapp family lived in a tent in a gully. During a heavy snow-storm, January 28, 1855, the snow drifted into the gully twenty feet deep, covering their tent eight feet above the top. The standards broke down, and it took the family three days to dig out. The town consisted of the capitol building, a large stone building erected by Robert Wilson, and a dozen dwelling-houses. Two sawmills were in operation, and a hotel, 75 feet front and 100 feet deep, was started. Three of the houses were used for saloons. Governor Reeder had a hewed log house that cost him \$1000. Knapp asserts that the destruction of the town was for political reasons; that as a strong free-state settlement it was an eyesore, and Colonel Montgomery was a free-state man. Knapp estimated his loss at \$1000.

Great hopes were blasted when Pawnee fell. The population was made up principally of Pennsylvanians, who came as a colony with Reeder. G. F. Gordon was one of them. They mostly returned to Pennsylvania when the speculation failed. Two of the party, Robert Klotz and C. Albright,* afterwards became prominent members of Congress from that state. The Dixon brothers, well known in this neighborhood, had a lively contest with the military concerning their land and the reserve line in 1855. An election was ordered on the Topeka constitution at the store of Lodan & Shaw, at Pawnee, but there were no returns.

out any survey, established a provisional reserve by a post order promulgated June 14, 1854, of eighteen miles by ten, of which the fort was the center, thus covering all the ground he could possibly need, and much more, and protecting it from the anticipated settlements until he could select what he wished to retain out of this 180 square miles.

"In the following August or September, no survey as yet being made, several gentlemen addressed a letter to Colonel Montgomery, stating the necessity of a town in that vicinity, and requesting him to exclude from the reserve one of several points named. Colonel Montgomery replied that one of those points (naming it) clearly would not be needed in the reserve, and that he would not include it in the survey.

"This point was then entered upon by these gentlemen, and the town of Pawnee located. All this was before Governor Reeder or any other territorial officer had entered the territory. When the five territorial officers came on the stockholders gave each one a share in the town at simple cost, Colonel Montgomery and all the officers in the garrison informing them that the town was not in the reserve.

"In due time the survey was made, and all the ground included in the reserve which was needed for sawmill, timber, pasture, hay, etc., for the post, while Pawnee was excluded, according to the promise of Colonel Montgomery made in September. This survey was made in December, 1854, and returned to the department in February, 1855.

"In the meantime the proslavery party, fearing that Governor Reeder would convene the legislature at that place, and seeing it becoming the nucleus of a Pennsylvania settlement, became very hostile to it, using violent denunciation, and bringing all their influence to bear on the secretary of war to 'crush it out'; and, although General Jessup, the acting major-general, had approved Colonel Montgomery's return as made, Governor Dewis so altered the lines as to make it include Pawnee. This was on the 5th of May, after the town had been considerably improved, after shares had been sold and resold, after the governor had issued his proclamation calling the legislature there. All the other lines of the reserve as reduced, he approved and adopted.

"At the same time he sent Generals Clarke and Churchill to Fort Riley with instructions to investigate the course of Colonel Montgomery, etc.; and these experienced and intelligent officers remained there some time collecting facts, and finally reported. It is generally believed that this point excluded Pawnee from the reserve, as Colonel Montgomery had done, and fully exculpated him from all blame. The colonel was then ordered off in the Sioux war, and left, believing that he had been fully vindicated.

"After this came Governor Reeder's removal, and the necessity of the president's specifying cause. Nothing better offered than Pawnee. But as the condemnation of the governor was wholly inconsistent with the exculpation of Colonel Montgomery, the charges against him were reviewed by the secretary of war himself, and he was recalled from the Sioux war and subjected to the court-martial at Leavenworth, the result of which is his suspension. He has the misfortune to be a Pennsylvanian.

"And from these causes has the flourishing town of Pawnee been crushed; the residents removed by force; the improvements rendered worthless. Verily, political vengeance is not nice in its visitations.

"The above facts are all from sources entirely authentic, and may be fully relied on."

* ROBERT KLOTZ and C. ALBRIGHT returned to Pennsylvania, and each was afterwards a representative in Congress from that state. Major Klotz wrote from Fort Riley, under date of January 24, 1855, in the *Easton Argus*: "Emigration is gradually finding its way up here. If

S. P. Higgins issued from Easton, Pa., the prospectus for a paper, to be called the Pawnee *Enquirer*, April 14, 1855, but it did not materialize, although Higgins appeared to be on hand.

The demise of Pawnee caused the birth of Riley City, south of the river, in February, 1856, and of Ogden, April 1, 1856. J. R. McClure wanted Pawnee located west or southwest of Fort Riley. The editor of the *Herald of Freedom* writes of a trip to this country, in which he says: "The old site of Pawnee has a melancholy sort of look. The numerous piles of rubbish, and other evidences of decay, bear witness to the forcible means which brought about its ruin. The rise and fall of Pawnee would make an interesting history—or, the destruction of Pawnee by the United States government. Pierce's administration has been signalized by two warlike events—the Greytown affair and the Pawnee affair."

As Reeder was our first governor, and truly loyal to this neighborhood, it may be interesting to know how he ended his Kansas career. He was elected United States senator by the Topeka legislature, but that did not count. He was summoned before a proslavery grand jury, which he refused to obey. A warrant was in the hands of the United States marshal for his arrest. He was the first Kansas man to make the trip back to his wife's folks. He hastened to Kansas City, with the proslavery crowd after him, where he remained shut up in his room in the American hotel from May 11 to the 22d, waiting a favorable opportunity to escape. The steamer "J. M. Converse" stopped at Kansas City on its up trip, and Kersey Coates went on board and made arrangements with the captain of the boat, who it had been learned was a free-state man, to stop at Randolph Landing, a few miles below Kansas City, on his down trip, and hire an Irishman who would be waiting there, and take him down the river as a deck-hand, and ask no questions. There was a large mob about the American hotel, threatening its destruction, and swearing vengeance and death against all free-state men, and especially Governor Reeder, if he could be found. A Virginian was talking to the mob, and being heartily cheered, when by a signal from Edward Eldridge, Reeder came from his hiding-place down the stairs in an awkward manner, making so much noise that Eldridge reprimanded him. He had an ax and bundle on his shoulder, and was smoking a pipe. He sat down on the steps of the hotel, in the midst of the mob that was howling for his blood. He soon moved leisurely away and overtook his friend Brown, who piloted him to a house in the edge of town, where he remained until the next evening, when, arrangements being perfected, he went with his friend J. McIntire to the river, about a mile below town, where, in a ravine, he was met by Edward Eldridge and wife with a carpet sack filled with blankets and provisions. He then embarked with David E. Adams in a skiff and floated down a half-mile below Randolph Landing, where they hid in the woods and slept until next morning, May 24. Here, according to arrangement, the steamboat "Converse" stopped next day and took on wood, and the Irishman (Reeder) got away in safety. Reeder left the boat near St. Charles, and walked across the country in the night to the Mississippi river, fifteen miles above Alton, and crossed in a skiff to Illinois.

you remember, I stuck the first stake on Clarke's creek, near the Kaw village, in November. Now five or six houses are built there." The soldiers at Fort Riley were at this date putting up ice three inches thick. Shares in Pawnee were selling at ten dollars per lot, and that work on the levee was progressing. Twenty miles west of Fort Riley there was then a town called Montgomery." He speaks of a town called Reeder, at the mouth of the Saline, and he speaks also of Juniata, down on the Blue. The *Philadelphia American*, commenting on his letter, says that these names, Montgomery, Reeder, and Juniata, "indicate that the Pennsylvanians are alive in Kansas." Klotz was a member of the Topeka constitutional convention, and he wanted Kansas bounded on the west by a line drawn north and south about 180 miles from the Missouri river.

In 1854 immigrants were assured that there was no danger from Indians in the Kansas valley below Fort Riley, and not much above.

A history of Riley county says that from December 25, 1855, to February 11, 1856, the average cold was eight degrees below zero, the coldest being thirty-one below zero. On the 1st of February, 1856, the snow was three feet deep. Still, with shacks for houses and green cottonwood for fuel, people did not growl at that. It is my belief that the winters have been moderating.

Great herds of buffalo were within fifteen miles of Fort Riley in 1855. They could be seen from the fort with a glass. Capt. William Gordon, of Bala, Riley county, visited this region in May, 1851, after deserters. He was then on his way to New Mexico, and left his troop where Topeka stands. He found here swarms of buffalo, elk, and deer. He saw buffalo as far east as Pottawatomie county. A stray buffalo was killed by James Armstrong at Kansas Falls in February, 1858. William H. Mackey killed buffalo in 1858 two miles this side of Alida. In 1857 and 1858 there were plenty of buffalo on Chapman creek. In 1860 Junction sportsmen had to go thirty miles for buffalo. April 19 last, C. J. Jones, generally known as "Buffalo" Jones, showed me a check from the government for \$633 for one buffalo. Jones told me he had sold several buffaloes at \$1000 each. These prices placed upon buffalo recall another statement by Captain Gordon. In the spring of 1856 he was returning from New Mexico to Westport, Mo. When they struck the plains they saw many scattering herds of buffalo, but from the Cimarron east they traveled for three days and three nights through buffalo on a continual run. Buffalo were in sight as far as the vision could extend. They sounded like a continuous roll of thunder, and the travelers had to keep up a constant fire in self-defense. Hon. R. M. Wright, of Dodge City, says he traveled through buffalo along the Arkansas river for 200 miles. At Dodge, after returning from a trip to Fort Supply, General Sheridan and Maj. Henry Inman attempted to make an estimate of the buffalo they had passed. Taking a strip about 100 miles wide, they figured ten billions. Sheridan said nobody would believe that. They figured again and made it one billion. Finally they reached the conclusion that they had passed one hundred millions, and, although they were doubtful if any one would believe these last figures, yet they firmly believed them. C. J. Jones is authority for the statement that there are now but 750 buffalo in existence.

December 5, 1856, a meeting was held at Quindaro to consider the building of a railroad up the Kansas valley. It was said that the road could be built in a year, and that goods by this route could be transported from Boston to San Francisco without the expense of ferriage.

The antipathy that then existed between Northern and Southern settlers in Kansas was bitter, and seems strange under conditions to-day. A letter from Fort Riley dated December 1, 1856, says that Robert Wilson, then sutler and postmaster, threatened to stop delivery at his post-office of abolition newspapers; and that Judge Reynolds had refused to hold court at Ogden because he considered himself insulted by the presence of Eastern paupers. Bob Wilson was too clever a man to do anything of the kind other than in an oratorical way, and then only after a drink or two or perhaps three, while the stories told of Reynolds and his court indicate that the other might be true. It was quite common then for those who lived from the labor of negroes to refer to those who lived by their own labor as the mud-sills of the North. How dreadfully that notion was cured.

October 28, 1856, Gov. John W. Geary arrived at Fort Riley. He remained four days. He came from the South, crossing at Riley City. Spat upon and compelled to flee for his life because he would not enter into the job to force slav-

ery on Kansas, I wish he were here to behold this beautiful county bearing his name. Reeder, Walker and Stanton suffered alike with him at the hands of the national administration for the same reason.

Davis county was established with the original list made in the territory by the session of the legislature which began at Pawnee and ended at Shawnee Mission. It is not entirely as it was then. County lines in Kansas have changed quite frequently, in the interest of county-seats. In attempting to trace county lines established in 1855, it is evident the legislature knew but little of section lines. I cannot establish the fact by data, but I have always understood that the county line between Riley and Davis was first tampered with in order to squeeze out Ogden in the interest of Manhattan. The county commissioners of Riley county in those days held a session at Riley City. Out of the deal, Junction secured the United States land-office, which was then at Ogden, the change being made in September, 1859, and the county-seat went to Manhattan. The present lines were established in 1873, and were the result of another scheme in the interest of Manhattan. Milford, then in Riley county, was an exceedingly disagreeable section toward Manhattan. They did not get along at all. Davis county had a township which was of no particular use to Junction, although the people did not quarrel. In the night, a job was cooked up at Topeka between Riley and Davis, by which Milford was exchanged for McDowell, and Riley also gobbled Zeandale from Wabaunsee. It was whipped through the legislature in short order, and oh, my! how the people of Milford roared. William S. Blakely* was in the legislature of 1873, and by this act pleased the people of his own county. In 1879 A. W. Callen attempted to gobble six miles from Dickinson county, and he would have succeeded, so far as getting it through the house, if it had not been for the bitterness of the Horton-Ingalls fight. The lines now are probably established for all time, as doubtless, also, is the name of the county. The original name was in honor of Jefferson Davis; such a legislature as that at Pawnee would never have thought of any other Davis than the one so conspicuous on their side.

John W. Geary,† the father of the late Thos. P. Fenlon, of Leavenworth, and

* WILLIAM SATERS BLAKELY was born in Troy, N. Y., July 20, 1838. He was educated in the public schools, and at the age of fourteen was granted a certificate to teach. Russell Sage, the great New York financier, then a member of Congress, tendered him an appointment as cadet to West Point, which was declined. He lost his mother at the age of twelve, and his father at the age of fourteen, and he made his home with an uncle, Garrett Norton, in Illinois. In April, 1858, he came to Kansas, and settled on Clarke's creek, in Geary county. In 1861 he was in the three months' service, and participated in the battle of Wilson Creek. He became connected with the Junction City newspapers, and remained so until 1864, when he became a clerk at Fort Riley. He was a major in the Kansas state militia. In 1866 he began merchandising at Chapman, but removed to Junction City in 1867. He was state senator in 1867 and 1868, and a member of the house in 1873. In 1873 he was appointed postmaster of Junction City, and in 1881 unanimously elected mayor. He died June 11, 1885. He was married to Miss Josephine Morgan in 1865.

† JOHN WHITE GEARY was born at Mount Pleasant, Westmoreland county, Pennsylvania, December 30, 1819. He died at the breakfast table February 8, 1873. He was colonel of the Second Pennsylvania regiment in the Mexican war. From Mexico he went up the coast into California. He was the first alcalde of San Francisco, and after the American organization the first mayor of the city. He organized the first postal service on the Pacific coast. He returned to Pennsylvania in 1852. In August, 1856, President Pierce appointed him the third territorial governor of Kansas. Before coming to Kansas he went to Washington and demanded the removal of Judges Lecompte and Cato and United States Marshal Donalson, saying that the governorship of Kansas had ruined two men—Reeder and Shannon—and that it would be impossible to enforce order with such officials. He also demanded the repeal of some of the bogus laws. The cabinet divided, four for him and three against him. He appealed to Toombs and Stephens, of Georgia. He came to Kansas the fore part of September, and had a stormy time

my father, were cronies away back in the '30's, and worked together on the construction of the Portage railroad over the Alleghany mountains, built by the state of Pennsylvania. Geary was a civil engineer, Fenlon was a contractor, and my father was a blacksmith and machinist. Geary and my father belonged to the same church and the same Odd Fellow and Masonic lodges. I never saw Geary, unless in my childhood. Now that the storm is over, I am sure I need not apologize for anything I did toward putting the name of this heroic soldier on the map covering your homes. The people having voted for the name of Geary, after two or three rounds in the legislature, and years of pronounced discussion as to who was meant, this county has the best title to its name of any county in the state. John K. Wright* was state senator and M. C. Linscott member of the house, and each ardently supported the change of name.

Two counties in Kansas are honored with the names of soldier boys from Junction. Clark county was named in honor of Capt. Charles F. Clark, of the Sixth Kansas cavalry, who was transferred, and died an assistant adjutant general at Memphis, Tenn., December 10, 1862. Mitchell county bears the name of William D. Mitchell, who entered the service as a private in company B, Second Kansas, was promoted to captain in the Second Kentucky cavalry, and was killed March 10, 1865, at Monroe's Crossroads, North Carolina.

Speaking of names, let me inform you that the name of your county-seat now is Junction, and not Junction City.† Because of the necessity of uniform usage in regard to geographic nomenclature and orthography throughout the executive departments of the government, and particularly upon the maps and charts issued by the various departments, President Harrison, in 1890, established "the United States Board on Geographic Names." This authority, March 2, 1901, officially declared the word "city" off, and decreed that hereafter the town is to be known as "Junction." At the same time it was settled that it is the "Kansas" river and not the "Kaw," or "Kanzas" spelled with a "z." In the early '80's quite a number of people wanted the town called Quivira.

February 17, 1857, the Atchison & Fort Riley Railroad Company was organized, and Robert McBratney was one of the incorporators. McBratney was a

until March 10, 1857, when he resigned, and left in the night. When the civil war broke out he asked permission to raise a regiment, and in forty-eight hours 6000 men applied to serve under him. He was commissioned colonel of the Twenty-eighth Pennsylvania. He ended his service as a major general of volunteers. He served two terms as governor of Pennsylvania. He gave peace to Kansas territory. In his tent in the army he had frequent conversations with the late Col. John B. Anderson, and he always asserted that the civil war began in Kansas, about Leecompton and Lawrence.

* JOHN K. WRIGHT was born in Wayne county, Indiana, December 29, 1834. He was reared on a farm, and the only educational advantages he had were a few months during the winter season, and this ceased when he was twelve years old, and thereafter his learning was obtained in the school of experience. He was a tow-boy on the Wabash canal for four years, and then he worked for a year on the Indiana Central railroad. He drove oxen, clerked in a store, ran a sawmill in Nebraska, prospected for gold in Colorado, and helped survey a wagon road from Denver to Salt Lake. In 1861 he enlisted as a private in the Second Colorado, and became a captain in the Sixteenth Kansas cavalry, serving three years and six months. January 1, 1866, he settled in Junction City. He has served as sheriff and probate judge of Geary county, mayor of Junction City; has been three times a member of the house of representatives, and from 1888 to 1892 a state senator from the counties of Geary, Riley, and Wabaunsee. In 1872 he began railroad contracting, and he has probably built more miles of railroad than any other man in the state. He built the Junction City & Fort Kearney, the Solomon valley and Saline valley branches of the Union Pacific, the Manhattan, Alma & Burlingame, besides much railroad building in Louisiana.

† Capt. B. Rockwell files an appeal from any such change in name. "From where does it get authority to change the long-used Junction City, which means little, to Junction, which means nothing?" he inquires.

free-state editor at Atchison, where he kept up a merry row with the proslavery leaders. He was a strong and bitter writer, and an earnest and interesting public speaker. He became a resident of Junction in 1861, having been appointed register of the land-office. He was an Ohio man, and was a member of a convention in the '40's that mapped out the railroad system of that state. He soldiered with Sam. Houston in Texas, and the year 1857 found him in Kansas. He was a member of the railroad convention held in Topeka in October, 1860, that blocked out the railroad system of Kansas. In the preliminary wind work necessary in the building of the Missouri, Kansas & Texas south from this point, Mac was always annoyed because all the rest of us lacked the nerve to talk beyond a seaport on the Gulf, while he never stopped his road short of the halls of the Montezumas. He lived to see two roads reach the halls of the Montezumas. He dropped considerable money—all he had—in the lead region at Galena, and quit in disgust. Some months later another man began digging in his abandoned hole, and in but two or three days struck one of the biggest fortunes in the record of that business. McBratney was the father of Mrs. C. H. Trott.

Junction was always a favorite town site. The place was first selected by the Manhattan company.* It was claimed then as the exact center of the North American continent. I quote this. Those who located at Manhattan loaded a boat at Cincinnati for the confluence of the Smoky Hill and Republican, but owing to the low stage of the water at that time it was unable to get this far, and they concluded to stop at the mouth of the Blue. This was about May 1, 1855. In the spring of 1856, a company of speculators in Cincinnati led by a Captain Millard concluded to adopt this site, and an agent was sent out, who remained a couple of months, giving the name Millard to the location. An agency was established in Cincinnati for the sale of lots, and over \$100,000 worth were sold.

The Millard company contracted with D. D. and J. P. Cone to establish a newspaper, to be called the Millard City *Times*. They brought printing material to Kansas, but Millard not developing, in September 1857, they started the *Sumner Gazette*. They continued this paper until 1860. D. D. Cone went to Washington, held a position in the second auditor's office, and was private secretary under Grant for signing land-warrants. J. P. Cone still resides in Kansas, near Seneca.

In October, 1856, P. B. Plumb and A. C. Pierce † inspected the ground with a view of laying out a town, but the combination was broken by Plumb concluding to go farther West. The agent for Millard having failed to show up for a year, a movement was inaugurated in the fall of 1857 for the organization of the Junction City Town Company. The town site was preempted in November, 1858. Between Christmas and New Year's, 1857 and 1858, Daniel Mitchell began surveying. The members of the town company were J. R. McClure, president; Robert Wilson, treasurer; Daniel Mitchell, secretary; F. N. Blake, John T. Price, and P. Z. Taylor. Millard and a man named Thomas Greer, of Covington, Ky., at-

* See reminiscences of Andrew J. Mead, in another portion of this volume.

† ALFRED C. PIERCE was born in Otsego county, New York, September 13, 1835. He was educated at Cooperstown, N. Y. He settled in Saline county in 1856, and afterwards removed to Kansas Falls (six miles west of Junction City), and in 1860 located in Junction City. He first engaged in surveying, and locating settlers. In the spring of 1860 he was elected county assessor, and that year took the census of Geary, Clay, and part of Riley. He enlisted in company G, Eleventh Kansas regiment, and in 1865 was mustered out as its captain at Fort Leavenworth. He participated in the battles of Fort Wayne, Cane Hill, Prairie Grove, Price's raid, Independence, Big Blue, Fort Scott, and the battle on the line near Kansas City. He served as county surveyor, county clerk, and register of deeds, and represented the county in the legislature four times—1861, 1862, 1868, and 1881. He was married May, 1865, to Miss Harriet Bowen, of Otsego county, New York.

tempted a compromise with the Junction City crowd with a view of settling or refunding the collections they made. Selling shares in town sites scattered all over the territory was a great financial scheme in those days. There was then more water in Kansas town stocks, proportionally, than there is to-day in the steel trust, and the suckers, as usual, were down East.

The town has made history, and it has not finished. History-making never ends, but is continuous. I know you have done well. Many people permit their contempt for wrong-doing to blind them to the superabundance of good. Junction has been a good town, and it has treated everybody well. It has been successful. The time was when all expected a city of from 25,000 to 50,000 population every twenty miles along the valley, but of this you have been cured. Your citizens have enjoyed thirty-six years of state office-holding, and twenty-six years of federal positions not local. You have as good churches and schools, and the resultant culture, and your public affairs have been administered as honestly and with as much ability, as in communities elsewhere. You may be dissatisfied with conditions, as some people are everywhere, but do not permit any one to say aught than that this is the best community in the state.

James Armstrong, a well-known pioneer of the later '50's, was a witness to a remarkable demonstration of Indian punishment. A party of Kaws camped in the heavy timber south of the Smoky Hill, about midway between Logan Grove and the M. K. & T. bridge. It was in the summer of 1857. The braves had been to Riley and loaded themselves with fire-water. One of them ran up against a meaner quality than the others, and, upon their return to camp, he began to whip his squaw. In the trouble she plunged a knife into him and killed him. They placed the squaw against a tree, and the bucks, in turn, made a charge at her, jabbing a knife or a tomahawk into the tree all about her. This gentle and cheerful preparation for death was continued for some time, when a bullet from a rifle pierced her heart.

In August, 1858, the Junction City *Sentinel* first appeared, edited by Ben. H. Keyser. Geo. W. Kingsbury was connected with this paper. In a few months it was succeeded by the Junction City *Statesman*, by Kingsbury and William S. Blakely. Blakely was also for three years connected with the *Union*. A democratic paper was destroyed by soldiers in 1862. Horace Greeley once visited Keyser, and the latter made the old sage believe that the *Statesman* office was a greater plant than the New York *Tribune*.

The gospel reached us in July, 1858, but it was feeble, and flickered for years. It finally got a foothold, and it has been here for some time to stay. George Montague, Lorenzo Westover, and John Furrow—a pretty strong team, by the way—represented this neighborhood in a temperance meeting in Manhattan December 15, 1858.

The first schools in Geary county were select schools; that is, maintained by the parents interested. Three such schools were conducted in the winter of 1858-'59; one at Milford, one at Junction City, and one four miles northeast of Junction City. The teachers were A. B. Whiting,* Samuel Orr, and Marcia

*A. B. WHITING, now a wholesale paint and glass dealer in Topeka, wrote a letter dated "Madison creek, twelve miles west of Fort Riley, May 16, 1856," to a friend in Vermont, which was published in the Burlington *Free Press*. It was devoted entirely to the beauty and the richness of central Kansas, a truly boom article; so refreshing amid the volumes of war and murder and outrage and political screaming, which characterized the territory and the nation at that time. Mr. Whiting was born in Johnson, La Moille county, Vermont, in 1836. He located near Milford, in Geary county, April 19, 1856, where he engaged in farming and freighting. In 1864 he engaged in the flouring and sawmill business, using in his mill the boiler and engine which were thrown into the river at Wyandotte by the Missourians. In the early days he paid \$104 for 1000 feet of common flooring on the levee at Leavenworth, and then freighted it 140 miles. He took his first grist by ox team to Atchison, 140 miles. In September, 1877, he moved to Topeka.

Pierce. Mrs. Charlotte McFarland taught a select school in 1860. The first public school was organized in 1862, and the district was about ten miles square, including Junction City. In 1865 a great row existed over placing one of George Young's boys in the schools. Those in favor of educating the boy with the whites prevailed, and January 18, 1866, the building occupied by the school burned, generally supposed to be the result of the row. The boy was educated in our public school, and for the past fifteen or twenty years has been a trusted attaché of a national bank in Cincinnati.

How would you like to go back to the mail accommodations prevailing in 1858. There was a mail route from Leavenworth *via* Manhattan, Ogden, and Fort Riley, to Kansas Falls, six miles west of Junction—total distance, 136 miles. The mail started from Leavenworth at six o'clock A. M., and reached Kansas Falls by six P. M. of the third day. A mail left Topeka at six A. M. along the south side of the river and reached Fort Riley at ten P. M. of the second day. They had two trips a week on this route. Mails ran on routes north and south, on the same schedule. Nathan Ransehoff was the first postmaster at Junction. For five months, in 1861, his compensation was \$11.30, with no net proceeds to government. Kansas Falls and Kenton had also post-offices. The first post-office established in this county was at Pawnee, March 3, 1855; Robert Wilson, postmaster. It was changed to Fort Riley December 20, 1855. Fort Riley did a reasonable business. The first contract for carrying mail west of Junction was given to Samuel Orr,* in April, 1861, to make one trip a week as far as Salina. In June, 1861, Samuel Orr was also given a contract to carry mail to Fort Larned, and on his first trip the mail consisted of one solitary letter. The mail facilities were the only conditions then about which the people growled. Kansas has now 341 rural routes in operation; that is, this number of sections where the mail is delivered daily to farmers' doors. One county, Shawnee, has thirteen of these routes, and if it had two more every person in the county could get his mail at his door every day. Last winter a farmer living on a rural mail delivery route and within three or four miles of six mail-trains daily at forty miles an hour complained to the department because he had to shovel the snow away from the box on his own gate-post, and an inspector was sent out to see about it.

July 10, 1858, there was a meeting held in Junction to call a convention to talk railroad. Jas. M. Care presided, and D. D. Wolf acted as secretary. They agreed on the first Saturday in August, but the convention never met.

The material for the construction of Fort Riley not taken from the hills near by was brought up the Kansas river by boat.† For two or three years about

* SAMUEL ORR came to Kansas in 1856, and first squatted on the present town site of Wakefield, Clay county. He was an ardent free-state man, and traveled much over the central portion of the territory at that time. He was born in county Tyrone, Ireland, August 14, 1831. He was brought to this country, and settled at Seneca Lake, New York. He graduated from Starkey Academy at the age of sixteen. He returned from Kansas in November, 1857, to New York, and was married February 25, 1858. About the 1st of April, 1858, he returned to Kansas, and settled on Clarke's creek, near the mouth of Humboldt. In 1861 he moved into Junction City, and kept hotel. He was appointed an assistant provost marshal. He was well fixed on his farm, but his cattle and horses continually disappeared, and June 27, 1866, while the family was visiting with a neighbor, his house was burned, with everything in it, including \$150 in money. He was compelled to move to town. He was chief clerk for the United States assessor for four years, and for four years was a deputy collector of internal revenue under George T. Anthony. He taught one of the first schools in the county. He carried his life in his hand for years, because of an arrest he made while provost marshal; and among a large quantity of manuscript which he left is a statement of the hanging of Thomas Reynolds, in August, 1868. He says Reynolds was hung by six neighbors, all old soldiers; that he had nothing to do with it, and that the men who killed John Sanderson, two years later, were on the wrong trail.

† J. L. TIDBALL, second lieutenant Sixth infantry, made a survey of the Kansas river, under order of Maj. E. A. Ogden, dated October 10, 1853. He did the work in the month of August. He found it necessary, practically all the time, to use a sounding board. The principal object,

that time there was an abundance of water, and the impression spread all over the country that the Kansas was navigable. The steamer "Excell" was the first to reach Fort Riley. It made three trips in the year 1854. The first cargo was 1100 barrels of flour, and the trip was made in two days from Weston. Two subsequent cargoes were composed of lumber, glass, nails, etc. The "Excel" made one trip forty or fifty miles up the Smoky Hill. In 1859 the "Minnie Belle" made one trip as far as Junction. Another boat, called "Financier No. 2," stranded at the lower end of the levee at Pawnee. It discharged its cargo and reached Fort Riley. The officers at the fort and their ladies made a party and took an excursion up the Republican as far as Clay Center. May 17, 1859, the "Gus Linn" arrived at Fort Riley, and the *Kansas City Journal* of May 22, says the "Gus Linn" returned to that place "at seven o'clock last evening with forty-one passengers and 2300 sacks of corn, shipped from Junction." The same paper says the "Linn" was thirty miles up the Smoky Hill, and quotes Captain Nelson as saying that he could have gone 100 or 150 miles further, because the shallowest water they found was seven feet. Robert Henderson says the boat never was above Brown's mill, which was a half-mile or so above Fogarty's dam; that he saw it turn around, and that it was with the greatest effort it headed down stream. The "Gus Linn" started from Kansas City May 26 for another trip to Manhattan and Junction, and was five days reaching Fort Riley. On its return it took on 3200 bushels of corn at Manhattan and 500 sacks at Topeka, but its trip down was very hard. This seems to have been about the last effort above Topeka. The "log" of the "Linn" was published in the *Journal*, from which it appears that the run from Junction to Kansas City, a distance of 243 miles, was made in twenty-six hours, an average of ten and a half miles an hour, running time, having made thirty landings.

I reached Geary county August 1, 1861, at the age of twenty years, and was a political reformer from the start. I came with George W. Kingsbury, at the instance of S. M. Strickler,* W. K. Bartlett, and F. N. Blake, to publish a paper. In order to help out, Kingsbury was to be county treasurer, the salary of which was then about \$200 a year. I had been in town about six weeks when it was determined that I should be a delegate to the county convention. I refused because I was under age, and did not intend to stay six weeks. They prevailed, however, and when the delegates appeared, it was further determined that I should be chairman of the county convention. After considerable bracing up, I consented, and asked them what they wanted me to do. That must have been instinct. There was a contest from Kenton. They said they wanted McKinley thrown out and Kennett admitted. I did the job with all the nerve of a Mark Hanna. Kingsbury was nominated, and Daniel Mitchell beat him at the polls

he says, was to determine the practicability of navigating the river by steamers or keel boats, and his report is very vague and indefinite. He thought there was no chance to improve the river beyond removing the snags. He says: "The place selected for departure is a point of the river about two miles below the junction of the Smoky Hill fork and Republican river, estimating the sinuosities of the river, and about a mile from and nearly east of this post. It was not deemed important to commence operations higher up, as the place selected possesses as many advantages for a steamboat landing as any point above, and is more easy of access from the fort."

*SAMUEL M. STRICKLER was born in Tennessee in 1832, but grew to manhood in Shelby county, Indiana. He obtained a good common-school education, and attended Franklin College. He taught school, and then engaged in business in Alabama, coming to Kansas in 1860, and locating at Junction City. The firm of Streeter & Strickler purchased a merchandise stock from William Leamer, still living at Lecompton, and one of the most remarkable businesses ever conducted in Kansas began at Junction City. The firm did a contracting business covering the entire plains to the Rocky Mountains, reaching to every government post or military camp, and employing hundreds of the pioneers then scattered over western Kansas. The firm

by a majority of one. I never knew which was right, McKinley or Kennett, and probably the rascality of the chairman of the convention was what beat the job. Kenton was near the mouth of Humboldt. There were 211 votes cast in the county. Kingsbury left the county after the election, and he did not lose by his three months' operation with the paper. A six-column banking law was published for several weeks preceding the election. It had to be published in a paper in each county-seat. He changed the name to the *Louisville Republican*, lifted the editorial, and inserted an article urging Louisville for the county-seat of Pottawatomie, printed a few hundred copies for distribution down there, and collected twice from the state for that banking law. This trick worked in several places that fall and was the subject of legislative investigation. You can have implicit confidence in the statement that I never had sense enough to be interested in the financial end of any such deal.

In the winter of 1862-'63—and the winters then were bitterly cold—I made a trip to Leavenworth. I started out of Manhattan homeward in the stage with two strangers about ten o'clock at night. A famous character named John Linn was on the boot. They had changed teams on him that day and he was mad. He had a mouth on him and a command of picturesque language not surpassed in the country since. It was a dark night. At Wild Cat we ran into a top of a tree which had been cut down the day before and fallen across the road. We were a half an hour in working that coach through the brush and timber around that obstacle, inspired by the brilliancy of the driver's abuse of the Irishman who cut the tree down. Twice in passing over the Eureka bottom the team came to a dead standstill, and the passengers joined in pelting the horses. At Ogden, while changing the mail, the driver concluded to rearrange the team by putting the hind horses in the lead. He cracked his whip and larruped those horses for ten minutes before they started, and then they ran with all their speed for a mile or so. At Three Mile they balked again. The passengers alighted, gathered brush, and argued with that team. We changed mail at Riley without trouble and soon reached the ferry across the Republican. It was five o'clock in the morning; the river was full of slush ice, and the most difficult task of the night was to arouse Tom O'Day, the ferryman. We drove on the boat, happy in the thought that we were nearing home. The boat stranded about the middle of the stream, probably fifteen feet from either shore. The driver looked around for the ferryman, and there he was standing on dry land. "What do you mean?" he inquired, accompanied by the most awful abuse that ever came from the mouth of man. "An' I knew it would stick; do you suppose I'd go out there?" He crawled into his warm bunk; the slush ice soon solidified; we took a few plank from the bottom of the boat, laid them across the ice, walked over and into town, and I crawled into bed at Sam. Strickler's at six o'clock. Con-

dissolved and retired from business about 1870. In 1862 Strickler was elected to the state senate, and he was a member of the house of representatives in 1871. He was in the early '60's a brigadier general of the militia. For the first three years of its existence, Strickler and William K. Bartlett maintained the Junction City *Union*. Strickler was a great big-hearted fellow. A. W. Callen was employed to close out the business of the firm, and he told the writer that the books showed as much as \$3000 a year of charity given out and charged to Strickler's individual account. He removed to Leadville, Colo., in 1879, where he remained three years; thence to Albuquerque, N. M.; thence to Magdalena; finally settling on an orange ranch near Azusa, Cal. Here he died, April 21, 1894. His remains were brought to Junction City the following December, and laid to rest in Highland cemetery. He was a strenuous man with a strenuous nerve, and did strenuous things. In the early days of the railroad he shipped a lot of queensware from Liverpool, England, to Kansas City by water. The railroad wanted more for hauling it from Kansas City to Junction City than it cost to Kansas City. Strickler sent his "bull train" to Kansas City and got the stuff to Junction City for less than the railroad rate offered.

trast that way of getting into town with the present Pullman service at forty miles an hour, and then growl.

But before we forget that ferry, which was often either rightly or wrongly the excuse for beating us out of our mail, when we were getting it but three times a week, contrast four bridges within a few hundred feet of its crossing, one bearing a transcontinental line, with a score of long trains daily, and another a trolley line between Junction City and the fort. Shades of Bob Wilson, Sam. Strickler, Bill Bartlett, Robert McBratney, George Rockwell, Sam. Orr, Billy Blakely, and a few other ambitious spirits of the '60's, wake up, and tell us what is a trolley line, and what is a thing to make ice in summer?

There was a wedding trip in those days which, to me, was of life interest. It was in December, 1863. My girl lived six miles east of Manhattan, and I agreed to go for her on the 19th. There was but one minister in the country up to our requirements, Rev. Wm. Todd, and he being too old to go to her, it was arranged that we were to come to him. Geo. H. Purinton was to have two horses and a hack ready for me. I fitted up a little house on the corner across the street south of Captain McClure's, and next west of the Presbyterian church. A terrific storm came, and the earth was covered with about eight inches of snow. It turned bitter cold, and remained below zero for a couple of weeks. The snow froze practically solid, and all travel was stopped. Not a wheel turned in all this country, and, for a week preceding the day when I was to go for my girl the stage had not arrived from the east. It was an awful time with me. The 19th was Saturday. About dusk, Friday, the stage from the east arrived, indicating that the road was open. I hunted Purinton, who promised to have the team ready by seven o'clock in the morning; I then engaged a colored boy to keep a fire in the house all day Sunday. The team was not ready until nine o'clock, and I was delayed at Riley until twelve. The crossing at Wild Cat was a sheet of ice, and I drove down one side and up the other on a wild run. About dark, stopped at Mrs. James Humphrey's,* at Manhattan, who cheered me on with a lunch and a cup of hot tea.

About eleven o'clock I reached my journey's end, to the utter amazement of the girl and her sisters. They did not expect me; she was not ready, and said they never dreamed that anybody would make such a drive in such weather. I responded: "You do not seem to know me—you will be ready at nine o'clock in the morning." She was not ready, but she started with me on time. In a couple of miles, in crossing a gully, one wheel ran into the frozen snow, from which it was impossible to extricate without getting a neighbor to put a couple of horses on the rear end of the wagon. We reached the stone houses at Pawnee after dark. It was a brilliant moonlight night, and the glare on the frozen snow was blinding. Two drunken soldiers attempted to stop us, but we got away from them by beating the horses most vigorously. In the excitement, we lost the road, and shortly we were on the top of the bluffs overlooking the whole country. By a straight angle to the left, after a hair-raising escape from

*JAMES HUMPHREY was born in Mansfield, England, March 8, 1833. He came to America in 1854, stopping in Massachusetts until the spring of 1857 when he moved on to Kansas, settling in Manhattan. He read law and was admitted to the bar. He was married in October, 1861, to Miss Mary A. Vance, of Springfield, Ohio, who was in Manhattan visiting friends. In 1867 he was appointed judge of the district court by Gov. Samuel J. Crawford, and reelected in 1868 for four years. May 1, 1870, he resigned, and settled in Junction City to practice his profession. He served on the State Board of Railroad Commissioners from 1883 to 1891. He was again elected judge of the district court in 1892 and served until 1896. In 1897 the family moved to Sedalia, Mo., where they remained two years and eight months, returning to Junction City, where they now reside. Mrs. Humphrey has served two terms as president of the State Federation of Clubs and enjoys a wide literary reputation.

an upset, we found the road. At nine o'clock we drove up to the minister's house, just as the party had given up and were leaving. Mr. and Mrs. W. H. Mackey, Mr. and Mrs. John W. Woodward, William S. Blakely, and Annie Ableson were there. When we drove to our home at ten o'clock, we found that the negro boy had quit at dark. We had to hunt him to get the key, and the house was as cold as though there had never been any fire. When I look back at that girl (Lydia Coulson) starting out under such circumstances on a journey of life, with a dollarless boy, I stand appalled. But no millionaire, with his yacht or private car, ever had a more enjoyable wedding trip. The unspeakable joy and comfort she gave to thirty-six and a half years of home life justified and richly compensated for the perhaps unreasonable energy and determination I displayed at that time.

An interesting organization in its time was Occident lodge of Good Templars. It had a large membership, and its meetings constituted about the only entertainment in the town. The "wets" were in it then, but the "drys" were not slow. A leading statesman then, as they have since, united for campaign purposes, and after his election to the legislature he imbibed as regularly as many prohibition statesmen do to-day. The next year he desired membership again, and a few girls were anxious for his charming company. The lodge met in the second story of a building corner of Sixth and Washington. It was a hot night, the windows were all open; a row was anticipated, and the "wets" were on the street or prairie below. The fellow's name came up for ballot, and he received twenty-seven black balls. Many thought he ought to have another chance. Everybody was mad, and the talkers roared like a house afire. Finally a cranky Yankee named John H. Karnan screamed, loud enough to be heard at Logan Grove: "I would just as soon whisky would kill a copperhead as a bullet." I have no recollection of how the meeting closed, but the twenty-seven stood pat, and the demon rum was authorized to proceed, which it did; but he is not dead yet.

Did you ever hear the story of the first plug hats in Junction? It was in 1870, when John A. Anderson* was the pastor and I was the leading pillar. Charles R. Carver, who then conducted a famous gents' furnishing house, came into the land-office one day and said that a number of the boys wanted plug hats. He could not afford to send for them unless he had orders for eighteen. I would not have such a thing, and insisted I would not wear it. But he badgered until he got an order, and there were half-dollars enough for homestead papers rolled in while he was talking to pay for it. The hats came, and were delivered Saturday afternoon. A beautiful Sabbath day followed, and Anderson and myself ventured to church wearing plug hats. The other sixteen belonged to gamblers,

* REV. JOHN A. ANDERSON was born in Washington county, Pennsylvania, June 26, 1834. He died in a hospital in Liverpool, England, May 18, 1892. He was educated at Miami University, and studied theology. His first pastorate was in Stockton, Cal., in 1857, where he remained for five years. In 1862 he entered the military service as chaplain of the Third California. He became the representative of California on the United States Sanitary Commission. His first duty was as relief agent for the twelfth army corps. When Grant began the movement through the Wilderness Mr. Anderson was made superintendent of transportation. He served two years as statistician for a citizens' reform association in Pennsylvania. In 1868 he concluded to reenter the ministry, and accepted a call to the First Presbyterian Church of Junction City. He remained in Junction City until 1873, when he accepted the presidency of the Kansas State Agricultural College. He built the Presbyterian church in Junction City, established Highland cemetery, where his remains rest, and made the Agricultural College. He was a regent of the State University, and he served at the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia as one of the American jurors on machine tools for wood, metal, and stone. In 1878 he was elected to Congress, where he served for twelve years. In 1891 President Harrison appointed him consul to Cairo, Egypt. His health failing, he started for home, dying on the way.

and they marched into church single file down the west aisle, carrying those hats most gracefully, and filled all the available front seats. They knocked Anderson off his pins for that service, and it was a sad blow to the plug hat in Junction.

A lady named Mrs. Geo. W. Lee settled in 1855, with her husband, on the south side of the Kansas river. There were no boats or bridges, and they had to ford. They camped on the 1st of May on a little creek, while they were cutting logs for their cabin. A hard rain came and washed all their camp utensils down the stream. They moved out of their wagon into the house before they had roof or floor. The oxen strayed, and the provisions gave out. The husband went four miles and obtained some ham. On his return another rain-storm came up, and he had to wade waist deep through water. Losing their oxen, the wife held the tongue of the wagon while the husband and a brother pushed, and thus they secured stone for a chimney. The first summer was spent with neither stove, table, chairs, or floor. The men made a trip to Kansas City for provisions, and five different times, on their return, they had to empty their wagon and carry their load up the creek banks by hand. This family glories in bridges to-day, and never kicks on freight-rates.

The territorial auditor, in 1859, reported no return of valuation for Davis county for that year. In 1861, the first year of statehood, there were 55,561 acres reported for taxation, the total value of which was placed at \$150,737, or an average of \$2.87½ per acre. The town lots and personal property amounted to \$66,906. The total value of the county for taxable purposes, that year, was \$226,643. Davis county started in well, paying every dollar of state tax charged against her for that year, amounting to the marvelous sum of \$697.93. The population of the county, according to the federal census in 1860, was 1163; 849 native born, 314 foreign born, and two free colored, divided into 680 males and 483 females. In 1870 the county had a population of 5526, composed of 3415 males and 2111 females; 3504 native and 2022 foreign born. In 1873, the first figures obtainable, the county had a total acreage in crops of 23,005.

There are but two counties in the state smaller than Geary—Doniphan with 379 square miles, and Wyandotte 153. Geary is 407 square miles in extent. The population of Geary in 1900 was 10,799 and its assessed valuation \$2,339,012. You have 44.90 miles of railroad, assessed at \$359,824, your farm land at \$995,667, the town lots at \$500,486, and the personal property at \$403,035. You were favored for the year 1900 with an income of \$1,079,438 from farm products, and you have on hand \$979,412 worth of cattle and hogs. You have 88,064 fruit-trees and 729 acres of artificial forest. You have 47 school buildings, valued at \$95,000, 44 school districts, 65 teachers employed, 2410 children enrolled, and you paid last year \$32,838.18 for the support of schools.

The changed condition in Kansas is indicated by the tone of the people during the recent dry spell. It is no easy task to reclaim a new country, but the people of Kansas have accomplished marvels. The drought of 1860 began September 1, 1859, from which date there was no rain until September or October, 1860. The territory that year had a population of 107,206. There were no resources whatever, and doubtless aid was needed, but its abuse, political and otherwise, reflected on Kansas for a decade. A committee of the legislature stated that 30,000 people were dependent for subsistence upon outside sources. On the 13th of July the mercury went up to 112 and 114 in the shade, and, with a hot scorching wind, it kept at these figures for weeks. The leaves withered and fell off the trees, and eggs roasted in the sand at midday. The dates of the beginning and ending of the drought vary in locations, but it may be said in general that there were from twelve to fourteen months between rains. There was no ice trust in Kansas to

annoy the people in 1860. Flour sold in Junction at \$9 per 100. Geo. W. Harris, now living in Topeka, says that on the 15th of July, 1855, he camped on the Conro farm, at the mouth of Humboldt; the grass was yellow and dead and in some places burned. The rains came and that fall they cut two tons of splendid hay to the acre. That year he paid \$10 in gold for 100 pounds of flour at Pawnee, and it had to be sifted to separate the worms. Mr. Harris, in 1860, had seventy acres in corn and did not raise a nubbin, but he was on the road freighting all summer and made \$600.

The Kansas relief committee in 1860, up to January 1, 1861, distributed throughout the territory 1,062,552 pounds of provisions and seed; and between January 1 and March 15, 1861, 7,028,399; making a total of 8,090,957 pounds. This does not include clothing, medicine, and garden seeds. The committee also handled \$83,869.52 in money. Another statement, signed by W. F. M. Army, shows that he contracted with railroads to carry 12,722,810 pounds, including clothes, medicine, boots and shoes, and garden seeds. F. N. Blake, of Junction City, was a member of the committee, and served as its agent at Chicago. The committee sent to Davis county (now Geary) 39,100 pounds of provisions prior to March 15, 1861, all in the winter of 1860-'61. Robert Reynolds, member of the legislature from this county, signed an appeal by the legislature to the people of the East.

Thaddeus Hyatt, who died recently in the Isle of Wight, and who was a controlling spirit in that relief business, says that the first subscription of \$100 by President James Buchanan was the actual commencement of that great contribution for Kansas. He also says of Samuel C. Pomeroy: "But that the recording angel in his wonderful doomsday book has anything written respecting the Kansas relief fund of 1860-'61, save to the honor and credit of my friend, I could not and would not believe, if as many devils as there are editors and politicians in Kansas, and devils, editors and politicians together were to swear to it on a stack of Bibles tall enough to reach from one of your flat prairies up to the rainbow."

Kansas had not made much headway when, in 1874, another disastrous dry spell came upon us. The population March, 1874, was 530,367, and our people had deposits in the banks amounting to \$1,852,551. The agricultural report says we raised \$29,920,734 worth of stuff that year from 3,669,769 acres. A relief committee was organized, made up from the most responsible men in the state. Maj. E. S. Stover,* one of the pioneers of Davis county, was chairman. This committee handled in cash \$73,863.47, 265 car-loads, and 11,049 packages. The

*ELIAS SLEEPER STOVER was born at Rockland, Me., November 22, 1836. He was educated in the schools of New England, but his father being a sea captain, he soon imbibed a love of the salt water, and at fifteen years of age began as a common sailor. He visited nearly all the ports on the American seaboard, and many upon the coasts of Great Britain, France, South America, and the West Indies. Upon one of his visits at home, about 1858, he heard of the troubles in Kansas, and soon he landed at Junction City. Stover is credited with starting the first Sabbath-school in Junction City. Between ocean trips he learned the trade of painter and glazier. In 1861 he enlisted in company B, Second Kansas, and participated in the battle of Wilson Creek. After three months he again enlisted, and was made first lieutenant company E, Second Kansas. He was mustered out as a captain in the fall of 1865, having participated in fifty-one different engagements, without being a day upon the sick-list, or asking a leave of absence. In the fall of 1866 he was elected a representative in the legislature from Geary county. In 1867 he was appointed Kaw Indian agent. In 1870 he was elected state senator from Morris and adjoining counties. In 1872 he was elected lieutenant-governor for two years, and during that time he presided over the joint convention made memorable by the exposure of Senator Pomeroy by Senator A. M. York. He received twenty-seven votes for United States senator in the legislature of 1874. He now resides in Albuquerque, N. M., where he has for many years been a prominent man.

value of the latter was estimated at \$161,245, which, added to the cash, gave a total dispensed by the committee of \$235,108.47. Of this amount Kansas furnished \$8457.19, three car-loads, and 357 packages. Geary county received from the committee one car-load, 718 packages; and from friends in the East, independent of the committee, thirty-seven packages, and \$865.60 in cash. A ladies' aid society, managed by Mrs. Mary P. Boller, now of Denver, received from the state committee and distributed much that year, as did Wm. Lockstone, who was county commissioner. A car-load of corn was shipped by the state committee to E. D. McGill. There were many fakirs begging and stealing throughout the East in the name of suffering Kansas.

Well, did Kansas stop, quit business, and move off? Of course not. She stuck, and in 1875 raised a crop which, through our exhibit at Philadelphia in 1876, startled the world, and gave us the greatest lift in immigration we have ever had. Hence, why should we be discouraged to-day? Thank God, no one says aid to-day, after two months of the most trying heat. We have reached an annual production of farm and live-stock products of \$321,254,159, and our people have in the bank deposits to the amount of \$66,846,954.60. The banks of Geary county have to-day on deposit \$450,061.88, or \$41.75 per capita. We have mining interests which we did not have in 1874, amounting in 1900 to \$18,222,026. We have a total assessed valuation of \$344,666,240 in 1901, as against \$128,906,519.90 in 1874, and \$24,737,563.09 in 1861. We have forty million bushels of old corn and seventy-five million bushels of the best wheat we have ever raised.*

Here is what Horace Greeley wrote in the New York *Independent* of February 7, 1861:

"From the British march on Lexington and Concord, which began the revolutionary war, to the formal acknowledgment of our independence by Great Britain in the peace of Paris, was a period of seven years—years of trial and suffering to America—years freighted with blessings for her and mankind. From the

*Here are the agricultural products and live-stock totals for 1901, according to Mr. F. D. Coburn, secretary Kansas State Board of Agriculture:

Winter and spring wheat.....	90,333,095 bus.,	\$50,610,505 75
Corn.....	42,605,672 "	21,731,215 39
Oats.....	20,806,329 "	7,375,817 73
Rye.....	2,955,065 "	1,408,980 00
Barley.....	2,356,700 "	931,783 54
Buckwheat.....	3,177 "	2,700 45
Irish and sweet potatoes.....	2,545,722 "	2,603,709 50
Castor beans.....	6,103 "	7,933 90
Flax.....	1,260,192 "	1,701,259 20
Cotton.....	57,800 lbs.,	4,046 00
Hemp.....	3,600 "	180 00
Tobacco.....	17,600 "	1,760 00
Broom-corn.....	13,105,125 "	524,205 00
Millet and hungarian.....	448,784 tons,	2,472,863 00
Sorghum for syrup.....	1,291,025 gals.,	451,858 75
Sorghums for grain and forage.....		9,785,846 00
Tame and prairie hay.....	2,556,011 tons,	19,061,603 00
Wool, dairy and poultry products.....		13,804,058 94
Animals slaughtered and sold for slaughter.....		60,902,241 00
Horticultural and garden products and wine.....		1,650,770 50
Honey, beeswax, and wood.....		221,315 30
Total value of farm products.....		\$195,254,652 95
<i>Live stock—numbers and values.</i>		
Horses and mules.....	915,278	\$52,888,646 00
Milch cows.....	803,952	25,726,464 00
Other cattle.....	2,613,885	60,119,355 00
Sheep.....	186,987	560,961 00
Swine.....	2,114,201	13,742,306 00
Total value of live stock.....		\$153,037,732 00
Grand total of farm products and live stock.....		\$348,292,384 00
Increase over previous year's values.....		17,038,225 00
Total increase in two years.....		45,387,005 00

introduction of the Nebraska bill by Senator Douglas, in 1854, to the formal admission of Kansas as a free state in 1861, with the election and approaching inauguration of Lincoln forming a rich, bright background, a similar period transpired—a period thickly studded with moving occurrences and memorable events—a period not less propitious in its results than the former to the advancement and well-being of mankind. George III receiving John Adams as minister plenipotentiary from the free and independent United States of North America, and James Buchanan signing the act for the admission of free Kansas, with two republican senators from that state coming forward to assume the seats just vacated by Toombs and Jeff. Davis, may well form the subjects of companion pictures destined to illustrate two memorable eras in American history.

"As our fathers emerged from their revolutionary struggle, rich in honor and strong in hope, but poor enough in this world's goods—needy, bankrupt, with every appliance of art and industry dilapidated and ruinous—so the people of Kansas emerged from their long struggle triumphant, indeed, but needy, squalid, famishing—victorious over their enemies, but bowed to the earth by a providential visitation such as had had no precedent in our country. Drought is not unknown to us; but a drought so persistent and so severe as that which devastated Kansas in 1860 is a stranger to the states this side of the Mississippi. No rain, or none of any consequence, over an area of 40,000 square miles, from seed-time till harvest—wheat, Indian corn, buckwheat, successively deposited in the earth, to die without germination, or to start only to be blighted and wither for want of moisture—eighty acres of cultivation on a settler's homestead, but nothing to harvest—such has been the woeful experience of seven eighths of Kansas during 1860.

"But the clouds now brooding heavily over Kansas will pass away. Individuals must suffer and die, but the new state will survive. The terrible experience of 1860 will not be without its uses, especially in inducing deeper and more thorough tillage than pioneers are apt to bestow.

"Doubtless there were thousands of good men in 1770-'75 who lamented the clouds then darkly gathering over the colonies. They were loyal, peaceful, prosperous, happy; they sought no change of government, and keenly regretted that they could not continue faithful at once to king and country, law and liberty. But God's wisdom was higher than theirs, and conducted them, through paths unsought and unknown, to a nobler nationality, a more perfect freedom. So, in 1854, good men in multitudes deprecated the relighting the fires of slavery agitation by the wanton repudiation of the Missouri compact. But these also have been led by a way which they knew not, the end whereof is a new and striking vindication of the 'divinity which shapes our ends' far better than our shortsighted impatience had planned them."

I think these dry spells are only incidents in the work of reclaiming this magnificent country, and that as elsewhere the soil and the elements require a rest. I believe it is all for good. If we had seasonable rains and perfect crops each year, what would we do with the stuff? In a few years it would require all of a man's farm on which to store the products. We are taught to pray, "Give us this day our daily bread." I understand this to mean that we are to pray every day, and not every seven years, or every twenty-five, when we happen to be caught short. At all events, we have to-day not only an abundance of daily bread, but, judging by the great strides from 1860 to 1874, and from 1874 to 1901, we have piled up an enormous surplus. I heard a man who has no belief as to God or prayer say that we ought to thank some one or something each day for the food we eat. There is no fear whatever among us of running out of something to eat, and I suspect the late special interest in prayer was induced by the discomfort of a heat which kept the mercury ranging from 90 to 104 degrees for a couple of months. Go right on with your work. Have faith in Kansas. She is getting to be easier with us each year.

The trouble with Kansas is that our misfortunes and freaks have too great prominence. We have never suffered a drought without Missouri suffering likewise. This year's drought began a month earlier in Missouri than in Kansas,

but we can be assured that it will go into history as the Kansas drought, and that it will be known in all parts of the world as of Kansas and not Missouri.

Each year of our history has improved our condition, and everything has happened for the best. We forget very easily, and there is nothing more instructive and satisfactory than to call up the past. In the development of Kansas, the comparison of one year with another is never odious, but refreshing. I was in Kansas nine years before I rode on a mile of Kansas railroad; so I am familiar with all our methods of travel and transportation. Aside from any controversy about management, or differences constantly and reasonably arising in all business enterprises, Kansas should be proud of her railroad record. Four of the greatest systems of the world cover the state with a network of roads, giving us a service not surpassed in any other state. They have kept abreast with the best improvements each year, until in the matter of safety, comfort, speed and rates no people are better favored. The development of these lines of traffic, at times of great loss to Eastern moneyed interests, I think about the most interesting feature of the state's history.

Methods of travel and transportation give great impetus to other interests. They are so closely identified with other things that much of our politics has to do with the railroad question, and we are to be congratulated that the passion and prejudice of earlier days have passed away. Brush selfishness aside, and we have a very flattering record in this respect. How rapidly every section of the state has jumped to the front in the way of railroad facilities; a reasonable number of trains, road-beds smooth as glass, with handsome cars, at from thirty to forty-five miles an hour, seems like a dream, and yet it is a development that most of you have seen. We get this service to-day for 2.19 cents per mile for each passenger, while in the different countries of Europe it costs from 2.20 to 3.36 cents per mile per passenger. For a ton of freight per mile, we paid in 1897, the last figures I can find, 1.010 cents, a smaller charge than in any European country. This was a reduction from 1882 to 1897 of 55 86 per cent. In the year 1897, the Santa Fe carried 1,636,291,563 tons one mile. To show the results of the gradual reduction of rates upon the expenses of the people for transportation, if the rate in force in 1893 had been collected on the business of 1897, the road would have earned \$965,300.75 more than it did. If the rate in force in 1888 had been collected from the business of 1897, the road would have earned \$4,057,-891.80 more than it did. If the rate collected in 1882 had been charged upon the business of 1897, the road would have earned \$20,911,692.90 more than it did.* Apply these comparisons to all the roads in the state, and the progress we have made in this respect seems something fabulous. This was brought about gradually, as a result of business conditions, voluntarily, and not through political agitation or oppressive legislation. A review for a quarter of a century of our railroad development covering all the lines of the state, would be a marvel of interest.

In the short life of this settlement we have known of the assassination of three presidents. Why a ruler should be murdered in this country, where freedom is so absolute that the citizen would never know he had a government if it were not for an occasional tax receipt, ninety per cent. of which is spent for his own immediate use or comfort, is beyond comprehension. Abraham Lincoln was assassinated about 9:30 o'clock Friday night, April 14, 1865. The news reached Junction City about two o'clock Monday morning, the 17th. I was postmaster at the time, and lived on the east side of Washington street, about

* These figures are from a brief in the matter of the complaint of the Mayor and Council of the City of Concordia v. The A. T. & S. F. Railway Company, before the board of railroad commissioners, by A. A. Hurd, attorney for the railroad company.

midway between Eighth and Ninth, where the mail was delivered in the night by the stage company. As soon as I opened the door the stage-driver remarked: "Lincoln, Seward and Stanton have been killed." I lighted the lamp and read the story; put out the light and attempted to sleep. I rolled and tossed about for half an hour, then arose, dressed, and started out, and soon I had everybody in town out of bed. At four o'clock there was a good-sized crowd in W. K. Bartlett's store, on Washington street, across the alley south of the Central National Bank building. Four years of war had left only passion and bitterness throughout the country, and the loss of Lincoln impressed the people that the end of all things had come. People were dazed, and stood about almost speechless, and waiting twenty-four hours for further news was agonizing. At two o'clock Monday afternoon the people gathered in Taylor's hall, where resolutions were adopted and speeches made by J. R. McClure and Robert McBratney. Sunday, April 23, Rev. Charles Reynolds, D.D., chaplain at Fort Riley, delivered a sermon on Lincoln in Taylor's hall. A lieutenant at the fort was placed in the guard-house for expressing indifference, and at Fort Zarah a Colorado soldier killed a man for speaking lightly of Lincoln.

Then came the assassination of Garfield, the result of a factional feud about patronage upon a weak-minded fool, more scandalous than the bitterness of war.

To-day the people are in such happy condition, more of them in good circumstances, than ever before in the history of the country, and generally so contented over government policies and patronage that the assassination of President McKinley is the most inexplicable of all. Men who believe in no government should be killed the same as mad dogs. Tears come from every living soul the world over that so good, pure and useful a man as McKinley should be so foully murdered; but the fear which seized this people upon the death of Lincoln does not prevail to-day. Thank God! and thanks to the blood of Lincoln and of the thousands who died in the same cause, we have a country and a government. Wonderfully mysterious the use of blood in the development of mankind, and that it should always be the best, from the days of Christ down to McKinley!

Who are the early settlers? The early settlers, especially of Kansas, are the salt of the earth. They never die, but are always with you. Each generation has a new lot of them. The early settlers are perennial. The middle-aged of to-day will be the early settlers a few years from now, and the young in turn will have made a record for credit or debit at which they may look back with pride or sneer like fools. The early settlers are the fathers and mothers, and the only question always is, how well they did their parts. "Honor thy father and thy mother, that thy days may be long upon the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee." So it should be toward those who preceded you in the task of founding and developing the condition of society you enjoy.

Hamlin Garland says of the pioneers:

"They rise to mastery of wind and snow;
They go like soldiers grimly into strife
To colonize the plain. They plow and sow,
And fertilize the sod with their own life,
As did the Indian and the buffalo."

The duty of carrying it on is just as responsible. In ignoring or neglecting the accomplishment or examples of those who have gone before each is guilty of injustice to himself.

I think the sturdy character of the American people comes from the fact that we have pioneered for three centuries. Each community in the westward movement had to build its own society, and each individual in the community had to

yield something of the ideas and prejudices he brought with him to those of the people of other sections. Hence we have had the best of all, and the siftings of all these years of experiences, adventure, and thoughtful consideration of the rights of each and all, differing greatly, focused on the plains of Kansas.

In one of the territorial papers published in 1856, I find a poem on the Kansas immigrant, from which I quote the following verses :

"A thousand sweet motives impel you
To follow the track of the sun ;
Nor can ye, your own hearts will tell you,
Live happy till this shall be done ;
Then come, rear your cot in the wildwood
That sighs for the sound of your blows,
And there in the prattle of childhood,
And plenty and peace, find repose.

"Broad prairies with herbage are waving,
To tell you how rich is their soil ;
Oh, speed the bright cloud they are craving.
And take their warm thanks for your toil ;
The bosom of earth holds a treasure
That ages would fail to impair ;
In this, would ye share without measure ?
Ye have but to delve for it there.

"Then, when all of those toils have been ended
That gladdened your own chosen hearth,
And ashes with ashes are blended,
And earth again mingled with earth ;
Then hearts your loved image shall treasure
And hallow the place of your rest,
While viewing with soul-thrilling pleasure,
The homes that ye formed in the West."

SKETCHES OF KANSAS PIONEER EXPERIENCE.

Written by WILLIAM HUTCHINSON,* of Washington, D. C., for the Kansas State Historical Society.

I WAS often urged by the late Judge Adams, as secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society, to write sketches of my Kansas life for the use of the said Society, and he represented that others of my coworkers, or some of them, were doing so; but I as often declined to attempt the task, partly because I doubted whether I could write much that would be of general interest at this late day, and partly because of my increasing aversion to any labor of this sort. Since the death of Judge Adams, others have made the same request of me, and more especially on the score that there are now so few remaining to tell the story of early Kansas conflicts and trials, that it becomes rather a duty on the part of those who were actors to leave to posterity some traces of their foot-

* WILLIAM HUTCHINSON was born January 24, 1823, in Randolph, Vt.; hence his journalistic *nom de plume*. He was brought up on a farm, where hard work was the highest accomplishment. His education was in the common schools, with a few academic terms added. He taught school several winters, after the country fashion, and "boarded around." March 3, 1847, he married Helen M. Fish, of the same town. In 1852 he left the farm, moved to the village, and became editor and publisher of *The Green Mountain Herald*, that he conducted with fair success, as a weekly paper, until his removal to Kansas, in the early spring of 1855. He was first identified with the abolition or free-soil party, until the organization of the republican party, when he joined its ranks, and has continued a steadfast adherent. He was an early and persistent advocate of temperance and other reforms, but always sought to reach his ends within his party, rather than by isolated organizations.

prints. As a further reason, it is urged that, when so much has been badly written of pretended Kansas history—some by authors who were not born until after Kansas became a state—those who have personal knowledge and were living witnesses of the early events should surely be first heard.

This will be no attempt, however, to write a history of Kansas, nor to write a full Kansas chapter of my own biography, but rather to portray some personal incidents in my Kansas experience, and show my relation to, or agency in, some of the public affairs during our territorial period.

As a sort of preface or index to what follows, I may state that I went from Vermont to Kansas with my family in the early spring of 1855, and located at Lawrence when there was but one building on the site made of sawed lumber, viz., the office of Emery* & Hutchinson (my brother John, who went there the fall before, was of that firm), and I immediately bought a town share, as they were termed, of ten city lots, with a log cabin on one lot, in which I lived with my family over a year. Formed a partnership for mercantile business with G. W. Hutchinson and Oscar Harlow, and we commenced the erection of a stone-concrete building, fifty feet square, on Massachusetts street. This was among the first stone buildings built there, and when completed the first story and cellar were used for the store, and the upper story for our family residences. It was April 1, 1855, when I first stepped upon Kansas soil, and almost with the first breath began those stirring scenes that soon supplanted public order and domestic peace. The second election under Governor Reeder, of March 30, had just taken place two days before, and the roads were thronged with returning Missouri voters. They were all in two-horse farm wagons, carrying guns, whisky bottles, and camp-kettles. This weird and ragged crowd who had just cast their ballots to enslave Kansas was my first object-lesson in my newly-chosen field. As my education had been in the antislavery school, it was but natural that I should have felt an earnest desire to make Kansas a free state.

Of the early Kansas troubles, so called, and their multiform events, volumes have already been written that I have no cause to repeat here. I will, however, note a few of the civil affairs of the territory, with which I was more or less connected in a humble way, wherein the first person singular will be conspicuously found. The first celebration of the Fourth of July† ever held on Kansas soil was in the grove near Lawrence, in 1855; a genuine old-fashioned time, when I gave an address, among many others. My theme was "The Dignity of Labor." The general friction that soon arose between the free-state and the proslavery parties in the territory early led to a state bordering on anarchy and civil war, and as the free-state people had no use for the Missouri-made laws and officials, they were compelled to act through committees with some form of organization. First they had a "committee of safety"; then a state central committee. I was the secretary, and for a time also the treasurer, of such committee. It was the province of this committee, as defined by the largest mass convention‡ ever held in Kansas up to that time, to take in charge all matters, financial as well as civil, of a public or protective character. We conducted all correspondence and transacted the business for the settlers with the governor and other officials, as the written history of that period shows. Later on, when, owing to our privations, we were compelled to ask aid from the East, all contributions were received

* For biographical sketch of James S. Emery, see volume VI of the Society's Historical Collections, page 223.

† Lewis & Clark, 1804, at the mouth of Independence creek, in Doniphan county, on the Missouri. (Hist. Soc. Coll., vol. I, p. 38.)

‡ Free-state convention at Topeka, July 2-4, 1856. (Andreas, p. 140.)

and distributed by this committee, until Mr. Army interfered, as I will show hereafter. The position of the secretary and treasurer was then no sinecure.

A people's convention was held October 28, 1856, at Big Springs, to nominate a delegate to Congress, when I was elected secretary, and the first ballot resulted as follows: M. J. Parrott, 63; A. H. Reeder, 54; Wm. Hutchinson, 21; S. C. Pomeroy, 3; J. M. Winchell, 12; scattering, 4. On the final vote Governor Reeder was chosen. This vote for me was wholly unsolicited. I was not a candidate, and had never asked for a vote.

In the winter of 1856-'57 I returned to Vermont and raised a party of about thirty, who went back with me. I took them into southern Kansas, as we called it then, and we settled on the Little Osage river, in Bourbon county, where all took claims near "Timber Hills." It was called the "Vermont colony." We selected one quarter-section for a town-site, and staked our claims around it for occupancy under the preemption act. When in camp the first evening, May 12, 1857, the question arose: "What shall be the name of our town?" The party insisted that it should bear my name, but I was too modest to allow it. To satisfy them, I agreed that I would give it a name, with their permission. They finally assented. "Timber Hills" were noted for their sugar-maple trees, but rarely found in Kansas, so far as I then knew. I therefore gave our town the name of Mapleton. I afterwards learned there was then one other town in the United States so named. There are now twenty. The claim adjoining the town site on the east was taken by Judge J. C. Burnett,* and I took the one next east of his. As I had a house and business in Lawrence, I was unable to occupy this claim continuously. I built on it a frame cottage, broke and fenced ten acres, and was there off and on, hoping to secure my preemption title. A few times I took my family there. Later on, owing to my frequent absence from the claim, J. M. Hoffnagle "jumped" the claim, and became my contestant. This finally resulted in a decision, on appeal here to the general land-office in Washington, against both of us. But in spite of my action at Mapleton, Kansas has a city named Hutchinson. In my Vermont party there was a Clinton C. Hutchinson, a cousin of my business partner, and he stopped in Lawrence with his cousins and did not follow us down to southern Kansas. At a later period he became interested with S. C. Pomeroy and others in Santa Fé railroad speculations that opened the way for him to make a strike for the Arkansas river valley, and this resulted in a town site being located in Reno county that was named after him.

THE PEOPLE'S TOPEKA CONVENTION.

I shall only glance at the successive steps by which the people of the territory, who had repudiated the laws made by the Missouri invaders, undertook to frame a government of their own choice and to rid themselves of the bogus government.† The primary step was taken in a mass convention at Lawrence August 14, 1856. This set in motion the Big Springs convention, and following this was the Topeka convention in "Constitution hall," where the Topeka constitution was framed, providing for the complete machinery of a state government. The first legislature elected under this constitution assembled at Topeka March 4,

* JONATHAN C. BURNETT was born March 19, 1825, in Morristown, Vt.; emigrated to Kansas in 1857; practiced law in Bourbon and adjacent counties; delegate to Wyandotte constitutional convention, 1859; member of last territorial house of representatives, and of the first state senate, 1861; register of United States land-office, Fort Scott and Humboldt, 1861-'65; removed to Lawrence in 1865, and became director and land commissioner of the Leavenworth, Lawrence & Galveston Railroad Company. His death occurred at Wichita, July 3, 1899.

† "The Rejected Constitutions," by T. Dwight Thacher, appeared in volume III, Collections of the Historical Society, page 436, and makes a very full statement of events relating to these three instruments.

1856, and was dispersed by federal troops under Colonel Sumner* at the second session, July 4, 1856. Another legislature under the same constitution met at Topeka January 4, 1858, when I was a member of the house, and I was elected speaker *pro tem.* of that body. The territorial legislature was also in session in Lawrence at the same time. Harris Stratton, who was a member of both bodies, was elected speaker of the house in the Topeka legislature; but as he chose to act with the territorial body throughout the term, I was practically the speaker during all their sittings. This is no place to explain the friction that existed between these two legislatures. It is sufficient to say that, after a fruitless labor of several weeks, in an effort to secure the abdication of the territorial legislature and allow the state government under the Topeka constitution to go into actual operation, we adjourned, and issued a lengthy address, about four newspaper columns in length, to the people of Kansas. The closing paragraph and signatures to this were as follows:

"We are thus compelled by a necessity that leaves us no choice to adjourn for the present, and to refer back to the people who elected us the question as to whether the Topeka constitution is dead. Under a fearful opposition from a despotic federal power, and under a torrent of malignant abuse and falsification from pretended friends, we have endeavored to vindicate the rights of an unquestionable majority of the people of Kansas. A few years will serve to develop the justice and propriety of our course; to that future we can leave it. We offer this evidence that we have never voluntarily abandoned our duty, and will resume it the moment you enable us.

WM. HUTCHINSON,
B. B. NEWTON,
CHARLES MAYO,
J. M. WALDEN,
L. MARTIN,

WM. A. PHILLIPS, *Chairman.*
J. M. HENDRY,
W. F. M. ARNY,
Senate Committee."

House Committee.

The story of the early troubles in Kansas has been too often written to require any mention here, further than to say that Lawrence and vicinity was the center of those border strifes termed the "Wakarusa war," and for weary months and years I was in my place in the free-state ranks battling for the civil liberties of the people. As a member of Governor Robinson's or General Lane's staff, or as a volunteer, I was in the battle of Fort Titus, the battle of Washington Creek, the battle of Franklin, and of Bull Creek, so called, and all the other engagements of that vicinity. But for this I claim no merit whatever, for all our free-state men were doing the same in a common cause. For nearly two years we kept a light burning every night in our sleeping-rooms, with firearms within easy reach. The sacking of Lawrence, May 21, 1856, by a posse of United States officers, will be ever memorable, and I stood near General Atchison when he pointed their cannon at the Free-state hotel. I saw and heard all.

It will not be irrelevant, I think, to introduce an incident here, in keeping with my general purpose. Intense excitement and general fear prevailed, immediately

*EDWIN VOSE SUMNER, born in Boston, January 30, 1797, was educated at Milton (Mass.) Academy, and entered the army in 1819 as second lieutenant of infantry. He served in the Black Hawk war, and then distinguished himself as an Indian fighter on the frontier. In 1838 he had command of the school of cavalry practice at Carlisle, Pa. In the Mexican war he led the cavalry charge at Cerro Gordo, in April, 1847, and checked the advance of 5000 Mexican lancers at Molino del Rey. He was governor of New Mexico in 1851-'53, and visited Europe to report on improvements in cavalry. In 1857, as colonel of the First cavalry, he led a successful expedition against the Cheyennes. For report of this expedition, see page 489, volume IV, of the Society's Collections. While stationed at Leavenworth he dispersed the Topeka free-state legislature, on July 4, 1856. The fourth and fifth volumes of the Society's Collections contain many of his letters relative to military affairs in the territory. He served gallantly during the early part of the rebellion, dying in Syracuse, N. Y., March 21, 1863.

following the destruction of Lawrence. With many others, Governor Reeder* was anxious to find a place of greater safety. Disguised as a deck-hand, he escaped from Kansas on a boat down the Missouri river to a freer atmosphere, but he did not dare to carry any important papers that were to be essential for his mission or future work. These papers were left in charge of Col. Shaler W. Eldridge, who had kept the hotel just demolished. Neither did he (Colonel Eldridge) dare to carry the papers out of Kansas himself, but he thought if some lady would go with him, they might be hidden in her clothing. He therefore called for some lady to volunteer for the hazardous task. My late wife, Helen M. Hutchinson, who died over two years ago, offered to go with him. The morning of May 23, 1856, she secreted the consignment of papers, and left Lawrence with Colonel Eldridge for Kansas City, displaying a degree of courage, as well as patriotism, richly deserving this brief mention. Colonel Eldridge wrote me a short time before he died that he was preparing a history of that affair for the Historical Society, in which he intended to do her full justice, and he said there was no lady in Kansas more deserving. I have never heard whether his purpose was fulfilled. As I recollect, they were intercepted on the way by bands of ruffians, but finally got through with the papers in safety. In one of the late annual meetings of reunions of the old settlers of Kansas, I think this incident was referred to as a notable deed.

A KANSAS CORRESPONDENT.†

Early in 1855, or soon after my arrival in Kansas, I felt the necessity of giving the people of the States, especially in the East, the fullest information possible of the condition of affairs in the territory. As I had previously edited and published a weekly paper, it was but natural for me to take up the pen for some Eastern journal. I began by writing letters for the *Vermont Watchman*, printed at the state capital. As this was but a weekly paper, I soon saw that would not do, and then engaged to write for the *Boston Journal*. In a short time I became the special correspondent for the *New York Times*, over the signature RANDOLPH (the name of my native town), and in that field I labored diligently during my stay in Kansas, or some seven years. At times I also wrote for the *Chicago Tribune*, over the name of VIGIL, and for the *St. Louis Democrat* and *Washington Republic*, over different names. Col. Wm. A. Phillips was the correspondent of the *New York Tribune* during the same period. We were often together in our labors, and I think it was generally conceded that our correspondence exceeded that of all other writers from Kansas combined. It was our business to seek the fields of greatest civil, political or military strife, and to tell the world about it in our own way.

Henry J. Raymond was then the editor of the *New York Times*, and he was emphatically conservative, and he would not tolerate any tincture of liberalism; just the antipodes of Greeley, of the *Tribune*. Our numerous provocations kept our pulse at fever heat, and I soon found it difficult to work within the prescribed tracks. But I found partial relief in this way: After some of my red-hot letters had been returned to me, as requested, if not published, I arranged to use the *Boston Journal* or the *Boston Telegraph* as safety-valves, and directed that all letters not used by the *Times* should be forwarded to one of the said Boston papers, and they were always accepted and published. Raymond at times would even apologize for our governors (we had many of them) and President Buchanan, in his editorials, while we had no use for any of them. Not a

* See Governor Reeder's escape from Kansas, Historical Society Collections, volume III, page 205.

† See Colonel Hinton's "Pens that Made Kansas Free," in the Historical Society's Collections, volume VI, page 371.

few of my letters to journals were captured by the border ruffians, as were also those written by Colonel Phillips, so that in many instances the chain was broken by their loss.

When Horace Greeley came to Kansas, in 1859, to attend the Osawatimie republican convention, I was speaking to him about my difficulty with the *Times*, and he urged me by all means to continue as I was doing, rather than try to engage with a radical paper. He said: "You cannot possibly do as much good in any other way. The *Times* is read by a class of people who need enlightening. Those who read my paper are right already, and need no converting. Even if half of your letters are returned, don't you give it up." To show clearly our relations and my predicament, I will give a copy of a part of one of Mr. Raymond's letters when returning mine to me:

"TIMES OFFICE, NEW YORK, October 10, 1857.

"*My Dear Sir:* I comply with your request and return the enclosed manuscript. If it would have done any good to publish it that time has passed, as the election is over, and the result will show which side was right better than anything else. For my own part, I have no doubt whatever that Kansas will be a free state, and that the present administration (Buchanan and Walker) will make it so. Not that they are free-soil men, or care much about freedom or slavery *per se*, but they are party men, and their party necessities will force them into that channel. Of course, you who are on the spot may see abundant reason for the course which your section of the free-state party takes, but here there is not one man in ten even of the republicans who considers it wise, or sympathizes with it in the least. This may be all wrong and very foolish on the part of the public, but it is true nevertheless. I suppose it is difficult or perhaps impossible for you to assume an impartial tone in your letters, but I must frankly say that without this, or unless they give all facts on both sides with equal fairness, they are of no use to the *Times*. I will send all we do not use to the Boston *Telegraph*, as you request. Very truly yours, H. J. RAYMOND."

The *Times* was professedly a republican paper, but of the most conservative type. How sadly Mr. Raymond was mistaken in his opinion of the purposes of the then administration later events fully proved. It was that same administration that either caused or winked at all our troubles.

DISTURBANCES IN SOUTHERN KANSAS.

During the struggles and trials and bloody conflicts of 1855, '56, and '57, I continued to write for the Eastern papers, and told the story of our experiences as best I could, and then came a season of comparative peace and quiet, until troubles were renewed in southern Kansas; that is, mainly in Linn and Bourbon counties. From the fact that I had a claim at Mapleton, I was led to often visit that section, and became the more interested in their affairs. During 1858 the old issues of slavery and antislavery were being renewed in that region, with local modifications, and traces of personal animosities. James Montgomery,* of Linn county, soon became a recognized leader of the free-state settlers. Doctor Jennison, of the same county, was soon heard from, and John Brown was spending much of his time near them or in the adjoining county of Lykins (now Miami). I often met them, and whenever Captain Montgomery came to Lawrence my house was

*JAMES MONTGOMERY was born in Ohio December 22, 1814. He received an excellent academic education before removing to Kentucky with his parents in 1837. There he engaged in teaching, afterwards becoming a preacher of the Christian church. He removed to Missouri with his family in 1852. Upon the opening of Kansas to settlement, he purchased of a proslavery man his right to a claim near Mound City, and early became identified with the free-state party. When General Clarke, with his ruffians, drove off the free-state settlers from their claims on the Little Osage in 1856 he took their part, and when he was himself ordered to leave the territory refused to go. The next year many of the free-state men returned, and attempted to recover their homes. The proslavery county officers issued writs for their arrest and many of them were indicted. In 1857 Montgomery raised a military company and successfully took the

always his home. Jennison and Brown were occasional visitors. On the other hand, when I took my trips to Mapleton I frequently went by way of Montgomery's prairie home on the Little Sugar, four or five miles above Mound City, and I stayed many nights with them. My outfit was always an Indian pony, and it made but little difference whether I found a traveled road or not. It was only necessary in those days to find one, or an Indian trail, when crossing a stream. I remember I kept on the "divides," and headed most of the streams on the route to Montgomery's. At one time, I think it was in 1858, I remember I was at Mapleton July 2, and I had an engagement to take part in a Fourth of July celebration at Burlington, on the Neosho river. I started on the morning of the 3d with my ever-faithful pony, *overland*, to find my way to Burlington, when there were no roads in that direction. But very few cabins of settlers were seen on the way. I had no guide but a small map of Kansas. I followed the divides as far as possible, gave Mr. Pony about an hour for grazing at noon, and reached Burlington before sunset. I did not know the distance then, but I now find the distance to be nearly sixty miles in a straight line. I did not follow ten miles of road all day, and was on hand for the celebration the next day.

JOHN BROWN AND HIS REVOLVERS.

In the spring of 1858 John Brown went to Canada to organize or perfect his scheme to liberate all the slaves in the United States, and there at the town of Chatham, in the month of May, in a secret convention, his famous "provisional constitution" was adopted. When he returned to Kansas, some time in June, he became more secretive than ever, and went in disguise under the assumed name Capt. Shubel Morgan. Meanwhile his friends in the East were sending him both money and arms. They found it difficult to communicate with him direct, and a box containing fifty Colt's revolvers of navy size came from them to the Kansas central committee, and as its secretary I had charge of them. Captain Brown, *alias* Morgan, was then unable to receive or use them. He had no considerable company or following, and at most did not have more than twelve or fourteen men who were acting under his orders up to that time. He was moving about constantly over three or four counties visiting a few friends, but shunning towns and roads as much as possible. When on my way to Topeka one day I remember seeing him walking in a woody ravine, some half a mile from the road, as he was getting out of sight of the road as fast as possible. His appearance or dress was strikingly unique. He wore a long linen duster and a palm-leaf hat with very wide brim, that sloped down nearly to his shoulders, thus hiding his face, quite adapted to his purpose. By that exterior he was well-known to us that summer. What could he do in that situation with fifty revolvers, when he had no camp or abiding place? At a later period matters were changed and he moved more openly.

Hence, the central committee considered the case fully and deemed it best not to hold the arms indefinitely, but to place them in the hands of trusty citizens, at least temporarily, where they would serve some good purpose for Kansas, as the free-state men were poorly armed generally. I was therefore directed

field against the disturbers of the peace. Thus began what was known as "the troubles in southern Kansas," which continued with brief intervals until merged in the greater conflict of the civil war. In 1861 Montgomery was commissioned colonel of the Third regiment Kansas volunteer infantry and entered the service. Afterwards he was transferred to the Second South Carolina negro regiment and made a raid into Georgia in 1863. February 20, 1864, his regiment took a commendable part in the battle of Olustee, Fla. In October, 1864, he led his neighbors in the Price raid, not being quite recovered from a serious illness. He died December 6, 1871, and was buried on his farm in Linn county. See his letters to Geo. L. Stearns, twenty-four in all, recently given the Society, written between the dates April 14, 1860, and December 10, 1864.

by the committee to give them out to men who were both deserving and responsible. From each I took a receipt, giving the number of the revolver, and stipulating that they were only loaned, and would be returned on demand of John Brown. They were thus distributed by me; some went to the southern counties and some to members of a military company in Lawrence called "Stubbs." Later on Brown made an effort to secure some of the revolvers, but I am not able at this time to state how far he succeeded. I have in my possession one of his letters to me on the subject that was never published, of which the following is a copy:

"MONEKA, KAN., August 3, 1858.

"*Mr. Hutchinson:* DEAR SIR—Please send me the names of the persons to whom my revolvers were loaned, the time at which they were given out, if convenient, the residence of the borrower, and the number of each revolver. If the numbers of each cannot be given, please give all the numbers you can, together with the highest and lowest of the whole lot, so that I may know every one bearing an intermediate number to be mine. I have not yet succeeded in obtaining or receiving any. For most of the time since you left me, over three weeks since, I have been near the border, and a fortnight of the time on the claim upon which the wholesale murders were committed, which is upon the line itself and in full view of much of the Missouri country. Our taking such a position seemed to inspire confidence in those who had left their homes, and several have returned to their homes and labors, confident of protection and safety. I am now down with the ague, but hope to be on my legs again soon.

Respectfully yours,

JOHN BROWN."

My reply to this letter is published (in part) on page 366 of F. B. Sanborn's "Life and Letters of John Brown."

On further reflection, I think the revolvers were received by our committee while Brown was in Canada. It is impossible for me to keep exact dates of events forty-odd years ago, when I have to depend on memory alone.

"Osawatomie Brown" was Orville C. Brown, from Brooklyn, N. Y., who located and named the town by coining the word out of the names of the two rivers—Osage and Pottawatomie—that unite just below the town site.

John Brown never lived in Osawatomie, nor very near there. When he lived on Pottawatomie creek, near his sons, his nearest post-office was at Lane. To those who knew the real "Osawatomie Brown" as a prominent citizen during our territorial period, it does not appear just to give that appellation to another. All the same, give due praise to John Brown and his brave men, who fought in the Osawatomie battle. O. C. Brown* was still living in New York when I last heard of him, about a year ago.

Whenever the border troubles grew alarming in southern Kansas I was generally found there in my place as a journalist, and in that respect I had few or no rivals. No other Kansas correspondent wrote from the scene of action,† to my knowledge, during the period referred to, and I fully realized my responsibility in that important hour, and sought to give the public an impartial version of the events of that historic era. I started from Lawrence to go south about December, 1858, in company with Rev. John E. Stewart, who was widely known at that time as "the fighting preacher," and the name well fitted the man. We both rode ponies, and about noon of the second day fell in with John Brown, who had three of his men with him, all on foot, and, as they were destined to the same section we were, it was soon agreed that we should stay together and "spell" each other in turn by a ride on the ponies. We thus traveled until we

*See foot-note, page 325, this volume.

†The author has forgotten William P. Tomlinson's "Kansas in 1858," written during that summer and published in 1859, from notes made while riding in the company of Montgomery and his men.

reached Moneka, in Linn county, where we stopped with Augustus Wattles who had achieved a national reputation as an antislavery writer and worker. But the point in this story I will now state. John Brown declined to ride one step (except when crossing streams) during those two days, under the plea that his men needed the relief more than he did, and all our persuasion to the contrary was in vain. His unselfish nature stood out so prominently in that instance that it deserves a place in his memoirs. I personally knew he had been a great sufferer the previous fall from chills and fever, and the traces of it were still visible; but all the same, Brown would not ride and see his men walking by the side of him.

We stopped with Mr. Wattles over night, and even longer. His house was two stories, built near the section line of his claim, and his brother, John O. Wattles, also a prominent antislavery writer, had an adjoining claim, and his house, too, was near the line; so the brothers were close neighbors; and both claims joined the town site of Moneka, as I now remember. I think both of their wives on that occasion wore bloomer dresses. I slept that night with John Brown. Our bed was a mattress made of hay, laid upon the floor of the second story. Sleep seemed to be a secondary matter with him. I am sure he talked on that night till the small hours, and his all-absorbing theme was "my work," "my great duty," "my mission," etc., meaning, of course, the liberation of the slaves. He seemed to have no other object in life, no other hope or ambition. The utmost sincerity pervaded his every thought and word. There were some half a dozen freed slaves then harbored there with the Wattles brothers awaiting marching orders. In the morning all were gathered with us around the breakfast table. The unwritten law of John Brown would permit no separate table for the ex-slaves. I remember the scene as if it were but yesterday. Our whole repast consisted of mush and milk, and for this John Brown most fervently asked God's blessing, while the sable faces bowed low in humble thankfulness. The retrospect of our breakfast that morning is of itself a most impressive sermon that might be extended for pages.

Following this I spent some two weeks mingling with the people, to feel the public pulse and learn the whole truth. These southern counties were on the verge of another civil outbreak. A truce had been previously made between the governor and Captain Montgomery and John Brown, but the governor's forces had not lived up to it, and the people were threatening another civil war. To uphold the olive branch of peace, I traversed two counties for signers to an instrument I prepared that first bore these five signatures: Augustus Wattles, John Brown, Wm. Hutchinson, James Montgomery, O. P. Bayne. The paper was very generally signed, and later it was carried to Bourbon county, with the same result. There was a temporary lull in affairs, and we began to hope the worst was over. But the storm center soon developed in a new quarter. The president and cabinet at Washington became restless because "the robbers, Montgomery and Brown," were not arrested and punished, and the affray was renewed by the offer of large rewards for their capture. The *New York Times* even gave vent to a redhot editorial, directed especially against the amnesty I had aided in preparing for southern Kansas settlers. To this I wrote a two-column rejoinder that Mr. Raymond declined to publish.

MY LETTER TO MY WIFE.

While at Mapleton, on the trip I have been describing, I wrote a letter to my wife that describes the atmosphere I was breathing and the high tension under which I was acting so much better than anything I could write to-day, that I shall venture to copy it here. Although it has been preserved, it was

never given publicity, and as much of it relates to Kansas events that have now become historic, I think my presumption may be warranted :

“MAPLETON, Monday eve., January 3, 1859.

“*Dear Helen:* I must write you a word to-night to let you know of my whereabouts and progress. I stayed at Palmyra the first night. Next night reached Paola, where I began to hear war news. Many were greatly alarmed for the future, and some proslavery men have lately left. Four Missourians were over a few nights before and stole four horses near Stanton. Next day I heard at Osawatomie that fifteen men had gone south to join Montgomery, and the people generally seemed timid about sustaining the defensive movements. I stopped next with Mr. Arthur, and such another place does n't exist in Kansas. That night it snowed, and my bed, as usual, was on the floor. House open without a door. The door space was near me, and all night long the wind and snow blew on me, and in the morning snow was three inches deep all over my bed. I stayed there because I wanted to talk with him, for he had been down south with Sheriff Walker, and I wanted the facts. Of course, Walker went back to Lawrence without arresting anybody or advising anybody else to do so. I do n't believe he comforted the governor much when he saw him and reported. The next day I met companies from old Brown's camp going north, and learned they had broken up. Have heard the full history of Brown's going into Missouri, and shall justify him. I met with Brown and his boys about noon that day, Thursday. We went to Wattle's that night together, and we were together all night and next day, talking much with him and Wattle's and others who called on us. They took special pains to have a war council on my account, and appeared to have great confidence in the opinion of 'the man from Lawrence,' as some termed me. I am so vain as to think my advice did have some good effect. I recommended *one more* trial for a settlement before resorting to rash measures, and they accepted my plan, and we drew up a paper for signatures, and Wattle's started to circulate it among both parties.

“I went Friday night to Montgomery's, but he had just left a half-hour before for this settlement; so I put after him across the prairie, and overtook him at Lost creek, five miles from here, and there we stopped and talked till morning. Next morning started about sunrise, and as there was to be a meeting* Saturday of the settlers of this county to devise a plan for peace, I went directly with Montgomery to the meeting, some three miles from here, and there I met Mr. Burnett and other Vermont friends. Had a large meeting, and I was glad to be present. I furnished the resolutions that were adopted. Montgomery made a good speech, and every man on the ground seemed to fully indorse him. That night I came here, and have remained till now. . . . (I here describe some work on my Mapleton claim.)

“The whole country along the border is in arms, and I fear the end is distant if the governor persists in enforcing bogus laws and sustaining bogus officers. The blood is up on this side, and they won't stop now for trifles, from late reports. When I left Moneka I expected to hear every hour that *somebody* had, the night previous, murdered Matlock (one of Captain Hamilton's Linn county murderers), who escaped from Paris in the fall, and old Jackson, across the line, near the trading post, who is one of the most notorious ruffians now living; but news has come here to-day that Jackson is killed and his house burned; that the Kansas settlers had rallied in the vicinity to prevent an invasion across the line.

“To-day some 500 men from Fort Scott crossed this river (Little Osage) near the state line going north, and we all expect warm work is near. Four or five have been here to-day after Montgomery from different points, as they supposed he was here with me, but he went to the Marmaton yesterday to see Griffith, and has not returned. He has doubtless learned of the movements and is probably *somewhere* making due preparation. Men are moving over the country in every direction, and it seems to me like old times. I don't intend to go into the conflict unless it comes to the worst, but shall keep in communication with the leaders and advise as I think necessary. I cannot now *write* the *cause* of all this, but know it well. I am looking for the most important results to Missouri as well as to Kansas. Unless it culminates soon in an honorable amnesty it will carry the war 'into Africa' in earnest. I cannot say I hope for this, but I greatly fear it.

*See letter in the *Lawrence Republican* of January 13, 1859, dated Dayton, Bourbon county, January 1, containing the proceedings of this meeting.

"I wrote to the *Times* yesterday and shall try to get later news for another letter to-morrow. I cannot tell when I shall start for home. As long as the present fire rages I cannot leave, for this is headquarters for news, and I want to get it for the public. At best, I cannot start before Thursday; to return then it will take four or five days, as I go, for the trip, but I may not start this week. If not, I shall write you again or the *Republican*. I got my horse saddled this morning to start for Montgomery's quarters and Fort Scott, but changed my plan. . . . Keep patient till I come, and I shall lose no time. WILLIAM."

After my return to Lawrence, in January, 1859, Montgomery, who was then an "outlaw," as declared by the governor, came to my house one evening. The legislature was then in session at Lawrence, devoting much of their time to the disturbances in Linn and Bourbon counties. Governor Medary was not so bad at heart, nor so morally blind, that he could not see the merit of our free-state policy in general, but he was the federal executive. Montgomery well knew all this; hence he asked if I thought it possible for him to have an interview with the governor, and I at once favored the proposal, and, besides, offered to be the medium. The governor was stopping at the Eldridge House, where I called upon him about nine P. M., and, after breaking it gently, informed him that Captain Montgomery was at my house, and would be glad to see him. He seemed rather disturbed at first, but it grew less preposterous, the more we talked, that the man for whose head he had offered a reward should visit the executive chamber. Finally he said: "If you will put it off until after eleven o'clock this evening you may bring him here, and I will hear what he has to say." This program was carried out strictly. Montgomery told his story in mild but earnest language. He was a fine talker, and his tones were pathetic and his facts convincing, even to a federal officer. They parted as friends. The parties to this incident never gave it publicity, as far as I know.

THE LINN COUNTY OR TRADING-POST MASSACRE.

In the order of dates, I will turn the calendar back to 1858, to the notable murder of five men and the severe wounding of five others by Captain Hamelton and his men, near the trading post in Linn county, near the state line, May 19, 1858. This was one of the most atrocious of cold-blooded murders. The victims were all peaceable free-state men, taken from their fields, marched defenseless into a ravine, and shot down by Hamelton's men until all were believed to be dead. Five of them survived. Two, named Reed and Hairgrove, were brought to Lawrence on beds, after a three-day journey. They reported that the others who survived were too severely wounded to be taken. One of the wounded, named Asa Snyder, was a young man from Wisconsin, I think, who had stopped in Lawrence on his way into the territory, and while there made many friends, who felt an unusual interest in his case. This led to an effort for his rescue. He was reported as left at a farmer's cabin, in the enemy's country, severely wounded. I at once volunteered to go for him. Colonel Eldridge offered to furnish a team. I started with a span of mules, and a light covered road-wagon, the last day of May. The distance was too great to be reached in one day—over fifty miles, I think; but the second morning I was at the bedside of the wounded man. His wound was in the arm, and he was suffering most intensely. The arm was swollen to twice its natural size; it had been but imperfectly dressed—the bone was fractured—and his life seemed to depend upon the best of nursing and care. All were agreed that it was exceedingly hazardous for him to be moved, except in the care of a skilled surgeon, as the wound would require dressing *en route*. Mr. Snyder himself plead to have a physician go with him. There was no one in that vicinity available. Most reluctantly I was compelled to return to Lawrence without him, and obtain a physician there to under-

take the task. Dr. S. C. Harrington, a popular physician of that city, came to the rescue, drove back the same mule team, and in due time brought Mr. Snyder to Lawrence, when, after protracted nursing and care, he was restored, and a valuable life was saved.

Many thrilling chapters of Kansas history have been written depicting the horrors of that bloody scene that kindled a red flame through southern Kansas. Montgomery with his followers were immediately on the trail of Hamelton's men.

No better picture can be given of the condition of affairs in Linn and Bourbon counties, following the said massacre, than to give some details of my drive with the mule team already noted. The people of the route were in arms as far as they dared to be. No farm work was thought of, but men and women were gathered together in groups for protection in cabins that furnished the best defense. For miles I saw no human being on the roads or in the fields, but an occasional cabin would reveal their presence peering through the door cracks, and my appearance with the mule team was an unsolved mystery. I finally stopped over night with a well-to-do farmer named Wm. Hutchin, on the Osage river, and I found about twenty of the neighbors gathered together there, as I have before described, for protection. The rumor had just arrived an hour before that about twenty of the mounted Missouri horde had been seen near the state line. Mr. Hutchin had had stock and grain in abundance, but he had acted for the free-state forces as general quartermaster until they were about exhausted. On retiring that night, Mrs. Hutchin superintended the full equipping of all the household, and even her children as well as her guests were given full directions as to the location of powder-horns, caps, shot, and balls, and all the guns were within easy reach. She told us she had been drilling her girls in shooting until they were skilled in the art, and that she had only had two nights' rest in two weeks. This will serve as a sample of what some women in Kansas endured, as well as the men. The balance of the journey next day was more like driving through a graveyard than anything I can compare it to. The dark pall of the Hamelton massacre had not lifted, nor did it for weeks afterwards.

THE KILLING OF L. D. MOORE AND OTHERS.

In the fall of 1860 the troubles in southern Kansas were renewed. The amnesty of 1859 had been strictly kept by the free-state settlers, but the cohorts of slavery in Missouri, over the border, were restless, and their allies in the territory were eager to breed dissensions. At length they combined under a secret organization, called "dark-lanternites," and several murders were committed by them before the free-state men retaliated. In November, 1860, I was living on my claim in Mapleton with my wife. One Lester D. Moore, who lived some two miles east of that place, was known as one of the "dark-lantern" order, who had perpetrated outrages on the free-state men. Doctor Jennison, or Captain Jennison, of Mound City, as he was called, became somewhat a leading spirit, and organized a small posse and took the field. One morning in November, about sunrise, he appeared in front of my cabin door with six or eight of his men, mounted, and called for breakfast for his party. He told us at once they had just killed Mr. Moore the night before, because he refused to surrender. They had offered him a trial if he would surrender, but he said he would not, but would fight. Jennison's men then shot him. They tied their horses to my fence, came in, and we gave them a breakfast of the best we had in our primitive home.*

* See letter of C. R. Jennison to Geo. L. Stearns, November 28, 1860, relative to the hanging of Russell Hinds by this band, for kidnapping.

It is useless to attempt to find a pattern for our conscience to-day, as to the moral aspect of such an act on the part of Jennison, to fit the conditions which existed with us then. It is quite enough to say we fed them just as freely as if they had been missionaries to our land from the Chinese. The "dark-lantern order" had seemed to beget a certain obliquity of moral vision that cannot be appreciated, in the absence of the conditions that then and there surrounded us. Retaliation only followed prolonged provocation. An appeal to the courts at that period would have been idle, so far as obtaining justice for any free-state man, as the juries at Fort Scott all belonged to the "dark-lantern order," with Judge Joseph Williams* as the dispenser of injustice. It was from either the folly, the fear or the ignorance of Judge Williams, that much of the public disorder in that section arose. It was about November 24, 1860, that the judge sent forth a tissue of falsehoods to the Eastern public.† He represented that Montgomery and his men had attacked Fort Scott and molested his court; that they had sacked Paris, and had entered Missouri with arms and munitions sent them by Eastern friends. Not one syllable of this effusion was true, as all who knew Captain Montgomery best well understood.

From my personal relations with Montgomery, and from his own declarations, I can say that his position and that of his men was a high moral one, above all personality or personal revenge. They were not dealing with politics but with principles. They were ready to protect democrats and all alike while they behaved equally well. They never asked a man his politics, but if any member of his company was found pilfering or looting he was summarily dismissed or threatened with hanging. Some of his cast-off men afterwards became outlaws, for which, no doubt, the captain's shoulders bore the burden. If the people of the slave states wanted their negroes they had only to keep them at home, for the moment a slave set his foot on Kansas soil it was his edict that he was free and should be protected at all hazards. Kansas had been secured to freedom at heavy cost, and they declared it should not be made a hunting-ground. They ordered no man out of the country. Horse thieves and man thieves, after trial by jury, it was decreed, should alike suffer full penalties. This digression has seemed proper here, to show the aims and purposes of the man who figured most in these southern Kansas troubles.

A FORT SCOTT EPISODE.

On December 3, 1860, the public-land sales took place at Fort Scott, and this was made a pretext for sending General Harney from Fort Leavenworth with a small force of dragoons and infantry "to keep the peace." In due course I visited the fort, to keep pace with the passing events. The beautiful plaza in the center of the town was under military duress, and I soon found myself confronted

*JOSEPH WILLIAMS was born December 28, 1801, in Greensburg, Westmoreland county, Pennsylvania, and early in life removed to Iowa. He was appointed associate justice of the territory of Iowa in 1838 by President Van Buren, and was continued in this office until 1847, when Iowa became a state. He then served as chief justice until 1848. In 1849 he was again called to the supreme bench, and served until 1855. In 1857 he was appointed by President Buchanan associate justice of Kansas territory, serving from June 3, 1857, to January, 1861. He was assigned to the southern district of Kansas, and resided at Fort Scott, where he acquired, through the purchase of land in the vicinity, some property. In 1863 he was appointed by President Lincoln to a seat on a judicial tribunal for the trial of civil crimes at Memphis, Tenn., on which he served until the close of the war, when he visited Iowa, and, returning to his home in Kansas, died at Fort Scott, March 31, 1870. A sixteen-page sketch of Judge Williams, by T. S. Parvin, with portrait, is contained in the Iowa Historical Record of January, 1896. The Kansas Historical Society also has a brief biographical sketch in manuscript.

†See Judge Williams's letters to Governors Denver, Medary, and Secretary Walsh, Historical Society Collections, volume V, pages 539, 554, 567.

by presented bayonets. After remaining a day and writing some letters for the press, I began to realize that Fort Scott was not likely to be a healthy place for me. Vague rumors, at first, that I might be the abolition journalist, grew to very formidable proportions when I found myself surrounded in the hotel office by a wild and angered mob that threatened and swore at me, until I plainly saw that I was in a hotbed of Southern hatred and proslavery vindictiveness. I frankly admitted who and what I was. When my situation was nearing its climax, and I felt that my personal safety was most critical, I was taken out of the room by Mr. Clark, I think it was, who had been an officer there in the land-office. He took me by a back way to his house, where he said I would be safe for an hour or two. This was about nine o'clock P. M., December 4. Mr. Clark proved a friend indeed, but he said he was afraid it would compromise him for me to remain with him all night, and he advised me to start out about midnight to get away the best I could.

After thanking him most heartily, I started, as he suggested, to follow up the valley of the Marmaton in the midnight darkness. This stream and the Little Osage, on which Mapleton is situated, are some ten or twelve miles apart, running nearly parallel, and their branches intertwine at places. It was a most thankless task to thread my way up the Marmaton some ten miles, then across the divide between the two streams, following the ravines so as to avoid exposure upon the high prairie, and make my objective point, at Mapleton. I escaped from Fort Scott without discovery, and found great relief from my red-tongued revilers, even in the loneliness and quiet of a midnight flight. The tirade of threats and curses to which I was treated in the early evening caused me to fear they would intercept me before reaching Mapleton. Hence, I took the more circuitous route, making at least twenty miles' travel, and it was nearly noon the next day before I arrived at widow Blake's, who lived on the border of the town. She was one of those belonging to the Vermont colony who took claims in the vicinity of Mapleton.

MOUND CITY AND CAPTAIN MONTGOMERY.

It was about a week after the Fort Scott incident, when renewed efforts were made by Marshals Dimon and Campbell, of the fort, to capture Jennison, Seamen, Montgomery, the Corbins, and other so called abolitionists, and they were seeking the aid of the military, through Governor Medary, to accomplish their ends; that is, the marshals and their proslavery cohorts were doing this. While General Harney remained at Fort Scott with the dragoons, a company of infantry under Captain Lyon came to Mound City late in the afternoon, under orders to capture Captain Montgomery. I had anticipated their arrival, and was there a day in advance of the military.

It was well understood by us that Captain Lyon (who afterwards became a general) was in sympathy with our cause, while acting as a branch of the administration. I had met him on other occasions, and felt free to visit his camp soon after his arrival at Mound City. He well understood my views relative to Captain Montgomery, and I well understood his relation to the free-state and proslavery issues in general. I cannot remember now by what process or by whose advances the conclusion was reached, but I can state the important fact, that after dark that evening—I think it was December 6—I engaged a team, and, with the captain, drove up the creek some five miles to Montgomery's cabin, where we found him at home, and their meeting was most cordial. The general points in the situation were freely discussed, and it was easy to arrange the next day's program, so that Montgomery was to be with a friend near Osawatomie by the time the troops were confronting his "fort," as it was called. Captain Lyon

acted well his part in the affair for the protection of Montgomery.* In a few hours the troops were marching on. I am not quite sure (forty years is a long time to remember details), but I think there were also dragoons and a battery with the expedition sent by General Harney, because it was considered of great importance to capture the brigand Montgomery and his "fort." I think it was before daylight that the forces were divided into several squads, and they charged upon the fated "fort" from different directions.

To their great surprise the captain was not inside of it. Neither was there anything found to verify the extravagant yarns they had been circulating, that he was maintaining a fortification with 200 armed men, and was provided with provisions for a year, etc. In fact, his cabin was a very unpretending affair. Until the previous fall, it had consisted of a one-story log cabin about ten by fourteen feet, in which his wife and eight children had lived, besides the frequent addition of a number of guests, as I personally know from experience. Feeling the need of more room, he had recently built an addition on the front side of about the same size, or twelve by fourteen feet, of hewn timber.† On the front side of this addition he had left a space between the timbers about a foot wide, some six feet from the floor, to serve the purpose of a window, and probably such other purposes as circumstances might suggest. When this army of invasion found no armed resistance at the "fort," they commenced a general search through the neighborhood for any and all of the several outlaws, whose names the marshal carried in his hat. But no arrests were made, and General Harney and his army could only "march down again." During my stay at Mound City on that occasion I was the guest of Harvey Smith, then a prominent citizen of the place, and I think his nephew, Edward Smith, is still residing there.

I can give no better description of the situation of affairs at this time than to copy an effusion of mine, dated at Mapleton, December 15, 1860, written for the Lawrence *Republican*:

A KANSAS PARODY.

In Linn and Bourbon, down below,
All breathless came the Kansas foe,
With martial glory all aglow,
And Williams running rapidly.

Medary saw another sight—
Five thousand men all armed for fight,
With hearts defiant in the right,
Led on by brave Montgomery.

The troops by Harney fast arrayed
Were frantic for their bloody trade,
And furious; every marshal bade
Them join the royal infamy.

Then shook the camp, with curses riven;
The Riley boys, to battle driven,
Were louder in their oaths to heaven
Than Williams acting comedy.

But fiercer yet the strife shall glow;
Missouri adds the seventh woe
By sending *Frost* to chill their foe,
While Williams fiddles merrily.

* See foot-notes about Nathaniel Lyon in articles entitled "The Territorial and Military Combine at Fort Riley," and "Among the Sovereign Squats."

† See letter of James Montgomery, December 12, 1860, among Historical Society manuscripts, relative to General Harney, and the enlargement and fortification of the log house.

'Tis night; but scarce the dial run
 Ere Campbell cried: "The war 's begun!
 Mount! mount, dragoons! Ere morrow's sun
 We 'll slay the red Montgomery."

The contest deepens. Lo the braves
 Rush early to the verge of graves.
 Wave, Colby; all thy warrants wave,
 And charge each empty domicile.

Few — none — are caught where many meet;
 Disgrace shall be their winding-sheet;
 And every boy that walks the street
 Will hoot this federal fiddle-dee.

THE FIRST TEMPERANCE CRUSADE IN KANSAS.

Since I began to write these tardy pages, the public has been treated to the Quixotic campaign of Mrs. Carrie Nation in Kansas against the saloons, or "joints," as she calls them, and this has induced me to again turn back the calendar and describe an incident that occurred at Lawrence in 1856, in which my late wife was a prominent actor. The town was mostly settled by citizens from the land of steady habits, who were a law unto themselves, especially while we were without an organized city government, and public opinion was for a long time strongly adverse to the sale or use of intoxicants. But gradually, as in all Western towns, the border element crept in, until it was whispered that a liquor den across the ravine, in a log cabin, was slyly plying its vocation. This was immediately followed by a spontaneous movement by a number of the leading women of the town to destroy every drop of intoxicants on the town site. Resolve was at once followed by action. Some ten or twelve women met, armed themselves with axes, hatchets, and hammers, or whatever they could best use for the purpose, marched over the ravine to the said log cabin, and, without giving the occupant any choice in the matter, they seized bottles, casks, barrels, or whatever contained the contraband article, threw or rolled it into the street, knocked out the cask heads with their axes, until every drop was spilled. To commemorate their triumph, a photographer was on the spot, and a fine picture of the scene was secured. In that picture, which was in my possession for many years, my wife stood in the foreground, with ax in hand, near a demolished barrel, and the other women and their "tools" were well displayed. I cannot, after so long a lapse, recall with certainty the names of all the crusaders, except that, besides my wife, I am sure Mrs. Fred. W. Read was one; and probably Mrs. L. Bullene, Mrs. G. W. Brown, Mrs. John Speer, Mrs. Doctor Harrington, Mrs. B. W. Woodward, Mrs. Paul Brooks, Mrs. Samuel N. Wood and others were in the company. This raid was a complete success, and it was a long time after it before a venture was again made to sell liquor openly in Lawrence. In view of the late notoriety of the "hatchet brigade" in Kansas, I feel justified in referring to the part my wife took in the first spilling of intoxicating liquors in Kansas.

In this connection I will go a step further, and note the fact that I was a zealous opponent of the liquor traffic, and especially my aversion to the opening of a public bar was so great, that when Colonel Eldridge, a year or two later, opened the first one in the city, in the Eldridge House, which he kept, I avoided entering his hotel on that account. But soon after we organized the first city government, under a charter of our own making, and under it I was elected the first city assessor. In that capacity, I remember, I reluctantly visited the hotel, and had to "face the bar" and appraise the contents. This was in 1857.

I understand that Lawrence has always been considered a temperance city,

or comparatively so, and that there is to-day no material there for Mrs. Nation's hatchet. Who knows to what extent the women's crusade of 1856 has been a factor in the good work?

CERTIFICATES AND COMMISSIONS.

As vouchers, somewhat, for some of the incidents herein described, I will give place here for copies of some of the evidence of public confidence I received during our pioneer struggles. I was appointed and served upon the staff of Col. J. H. Lane, of which I have now no written evidence. Those that follow I now have in my possession.

"To all who shall see these presents—greeting:

"WHEREAS, I have appointed Wm. Hutchinson to the office of aide-de-camp of the first division of Kansas volunteers, raised in the territory by authority of the people of Kansas, to defend the citizens of Kansas territory from threatened destruction by foreign invaders:

"THEREFORE, Know ye, that, in the name and by the authority of the said people, I do commission the said Wm. Hutchinson as aforesaid to serve from the date hereof until the said force retires from the territory.

"In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, at Lawrence city, the 27th day of November, 1855.

CHARLES ROBINSON,

Major general commanding the volunteers of Kansas territory."

At this period we were in the midst of what was termed "the Wakarusa war." Very soon after I received the following:

"LAWRENCE, December 3, 1855.

"Wm. Hutchinson: DEAR SIR—Having confidence in your integrity and patriotism, I herewith appoint you adjutant general of the Kansas militia.

Very respectfully, C. ROBINSON, *Commander-in-Chief.*

"G. W. DEITZLER, *Secretary.*"

"OFFICE OF THE STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE,

LAWRENCE, December 1, 1856.

"THIS CERTIFIES that Wm. Hutchinson, a member of the Kansas state central committee, has been appointed a special commissioner to represent to the governments and people of the Northern states the necessity of emigration to Kansas and the investment of capital as the only means remaining to secure to its people the enjoyment of free institutions and their constitutional rights, and we recommend Mr. Hutchinson to the friends of freedom generally as a gentleman entirely reliable in his communications, and ask that he may be received as a fully accredited representative of the committee.

S. E. MARTIN,

President Kansas State Central Committee.

"H. MILES MOORE,

Secretary of Kansas State Central Committee."

There was more contained in this paper than appears upon its surface, and to make plain its importance I must turn the light upon the position our central committee was in just at that time, to show why I was thus commissioned. J. M. Winchell, of the same committee, was also given similar authority. The administration of the central committee from its inception had been every way acceptable to the people of the territory in all its civil, financial, distributive and protective functions until a few weeks before this date. I should have mentioned before that there was also a national central committee created in the states to cooperate with ours, and composed generally of men of high standing and devoted friends of Kansas, who resided in Boston, New York, Chicago, and other places. It was their province to collect money and material aid for our people, and it was ours to distribute the same and render returns. Many thousands of dollars in value were thus handled by our committee, and everything had worked harmoniously until the national committee made some changes in its

personnel, when Thaddeus Hyatt* became its president and W. F. M. Army† its general agent. Mr. Army at once came to Kansas and immediately assumed supreme authority. He was a supremely selfish, ambitious and unscrupulous man. In the fullest sense he should be described as a "bad egg." From his entrance upon the scene the friction and disharmony began. Why the national committee, composed of such men as Joseph Medill, L. D. Webster, and Horace White, of Chicago; George L. Stearns, Dr. S. G. Howe, and F. B. Sanborn, of Boston, could place so responsible a trust in the hands of such a man was, and still is, an unsolved mystery.

Mr. Hyatt was a good man at heart, but of the easy-going temperament, and in this matter allowed Army to control him. They—that is, Army and Hyatt—pretended to introduce a different system of distribution from that we had practiced, and ultimately open charges were brought against us. But the hypocrisy of their pretended reforms was soon exposed, by the discovery that they were using money and clothing for unworthy purposes and for their personal advantage, by a connivance to colonize a town to be named Hyatt, and a county to be named Army.

Something like an open rupture between the committees followed. It was then that our central committee met in council, that resulted in the said commissions to myself and to Mr. J. M. Winchell to represent the facts before the people of the East, and especially to meet the national committee at their head office in New York city. I was fortunate in having the cooperation of Mr. Winchell in that delegated task, as he was a gentleman of refinement and culture, amply qualified to sustain the merits of our Kansas administration before the Eastern public, to whom we were sent, as well as before the national committee, at their rooms in New York. We then, on the 30th of January, 1857, made a lengthy report, that was widely published, setting forth the salient points in issue with the two committees. Whatever the results, we felt that our task there ended. It was believed that a majority of the national committee were with us, and practically all of the people of Kansas, who were the beneficiaries. I have always thought that I was never entrusted with a more responsible mission than this. This explanation will make clearer the paper referred to.

MY FIRST OFFICE IN LAWRENCE.

"*Mr. William Hutchinson:* This is to certify that, at an election held at the office of Messrs. Ladd & Prentiss, on Monday, the 13th day of July, A. D. 1857, you were duly elected one of the aldermen for this city.

"Attest:

G. C. BRACKETT, *Clerk.*

HENRY CAMPBELL, { *Judges of*
A. D. SEARL, { *Election.*"

*THADDEUS HYATT, of New York city, was president of the national Kansas committee in 1856. Volumes I and II of the Historical Society Collections, page 203, give a brief statement of his disinterested services for Kansas during that year, and make mention of valuable papers added to the Society's collections relative to the relief work of 1856. In a letter to Wm. L. Marcy, secretary of the United States, dated Lecompton, K. T., December 22, 1856, Governor Geary makes the following statement: "A party of some ninety men, mostly disbanded militia, have gone, in charge of Thaddeus Hyatt, with provisions and necessary tools, to found the town of Hyattville, on the south branch of Pottawatomie creek, and make settlements there. These persons were out of employment, likely to become a charge upon the town of Lawrence, and Mr. Hyatt projected this scheme to furnish them with useful employment, and prevent them from falling into habits of indolence and vice. He fully explained the matter to me previous to putting it into execution, and it met my approval." (4th vol. of Collec., p. 662.) In 1860-'61 Mr. Hyatt was again interested in Kansas relief. The Society has many relief circulars of this period, intended to arouse the people of the East to the necessities of Kansas. Although signed by Mr. Hyatt, they give him no official designation. In 1860 he issued a pamphlet of sixty-eight pages, entitled "The prayer of Thaddeus Hyatt to James Buchanan, president of the United States, in behalf of Kansas, asking for a postponement of all the land sales in that territory, and for other relief, together with correspondence and other documents setting forth its deplorable destitution from drought and famine. Submitted under oath, October 29, 1860."

†For biography of Mr. Army, see page 203 of this volume.

I think it was the next year that I was elected assessor for the city, as before mentioned.

"LAWRENCE, KAN., September 12, 1857.

"THIS IS TO CERTIFY, That at a state election held in the tenth district on the 3d day of August, A. D. 1857, William Hutchinson was duly elected a representative for said district to the next session of the general assembly of the state of Kansas.
C. ROBINSON."

It was under this that I took my seat in the lower house at Topeka, as before stated.

THE WYANDOTTE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION.

"*Territory of Kansas.* I, Samuel Medary, governor of said territory, do hereby certify that William Hutchinson was duly elected as a member of the constitutional convention to assemble at Wyandotte, in said territory, on the first Tuesday in July, A. D. 1859, for the district composed of the county of Douglas, in said territory, according to the returns received by me from the county tribunal of said county on file in my office.

"Given under my hand and the seal of the territory, this 5th day of July, A. D. 1859. By the governor. S. MEDARY.

"Attest: HUGH S. WALSH, *Secretary of Kansas Territory.*"

Kansas had been prolific in constitutional conventions. First the Topeka, then the Lecompton and then the Leavenworth constitutional conventions,* but these all "died a borning." The Wyandotte convention was a representative body that entered at once upon its arduous labors. J. M. Winchell,† of Council City, was chosen president, and he soon announced the standing committees, to the number of sixteen. I was made chairman of the committee on preamble and bill of rights. I was also a member of the committee on ordinance and public debt and the committee on finance and taxation. The convention was strictly a business body, and in about four weeks completed the state constitution under which the people are now living, and during the forty years of its trial I think there have been but very slight amendments.

I have no desire to claim especial merit in what was so well and so expeditiously accomplished. To our president, Mr. Winchell, very much was due in that connection. I will mention one provision, however, for which I may claim, I think, a personal responsibility. Our committee was given the fixing of the boundaries of the future state. The western boundary became an open question. As a territory, our limits extended to the twenty-seventh meridian of longitude, the same as Nebraska, but our committee made the twenty-fifth meridian of longitude the western boundary of Kansas.

At that period very little was known of the physical geography of that region involving the boundary question. After availing myself of all possible sources of information, I was led to the conclusion that there was a wide belt of com-

*See foot-note, pages 132, 133, this volume.

†JAMES M. WINCHELL was born at Avon, Livingston county, New York, in 1823, and died at Hyde Park, N. Y., February 2, 1877. In 1848 he graduated from the State Normal School, at Albany, and began teaching in the public schools of Syracuse, giving some attention to journalism. In 1853 he removed to New York city, and in 1854 to Council City, now Burlingame, Kan. He was delegate to the first national republican convention, at Philadelphia, a member of the Leavenworth and president of the Wyandotte constitutional conventions. He was a member of the territorial house of representatives in 1860 and 1861. He was correspondent of the New York Times during the Kansas troubles, and war correspondent during the rebellion, having charge of the Times bureau in Washington in 1862 and 1863. He was then connected with the management of the Kansas Pacific railroad for a short time, and in 1864 was secretary of the national committee organized to urge the nomination of Salmon P. Chase for the presidency. He then engaged in mining, until, in 1867, he retired from active pursuits, and purchased the estate at Hyde Park, on the Hudson. He was connected editorially with the New York Times at his death. His wife has given the Society many of his Kansas manuscripts.

parative barrenness along the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth meridians of longitude, while beyond westward it grew more fertile nearer the mountains. Hence we believed it would have become a hardship for the inhabitants of the said fertile section to cross the barren district to reach their state capital, and that they would prefer to belong with a community lying west of them, as they now do, in the state of Colorado.

I was also an earnest laborer to secure as far as practicable the elective franchise to women, especially in municipal and educational affairs. Mrs. C. I. H. Nichols, who was a most able advocate for her sex, was present during the term of the convention and was given several hearings by the committee on "electors and elections." While there were many members willing to adopt the views of Mrs. Nichols, a majority could not be secured. It was simply too early. It is gratifying to know that her dream has since been in part realized.

Mrs. Nichols was then living in Quindaro, a few miles from Wyandotte. I had formerly known her as an editor of a paper in Brattleboro, Vt.

Relative to my difficulty with Mr. E. M. Hubbard, who was a member from Doniphan county in that convention, I will simply refer to a letter I wrote for the Historical Society to Judge Adams, its late secretary, some three years ago, stating the material facts in the case, and would ask that the said letter may be adopted here as a foot-note.*

I was more interested than most others, while a member of the convention, in the subject of Kansas' claims against the general government for losses sustained during our early troubles at the hands of federal officials or their allies, and I was willing to make it a condition precedent to our admission as a state that Kansas should be indemnified by the government for such losses. But I could not succeed in that measure. It was, however, made the subject of a resolution in the schedule affixed to the constitution, in the form of a request that Congress pass an act to indemnify us, etc.

What I have done in later years to forward that measure is fully shown in a paper already with the Historical Society, and published in volume 6 of its series of Historical Collections.

This would naturally end my story as a pioneer. Soon after the constitu-

*"WASHINGTON, D. C., November 14, 1898.

"*My dear Mr. Adams:* I wish to make a statement to you as the secretary of the Historical Society of Kansas that is both personal to myself as well as a matter of Kansas history. I refer to my connection with the Kansas constitutional convention that framed the Wyandotte constitution, under which we were admitted into the Union. When the session was nearing its close, I was charged by E. M. Hubbard, a member from Doniphan county, with an attempt to bribe him by offering him a city lot in Lawrence for his vote in favor of that city for the state capital. A committee was appointed to investigate the case and I denied the charge before the said committee. After the committee had taken all the testimony offered in the case they declined to make any recommendation, and no direct action was taken. Yet Mr. Hubbard charged me with perjury because of my denial. It became to me, therefore, a serious matter. I had never till then, nor have I since, been accused of any wrong action, and my conscience has never been my accuser. There are but few living to-day who were in that convention, and I must soon join the larger company. Before I go I want to tell the whole story of the alleged bribery, and I know of no better place to tell it than to your Society, to be used as you may deem proper. Lyman Allen and C. W. Babcock, of Lawrence, came into my room at Wyandotte one evening when the capital question was pending, and said they had come down to work for Lawrence, and had city lots they were offering to secure the measure. Some time afterward I did mention to Mr. Hubbard in substance what my neighbors had told me, but in no way intimating that I had any lots to offer, for at that time I did not own a lot in Lawrence. I had no thought of any improper action toward Mr. Hubbard, but merely spoke of my neighbors' zeal in the case, and was greatly surprised when he made the charge against me in open convention a day or two later. I did not think it best at the time to tell the whole story as to Allen and Babcock, and have never before told it to any person until this hour. Much to my further surprise, these neighbors never came near me, or had a word to offer, while the case was being investigated. Whether a vindication or not, I have stated the facts, and leave the case here.

Yours most truly,

WM. HUTCHINSON."

tional convention, Kansas was admitted as a state. In the early '60's I removed to Washington, D. C., where I still reside, but have preserved my legal residence in Kansas, and have voted there at most of the presidential elections. I have ever cherished a deep interest in Kansas affairs. Our hearts were cemented in the early trials. When the old settlers celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of the settlement of the state, at Bismarck Grove, Lawrence, September 15 and 16, 1879, I took part with them and delivered one of the addresses.

This address is published in the Kansas Memorial, proceedings quarterly celebration, 1879, pp. 77-82.

As I reread these jottings of my early Kansas wanderings, it seems to revive other incidents more numerous even than those I have noted; yet these reminiscences that I have gathered in with no little effort seem as dry leaves from my far, far distant pathway, and I am fully conscious that there are fewer remaining to fall.

NOBLE L. PRENTIS.

A memorial address by F. L. VANDEGRIFT* before the "Knife and Fork Club," of Kansas City, Mo., October 11, 1900. Published in the report of the Kansas State Historical Society by order of the Board of Directors.

MY acquaintance with Noble Prentis began in 1879. I was then living in Atchison, and he had come to the *Champion*, a newspaper of force and wide-spread influence at that time, published by Col. John A. Martin,† afterward governor of Kansas, and since dead. Colonel Martin was looking ahead to be governor. He had lost the nomination in 1878 because his canvass had been circumscribed, and he wanted a man of Prentis's ability and experience to assume the editorial responsibility of the paper when another opportunity should offer.

Prentis's title was "associate editor," and his name was so written in the column head of the editorial page; but until Colonel Martin actually became governor his chief duty was to collect the local news of the town. In a few months I

*FREDERICK L. VANDEGRIFT was born in Hamilton county, Ohio, January 19, 1851. He was the son of Frederick H. Vandegrift and Martha Holt. The father was of Holland Dutch descent, born in Ohio, whose ancestor settled in Delaware in 1635. His mother was born in England. The family moved to Keokuk, Iowa, in 1856. Mr. Vandegrift was educated at Keokuk and at the Cincinnati University. He was educated for the law, but never practiced. He came to Kansas in September, 1872, settling at Atchison, and in 1874 engaged in newspaper work, which he still follows. For three years, in connection with H. Clay Park, he was a proprietor of the Atchison *Patriot*. In January, 1878, he married Miss Nancy Broadus Price, of Atchison, a native of Kentucky, and a daughter of Hon. John M. Price. For many years he was connected with the Atchison *Champion*, Gov. John A. Martin's paper. He has been connected with the Kansas City *Star* since 1891. He is probably the best-known newspaper man in the West, and knows more people, public or otherwise, being a sort of an eclectic in politics, religion, and social affairs—mixing with all classes.

Victor Murdock, in the Wichita *Eagle*, says: "Mr. Vandegrift is one of the bright, companionable men of Kansas. He is always interesting. He knows the state and its people and their history probably better than any other man. He is not only familiar with political combinations of the state, but with its social combinations as well. He actually thinks he is pessimistic, but he is not. He sees as much sunshine and enjoys as much of it as anybody. He has a great, big, kindly heart, but does not know it. He is one of the most unique characters in the state. For a great many years he has been the Kansas correspondent of the Kansas City *Star*, and did much toward giving that paper the prestige it enjoys in the state." His home is in Kansas City, Mo., but his headquarters is in the state-house at Topeka, with the entire state for his field.—G. W. M.

†JOHN ALEXANDER MARTIN, the seventh governor of Kansas, was born March 10, 1839, at Brownsville, Fayette county, Pennsylvania, and died at Atchison October 2, 1889. He came to Kansas in the fall of 1857, when nineteen years old. He worked as a compositor on the *Squat-*

came to assist him, for there was local work enough for two. Our duty was not alone to gather the news. In addition, we read our own proof, and had a daily line of "paid locals" to write, and for Easter, Christmas, and other trade "openings" we wrote columns and yards of stuff. You people of Kansas City saw only the literary side of Prentis's newspaper work. In Atchison he did everything but set the type, which he was able to do, if necessary; and the files of the old *Champion*, from 1879 until 1887, are full of advertisements written by him that would be a credit to the inventive genius of our friend Taggart, whose daily contributions have become popular features of the Kansas City papers.

Prentis was the best reporter I ever have known. He even could write a market report, as his work of the old days will bear witness. He knew nothing of business, of hogs or cattle, of wheat or corn—nothing whatever of trade; but if the figures and sales were given to him correctly, he could put them together intelligently, and he always brightened up the dry details with bits of originality. His memory was something marvelous. Years after he left Atchison he recalled to me in minute detail stories of murders and other famous happenings that he and I had worked on together. They were all so fresh in his memory that he might have written them again, as at the time of their occurrence, while they had almost faded from my recollection.

One of the most interesting stories he ever told me was an account of the first time he heard Henry Ward Beecher preach. It happened when he was a printer's apprentice in Connecticut, and he told it to me nearly forty years afterward. He remembered every incident of the day. He was in New York city for the first time. He had read of Beecher, and wanted to hear him preach. He knew the church was in Brooklyn; so he sought the ferry. Before the boat had made fast to the Brooklyn landing he inquired of a man the way to the church. "Follow this crowd; they are all going to hear Beecher," the man said. So Prentis joined the procession, and, sure enough, it led him to Beecher's church. The house was crowded when he got there, and he stowed himself away in a small gallery overlooking the pulpit. So the story flowed along in detail—the bright spring day, the awe that filled the country boy's mind, a description of the vast congregation, his own perch in the little gallery, the hymn that Beecher gave out, the text, a summary of the sermon, even the words of the benediction. All this he told me, an incident of a casual conversation, without reference to a note or a book, and without cudgeling his memory a moment.

Prentis was in no sense a borrowed man. He was a man of his own kind, and there never will be another like him. He was a voracious reader, but he never got the phrases of others mixed with his own. He always gave credit, and he despised the new form of plagiarism called "assimilation." He was a frequent

ter *Sovereign* at Atchison, and on the *Crusader of Freedom* for James Redpath. In February, 1858, he purchased the *Squatter Sovereign* and changed its name to *Freedom's Champion*. He was a delegate to the Osawatimie convention in 1859 which organized the republican party, secretary of the Wyandotte constitutional convention, and in 1860 a delegate to a territorial convention, and later to the Chicago national convention of that year. In 1859 he was elected a state senator from Atchison and Brown counties before he was twenty-one years old, serving in the first state legislature. He entered the war as lieutenant-colonel of the Eighth Kansas regiment, and the next year was promoted to colonel. He was with Rosecrans from Corinth to Perryville, and from Murphreesboro to Chickamauga. He was in command of the third brigade, twelfth division, thirteenth army corps, on the second day of the battle of Chickamauga. He was brevetted brigadier general for gallant and meritorious service. He was the first department commander of the Grand Army, and in 1878 Congress elected him a member of the board of managers of the national homes for disabled volunteers. June 1, 1871, he was married to Miss Ida Challis, of Atchison. In 1884 he was elected governor of Kansas, and reelected in 1886. He was the national republican committeeman for several years, closing his service when elected governor.

visitor at the public library, where he fairly ate books. His taste ran to history and biography, but he read everything that came his way. He had a poetic turn of mind, too, and hidden away in his newspaper work of the old days are numerous evidences of it. In his reading he acquired likes and dislikes, as in his daily life, and in this he was full of contradictions. For instance, he hated the second Napoleon, but forgave the cruelties of the original Napoleon Bonaparte because he possessed genius. So, too, he gave his friendships freely, and often ardently, to men who were not worthy of them. He was not insensible to the faults of his friends, and their methods often shocked him, but he was so fond of their companionship that he forgave their vices. He wanted companions always. When the *Star* was moved to its present home and the writers were given separate rooms, he called it "solitary confinement."

It was a misfortune that this man of so many good qualities of mind and heart had not the advantages of a higher education, for nature marked him for a distinguished career of letters. Unhappily, his youth was passed amid toil, and his only education was the common school and the printer's case, supplemented and ripened by a wide range of reading in after-years. Still this lack of opportunity was not without compensation, for it brought him in closer touch with nature, and so developed a gentle side of his character that cold, academic walls cannot do. He was passionately fond of nature, and the ravages committed by city engineers upon God's work made his heart sick. In his days of good health he was fond of walking, especially if he could find a companion, and in this way he came to know people, for he made it a point to stop and ask questions everywhere. He left his impress upon every community in which he lived, even upon this town. His influence was especially marked in Atchison. He took hold of the struggling public library and made it strong, and encouraged the literary societies of young women by lecturing before them. While he lived there, the New England people celebrated forefathers' day annually, and he established and fostered a poor children's Christmas, which for years was a part of the local charity. He was fond of children, especially of children of poor people. Mothers and wives revered him, and, all together, he was the town's philosopher and prophet.*

Prentis loved his country. The first gun of the civil war fired his youthful patriotism, and in May, 1861, when he was twenty-two years old, he enlisted for "three years, or during the war." At the end of that term he reenlisted. For four years he carried a musket. His first service was in northern Missouri, and he saw blood spilled at Platte City, a few miles north of Kansas City. Then

*Rev. D. C. Milner, D. D., pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, Joliet, Ill., wrote as follows in the *Topeka Capital*:

"Will you allow me to pay a little tribute to the memory of my dear friend Noble L. Prentis? His newspaper friends have given their words of appreciation, and I would like to speak from the standpoint of the minister of the gospel. I became acquainted with him just as he put off a good deal of the 'old man' and took on the 'new man,' at the time of the religious revival of 1872. It was the turning-point of his life in many ways, and it was then he began the life that was more and more perfected in the after companionship of the wife who was to him more than all the world. When I became a pastor at Atchison my favorite place of resort was the office of the *Champion*, where I found a real trio of friends, John A. Martin, Noble L. Prentis, and F. L. Vandegrift. In the somewhat rough-and-tumble experiences of life in those days in that city, and especially as connected with the liquor question, Prentis was not only, as always, a source of cheer, but also a good adviser. Indeed, he took a special interest in preachers and preaching and the work of the churches, as he did in everything that pertained to the culture and uplift of the community. He made, perhaps, too little of the outward profession of Christian faith, but he loved to sit in a quiet place and talk of religious questions, and was a most devout and reverential believer in Christ and His gospel. His Roman Catholic birth and baptism did not lead him to follow that faith, but he had a warm place in his heart for the old church, and when I went to Chicago he gave me counsel to 'get acquainted with and cultivate the Catholic priests, especially the Irish,' which I did, to my profit. He was a close student and observer of church affairs, and had his own way of writing up ministers and their work. While he liked to puncture pretenders, he especially liked to say words of cheer about men who worked in different fields. Perhaps no man has done more to glorify Kansas than Noble L. Prentis. He has been a preacher of righteousness and kindness and good cheer, and hosts of friends tenderly cherish his memory."

his regiment, the Sixteenth Illinois, was ordered South, and he marched with Sherman to the sea. He was not a member of the G. A. R., but he attended soldiers' reunions and always was a welcome speaker.

He went into the army a private and came out a private, but he knew more of military tactics than half the men who became officers. He was not promoted, because he lacked method, and because his ambition did not run that way. But what a delightful comrade he must have been! what a genial messmate!*

He was of a cheerful temperament, sympathetic, frank, and manly, quick to make friends, and, although sensitive and often needlessly offended, he forgave readily, and his resentments seldom lasted over night.† He was brilliant in con-

*J. H. Lawson, company D, Sixteenth Illinois infantry, editor Hutchinson *Bee*:

"There's never a bond, old friend, like this, We have drunk from the same canteen.' For over four years I slept under the same 'pup-tent,' shared hard-tack and literally drank from the same canteen with Noble Prentis. If in all the world there is a place where one can absolutely know those with whom one comes in contact, it is in the army. All the thoughts, aspirations, impulses and ambitions of the man come out there. Having been favored in being selected by him as his special chum, I feel that I can speak of him and of his army life as no other man can.

"Prentis had few secrets from those he loved, and his generous confidence begot confidence in others, so that in our long moonlight walks together I got to know all the beauties of his inner self—his great heart, his noble soul, and to catch glimpses as even he, I think, did not, of his high aspirations, and to realize, as I know he did not, his wonderful power. While favoring me with his special confidence, Prentis was not exclusive. He was the friend of every one, so every one was his friend, and his wonderful gift of story-telling made him a welcome guest in every tent.

"Many a time, dear reader, you and I have paid fifty cents or a dollar to hear an entertainment not half as good as I have heard Prentis give when seated on an inverted camp-kettle; he would read to as many as could get within hearing distance from such books as 'Sam Slick, the Yankee Clock Peddler,' or 'Sut Luvengood's Stories,' and kindred books. To this day men who belonged to the Sixteenth Illinois infantry are telling their grandchildren the story of 'Old Skisum's Middle Boy,' or 'Training the Pup,' or 'Sut's Dad Acting Hoss,' and telling them how they heard the story from Noble Prentis.

"Prentis did what no doctor could do, he cured the blues. I have always contended that in the army the blues killed more men than bullets, and no man who ever caught the contagion of his cachinations ever died of blues. When I first knew Noble he was teaching school over in the district known as Hardscrabble (and I have always more than half suspected that he gave it that name). Many times he has told me of his experiences over there, and of his girl over on Mount Pisgah. There is a volume of good things lost to the world by his not having put this part of his life in print. Eggleston never wrote anything half so good. About the time of the close of his school, Sumter was fired on, war was declared, and the president called for troops. Noble was one of the first to respond. His home then was with his uncle, Daniel Prentis, at Fountain Green, a village eight miles from La Harpe, where he died. On the 23d of April seven of us Fountain Green boys went to Carthage, the county-seat of Hancock county, to enlist. Without wishing to be prolix, I think their names should appear here. They were George Carrothers, John Schenck, Walker Geddes, Robert Geddes, Samuel Witherow, Noble Prentis, and myself. Since Noble's death, only two of us, Robert Geddes and the writer of this, survive. The others will welcome Noble to their reunion over the river, and yet, 'we are seven.' 'And still the little maid would have her will, and said, Nay, we are seven.'

"I think the way Noble got into the army has never been told in print. His ready wit admitted him—and the accepting of him shows that even a regular army officer may have a sense of humor. The impression prevailed in the regular army, and to some extent out of it, that anything less than a full-grown giant would be useless in the army. A certain height was therefore one of the requisites for recruits. Under the trees in the courtyard they had a sort of sliding standard, such as they use in buying mules. We were required to walk under this, and, in my case, at least, by raising slightly on the toes, we passed; that is, six of us did. Noble was the last. The officer said, 'Young man, you are not tall enough; stand aside.' Reader, were you a volunteer soldier in April, 1861, when ten men were offering where one could be received? And did you love your country, and feel that you would give all you had, your very life, if need be, for that country? Then you know how Noble Prentis felt that day. In spite of his manhood—or, rather, by reason of it—the tears came to his eyes, and in a choked voice he said, 'I suppose I'll have to let my country go to hell if I haint eight feet high.' The officer said, 'You'll do,' and thus Noble L. Prentis, with a diminutive body, but a heart big enough to contain more patriotism than a million eight-foot copperheads, joined his country's defenders.

"Of his army life I could write a book, but I have already made this longer than I intended. In 1871, on account of my wife's health, I decided to move West, and because of Prentis's letters I selected Kansas as my future home. We have always since, as in the army, been close friends. And I shall always be glad that at the close of the encampment this year, at Holton, I took the time I could ill spare, and the money I needed for other things, to go round by Kansas City and see Noble. And I shall always feel grateful to Mrs. Prentis for telling me how much good my visit did him, and I shall always rejoice that to my very last minute, with him, I was 'Jack' and he was 'Nobe.'"

†E. W. Hoch, in the *Marion Record*:

"A shadow fell upon every editor in Kansas when Noble L. Prentis died, for his life had illumined all their hearts and minds and brightened all their pathways. For more than a quarter of a century he had been an inspiration to every one engaged in what he called 'the eternal grind.' No more gifted pen than his ever touched paper in this state, and no more genial soul than his ever poured itself out at point of pen. There was a peculiar fascination

versation, a perfect story-teller, as you all know, and in serious discourse he was sometimes dramatic. He had a keen sense of humor, and no matter how serious the occasion he always saw something funny. Men were his especial objects of ridicule, for while he loved humanity he thought a man and his vanities and ambitions were a big joke. He never told a lie in his life or did a conscious wrong. He hated shams. He was no respecter of rank or station, unless it was based upon superior qualities of head or heart. He never looked for the brand on a man. He was his own judge of social or intellectual worth. He had no patience with a snob, and a cad was beneath his contempt. Once he defined for me the difference between the two. "One knows better, and the other do n't," he said. He had positive convictions and never compromised his conscience. He never stooped to that weapon of a coward, flattery, and never crooked the knee to man or woman.

He has left behind a number of published volumes, chiefly books of travel, for he was a famous wanderer, and a few lectures. His most interesting book is "A Kansan Abroad." It went into two editions, but unfortunately is now out of print. I have a copy of the second edition, a gift from Prentis's own hand, and he wrote on the flyleaf: "To Van, from Noble L. Prentis, Atchison, October 26, '82. 'Most people mean well, but how like the devil they act.'—Josh Billings." In this little volume his character stands out on every page. He had the gift of putting his personality into his phrases. His native humor leavens his most serious thoughts.* For instance, he is at Berne, Switzerland, and a curious clock attracts his attention. "Berne has a famous clock," he writes in this letter. "In the fulness of time a man hits a bell with a hammer, a procession of bears

about his writings which haloed the commonest subjects with an indescribable charm. A good receipt for longevity would be to read regularly the productions of Noble L. Prentis. But Prentis, unlike most writers, was best at closest range. Distance did not lend enchantment to his personality. To know him intimately was to love him and his writings the more ardently. He was an inexhaustible fountain of good nature. We never knew a more entertaining conversationalist. He was a cyclopedia of knowledge, with an unabridged appendix of anecdote, and from these rare storehouses he enriched all who came within the charmed and charming radiance of his presence. It does not seem possible that he is dead. It does not seem possible that his infectious laughter is no more to lift burdens of care from companion hearts, and that the merry twinkle of his kindly eye is no more to gladden his host of friends. He is not dead. A man like that never dies. He lives. He lives in the books he has written. He lives in song and story. He lives in sweetest memory. He lives in lasting influence. But the world is bereft of his friendly hand-grasp, his beaming countenance, his cheery voice."

*Daniel W. Wilder, in the *Topeka Mail and Breeze* :

"Here are a few of the unpleasantest words that ever blotted paper — 'Noble Prentis died Thursday night.' He died at La Harpe, Ill., the town of Capt. Henry King, editor-in-chief of the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*. King and Prentis were printers and soldiers who served four years in Illinois regiments. They came to Kansas together and worked together as editors many years in the capital city of Kansas. Each obtained his newspaper ambition; King as the managing editor of the greatest paper in the Mississippi valley, and Prentis as an editorial writer on the *Kansas City Star*, the greatest paper ever published in the Missouri valley.

"Prentis could not and would not manage anything, not even his own shoe-strings. On all practical matters he was as helpless as a child; with a pen he was a king by divine right. He was of the family in blood and spirit that produced George D. Prentice, of Louisville, and Sergeant S. Prentiss, of Mississippi. All three were men of infinite goodness, of most excellent family.

"Of the books and newspapers that our Noble Prentis had read, and the good things in them that he remembered, the name is legion. For all occasions he had an application, an illustrative anecdote. His telling of a story was a work of highest art, although it fell rapidly from his lips. His eyes and body laughed as the tale unfolded, and every listener roared with him from the beginning to the end of the marvelous narration. Like Lincoln and all of the inspired story-tellers, Prentis was a philosopher and deeply religious.

"The last time I saw him he delivered his discourse on the parables of our Lord in a church in this village. Eugene F. Ware, who was present, said, 'What a voice! what music!' In our little Shakespeare club in Kansas City, of which strong lawyers and thorough students were members, Prentis was the best all-around man. He knew the dialect business, and brought it out in his reading, and with the modesty that was born with him. And Thursday he died; the man who for a whole generation has every day delighted readers by the hundred thousand in this new West that he had seen grow up around him.

"The broad, tolerant, civilized and civilizing West, where good men and women from all states and all countries feel most welcome. How many hundred times has this kind man said generous, noble words for those who have gone before to the land of light. The soldiers who fought with him and the editors who have worked with him are a rapidly diminishing throng; but the work our friend has done and the cheerfulness with which he has done it have permeated this whole people and can never disappear."

march out and back again, a cock crows twice, and a rummy-looking old king nods his head, opens his mouth and moves his scepter with each stroke of the hour. Occasionally the king fails to perform his functions, the bears do not appear, or the cock is out of order; but, on the occasion of our visit, man, bears, king and cock appeared with charming regularity."

How like Prentis that sounds!

Again, he says, in a letter telling of a week's stay in Paris: "If any of my readers ever go anywhere they will go to Paris. That is one of the things certain; and when they get there they will be charmed, and, if they will, instructed. I trust all will be able to go, and with a somewhat higher motive than that avowed by one of my fellow citizens, who, in the midst of the Atlantic, expressed his anxiety to be in Paris. 'For,' said he, 'there are five or six places where they have American mixed drinks, and they are waiting for me there.'"

It is fair to suspect that Prentis went along with his compatriot and sampled the five or six places, for at that time he was a little fond of the "rosy."

He is at Antwerp, and finds the paintings of Rubens everywhere. He does not like Rubens, especially his pictures of the Virgin Mary, and bluntly says so. "The sameness of the pictures," he writes, "is accounted for by the fact that Rubens took as a model his second wife, or, perhaps, his first, I do not remember; but, at any rate, when you look at the Virgin Mary you are looking at Mrs. Rubens."

So he runs on through the Antwerp chapter, intermixing the grave and the gay, closing with this beautiful bit of description: "I saw no more of the fete, for I left Antwerp the next evening. The sky was heavily overcast, save a bright silvery band where the sun was sinking. I looked back once more at the town, and there, cutting that band of bright sky across—no longer gray, but robed in a violet light—was the mighty spire of Notre Dame. The train sped away till the land, level and green before, seemed fairly to sink. When it was growing dark we were in Holland. The flat land stretched away to the level sea; nothing rose to break the faint sky line save a lonely windmill, and when the moon rose in the mist, and lights were seen in the distance, we could not tell whether they belonged to earth, or sea, or sky—whether they shone in the homes of men, or in the rigging of some ship at anchor, or were the bright glancing of some low-hung star. And so we came to Flushing."

One of Prentis's funniest stories was of the burial of the first white man at Dodge City; and he always declared that it was absolutely true. I will not undertake to tell it, but, in substance, it was that the man died when the thermometer was twenty degrees below zero. The ground was too hard to dig a grave; but a few days before an Indian had been buried, and the body of poor Lo was taken out and cast over the hill, and the dead white man given his grave.

Another of his stories was of the poor but cheerful man who, out of home and out of friends, his luck gone, moneyless and without a future, put on a buffalo tail and ran wild. It took him fully a half-hour to tell this story; and he once told it to Jay Gould, who actually laughed—said to be the only time he ever laughed.*

He had another favorite story, but it met with an accident once, and he

*Geo. W. Martin, in the *Kansas City Gazette*:

"Noble L. Prentis, who died last week, was a remarkable man, and if his mirth had been balanced with a proper degree of seriousness there would have been no limit to his power. He was a man of great soul, of splendid heart and excellent purpose, and of strong and keen intellect. He entertained people too much for nothing. He was never appreciated for his proper worth, either in public or political recognition, or in pecuniary reward, and yet he had abundant fame wherever his delightful writings reached. He had a marvelous mind and a wonder-

dropped it. It was of a debate between a Methodist and a Unitarian. The discussion became very warm, and finally the Methodist, who had been driven into a corner, turned at bay and with a fine scorn asked: "Well, after all, what is the difference between you and me?" "Why, there's a hell of a difference," the Unitarian retorted with quick wit. Prentis told this story once at a public dinner, and a newspaper reporter turned it in with his account of the event. Prentis knew it was to go in the paper and watched for it, for he liked to see his humor in print. He found the story, but its life had been taken out. Along the route between the reporter and the proof-reader the word "hell" had given somebody a shock, and the Unitarian was made to say, "Why, there's a deuce of a difference."

While he was living in Atchison he went out to Thomas county, where there was a boom in land, to locate a claim for his wife's daughter, whose father had been a soldier. It was a novel undertaking for him, and the red tape of the land-office amused him. Upon his return he told me that, when a man takes up a claim out in that country, the government bets 160 acres of land against fourteen dollars that the man will not live on it five years.

Prentis possessed native religious instinct, and thirty years ago, following the advent of Hammond, a famous evangelist of that day, was for a short time a lay preacher. He firmly believed in providence and a just God, to whom three times a day he reverently gave thanks for the food he ate. He was moved and inspired by the imposing liturgy and impressive forms of the Roman Catholic church, in which he had been born, but he sought rather the preacher than the creed, although he never doubted his mother's faith. He possessed, in a minor degree, a Shakespearean mind. He knew men and their foibles instinctively, and divined their motives. This, added to rare powers of conversation, and ready wit, sar-

ful memory, and he was able to instruct and entertain in all lines of thought, and in many practical ways, if he was not a very practical man himself, for he had great common sense.

"The sketches of Prentis, of which the newspapers are now so full, are too much given to the fun there was in him. Prentis was a serious man, with all his story-telling, else he would not have made such a brilliant literary reputation. He has been in better circumstances for many years past, and perhaps he changed some, but when we were more intimately acquainted with him, say from twenty to thirty years ago, he was oftentimes the embodiment of sadness, and we could recall times when his fun and story-telling cost him tears. Prentis realized then that people did not take him seriously about anything, and when it came to other things than fun and frolic they turned their backs upon him. We knew of this battle he had with himself. We were pained more by his defeat for secretary of state than by any failure we ever experienced of our own, because we knew where it cut. He could entertain people indefinitely, but he could not play tricks or humbug anybody, and lots of skim-milk people thought him incompetent for such an office.

"Speaking of his commencement address before the Agricultural College in 1875, the *Salina Journal* says that an old-timer recently remarked, 'That lecture of Prentis's was a disgrace. It was loaferish and undignified.' A commencement address is supposed to be something dignified. The remark quoted is characteristic of what was said when the invitation was given Prentis by John A. Anderson, then president, over the protest of his board of regents, but nothing like it could have been truthfully said after its delivery. Before the Hammond revival, in 1872, Prentis was quite irresponsible, and had made no reputation. He 'got religion,' or something else that made a different man of him. Then was when Anderson found him. He invited Prentis to his church in Junction City to talk. Later, as president of the college, Anderson's choice of him to deliver a commencement address was hooted. Anderson had his way over protest. The criticism cruelly hurt Prentis. Was a man of his ability of no good or use, and was his funny reputation to be his ruin? His address on that occasion, 'The World a School,' was the best of its kind ever prepared by a Kansas man, and it had a wider circulation than any other Kansas production. He told the writer, standing on Kansas avenue, in Topeka, that he wrote it under lock and key, and crying all the time he was at work at it. Words cannot tell how proud John A. Anderson was of that address, and in 1878, when he made his first campaign for Congress, Prentis had to make the trip with him, and then Prentis made his first attempt at extempore talking.

"Noble L. Prentis was a man of boundless versatility. An exceedingly interesting chapter of his life was his preaching in the Presbyterian church at Junction City. The pulpit was vacant, and Prentis was asked to preach. He delivered a sermon every Sunday morning for six months, and he always drew a crowded house. He finished his week's work on the paper Friday noon, and from that time until Sunday morning he put in writing a sermon. They were as good as any sermons ever written, but they were regarded as a joke. No warmer crowd ever existed than that gathered by Anderson at Junction City, and as long as one of them lasts Noble L. Prentis will have a bright spot in his or her heart. His name is on their roll of membership.

"We will always count it a pleasing feature of our own life that we were associated with Noble L. Prentis."

casm, irony, and humor, made him always interesting, and sometimes a dangerous man to rub the wrong way. He was a great admirer of Oliver Goldsmith, whom he resembled much in character, and hated Goldsmith's friend, Doctor Johnson, who, he said, was a "lumbering old pedant."

Our friend was born in Illinois, over toward the middle of the state.* His father and mother died when he was a child, and he was taken by relatives to Vermont, where they tried him at many vocations, and finally decided to make a printer of him. When he had learned his trade, he was tempted, by recollections of early childhood, to return to Illinois. He had relatives living at the little village of Fountain Green, in Hancock county, and thither he went. Clustered around Fountain Green were cherished memories, to which, in moments of reflection, he often reverted. Emancipated from the neglect and hard lot of an orphan boy, he was now, although still a lad, self-sustaining and independent. He began to taste the joys of life, and naturally he called Fountain Green "home." Here were old friends and old scenes; here were peace, reflection, the sympathy of kindred, and fond recollections of a time never to come again. All around lived his comrades of "company D." A few miles away is Warsaw, on the majestic Mississippi, where he once lived, and where he learned to swim and fish, the dearest sports of boyhood. Five miles up the river, at the foot of the rapids, is the beautiful city of Keokuk, in Iowa, where he first saw a volunteer soldier in blue and first heard the martial call to arms. Just over in Missouri, at the delta of the beautiful Des Moines, is Alexandria, where, after the war, he married his first wife, and where, for a brief and stormy period, he undertook, with characteristic resolution, to publish a republican newspaper for a Confederate constituency.

Noble Prentis died surrounded by these scenes of his boyhood, at the home of his daughter, not far from Fountain Green. When I last looked upon him alive, I believed I saw the mark of death upon him, and there was something in his manner—his reluctance to let go of my hand at parting; his unusual tenderness; his subdued voice; his appealing look—that told me that he believed the end was near; and he instinctively turned to the play-ground of his youth, which, in human helplessness and the inexorable decay of life, is our natural refuge. We want to die where we began to live.

*NOBLE LOVELY PRENTIS was born April 8, 1839, in a log cabin three miles from Mount Sterling, Brown county, Illinois. He died July 6, 1900, at the home of his daughter, at La Harpe, in the same state, within a few miles of the place of his birth. His parents were from Vermont, and were descended from English settlers who came to America in 1630 and 1641, respectively. His grandfather Prentis served in the revolutionary army, and two of his uncles gave their lives—one at Bunker Hill and one at Saratoga. Several of his mother's family were enrolled in that war from the state of Connecticut. His father and mother died at Warsaw, Ill., of the cholera, in the epidemic of 1849, leaving him an orphan at the age of ten. He went to live with an uncle in Vermont. At the age of eighteen he went to Connecticut, and was apprenticed to the printer's trade. He came West and worked for a while in a newspaper office at Carthage, Ill. At the beginning of the civil war he enlisted as a private in the Sixteenth Illinois, serving until the close of the war. He was mustered out after putting in four years. He published a newspaper at Alexandria, Mo. May 13, 1866, he was married to Miss Maria C. Strong, by whom he had two daughters. She died in Atchison in 1880. He edited a paper in Carthage, Ill. Capt. Henry King, now of the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, induced him to come to Topeka in 1869 and assist him on the *Record*. He next worked on the *Commonwealth*, and next on the *Lawrence Journal*. From 1873 to 1875 he edited the *Junction City Union*; then he returned to the *Topeka Commonwealth*, and about 1877 he began work on the *Atchison Champion*. He remained with the *Champion* through Colonel Martin's term as governor, and in 1888 took charge of the *Newton Republican*. In 1890 he accepted a position on the editorial staff of the *Kansas City Star*, which he held until his death. In 1877 he visited Europe, and his observations he published in book form, entitled "A Kansan Abroad," which went through two editions. Other books published by him were: "Southern Letters," "Southwestern Letters," and "Kansas Miscellanies." In the last year of his life he wrote a "History of Kansas," for use in the public schools, which is to-day a text-book. In 1883 he married Mrs. Carrie E. Anderson, of Topeka, who survives him. She was a delightful companion and helpmeet, and their home life was most charming. A settler in Kansas of an early day, and a woman of strong mind and cultivated literary tastes, she sympathized with him in all his ambitions and labors, adding strength to his life.

AMONG THE SOVEREIGN SQUATS.

Written for the Kansas State Historical Society by ex-Judge THEODOSIUS BOTKIN.*

THE newly appointed district judge had arrived at the little Western city that nestles at the foot of Sugar Mound to hold his first term of court, and was being introduced to the members of the bar, court officers, and the curious throng of jurors, witnesses, and loungers, who filled the one-roomed, old wooden structure that served justice for a temple. It was his honor's first trip to this historic old storm-center, around which clustered the names of John Brown, James Montgomery, Charley Jennison, and Nathaniel Lyon,† and a score of lesser lights, whose friendly rays were a guide to their neighbors in the old, troublous time. At last the jurist was introduced to the venerable spectacled clerk of court, and, after the usual formal salutations, inquired, of course (for who ever in those days met an old-timer and omitted such question?)

*THEODOSIUS BOTKIN was born in Clarke county, Ohio, June 25, 1846. At the age of fifteen he enlisted in company F, Forty-fourth Ohio infantry, and served through the war. In 1865 he came to Kansas, and settled in Linn county. He taught school, and in 1870 located at Pleasanton, where he organized the city schools, of which he was principal for four years. In 1875 he located at Mound City, and was admitted to the bar. He served as probate judge of Linn county and police judge of Mound City. He was appointed judge of the Thirty-second district by the governor in March, 1889, and removed to Stevens county. He passed through all the turbulent times of that region, and it was in his court that Samuel N. Wood was assassinated, in June, 1891. Impeachment proceedings were brought against Botkin, but on all the charges he was acquitted. October 11, 1892, he resigned as judge and settled in Hutchinson. In 1896 he was elected to the house of representatives, state legislature, from Reno county. In 1897 he was made commander Grand Army, department of Kansas. In 1901 he settled in Salt Lake, Utah, where he practices law.

†NATHANIEL LYON was born in Ashford, Conn., July 14, 1818. He was killed at the battle of Wilson Creek, August 10, 1861. He was a most remarkable man, and closely identified with the fortunes of Kansas. He graduated from West Point in 1841, was assigned to the Second infantry, and served in the latter part of the Seminole war in Florida. He was made a first lieutenant for service in the siege of Vera Cruz, and brevetted captain for gallantry at Contreras and Cherubusco. He was wounded in the assault on the City of Mexico. He was ordered to California. June 11, 1851, he was promoted captain, and, in 1853, returned with his regiment to the East. He listened to the debates in Congress over the Kansas-Nebraska bill. In 1854 he was ordered to Fort Riley, and immediately announced his sympathy with the free-state side of the controversy just beginning in the territory. We cannot say whether there was another or not, but Lyon was often referred to as "the only abolitionist in the regular army." Thomas L. Snead, in his book entitled "The Fight for Missouri," says that "Lyon had not fought and died in vain." "By wisely planning, by boldly doing, and by bravely dying, he had won the fight for Missouri"; and that "extracts from letters which he wrote about this time [at Fort Riley, in 1855-'56] show how he was being educated for the work that he was to do in Missouri." In March, 1855, he wrote that "preparations are now in progress to resist the arrogant and insolent impositions of Missourians. Whether they will prove effective may be seen in the result. Indeed, it is fully apprehended that the aggressions of the proslavery men will not be checked till a lesson has been taught them in letters of fire and blood." In December, same year, he wrote: "I have seen so much of the overbearing domination of the proslavery people in Kansas toward the free-state men that I am persuaded that the latter have either to fight in self-defense or submit ignobly to the demands of their aggressors. I despair of living peaceably with our Southern brethren without making disgraceful concessions, but rest assured that this will not always be, and in this view I foresee ultimate sectional strife, which I do not care to delay." And about this time he speaks of the then secretary of war as "that heartless villain, Jefferson Davis." In 1856 he talked of resigning rather than aid in the enforcement of the laws in Kansas, but he was saved by being ordered to Dakota. He was in Kansas again in 1859, and was ordered to cooperate with General Harney in arresting James Montgomery. While on this duty, January 27, 1861, he wrote from Fort Scott: "I do not consider troops at all necessary here, and should pre-

"How long have you resided in Kansas, Mr. Smith?"* "Oh, I am one of the 'Sovereign Squats,'" was the reply that was intended to, even if it did not, convey the information that the gentleman who kept the records and wore spectacles was one of the first and early settlers in the territory of Kansas.

The judge had in this wise run amuck with a term that had not heretofore formed any part of his vocabulary, and the suddenness of the shock made him

fer to be employed in the legitimate and appropriate service of contributing to stay the idiotic, fratricidal hands now at work to destroy our government. It is no longer useful to appeal to reason but to the sword, and trifle no longer in senseless wrangling. I shall not hesitate to rejoice at the triumph of my principles, though this triumph may involve an issue in which I certainly expect to expose and very likely shall lose my life. I would a thousand times rather incur this than recall the result of our presidential election. We shall rejoice in martyrdom, if need be." A few days later he was ordered to St. Louis, and there he met the doubt, hesitancy and secession sympathy which paralyzed things at first. He was overruled in several things, and in a published criticism of a superior officer he said: "This is either imbecility or damned villainy." How he won at St. Louis and in Missouri is one of the most thrilling tales of the civil war. Governor Jackson and Gen. Sterling Price desired an interview with Lyon concerning some of his actions that were offensive to Missourians. Thomas L. Snead, the historian in this, says that Gen. Frank P. Blair was to talk for Lyon, but the latter could not restrain himself from engaging in the debate. Snead says: "He had not, however, been a mere soldier in those days, but had been an earnest student of the very questions that he was now discussing, and he comprehended these matters as well as any man, and handled them in the soldierly way to which he had been bred, using the sword to cut knots that he could not untie." We quote from Snead's book, page 199:

"Finally, when the conference had lasted four or five hours, Lyon closed it, as he had opened it. 'Rather,' says he (he was still seated, and spoke deliberately, slowly, and with a peculiar emphasis), 'rather than concede to the state of Missouri the right to demand that my government shall not enlist troops within her limits, or bring troops into the state whenever it pleases, or move its troops at its own will into, out of or through the state; rather than concede to the state of Missouri for one single instant the right to dictate to my government in any matter, however unimportant, I would' (rising as he said this, and pointing in turn to every one in the room) 'see you, and you, and you, and you, and you, and every man, woman and child in the state, dead and buried.' Then turning to the governor he said: 'This means war. In an hour one of my officers will call for you and conduct you out of my lines.' And then, without another word, without an inclination of the head, without even a look, he turned upon his heel and strode out of the room, rattling his spurs and clanking his saber."

The *Annals of Iowa*, July, 1900, published an address entitled "Recollections of General Nathaniel Lyon," read before the Loyal Legion at Washington, D. C., March 8. It was written by William A. Hammond, at one time surgeon general of the army of the United States. It is made up almost wholly of incidents at Fort Riley. General Hammond died January 5, 1900, and this is the last paper he wrote. See foot-note, page 368. We quote here his closing paragraphs:

"We know how, by his energetic and far-seeing conduct in the early period of the war, he prevented the secession of Missouri. We know, too, how at Wilson Creek, where he was in command of the federal forces, that after he had had several horses shot under him and had received two severe wounds he led the First Iowa regiment to the charge, and how, almost at the very beginning of its advance, he was killed by a rifle bullet that, passing near his heart, severed the aorta, the chief artery of the body. Here he gained a victory over an army threefold greater than his own. Had he lived there can be no doubt that he would have come to the very top of the pyramid of those gallant commanders who were most successful in the field. And he would have reached the apex, not because of any great military skill that he possessed—though he was an educated soldier—but mainly because he had in him those qualities without which military science plays a small part in war—an indomitable spirit that was always awake, a fixity of purpose that never faltered, and a courage that was never for an instant dampened by the slightest feeling of fear. He did not know what fear was. Here I might stop with this imperfect delineation of Lyon as I knew him; but there is one point which I think requires special notice. There are monuments in Washington to many distinguished soldiers whose services were invaluable; but there is none to Lyon, among the bravest of the brave, and whose deeds were such as to cause his memory to be kept forever green by his fellow countrymen. Yes, among all the statutes of heroes that adorn the public places of this city there is but one in honor of a general killed in battle. This, it seems to me, is a reproach which should not rest upon us forever."

Joseph Gardner, of Douglas county, Kansas, in a letter written to Geo. L. Stearns, dated June 6, 1861, and recently given the State Historical Society by his widow, says:

"The removal of General Harney and the promotion of General Lyon I look upon as the most favorable symptom thus far in the West. You may not be aware of the fact that Lyon was under Harney last winter in the expedition to Kansas after Montgomery. On that occasion he proved himself not only antislavery but to sympathize deeply with all our struggles for freedom. He even used his horses when at Mound City [Montgomery's home] to assist fugitives on their way to Canada. With such a man as this for commander over the Western division, what may we not hope for the future."

*See sketch in foot-note to page 214, this volume.

hesitate. The sheriff actually ceased for a moment the taxation of "fees for mileage" on the backs of the bunch of writs before him, and muttered to the bailiff, "A tenderfoot, by thunder!" The laugh was on the jurist, but he proved equal to the emergency. Tossing a bill to the bailiff, he said: "Spend that for cigars for the crowd, and, while we smoke, I'll get this Sovereign Squat to confer a degree or two upon me."

There were others beside himself in that crowd who had never learned the mysteries of the degree asked for. Of course, the reader *used* to know what Sovereign Squat means, but he may have forgotten. It is an echo of the great Lincoln-Douglas debate, and a reecho of the clash of political dogmas and antagonistic institutions along the Kansas border in territorial times, when the free-state settlers upon the one hand and the proslavery settlers and their Missouri allies on the other contended for supremacy in the then young territory. That struggle intruded itself into the contest between the two great political gladiators, upon the issue of whose contentions hung the fate of time-honored institutions, and, as it proved, the destiny of the republic. Who should settle the question of slavery in the territory? Should Congress? Mr. Lincoln held to the doctrine, and won, that the constitution vests in Congress the sole power to decide all questions of policy relating to the territories. Douglas espoused the doctrine that the citizens who in good faith had "squatted" or settled within the territories should themselves decide the great question that divided them, and that soon thereafter attempted to divide the Union. This doctrine the *Little Giant* was pleased to call "squatter sovereignty." The free-state settlers in Kansas, ever prone to grasp and utilize the ludicrous in an opponent's position, caught up the Douglas idea, and, making a personal application of it to their own case, called themselves and each other Sovereign Squats, in derision of the Douglas proposition.

A frontier settlement is always full of surprises to the uninitiated, or, to use the frontier classics, to the "tenderfoot," and most fortunate is that stranger who can master, at all times, his curiosity, and neither ask questions nor manifest a too inquisitive spirit. In his own case, the writer was, on his first appearance among those people, extremely fortunate in having old and very excellent friends among them, who took upon themselves to fortify him against the excesses of a longing desire to catch on quick. "Now, see here," said one of these, "do'n't you go to showing your ignorance the first thing. Keep your eyes and ears open, and your mouth shut." On that very day I noticed a nice cake of fresh maple sugar in one of the stores, and to my inquiry, "How much is that worth?" I received the explicit information, "Four bits."

Oh, ye gods and little fishes! What a predicament was this for a youngster gifted with an investigating spirit, and who had learned the sterling table, about farthings, pence, and shillings, but who had never been fortunate enough to have struck anything of the "bit" kind, except bridle-bit, brace and bit, etc. But I remembered my friend's admonition in time to save my social standing, what little there was of it, from complete wreck. My good angel came to my rescue, and I said, "Well, I'll take it." Now, I did not want that sugar. I had no use for it, except that I might carry it six miles on horseback and present it to my sister. My purse was well supplied with dimes, quarters, half-dollars, etc. (the old shinplaster scrip), but I dared not risk making payment of the mysterious four bits with any of these.

The merchant returned to my presence with the sugar neatly tied up, and I handed him a five-dollar bill. Surely, thought I, that will be more than four bits, and I can count the change. "Have you nothing smaller?" he asked, as

he picked up the bill. "I am getting short of change." Lord, forgive me! I did not care to retain any of the three or four dollars' worth of shinplasters in my purse. I had no particular use for that much small currency about my person. But I did not know how much United States money there might be in a bit, and I wanted to know—in fact, was just crazy to learn, and durst not ask. So, like the moral coward I was, I replied in a sweet, innocent way, "No; I believe that is my smallest money." He gave back \$4.50. He was a very careful man about making change. He laid the pieces down separately, and counted them over twice. So I knew he had made no mistake, and that four bits was the equivalent of our half-dollar back in Ohio. "Let's see," I said mentally. "If four bits is a half-dollar, then two bits would be a quarter and a bit would be the half of twenty-five cents; 2 into 2 once, and 2 into 5 two and-a-half times. 12½ cents." Something like that operation was taking place in my mind as I began placing the change in my scrip-book. Then my good angel touched a sensitive spot on my conscience, and, remembering the complaint about the scarcity of change, I said: "Here, Mr. Way; I find I have a whole lot of scrip. I beg your pardon. Let me exchange it for bills and replenish your stock of shinplasters." He accepted my offer, and my conscience felt easier. I also felt that I had done a very smart thing. I had learned the trade value of a bit, by artfully deceiving the merchant and compelling him to make change for a five-dollar bill. Had, hey? Deceived that quiet, unpretentious man?

It was nearly twenty months before I entered that man's presence again. The war was over, and I had returned to settle in that community. I approached him, and, holding out my hand, said, "How d'ye do, Mr. Way; do you remember me?" "Well, I think I do. You're the fellow who made me change a five-dollar bill so you could find out what four bits was without asking the question." Here were a few reefs taken out of my sails of self-conceit. This quiet, unostentatious frontiersman had read my little deception like a primer; and at the same time my effort to conceal my ignorance of a frontier form and custom had enlisted in my behalf his entire sympathy and respect, and he was ever afterwards my friend.

It was in August, 1865, when, after almost a week spent on the road from Leavenworth to Sugar Mound, helping the mules or horses of the Overland Stage Company roll their cumbersome load through horrible knee-deep mud as far as Paola; then, the Marais des Cygnes ferry-boat being swept away by the flood, wrestling with corn bread, sliced tomatoes, rancid bacon and hard-luck coffee at the Torrey House for two days and nights, and then setting off with a few companions to cross over the raging river in a skiff and trust luck for a conveyance on the other side to carry us on to our destination, I found myself, for better or for worse, among the Sovereign Squats, and generally referred to by them as "that newcomer."

That was as wet a week as mortal ever spent on the road in Kansas. The mud was axletree deep, and our dozen passengers on the overland stage out of Leavenworth soon learned the always anger-provoking fact that they had really paid the company's agent for tickets the possession of which entailed the duty of helping the mules along with their load. This meant that everybody aboard, except the one imperial woman, and her elegantly dressed and royal husband, should crawl out and climb down at the foot of every hill and push, pry and pull at the stage until the summit of the next hill or ridge should be reached, when they might crawl in or climb up again and ride down hill. It is strange how inconsiderate of other people's rights and feelings under these circumstances we soon became. From the driver we had received the information that

the royal gentleman mentioned was a brigadier general recently discharged. That was most welcome news. Here was ten of us, each of whom carried on his person or in his grip, an honorable discharge from the army. Here was the opportunity for which, for three or four years last past, we had prayed diligently and fervently. We then and there remembered the promise of Holy Writ that "the prayers of the righteous," etc. The Lord had kindly sent us a balm for all the ills we had suffered at the hands of brigadiers and other commissioned trash during our term of service.

The next getting-out and getting-down place was at the beginning of a long and most terribly muddy stretch. There was a burst of offended royal indignation, followed by an explosion of imperial horror and defiance, as one of the passengers poked his head into the coach and emphatically commanded: "Here, you fellow! you pile out of there. You are no better than the rest of us; out with you!" The reader need not be told that the "fellow piled out of there," nor, that he did not "pile in" again until we reached the summit of the next ridge. He was then a sight to move the pity of the gods. His silk plug was even bespattered. But our fun at his expense was over. At the first farmhouse he had the stage stopped, and he and his imperial spouse alighted to wait for the coming of some other stage whose passengers would prove more congenial to their aristocratic feelings, and, possibly more sympathetic with a once haughty nabob who suddenly awakens to the fact that he is once more nothing but a common citizen, with no further power or right to command or exact the menial services of others. That was the only fun we had on the trip; and we could not help feeling that it was extremely unkind for him to abandon us in that manner and wholly deprive us of the further pleasure of his society.

But, kind reader, we were considering the wetness of the weather when we struck that brigadier. Every prairie branch was putting on the airs of a full-fed creek; every creek was swelled up with the majestic pride of a haughty river that has turned itself loose for a high old time; and the Marais des Cygnes was possessed of an uncontrollable spirit to widen its influence and extend its operations. It was unanimously in favor of expansion. But Torey's supply of bacon and alleged coffee had become exhausted, and, as no freight wagons could pull through the mud that lay between Paola and the Missouri river, the dealers were unable to replenish their stores. The missing flat-bottomed ferry-boat was lodged in a tree-top five miles down the stream, and it would take several days before it could be brought back and set to work again.

Of the ten ex-soldiers who had come thus far on that ever-to-be-remembered stage journey, the destination of six of us lay beyond the impassable river. But we were tired of delay. George Elliott, the kindest and most generous souled stage driver who ever swung the Overland company's whips to touch up "soldiering" leaders, hauled us down to the northern bank or verge, and left us there to barter our way across in the leaky old skiff of the shallow-complexioned, red-eyed and ague-stricken owner. He would land us on the other side, two at a time, for six-bits apiece. It was then nine A. M. The last boat-load was landed on the south side at twelve M. Three hours to make the three trips; yes, and mighty good time for the task required under the existing conditions. But the history of our long hunt south of the river for a conveyance and driver to carry us on to the foot of Sugar Mound, and the incidents of the journey, would be as tiresome to the reader as the trip was to us. It is about thirty miles from Paola to Sugar Mound. It was seven A. M. when we drove out of the former behind George Elliott's "four white mice," as his superb double team of snow-white ponies were called by every Sovereign Squat between Fort Scott and the Big

Muddy. It was eleven P. M. of the next day when the last end of the thirty-mile journey was reached, and we did not fool away any time either. Such were some of the conditions that beset travelers in 1865, in this region where the raging elements of discord had but recently expended their fury.

A stranger traveling to-day along the country roads in any of the old border counties of Kansas and Missouri from Leavenworth and Kansas City to Fort Scott or Nevada, and viewing the thousands of well-fenced, well-stocked and well-kept farms, and the tens of thousands of elegant and happy homes, and the numerous and thriving cities and towns that dot the land, would see nothing in this year of grace 1899 to remind him of the awful storm of human passion that once swept over these fertile prairies. But he who rode along these same highways and viewed these same sunny hill slopes and pleasant valleys at or soon after the close of the civil war, in 1865, and who threads the same localities now, will be prepared to fully appreciate the poetic maxim that—

“Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war.”

Never did war-hoofs beat harder upon Assyrian soil than upon the face of this rich and inviting section of the great West. Never did all the elements of discord revel in a more frenzied debauchery of blood and suffering and destruction in the palmiest days of the Saracen than along this border during the struggle which began in 1854, only to end in 1865. The world for ages has stood appalled at the thought of a ten-years war around the beleaguered walls of ancient Troy, and the carnage and misery resulting from that conflict. Ten years! Ay, it is a long, long period for men and women to hug the horrid form of fear to their bosoms before even a ray from the effulgent sun of peace, so long hidden by the dense clouds of conflict, can penetrate to the earth with its inspiring messages of hope! But there are still living a few of the men and women of Kansas and Missouri whose humble lives were spent in the midst of scenes enacted along this border from thirty-four to forty-five years ago who can recite you tales of heroism, of tragedy, fortitude, and endurance, of sufferings, and of mingled emotions of hope and despair, which, if told by annalist or poet, would transfer the fable land of the future from the Scammander to the banks of the Marais des Cygnes.*

* From the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, May 30, 1854, until the commencement of the civil war, Kansas occupied the attention of Congress more than any other topic, and for the last four years preceding the admission of the state, January 29, 1861, the excitement and passion resulting were greater than from any other issue since. One of the most remarkable scenes in the American Congress occurred when the Lecompton constitution was up for debate. The details of that battle in which the members indulged nearly half a century ago are rarely brought up at this day. Only in the scrap-books which have come down are its details and the comments of the leading journals of the time preserved. It was in the midst of such scenes that Kansas was born. Her cradle was rocked by the savage storm of fierce contending passions, and her lullaby was the shriek and roar of the tempest. Her children should ever be taught the lessons of her conception, birth, and infancy, and from such incidents they will but understand the sublime truth of the state motto: “*Ad astra per aspera.*” It was an all-night session. The balk with Galusha A. Grow, of Pennsylvania, started the fun upon February 2, 1858. Others who were in the fight were Justice L. Q. C. Lamar; Owen Lovejoy, of Illinois; John Sherman, of Ohio; John Fox Potter, of Wisconsin (call “Sawlog”); Elihu Washburn, of Illinois, and his brother, Cadwallader Washburn, of Wisconsin; and Reuben Davis, of Mississippi.

The balking point between the republicans and democrats was whether the president's message on the Lecompton constitution should be referred to the democratic committee on territories or to a select committee of fifteen. While some of the longer-winded speakers sought to prolong the debate others dozed on the sofas. About two o'clock in the morning, Galusha A. Grow, who happened to be out of his seat and on the democratic side of the house, objected to John A. Quitman being allowed to speak. “If you are going to object, return to your own side of the house,” said Keitt, of South Carolina, roughly. “This is a free hall,” answered Grow.

These few survivors are fast tottering down into the shadow land of forgetfulness; but they are passing away amid the incalculable triumphs of peace, which their industry and fortitude planted, and whose budding shoots they watered with their blood and tears during eleven long years of heartbreaking discord. Some magician's wand waved over their dwellings of log or clapboards has changed them to costly, beautiful and commodious edifices. Where the cavalry stretched their picket ropes the chapel stands; and where the battery guns belched and thundered the stately temple of learning rears its spire to the clouds, and proclaims the eternal triumph of the free school over the institutions whose adherents sought to bar from these lands the spelling-book and the primer. Each of them feels that his own life-work has entered into and forms an integral part of the happy result of the long contest, and that, whether arrayed upon one side or the other, he has in some way helped in the immense advancement over which he rejoices exceedingly. He points to the evidence of thrift, of progress, of culture and of social order about him, and joyously exclaims: "Us old settlers set the pace for all that." And they did! Those old settlers were once the most zealous people on earth—zealous not only in their political and sectarian spheres, but doubly zealous to plant in this then Western wild the very best of everything worth preserving in their childhood homes. "That apple," said an old settler near Pappinsville, pointing to a wagon-box filled with very

"Every man has a right to be where he pleases." "I want to know what you mean by such an answer as that?" said Keitt, coming nearer. "I mean just what I say. This is a free hall, and every man has a right to be just where he pleases." Keitt, his temper getting the better of him, seized Grow by the throat, saying, "I will let you know that you are a — black republican puppy." "I shall occupy such place in this hall as I please," replied Grow, knocking up Keitt's hand, "and no negro-driver shall crack his whip over me."

That started the trouble. Keitt grabbed Grow by the throat. Grow knocked the hand off, and when Keitt came again he ran into a sterling right-swing that floored him. Immediately the hitherto sleepy house was in an uproar, and everybody rushed into the *melee*, determined to do damage. The republicans rallied about Grow. Elihu Washburn, a short man, tackled Craig, of North Carolina, who was tall, and while Craig was trying unsuccessfully to knock Washburn out with the flail-like movements of his long arms, the Illinois man butted him in the stomach, which tactics, according to tradition, jarred Craig's terrapin supper. Potter, of Wisconsin, made his blows tell. Lamar, on the democratic side, jumped in and made himself useful. John Sherman, too, was in the thickest of the fray. Cadwallader Washburn, of Wisconsin, made for Barksdale, of Mississippi, thinking to grab his hair and draw his head under his arm, the better to pound him. Barksdale wore a wig, and to Washburn's consternation the top of his intended victim's head came off, and the blow went wild. Lamar and Owen Lovejoy, of Illinois, had paired off, and were pummeling one another in great shape. They were the last men to be quieted. Then came the Southern friends to the rescue, gathering around Grow, "catawampously up as to chaw him." All this time the speaker's gavel was pounding the desk, and the sergeant-at-arms, with his mace, was trying to get into the fight and separate the combatants. Finally order was restored, but not until every one had had his share of the battle. Afterward Keitt apologized, taking the blame upon himself, and Grow also made his explanations, saying what he thought he should have said. But the spectacle must have appealed to the humorous side of the members when they thought it over, however long it took for the breach to heal.

Galusha A. Grow was born at Eastford, Windham county, Connecticut, August 31, 1823. He settled in Susquehanna county, Pennsylvania, in 1834. He graduated from Amherst in 1844, and, in 1850, refused a nomination to the Pennsylvania legislature, but in that year was elected to Congress, where he remained six terms, being speaker of the thirty-seventh Congress, from 1861 to 1863. In 1894 he was elected congressman at large from Pennsylvania by 189,294 majority, reelected in 1896 by 246,462 majority, in 1898 by 269,778, the largest ever given any man for any office in the United States, and again in 1900 by 182,685. He was a very ardent friend of Kansas, and was the author of the bill to admit the territory into the Union under the Topeka constitution; this failing, he was also the author of the bill to admit under the Wyandotte constitution. He was also the author of the homestead law. John Speer said, in an address at a Pennsylvania reunion at Salina, July 4, 1895, that Kansas men presented Grow with a gold medal for the knock-down he gave Keitt. Mr. Grow's home is at Glenwood, Susquehanna county, Pennsylvania.

large and delicious fruit, "that apple comes from a tree raised from the seed of an apple that I brought with me when a young man from my old home in Maryland."

Think of that, will you, as an example of American resolution. Carry a single apple on a journey of nearly 1800 miles, by rail to the Ohio river, then by steamboat down to Cairo, and by steamboat up the Big Muddy to old Westport Landing (now Kansas City), and then by ox team and on foot 100 miles or more along the primitive highway, until at last the claim shanty on the Marais des Cygnes is reached—a journey that took at least a month. Save every seed of the precious apple! Plant them with care in the richest of black earth! Cultivate and prune and protect! For one of these days, when peace finally comes to this border-land, some fruit-loving settlers of Kansas, thirsting for the Bell-flower and Maiden Blush of the old childhood home, will come this way, and, paying the price, will drive their wagon under the boughs and freight them deep and high with the offspring of grandfather's old orchard on Antietam creek.

A day or two after his arrival in Kansas, in the summer of 1865, the writer and a companion were riding down the "old wire road" and approaching the now long-vanished town of Moneka. A two-story frame building, 18x32 feet, stood all alone on the prairie, a furlong away from the next nearest house. "What building is that?" I inquired. My companion cast upon it a look of loyal pride and nearly paralyzed me with his answer: "That is the academy." Laugh not, gentle reader, at the humble pretensions of those old settlers. It was their ambitious spirit which laid the foundations of a commonwealth that has more schoolhouses, more advantages for a higher education, more newspapers and whose people read more periodicals than any other people of the same number on earth. The little town with the Indian maiden's name has faded from the map. "The academy" was trundled on trucks, long years ago, to a newer town ten miles away, and did duty for a quarter of a century as the office of the most renowned banking firm in eastern Kansas. But the impulse to Western civilization by the founders of the old settlement lives and shall continue to live in the institutions of the state and in the peculiar genius of its people while time lasts.

Almost at the very moment when Moneka resolved upon building "the academy," their neighbors in another settlement, forty-five or fifty miles away, concluded to build a "college." Neither town could claim any advantage over the other as to numbers, wealth, prospects, zeal, or intellectual abilities. In either community there were men and women who could discuss Euclid, translate Caesar, read Homer, or call the stars by name, and talk familiarly of plant life. Yet it is one of the peculiar illustrations of the mutations of fortune on the frontier, that while "the academy" is the vanishing fabric of a dream, and its old-time site a modern corn field, the "college" grew and expanded into a university, and is to-day hailed as "Old Baker" by every church-loving Methodist in the West.*

*Baker University is located at Baldwin, in Douglas county, twelve miles south of Lawrence, on the A. T. & S. F. railroad. The town was originally known as Palmyra. The Kansas Educational Association of the Methodist Episcopal Church, with authority to establish an institution of learning to be called Baker University, obtained a section of land in 1858 from Palmyra for the location of the school. The land was surveyed into lots, and a three-story stone building, costing \$3000, was erected that year. A man named John Baldwin, from Berea, Ohio, moved in, and erected a saw and grist-mill, and Palmyra moved to the university section, and the new town took the name of the enterprising man from Ohio. Baker University was chartered February 12, 1858. This institution is under the auspices of the Methodist Episcopal church. In 1900 it had, total scholars, 587; and its whole number of graduates, 425. Rev. L. H. Murlin, D. D., is president. The school was named for Osmon Cleander Baker, elected bishop in 1852. He was born at Marlow, N. H., July 30, 1812, and died at Concord, December 20, 1871.

Something has already been said about fruit. It was one of the most noticeable things along the border at the close of the civil war that scarcely a settler had neglected to plant and cultivate an orchard. Those in Missouri had the advantage of time, having planted several years earlier than those in Kansas, and consequently were more abundantly supplied with apples and pears, at the period of which I write. But in the matter of peaches, grapes and berries the Kansas people were far in the lead. It is very doubtful whether any other section of our great country at that time could compete with western Missouri in the quality of its apples. It was the writer's fortune during the fruit-picking seasons of 1865 and 1866 to visit a large number of orchards in Bates, Henry and Cass counties, in that state, in quest of fruit for Kansas consumption, and he can testify from personal observation that only the very best varieties had been planted or were permitted to encumber the orchard lands.

For some unaccountable reason the successors of the old settlers in eastern Kansas have permitted themselves to allow one very great misfortune to creep over their affairs. The only potato that was ever sure to make a crop in all seasons in that limestone country, and which was always mealy and toothsome, was propagated by one of the Sovereign Squats near Moneka. It was round and smooth, and its coat was as red as a Winesap. Its average size in full maturity was about the dimensions of a baseball. It is possible it may have had equals; it never had a superior. If the grand old Irish justice of the peace, "Squire Sessions," had never done any other service for the country in its dark days of trial than evolving the "Sessions" potato, he would be still worthy of a place in history and a monument to his memory. And he who by his genius will give back to the country that most perfect potato, in all its old-time perfection, shall be called blessed. Another of those, in that vicinity, whose genius and culture gave to the West one of its choicest and still existing blessings, was good old Dr. S. M. Brice, who propagated the beautiful, delicious and favorite early peach known as "Brice's Early." The excellent taste and flavor it leaves in the mouth are no sweeter nor more delicious than is the remembrance of the grand old man that dwells in the bosoms of all who knew him.

These instances will serve to illustrate the general characteristics of a large majority of the Sovereign Squats in respect to material things; and will also show that they were a people of much culture, extensive intellectual attainments, and of a zealous ambition. Many an unfortunate but well-meaning stranger presumed too much upon their isolation from the trade and news center of the country. And it did seem that, everything considered, one might safely presume some things from that isolation. They were seventy-five miles by stage or wagon from the nearest steamboat landing, and the same distance or more from the nearest railroad station. The highways were beset by many difficulties and dangers. And yet they were content with their present conditions, coupled with their unbending resolution to reap the full fruition of their hopes and plans for the future. The daily stage, when mud and rainfall and road-agents would permit it to run daily, left in its wake the *Chicago Tribune*, the *St. Louis Democrat*, the *Cincinnati Gazette*, and the *New York Tribune*. These papers, it is true, were several days old when they reached those outlying communities; but their contents were devoured and discussed with an extra zest arising out of the fact and news that was only three days old was "fresh news" and appreciated.

The writer took up his residence in the fall of 1865 with a family into whose household both the *St. Louis* and *Chicago* papers came with the setting of each day's sun. Early the next spring two highly respected citizens and cattle-dealers from central Illinois came to visit and spend a few weeks looking for bargains.

George Elliott stopped the "four white mice" at the foot of the lane and let them alight from the stage. After the usual greetings of long-separated acquaintances, one of them opened his satchel and said: "Here, Murray, is a bundle of back numbers of the *Chicago Tribune*. I know your sickness must necessarily confine you to the house, and I thought you would like something fresh to read and post up on what is going on in the country." Just then I returned from the Moneka post-office and threw into my brother's lap a regular daily issue of that paper, which was actually two days' later than the latest issue our friend had so kindly carried for our benefit all the way from Bloomington; and he learned from my brother's lips, for the first time, of very important events which had occurred near his own home in Illinois since his journey began.

But "How did those people subsist during all their years of strife and isolation, and so far from any market?" is the question that naturally arises. In the first place, the great fertility of the soil should not be forgotten. With the exception of the period during the great drought of 1860, that soil always responded luxuriantly to the plowman's toil. Then, there were literally their "cattle on a thousand hills." A pair of three- or four-year-old steers would readily sell on the overland freighters' market at Atchison and St. Joe, and bring a cash price that would turn a modern drover green with envy. There was always enough of immigration to furnish a ready local market for every surplus bushel of grain the farmers could raise. Then the civil war came on, and, in its train, a greatly augmented demand for everything that was needed to supply the army, some portion of which was ever present in the vicinity of each neighborhood. Prairie hay, that best of forage, could be easily put up, and the quartermasters were always ready purchasers. At the time of my arrival there, corn was worth \$2.50 a bushel at Fort Scott, and prairie hay was worth eight dollars a ton. Any one with a team and a wagon could always find employment in freighting for the merchants, who paid from \$1.50 to \$2 per hundredweight to have their goods brought down from Kansas City or Wyandotte. It took six or eight days to make the round trip when the roads were good. When the roads got bad everything had to wait until they got passable again.

From these sources and by these means, these people managed to have plenty of money for all their uses. There were a thousand things about modern ways of living that never troubled the Sovereign Squats in those days. One of these was the item of furniture. Now and then some family was found which was pretty well supplied with chairs. There was in every family the mother's or grandmother's rocking-chair; but, aside from that, soap and cracker boxes supplied the seats of most people and their guests. Their tables were always well supplied with substantial articles of food. There was no want.

The family's chief method of travel was by two-horse wagon. There was but one buggy in all the borders of Linn county as late as the autumn of 1867, and it was made at Moneka by the owner several years before. That fellow was regarded as an aristocrat. Next to him were owners of spring seats for the two-horse wagons. These were the only real aristocracy, and a man was rated by the spring-seat test. There were three grades. The one who did not have a spring seat for his wagon was "ordinary"; the fellow with one spring seat was "good"; and the chap who had two spring seats was "excellent." Wealth, or the lack of it, did not figure in the ratings; and it is very doubtful whether the plans of rating now pursued by Dun and Bradstreet have made any improvement over the spring-seat plan. If they have, then in what respect?

There was one inexorable social rule among those people that no one might trifle with. If Smith built a house, the whole community insisted on the right

to have it dedicated by a dance before he should move into it. And everybody—that is, most everybody—attended; and those who could not or would not dance, and of such there were very few, spent the night in visiting, playing games, or settling questions of social and political importance. It was nothing unusual in those times to meet at these dances families who resided twelve to fifteen miles away.

I am reminded right here of an incident in connection with one such social gathering that further illustrates what has already been said about the means of travel. One of our prominent Sovereign Squats had recently married and was getting down to housekeeping on his own homestead a few miles out of Mound City. Of course he gave a ball, to which everybody was invited. A young merchant of the town had engaged the company of one of our society belles for that occasion; but he overlooked, on some account, the altogether essential matter of getting there. The afternoon of the important day arrived, and, bethinking him of a means of conveying his girl to the dance, he discovered, to his chagrin, that every team and vehicle had been engaged by others. He flew about from one man to another of those who had engaged the teams, and was further mortified to learn that there would be no room for himself and partner with any of them. Here was a situation that drove him almost frantic. In his distress he unbosomed himself to Uncle Bob Garrett. "Why," said he, "everything on wheels is engaged except Brook's water-cart." "Why not get that, then?" was the reply. In a moment the distracted fellow was off to lay the situation and the suggestion before his girl. She thought that would be just the thing to do. So, just after dark that evening, one of our most cultured society belles and her lover might have been seen perched on top the rectangular water-box of Brook's one-horse water-cart, driving merrily and happily to the country ball, where their dilemma had already been discussed and laughed at by those who supposed themselves more fortunate. Their appearance in the reception-room was greeted by a storm of applauding questions, and, when the truth became known, this couple were looked upon as the heroes of the day.

The very first "woman's crusade" against the liquor traffic of which the writer has ever heard occurred here at the foot of Sugar Mound. It was, and ever has been, an unwritten law of that community that the open saloon should not exist or prosper there. Some time during the civil war this sentiment was defied by a couple of men who seemed to have the protecting influence of the military officer then in command of the troops stationed at and in the vicinity of Mound City. Those men opened a doggery on Main street, in the very heart of the little town. It was not long before it bore fruit. A drunken soldier, crazed by the liquid lightning that had been dealt out to him, proceeded to paint the town and the camp in deep carnation colors, and several persons narrowly escaped death from his flying bullets. This, and other cases of similar character, following in quick succession, aroused the indignation of the Sovereign Squats, particularly the women, and it soon became evident that something would be done—but what? Most of the men able for military service were in the army, and the remainder were too few to cope with the arbitrary power of the military officer mentioned. Things were getting worse from day to day. The doggery was an intolerable nuisance to the citizens. Some of the otherwise very best soldiers that ever served their country had already found themselves in the most serious difficulty on account of their conduct while under the demoralizing influence of the drinks obtained there.

But the women of Kansas never were at a loss for a plan of action in any emergency. One morning a wagon-load of women from the vicinity of Moneka

drove into Mound City. They were amply supplied with axes and hatchets, and were soon joined by a squad of their sisters of the "Mound." They marched straight to the open door of the saloon and began filing in. Just then the military officer rode up and, hastily dismounting, made a move to interfere with the women. Hovering near by was a Sovereign Squat, whose keen eye and quick perception caught the full meaning of the officer's presence and action, and just as the latter was in the act of interfering in a rude and boisterous manner, he was confronted by the muzzle of the Sovereign Squat's heavy Colt's revolver and brought to a statue-like posture by the emphatic and, as he well knew, direfully freighted message, "You interfere with those women by word or act, or move a muscle until I tell you, and I 'll blow your head off!" He knew his man, and he did not need to be told that his sole source of personal safety lay in strictly observing the injunction that had been given him! The women drove out the bartenders and the loungers and then deliberately broke every bottle, glass, and decanter, and knocked in the heads of every barrel and keg. Having completed their work, they filed out again and proceeded to their homes. Mr. Officer was given his liberty in due time, with the further advice: "If you would consult your own advantage, you will carry yourself mighty straight in this community hereafter!"

That event resulted in a prohibition that prohibited for many years without any assistance from courts or statute. The great wonder is that the experiment of the female Sovereign Squats has not been more frequently tested on a much larger scale. No dram-shop can long exist in the presence of the mothers and wives of any community who will muster enough courage to act entirely on their own responsibility.

Such were some of the representative people whose courage, loyalty, and genius founded our Western empire and institutions; and such, feebly portrayed, were some of their ambitions, conditions, and circumstances of life. Many other pages might be filled with incidents and anecdotes relating to the Sovereign Squats that would be of interest and profit to the average reader, but space here forbids.

'Mid their losses and their gains,
'Mid their pleasures and their pains,
And their hopings and their fears,
Through the restless, ruthless years,
They repeated o'er and o'er,
And believed it more and more,
'Bread upon the waters cast
Shall be gathered at the last.'

* * * * *

There was one phase of social life among the Sovereign Squats at and for some time after the close of the civil war that was not long in impressing itself upon the attention of the newcomer. There was little social affiliation between the families of the old free-state men and those of the proslavery party. Social divisions were nearly as distinct as party divisions, and, whether caused by that fact, as many believed, were traceable in great part by political lines. Each group had a well-defined center. Mound City was the social, commercial and political capital of one, and Paris of the other. These towns had for years been the storm-centers of fierce contending partisans. In their respective origins may be found the key to most, if not all, the subsequent history of that section for twenty-five years.

The first colony of Southerners to pitch its camp on Kansas soil in southern Kansas did so on the hill south of Parent's ford, on the Big Sugar, in about 1854. Here they surveyed and platted the town that was to be the slave-dealer's Mecca

in the new territory and the political capital of the new county. Their town they named Paris,* in honor of the well-known city in Kentucky from which their leaders had come. From this point they distributed the frequently-arriving proslavery immigrants along both sides of Big and Little Sugar creeks, and settled them on claims that would command the best of the timber and the available crossings. The leaders at Paris organized Linn county, secured control of all the offices, and made their town the county-seat.

Their chief hetman, or alcalde, was Judge J. H. Barlow,† who became the probate judge, or principal judicial officer, under the territorial government. A finer specimen of the affable and suave Southern gentleman never trod Kansas soil. He illustrated in his every walk in life the old text, "Be ye wise as serpents and harmless as doves." He was a non-combatant, except on the forum and in the political councils of his partizans. He was as clean-minded as a devotee of human slavery could possibly be. On one momentous occasion his non-interference, when but one word or hint would have sufficed, resulted in the most damnable tragedy of Kansas history. Two days before the Hamelton massacre, Judge Barlow was present at the caucus of Missouri slave-owners, at Pappinsville, when the question of forcing all free-state men to forthwith abandon Kansas soil, in Linn county and on the Little Osage, in Bourbon, was the object of the meeting, and the chief subject of discussion. All the hot-heads of Bates county were there. But, principally through the oratorical and persuasive talents of Judge Barlow, the meeting voted down the proposition looking toward measures of extermination. Before anything further could be decided upon, Captain Hamelton, who was there with his followers, recently expelled from Kansas in force, virtually broke up the meeting by brandishing his revolver and by making profane and savage threats against further opposition to his plans, and by calling upon his "bloody reds" to follow him. Soon afterward Judge Barlow proceeded to his home at Paris, and on this journey back to Kansas he displayed that moral cowardice from whose blighting shadow he was never after able to extricate his good name. He dropped no hint, he sent no word, to warn a living soul of Hamelton's savage purpose against the free-state settlers at and near the old Chateau trading post. No one believes that Judge Barlow ever had murder in his heart, even by freely consenting to so foul a deed. His laches can only be accounted for on the theory of a moral cowardice that paralyzed his better nature. His nearest and easiest way home from Pappinsville was by way of Trading Post; but, to avoid sight of the doomed men, and, in case a warning should reach their ears from some other source, to avoid any suspicion that he might have betrayed his Missouri friends, he made a wide circuit around that settlement and left it to its awful impending fate. That Judge J. H. Barlow was not hung by Capt. James Montgomery and his free-state company for that great neglect of manly duty is one of the greatest mysteries of modern times.

The first free-state men to settle in this area of storms and blood found their lodgment near or at Sugar Mound and along Little Sugar above that point. Already a few of the proslavery men had gone into that vicinity, but, even in 1855, these found themselves outnumbered by an increasing population of their opponents, and, like the sensible men they were, subsided into quiet, good-natured and inoffensive citizenship. The free-state settlers at this point were all men and women of good education, cultured habits, and irreproachable lives. "York

* According to Andreas, Paris was situated about six miles north of Mound City, in section 6 or 7, township 21, range 24 east.

† Dr. J. H. Barlow was appointed commissioner for the election of January 4, 1858, by Acting Governor F. P. Stanton. (Society's Collections, vol. V, p. 460.)

state," New England and Ohio each contributed about equal proportions of their number. Each was a walking compendium of American political history and knew every argument that had ever been offered in favor either of slavery or emancipation. They were, in short, the very kind of people it would have been necessary to kill off before human slavery could have found a home in the territory. But they were not willing that any should kill them without first paying dearly for the privilege—a truth which on occasion they impressed indelibly upon the history of the times.

Choosing the gentle slope that stretches down from the base of Sugar Mound to the south bank of Little Sugar creek, they laid out their town site and proclaimed to the world that they were there to welcome people of like views and to defy their foes. Mound City thus became a center of free-state activities. A mile north, on the stage road, was the old town of Moneka, at and around which had gathered another settlement of free-state men. Between these two towns there was a common bond of political interest, although rivals for political and commercial favors. Both were imbued with a common hatred for their neighbor on the hill near Parent's ford.

Moneka was more of a storm center in territorial days than was Mound City. There was enough of the Quaker element in the latter to avoid haste in entering into quarrel, while the friends of Moneka always adorned their shoulders with the traditional chip. For this reason, Moneka, up to the beginning of the civil war, was a sort of headquarters for all those uneasy spirits who could little brook the more sober ideas of their Mound City brethren. A Mound Cityite might argue with an obstreperous enemy an hour to avoid being the aggressor, but would fight him to a finish afterward. A Monekaite would start the combat at once, and do all the arguing afterward—if at all. If Capt. James Montgomery wanted a platoon of the friends of Mound City to accompany him on a foray across the border, or to go hang some scoundrel, he would first have to make them a speech. If he wanted help from Moneka he got all he wanted instantly, and could defer his speech until his return and disbandment—or omit it. Moneka, therefore, monopolized much of the notoriety of that section and era.

Andrew Stark was the patron and promoter of Moneka; but his ideas concerning public utility were much too conservative for his neighbors. Both Moneka and Mound City were united in the determination that the county-seat must be removed from the proslavery town of Paris; but as Moneka had no living water-supply, and Mound City had, it became apparent to everybody except Andrew Stark that Moneka must sooner or later succumb and vanish from the map. Andrew held on, however, until it was discovered by Murray Botkin that there was a serious defect in the Moneka town-site papers at the land-office. Murray filed a contest and preemption claim on the town-site, and Andrew Stark awoke to the fact that his town must soon become a "has been."

Then, in 1859, Mound City opened the county-seat question, and the result of the ballot was a small majority in its favor. Paris set up a howl and announced its intention to contest the election. After the result was known, the friends of Mound City, with a plentiful supply of teams, and accompanied by Colonel Jennison, with a howitzer and a band of determined horsemen, appeared on the public square at Paris and moved the county-seat down to Mound City. This *coup d'état* was the death blow to old Paris. Judge Barlow knew that the prejudice against his town was too intense to permit it to recover its lost prestige, but he would not let his hopes die without a telling blow. He bided his time, and, finding a favorable opportunity, laid off a new town site adjoining the old, and called it Linnville. He reopened the question at a time when very

many of Mound City's friends were in the army or out of the state, and when the military, too, were gone, and succeeded in establishing Linnville as the county-seat. But the close of the war, the return of the veterans and the influx of immigrants during the next two years again gave Mound City the advantage, and Linnville, too, joined the procession of defunct towns.

I have thus referred, in a general way, to much of the past, to be able to impress more clearly my meaning when I said at the beginning that social divisions at and for some time after the close of the civil war were nearly as distinct as party divisions, and were traceable in great part by political lines. For instance, with only a few exceptions, a dance at Mound City or in the Moneka neighborhood would be a republican affair, while one at Paris or Linnville, or in that vicinity, would be a democratic affair. The two communities did not mix or affiliate in anything. The antipathy between them was very marked on occasions.

In February, 1864, with a veteran's reenlistment furlough in my pocket, I made a flying visit to my brothers and sisters in Linn county. I had heard in Ohio that, while they still got their mail at Moneka, they had moved onto a ranch near Paris, and close to the stage line. We reached Paris at sunrise, and stopped to get breakfast and change mules. After I had paid my bill, I inquired of the landlord how to get to my destination, at the same time giving him the name of my people and the well-known name of the farm where they were living. His reply was: "I don't know any one by that name, and there is no such farm or ranch as that in this country." Just then the stage-driver came out of the dining-room, and in time to hear the landlord's reply. "Old Dan," for it was that famous driver, asked me who my folks were. When I had told him, he turned on that hotel-keeper and gave him such a cursing for his lying as would excite the envy of a ship's mate. Then "Old Dan" turned to me and told me to crawl up on the driver's seat, and he would show me where my brothers lived. We had but a mile and a half to go before he pointed to the house, a half-mile off the road, and, stopping, let me off. But in that short ride with him "Old Dan" managed to tell me more history about old Paris than I had ever supposed a town could have. I learned from my brothers that "Old Dan" was right; that that landlord did, indeed, know them well, and that he had once lived on that very farm. His only reason for vowing his ignorance of them and the place was that they did not "move in his set." I afterwards became intimately acquainted with that landlord, and found that under the veneering of his political and partizan prejudices, he was a most kind, generous and honorable man. My own people got their mail at Moneka, seven miles away, rather than patronize the Paris office, which was only a mile and a half away.

Before I leave the subject, I must relate that, in 1877-'78, while I was probate judge of Linn county, I undertook to sort over and classify the old territorial files of that office. In doing so, I discovered the oath of office which Judge Barlow took when entering upon the discharge of his duties at the organization of the county. It was written on parchment foolscap, and was in the judge's well-known handwriting. Here is a true copy of the body of that oath:

"TERRITORY OF KANSAS, COUNTY OF LINN, ss.

"I, J. H. Barlow, do solemnly swear that I will support the constitution of the United States and enforce the laws thereof, particularly the law known as the fugitive-slave law. So help me God."

The original afterwards disappeared from the files in 1880, during the incumbency of Judge Aiken D. Hyatt. Whether it ever again came to light I cannot say.

The Marais des Cygnes massacre threw a blight upon the proslavery cause,

and an odium over the friends of that cause in southern Kansas, that could never be eradicated or glossed over. On the other hand, it caused an influx of free-state settlers that soon placed the latter cause on triumphant ground. These last-mentioned settlers were all cast in the same partizan mold, and became immediately identified with all the struggles in which their predecessors had been and were involved. In Montgomery's measures of retribution for the Marais des Cygnes massacre, and for the brutal evictions on Mine creek and on the Little Osage, these fresh arrivals were a welcome host and bore a conspicuous part.

About the same time Dr. Charles R. Jennison* established himself at Mound City, and soon gathered around him a band of adventurous spirits whose religion was the hatred of everything connected with slavery and the state of Missouri. If Montgomery and his company forgot, overlooked or omitted anything in the way of retaliatory measures, Jennison and his followers recollected, picked it up, or attended to it. But between James Montgomery and Charles R. Jennison there was very little in common. The former was cast in the mold of a Puritanical leader without having any of the Puritan bigotry or pig-headedness. He was conscientious, honest, tender-hearted toward those in distress, but exacting along the lines of decorum. He would have given his last cent to relieve a settler's wants; but would have as readily hung that man for stealing a neighbor's log chain or sod plow. On the other hand, Jennison was a moral vagabond, cruel, heartless, and conscienceless. But there was a certain glamor about his enthusiastic hatred of everything pertaining to slavery that drew men to him as moths to a light. His name soon became a terror to the people in Bates and Vernon counties (Missouri), and he used to boast, in the adapted language of old Richard Cœur de Lion, saying that "the Missouri mothers hush their children to sleep by whispering the name of 'Doc. Jennison.'" That was no idle boast, either. Both Montgomery and Jennison were at times inspired with the spirit of prophecy in relation to the approach of hostilities between the North and the South and the results of the war.

On the Sunday before his death, in December, 1871, Montgomery preached a sermon at Trading Post, the scene of the Hamelton or Marais des Cygnes massacre. It was my privilege to hear his discourse. I sat near the front, with Austin Hall and Amos Hall on the one hand and Mr. and Mrs. Harvey Smith upon the other. The Halls were of the number of Hamelton's victims who fell at the first

*CHARLES R. JENNISON was born in Jefferson county, New York June 6, 1834. He was of English descent, and came through a long line of revolutionary soldiers, seafaring men, running back sixteen generations, embracing many who had been engaged in political revolutions, all on the side of liberty and free government. He received a common-school education, and at twelve years removed with his family to Wisconsin. He studied medicine, and in 1857 moved to Kansas, settling at Osawatomie. Jennison arrived in Kansas in time to mix in the fray with Montgomery and others on the border. Having expressed himself very soon after his arrival, he was ordered to leave the country, and it was not long until he ordered the other fellows to leave. Judge Williams, of the United States court, at last took sides against Jennison, and as a last resort the latter went to Fort Scott with his men and dispersed the court. A proslavery posse arrested a free-state man named Ben. Rice. Jennison demanded his release, and the response was: "Ben. Rice will not be released until the gates of hell open, unless released by order of the court." Jennison remarked: "The gates of your tabernacle will soon open." He was commissioned captain of the Mound City rifle guards by Governor Robinson February 19, 1861. September 4, 1861, he was commissioned lieutenant colonel of the Seventh Kansas cavalry, known throughout the country as "Jennison's Jayhawkers." He was an all-around terror in western Missouri. He acquitted himself in the Price raid. He was for four years a member of the city council of Leavenworth, and in 1865 and again in 1867 he was elected to the house of representatives, and in 1871 a member of the state senate. He died in Leavenworth June 21, 1884. When Senator Lane was playing general with the Kansas brigade, he ordered Jennison to issue certain guns to a company of Kansas militia. Jennison indorsed on the back of the order: "A colonel, regularly mustered in, ranks a United States senator without commission."

fire and escaped by feigning death. Mrs. Smith was formerly Mrs. Colpetzer, wife and widow of one of Hamelton's victims. In the audience were children of various ones of that immortal eleven who were

"Swooped up and swept on
To the low, reedy fen-lands,
The Marsh of the Swan,"

on that tragic morn in May, 1858. There were also a score or more of the men present who had stood around the bodies of the slain with Montgomery, and applaudingly shouted "Amen!" when the renowned leader there and then registered his vow that the blood of the dead and the tears of the widows and children should not be shed or wept in vain. There were a score of daring men there who had ridden with Montgomery on his forays of retaliation and vengeance, and who afterwards followed Cloud and Moonlight and Jennison in the larger cause of a nation's redemption. It was an audience worthy of the distinguished hero who was about to address them with a message from Holy Writ; and only a James Montgomery in spirit and action was worthy of such an audience. As he arose to begin the services, and fixed his gaze upon the familiar faces of those who had suffered and whose sufferings he had so fully avenged, a gleam of joy and satisfaction seemed to blaze from his penetrating eyes, and thrilled the audience into perfect accord with the spirit of the great thoughts which at that moment filled his bosom. He hesitated but a moment, and then requested all to arise and sing "The Battle Hymn of the Republic." The noble thought of that grand hymn stirred the crowd to the deepest depths of feeling, and it fairly seemed as though the building vibrated with the harmony and power of the music.

The text was in keeping with other features of the meeting and occasion. "Be not deceived. God is not mocked; for whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap." His theme was the accountability of communities, institutions and nations to the same laws of God that govern the individual. The discourse was logical, powerful, and impressive. Before us stood the tall and slender form of that greatest man, if history were written true, in all the sanguinary struggles that preceded the civil war. His shaggy shock of long, black hair and his shaggier black whiskers united to entirely enclose in a circle the forehead, the eyes and nose, but left enough exposed to reveal the deep and sincere earnestness and enthusiasm of their possessor. He seemed to fairly vibrate with the importance of the great truths that filled his bosom. With his first sentence he was not only in elbow touch with his hearers, but enchained them with his magnetic manner and qualities. I remember but one of the several climaxes in his argument that would have any bearing here. After having illustrated how God's will has been worked out [by men in our own national affairs, and how, at times, men, without realizing the fact, have uttered prophecies that were fulfilled to the letter, he broke out with substantially these words: "I call upon my old friends in this audience, and upon Brother Austin Hall, particularly, to remember what I said to you at a certain sorrowful meeting nearly fourteen years ago, when I prophesied that the remaining years of slavery could be numbered upon the fingers of one hand, and that in that period I would lead a host of negro soldiers, dressed in the national uniform, in the redemption of our country and the negro race from the curse of slavery." It was an impressive scene and occasion, and, being the old hero's last sermon (for he died a few days afterward), it was a memorable one.

On the other hand, Jennison's military order freeing the slaves of the Jackson and Cass county rebels, and its rescission by a mandate from Washington, gave the impulsive colonel the excuse for saying to Mr. Lincoln, when they met soon

thereafter (and I quote Jennison's words as he told them to me): "Mr. President, I bow gracefully to your will in the matter; but please to remember that, when you shall issue your own proclamation of emancipation, *as you must before this war is over*, I shall claim 'royalty' upon the measure."

Not all the proslavery settlers were vicious toward their free-state neighbors. In sober truth, many of them never gave just cause for a single word of complaint. And the outrages of 1856, 1857, and 1858, when so many of the free-state settlers were burned out and driven off, or threatened with death if they did not leave the country, created such a general and strong feeling of revulsion in the bosoms of very many of the pro-slavery class that, when Montgomery started on his memorable raids of retaliation, the guilty ones found little or no sympathy from many of those of like political views, whose hearts revolted over the crimes that had been done in the name of their party.

* * * * *

Peace was a welcome guest, but its seductive power and influence could not smother the eruptive fires of memory, which blazed forth here and there on occasion, and, throwing their lurid light far back through the years, revealed to the newcomer many of the exciting and oftentimes tragic scenes and events of the past. Here and there some quiet and unostentatious individual would be pointed out as one who had been a heroic actor, and who had won renown—local, at least,—in some one or more of those awful hours of trial. And one substantial fact about such individuals has ever impressed itself upon my mind, and that is this: The real heroes of that bloody border war have persistently been the most reticent ones in relation to their experience. But here and there some glib-tongued, empty-nail-keg orator, at the country store or corner grocery, would loudly boast to the tenderfoot of how "*we* used to raid the Missourians," and how "*we* made Kansas free," and how "*we* used to ride with Montgomery," etc., etc., *ad nauseum*, to the utter disgust of the real actors in the drama, who knew the boaster's past like a primer, and remembered that he had opposed every effort that had been made to check or turn back the tidal waves of proslavery aggression. I witnessed several scenes wherein the boasters came into direct contact with the quiet fellows who had done the deeds which the boasters at the time opposed; but I think the most amusing incident of the kind was one which occurred at the Moneka store and post-office, one afternoon soon after my arrival in the community. I shall relate it not merely on its own account, but because it throws light upon an event which has been erroneously narrated as having taken place at Montgomery's house, and accredited to that leader.

I called at the post-office for the family mail; and, being a newcomer, I at once became the target of the interest and solicitude of one of the gentlemen loafers present, who was hailed by the highly pleasing appellation of "captain." In fact, he had borne a commission of that rank in a Kansas regiment. No candidate for a position as janitor of a city school building ever buttonholed an indifferent voter with more alacrity and perseverance than the captain displayed to impress me, then and there, with his devotion to the free-state cause and his pugnacity towards its enemies during the period before the war. I was rapidly coming to the conclusion that but for him the whole scheme to make Kansas a free state would have quickly gone to the "demnition bowwows," when I was saved from that delusion by the timely entrance of one of the Corbin boys, whose appearance on the scene acted like magic upon the captain's conversational powers. He shut up as quickly and as tightly as a clam. Of course, I noticed the fact,

and at once began to wonder what historical incident lay back of it. I afterwards made inquiry, and got the following story from a Sovereign Squat:

A number of warrants had been issued for the arrest of the leading and most aggressive of the free-state men in the vicinity of Moneka and Mound City; but something in the then recent events had so impressed the proslavery sheriff and deputy marshal with a sense of extreme danger to them down in that vicinity that none of them would undertake to make the arrests. The captain concluded that right then was his time to make a name for himself that his descendants would be proud of. He had been boasting all his life, and, as no one had ever put him to the test, he had necessarily concluded that he was a hero in fact, and that it was his duty to demonstrate that fact to the neighbors. And thus it came that he loudly boasted at the store, and blacksmith shop, and hotel, that if the proper authority were given him and the warrants placed in his hands he would make the arrests, and he "would not have to have no posse to help him neither." It took no great while for his boasting to reach the ears of those most nearly concerned on both sides, and it was no joke that both sides hoped he would attempt the task. The authorities sent for the captain, and duly authorized and empowered him as a deputy United States marshal to serve the warrants. Equipped with the majesty of the law, and placing the writs in his inside pocket, he mounted his horse and proceeded Moneka-ward. In a certain place his road wound somewhat irregularly down a slope studded with trees and rocky ledges. As the captain came along at that place, and turned a somewhat short curve, he found himself confronted by one of the Corbin boys—the one I have already mentioned. Something like the following conversation took place, while the captain looked into the muzzle of a big revolver: "Captain, I'll trouble you to hand over those warrants, and be quick about it. Not a word of back talk, sir. There, thank you. Now, go straight home, captain, and not a sound out of you louder than thunder, hereafter. Do you hear? Well, then, remember it. Good-by, captain. I hope I'll not have to mention this matter to you hereafter."

The captain went, a humbler but a much wiser man. I was never able to learn that he made any official report, or that he ever told his most intimate friends what had occurred. But he never again attempted a part in the play until the coming of the civil war and the influence of Gen. Robt. B. Mitchell secured him a commission. He was a good citizen, and, discarding his disposition toward self laudation, was an exemplary man.

It was not with the captain's class alone that memory played havoc in the years following the advent of peace. There had always been a conservative element among the free-state people, and these, at times, were able to shape destiny. Some among them had, on occasions, let their conservatism run riot with their better judgments, and had never been forgiven by the radical elements, with whose plans of retribution they had interfered. On several occasions these conservative ones had even gone so far as to array themselves temporarily against the free-state leaders, and, under the pretense of "law and order," permitted themselves to perform and attempt acts that were troublesome to them afterwards. One such example will illustrate my meaning, and will give me the excuse for referring to some exciting episodes wherein the conservative and radical elements came very near to disastrous conflict, and afterwards furnished some very warm material in Linn county politics.

Late in the autumn of 1865 county politics became suddenly very interesting. One party had renominated the then acting sheriff, D. F. Park, who resided south of Little Sugar and a few miles west of Mound City. He belonged to the

conservative, non-combatant wing of the old democratic party, and, with his father's family, had located in that settlement early in territorial days. He had displayed loyalty during the civil war, and was accredited with a bold and dangerous reconnoissance against General Price's advance-guard of scouts, when he was severely wounded in the hand, a short distance east of Mound City, in October, 1864. He was an exemplary man and citizen in every respect, and made an excellent official. The other party (republican) nominated Hon. Edwin R. Smith, who had also come to Kansas with his father's family in an early day, and who was a near neighbor to the Park family. Ed. is so well known in Kansas that I scarcely need to say that he, too, was worthy of every confidence. He had been most radical and active during the civil war, and held a high office in the "raging tads," or Kansas militia, during the Price raid. He had the happy faculty of always enlisting the very greatest enthusiasm of his friends when fighting the political battles of others, but the unfortunate ill luck of calling out the most determined and uncompromising opposition whenever he became a candidate himself. Ed. should and would have made a noble mark in Kansas state politics but for the incident which I shall relate before I close this chapter. His radicalism and enthusiasm, together with his intense loyalty and active participation in certain events and dangerous excursions during the civil war, of which I had heard accounts, had predisposed me very warmly in his favor. But all at once I noticed that some of the old Moneka radicals were unfavorably discussing his candidacy. I had not long to wait for a solution of the political puzzle here presented. Ed. had once upon a time been a voluntary member of a posse assembled to arrest James Montgomery for assault and battery upon the Sugar Mound ballot-box. Other men, members of that same posse, had been forgiven by the Montgomery partizans, but Ed. at the time had made, or was accused of having made, an imprudent remark about what he intended to do personally to Montgomery in case he should get within Sharp's-rifle range of him, and it was for that alleged remark, in November, 1858, that he was now, in November, 1865, and many times thereafter, to be called to account. It defeated him. And this brings us face to face with one of the most thrilling and eventful episodes in the territorial struggle, and which has often been mentioned, but always neglected, by those who have written our Kansas histories.

The territorial politicians along the Kaw had by their bickerings and quarrellings, in 1857, thoroughly discouraged many of the rank and file of the free-state party, and the idea of "resistance against illegal authority was being abandoned everywhere," except in that storm-swept district between Paola and Fort Scott, and stretching from the Missouri line to the head waters of the Sugar creeks and the Little Osage and Marmaton, where the free-state cause was most fortunate in the fact that it was so far removed from the influence of those dissensions. In all that region there were but two recognized free-state leaders, viz., James Montgomery, of Little Sugar, and Capt. O. P. Bayne, of Little Osage; and neither of them cared whether the balance of the world recognized him as a hero or not. Each was in the fight purely for the sake of the cause, and not for glory or political leadership. On the other hand, we have the picture of deplorable divisions and distrust among the leaders along the Kaw, in the letter of June 3, 1857, from Augustus Wattles to John Brown, *alias* "James Smith," at the very time when every free-stater's home in southern Kansas was in jeopardy, and when Montgomery and Bayne were rallying their partizans to cope with the storm of pillage and rapine that was raging in their respective localities. If there was doubt and hesitation elsewhere, here there were unity and courage. Then came the October elections of that year. Linn county had set its teeth,

and the "loafers" from Missouri, Georgia, South Carolina and Alabama took to the woods. The result was 214 free-state votes and 178 proslavery votes—A. Danford and R. B. Mitchell (general) being elected to the legislature over Judge J. H. Barlow and J. E. Mooney. So much was due to the influence of the men who, night and day, hunted the scoundrels into hiding or flight.

Then followed, in quick order, the discussion of the question about voting for officers under the Lecompton constitution. Montgomery and his partizans were opposed to giving that compact the recognition that would logically follow such voting, and opposed holding an election. His blood was up and he was dreadfully in earnest; but he kept his own counsels. The months of November and December (1857) were busy ones for him. The swaggering fire-eaters whom he and Bayne had driven out were congregated at West Point, at Marvel, at Balltown, and at Fort Scott, where their "blue lodges" flourished, and from which flying raiders emerged to harass the free-state settlers on Wine creek and along the Little Osage. Almost daily, reports came in of some outrage committed by "the Missourians," and the free-state men would ride upon errands of swift retribution. Upon such an errand the doughty warrior had gone to the vicinity of Barnesville, in the last week in December. Having straightened up affairs in that community, he rode with his men to Potosi, on Mine creek, upon a like errand, and thence proceeded up that stream to reassure the friends in the neighborhood of McAuley's Gap. The next day, January 4, 1858, he proceeded leisurely toward Sugar Mound. It was the day set apart for the election under the Lecompton constitution. He had knowledge that his neighbors were voting at Sugar Mound. He timed his return so that he would reach the polling-place late in the afternoon, perhaps between three and four P. M.

As one approaches Mound City from the eastward, and enters the timber at the eastern end of Sugar Mound, he will see, if he uses searching eyes, on the left of the roadway the evidences that there was once a blacksmith shop there, and one or two other buildings, which have long since vanished. That was the historic spot known in Kansas annals as Sugar Mound (or Little Sugar) precinct. It was there that the conservatives of both parties assembled that day to cast their ballots for officers under the Lecompton constitution. Among them were men whose influence was ever of the largest in that community and who were ever on the side of right. They believed it for the best interests of themselves and their community that they should participate in that election and beat the proslavery party at the polls, even if the officers chosen should never be called upon to take their seats under the Lecompton infamy. They were strictly for law and order, and the ballot-box was to them as a pure and sacred shrine, not to be polluted by fraud nor soiled by violence. And it may as well be said right here, for it is historic truth that defies successful contradiction, that from that October day in 1857 when liberty won its first decided triumph there, through every contest that has ever been waged at the polls, no matter what the issue, to the present day, the records of elections in that community have been as free from fraud as in any other precinct in all the broad land. So much for the influence of those first early settlers.

Capt. James Montgomery and his platoon of men came along after most of the votes had been cast. There was still a considerable crowd standing about the polling place. Montgomery halted his men, and then, dismounting, walked up to the table where the election officials sat. He made some inquiry about the election, its purpose, and the number of ballots cast, and then startled everybody by reaching over and seizing the ballot-box. He held it up before the astonished spectators, uttered an imprecation against the Lecompton constitution and the

effort that was being made to mislead the people, pronounced an anathema against that particular box for being the instrument of such unholy deception, and then hurled it upon the ground and stamped the box into splinters and the ballots into pulp. The deed was so unexpectedly, so audaciously, so courageously done, that most of the bystanders stood mute with amazement; those who were self-possessed enough to comprehend the situation and its significance were prudent enough in presence of the armed squad to make no demonstration of resistance or interference, and the occasion passed without further incident.

I might add in this place that without the votes of Sugar Mound precinct the free-state ticket was beaten in Linn county by a majority of twenty. The ballots in that box would have again given the victory to the free-state people; but defeat at the polls was more than compensated for by the effect which Montgomery's mad act had upon the proslavery partizans. They saw in that act, or thought they did, the evidence of a determination on the captain's part that made them shudder. Here was a leader who meant just what he said; and who would brook no opposition or trifling of whatever sort to his measures for the advancement of the cause he espoused. But the conservatives at Sugar Mound were sore. They looked upon the ballot-box as "the palladium of liberty." It possessed a sanctity in their eyes and minds whose pollution called for their protest; but affairs were in such state that it was not politic to protest just then; so they nursed their wounded feelings and kept their pent-up wrath warm for a more suitable time.

Montgomery was too busy watching the common enemy of them all to pay much attention to the outraged feelings of his neighbors. The "blue lodges" at Paris and West Point, and the nest of vipers at Fort Scott, were actively engaged in planning and executing new designs of vengeance, and constant watchfulness was required from all.

The act of Montgomery on January 4 was the first of the many startling events which made up the bloody and otherwise awfully dramatic and tragic record of the year 1858 in that stricken section of the territory. Events followed each other so rapidly and so dramatically that little time was left for the discussion of factional divisions or differences. In truth, none but the cowed partizans at Paris had leisure for such recreation. Late in the fall, when every other community was absorbed in excitement on account of the almost constant raidings and skirmishes, a proslavery grand jury at Paris found an indictment against Montgomery charging him with interfering by violence with the election at Sugar Mound ten months before. It was at a time when the sleepless vigilance and every resource of Montgomery, Bayne and John Brown* combined were

* May 22, 1856, John Brown and his sons started from their homes on the Pottawatomie to assist in the defense of Lawrence. That evening, on the road, they learned that the town had been sacked the previous day, and, thinking it not worth while to proceed, halted and went into camp to consider what should next be done. While still in camp on the morning of the 23d, they were overtaken by a messenger from home telling of outrages perpetrated the previous day on their families and neighbors by the proslavery settlers on Pottawatomie creek. After consultation, John Brown, his four sons, Owen, Frederick, Salmon, and Oliver, his son-in-law Henry Thompson, and James Townsley, started on their return, in a wagon belonging to Townsley, accompanied by Theodore Weiner on his pony. Each member of the party was heavily armed with rifles and revolvers, and seven carried short, broad and heavy artillery swords, which were sharpened before leaving this camp. These eight men set out on the return to Pottawatomie creek May 23. On the next evening they took from their homes and killed with the swords James P. Doyle and his sons William and Drury, Allen Wilkinson, and William Sherman. It was not generally known for perhaps twenty-five years later who were the murderers, though John Brown avowed at the time his own responsibility for the act to Samuel Walker and other prominent free-state men. It is evident from his statements, and from what is known of the character of these five men, that he believed himself justified, and there is some authority for believing, from the silence of prominent free-state men who were cognizant of the facts,

required and put forth to protect the settlers against the "wolves of the border." Montgomery learned of the grand jury's action in November, and on the 13th moved in force on Paris in search of the indictment and warrants. Brown and his men accompanied the raid; but there were no results. A few days afterward the law-and order conservatives at Mound City held a meeting, and decided that the election laws must be vindicated, and that they would join the sheriff's posse in an attempt to apprehend and arrest Montgomery. The sheriff came with his warrant, the posse assembled in large numbers from both political parties, and, after some foolish and imprudent speech-making, sallied forth on its mission. But it so happened that on that very day Montgomery, with his company, were down on the Little Osage to right and redress fresh wrongs, and, of course, the posse missed their game. They returned and disbanded, and have been explaining and excusing their action ever since.

I have given the history of the ballot-box episode, from inception to conclusion, in conformity to the facts as they have been related to me by eye-witnesses and participants; and I have been as faithful in the narration as the lapse of years and memory will permit.*

One amusing feature about the use of these facts in Linn county politics since the civil war has been the zeal with which leading democrats have on the stump urged "membership in that posse" as an argument against certain politicians; and I have known that to be done by men who in 1858 would have voluntarily served as hangman or faggot-lighters to strangle or burn James Montgomery if they had the opportunity—and enough help.

Before I quit the subject, let me say, in justice to those same Mound City conservatives, that they all, without exception, so far as I have ever been able to hear, learned to look upon James Montgomery as the one always-safe leader in their troubles, and to do full honor to his exalted memory. They respected and loved him more as they understood him better. Time may not have wholly justified his violence on that January day at Sugar Mound, but both time and circumstance have proven his act to have been prompted by the very highest and purest consideration for the cause whose battles he was fighting and for the peo-

that the measure was one approved if not advised by them. It is not known that Weiner or Townsley assisted in the killing, although they accompanied the party. John Brown said of his own participation, that he did not strike a blow, but that he was responsible for the deaths of the five men. Of the men who were thus summarily removed, Allen Wilkinson, a native of Maryland, and a man of some education, was the most widely known. He had been a member of the first territorial legislature, elected thereto by voters from Missouri, while still a resident of that state, though a prospective settler on the Pottawatomie. He was a confident and crony of "Dutch Henry," the older brother of William Sherman, and, being a man of weak character, lent himself to his schemes, in spite of the fact that his wife tried to prevent the intimacy. William Sherman was a Southern German, and, with his older and better-known brother Henry, early located claims near the military crossing of the Pottawatomie, in Franklin county. Here they opened a small grocery and groggery. "Both men were violent, ruffianly, and brutal," and were known as cattle thieves. The Doyle family, father, and two sons, aged twenty and twenty-two, were from Tennessee, and belonged to the class known as "poor whites," who followed the business of spying on and returning fugitive slaves. They brought with them a pack of blood-hounds for this purpose, which had already met death in a struggle with a free-state man whom their masters had warned to leave the territory. All of these men were acting as spies on the free-state men, and were known to have frequent intercourse with the proslavery men of Missouri, and with the members of Buford's company of Georgians, who had been camped for a short time in the neighborhood. Before starting to Lawrence, John Brown, disguised as a surveyor, had visited the camp and the premises of his proslavery neighbors, and had satisfied himself of the truth of the report that a plan was being laid to drive from the community the free-state settlers. As is well known, a similar plan of ejectment was carried out in Linn and Bourbon counties, creating the series of disturbances which kept Montgomery so long before the country.

*See Andreas' "History of Kansas," page 1103.

ple in whose behalf he was playing so dangerous but disinterested a part. He had nothing of the demagogue about him. He cared no more for popularity or popular applause than he did for the whims of his opponents. Devoutly religious, opposition to the extension of human slavery was to him the cause of God; and, when once his judgment was formed, he drove straight to the conclusion that his highest and holiest duty was to consummate that judgment. Yet he was always considerate towards others. He joined reluctantly in the hollow mockery of peace which the conservatives patched up at West Point after the Marais des Cygnes massacre, knowing or believing that a few days or a few weeks, at most, would suffice to show the conservatives that the proslavery leaders were incapable of sincerity. Descended directly through a long line of military ancestors from the Scottish chief of olden times whose name he bore, he was as tactful and full of resources in the field as a Francis Marion or a William Wallace. "Captain Montgomery," said John Brown, "is the only soldier I have met among the prominent Kansas men. He is a natural chieftain, and knows how to lead."

EARLY-DAY POST-OFFICES IN KANSAS.

Written by E. J. DALLAS,* of Topeka, for the Kansas State Historical Society.

IN presenting to the Historical Society three post-office directories, published in 1811, 1831, and 1880, respectively, I have thought that it would add something to the interest of the contribution to furnish a brief history of some of the oldest post-offices established in Kansas, and submit some other statistics, compiled from the records of the department, relating to the postal service in the state. I have selected the issue of 1811 because it is the earliest list of post-offices obtainable, and that of 1831 because it contains the name of the first post-office in Kansas, and the directory of 1880 to show what has been the growth of the postal service in the United States since the first-named date.

The oldest post-office in Kansas is Fort Leavenworth, which was established on May 29, 1828, under the name of Cantonment Leavenworth, "on the La Platte," then in Clay county, Missouri.† The first postmaster was Philip G. Rand. He was succeeded by Thos. S. Bryant, appointed October 16, 1828. Mr. Bryant's successor was R. P. Beauchamp, appointed August 5, 1829, who was followed by Alex. G. Morgan, appointed July 8, 1831. Joseph V. Hamilton was appointed postmaster April 3, 1838, and Albert G. Wilson on December 5, 1839. Mr. Wilson held the office until October 19, 1841, when the name was changed to Fort Leavenworth, and Hiram Rich appointed postmaster. The subsequent appointments were as follows: Andrew G. Ege, appointed March 12, 1862; Edward Fenlon, May 19, 1862; Elizabeth Graham, March 20, 1865; Edward Fenlon, August 8, 1865; Myers B. Haas, May 14, 1866; Michael L. Dunn, August 10, 1866; David L. Payne, March 19, 1867; Michael L. Dunn, July 20, 1867. The

*EVERETT JEROME DALLAS was born in Belmont county, Ohio. He was educated at a village school, and one year at Baker University, Baldwin, Kan., in 1859-'60, and at Georgetown University Law School, Washington, D. C., class of 1873. Returned to Ohio in fall of 1860, and enlisted as private soldier in Twelfth Ohio infantry in summer of 1861, and, upon being mustered out, three years later, remained with the army until 1868, when he was appointed as a temporary clerk in the post-office department at Washington. Was rapidly promoted, and, during the eleven years preceding his removal to Topeka, in the spring of 1885, served as superintendent of the dead-letter office. A few months ago Mr. Dallas presented the Kansas State Historical Society with a copy of the first postal laws, published in Philadelphia in 1798. It is of unusual interest when compared with postal arrangements and facilities to-day.

†So located probably because adjacent to Clay county, Missouri.

last named held the office until it was discontinued, on July 31, 1868. Upon its being reestablished, April 16, 1869, Mrs. Clara L. Nichols was appointed postmaster and still holds that office. [February, 1880.]

The next post-office established in Kansas was Fort Scott, then in Bates county, Missouri,* on March 3, 1843, John A. Bugg being appointed postmaster. His successors were: H. T. Wilson, appointed February 26, 1849; James J. Farley, appointed January 28, 1856; Wiley Patterson, appointed August 2, 1856; Thos. H. Casey, appointed July 18, 1857; Wm. Gallagher, appointed August 20, 1857; David Manlove, appointed May 23, 1861; Samuel A. Manlove, appointed January 20, 1864; Chas. W. Blair, appointed March 2, 1867; James A. Tomlinson, appointed April 16, 1869; John B. Campbell, appointed March 30, 1871; Thos. F. Robley, appointed February 26, 1875. Mr. Robley was reappointed on February 22, 1879.

The next post-office established was Marysville,† on November 11, 1854, Francis J. Marshall being appointed postmaster on that date. The subsequent appointments were Peter Valiton, appointed March 12, 1858; John W. Childress, appointed November 8, 1858; Jacob S. Goble, appointed May 24, 1859; Russell J. Newell, appointed February 16, 1860; Edwin C. Manning, appointed April 25, 1861; Jacob Weisback, appointed November 21, 1861; Thos. W. Watterson, appointed April 13, 1864; Alex. Campbell, appointed July 5, 1865; Chas. M. Keighton, appointed March 26, 1868; Alex. Campbell, October 19, 1868. Wm. H. Smith succeeded Mr. Campbell, and was appointed on February 27, 1871.

The next older post-offices were established in 1855, but for convenience of reference, I will arrange them alphabetically, rather than by the particular dates on which they were created. They are as follows:

Allen, Lyon county.—Established February 26, 1855, Chas. Withington, postmaster. Abolished October 28, 1856; reestablished February 19, 1857.

Atchison, Atchison county.—Established March 15, 1855, Robert Kelly, postmaster.

Burlingame, Osage county.—Established under name of Council City April 30, 1855, Latham Smith, postmaster. Name changed to Burlingame January 30, 1858.

Centerville, Linn county.—Established March 15, 1855, James M. Arthur, postmaster.

Centropolis, Franklin county.—Established as St. Bernard March 3, 1855, Joab M. Bernard, postmaster. Name changed to Minneola November 26, 1858; to Centropolis February 21, 1863.

Clinton, Douglas county.—Established as Bloomington July 11, 1855, Harrison Benson, postmaster. Name changed to Clinton August 30, 1858.

Council Grove, Morris county.—Established February 26, 1855, C. Simcock, postmaster.

Doniphan, Doniphan county.—Established March 3, 1855, John W. Forman, postmaster.

Easton, Leavenworth county.—Established December 21, 1855, Armsted Dawson, postmaster.

Edgerton, Johnson county.—Established as Hibbard February 26, 1855, Richard McCamish, postmaster. Name changed to Lanesfield July 17, 1861; to Martinsburgh, September 16, 1870; to Edgerton July 14, 1871.

* See note on page 441.

† Wm. H. Smith, president Kansas State Historical Society, wants the fact emphasized that Marysville was really the first office established in Kansas, the cantonments Leavenworth and Fort Scott having been established before lines were known, and credited to Platte and Bates counties, Missouri. Mr. Smith served as postmaster at Marysville for about twelve years.

Fort Riley, Davis (now Geary) county.—Established as Pawnee March 3, 1855, Robert Wilson, postmaster. Name changed to Fort Riley December 20, 1855.

Highland, Doniphan county.—Established as Highland March 3, 1855, James M. Irvin, postmaster. Name changed to Nemaha Agency January 12, 1856; to Highland September 2, 1857.

Iowa Point, Doniphan county.—Established March 15, 1855, John S. Pemberton, postmaster.

Kickapoo City, Leavenworth county.—Established January 24, 1855, Thomas D. Armond, postmaster.

Lane, Franklin county.—Established as Shermansville December 21, 1855, Allen Wilkinson, postmaster. Abolished August 28, 1856. Reestablished March 14, 1857. Name changed to Lane January 28, 1863.

Lawrence, Douglas county.—Established January 13, 1855, Carmi W. Babcock, postmaster.

Leavenworth, Leavenworth county.—Established as Leavenworth City March 6, 1855, Lewis N. Reese, postmaster. Name changed to Leavenworth May 31, 1871.

Lecompton, Douglas county.—Established as Douglas March 3, 1855, Andrew McDonald, postmaster. Name changed to Lecompton September 5, 1855.

Locust Grove, Atchison county.—Established as Mount Pleasant March 3, 1855, Thomas Fortune, postmaster. Name changed to Locust Grove August 13, 1862.

Mound City, Linn county.—Established as Sugar Mound March 15, 1855, Isaac D. Stockton, postmaster. Name changed to Mound City February 1, 1859.

Osawatimie, Miami county.—Established December 21, 1855, Samuel Geer, postmaster.

Osawkie, Jefferson county.—Established March 15, 1855, Geo. M. Dyer, postmaster.

Palermo, Doniphan county.—Established December 19, 1855, Frank M. Mahan, postmaster.

Paola, Miami county.—Established as Peoria Village December 21, 1855, Joseph M. Gearhart, postmaster. Name changed to Paola February 13, 1856.

Pardee, Atchison county.—Established as Ocena August 1, 1855, William Crosby, postmaster. Name changed to Pardee August 6, 1855.

St. Mary's, Pottawatomie county.—Established as St. Mary's Mission March 15, 1855, L. R. Palmer, postmaster. Name changed to St. Mary's May 21, 1878.

Tecumseh, Shawnee county.—Established March 3, 1855, William A. Sublet, postmaster.

Topeka, Shawnee county.—Established March 3, 1855, Fry W. Giles, postmaster.

Valley Falls, Jefferson county.—Established as Grasshopper Falls December 21, 1855, Andrew J. Whiting, postmaster. Name changed to Sautrell Falls October 12, 1863; to Grasshopper Falls May 14, 1864; to Valley Falls July 1, 1875.

Wabaunsee, Wabaunsee county.—Established December 29, 1855, John H. Nesbitt, postmaster.

Wathena, Doniphan county.—Established as Bryan March 3, 1855, Milton E. Bryan, postmaster. Name changed to Wathena August 2, 1856.

White Cloud, Doniphan county.—Established July 11, 1855, John W. Moodie, postmaster.

Willow Springs, Douglas county.—Established as Davis February 26, 1855, Thomas Mockbee, postmaster. Name changed to Willow Springs July 23, 1861; to Akron May 9, 1870; to Willow Springs June 13, 1870.

Wyandotte, Wyandotte county.—Established October 8, 1855, W. J. Osborn, postmaster.

The following offices were also established during the year 1855, but have in the meantime been discontinued:*

Ashland.—Established December 29, 1855, Wm. H. Mackey, postmaster. Abolished April 1, 1868.

Blanton.—Established September 24, 1855, N. B. Blanton, postmaster. Abolished February 23, 1856.

Bowling Green.—Established December 28, 1855, Alexander Smith, postmaster. Abolished August 21, 1857.

Delaware.—Established February 10, 1850, Jas. Findlay, postmaster. Name changed to Seconline February 1, 1856. Abolished April 14, 1859.

Fort Atkinson.—Established August 4, 1855, Pitcairn Morrison, postmaster. Abolished June 5, 1857.

Franklin.—Established December 21, 1855, Samuel Crane, sr., postmaster. Abolished November 7, 1867.

Hallet.—Established March 15, 1855, William Alley, postmaster. Name changed to Silver Lake June 2, 1855. Abolished September 8, 1857.

Juniata.—Established July 25, 1855, Seth J. Childs, postmaster. Name changed to Tauromee August 5, 1856. Abolished March 26, 1858.

Lane.—Established March 3, 1855, A. F. Powell, postmaster. Abolished March 10, 1856. (No connection with the Lane in Franklin county.)

Loring.—Established March 15, 1855, R. C. Miller, postmaster. Name changed to Indianola December 21, 1855. Abolished December 29, 1863.

Miller.—Established March 3, 1855, Ingraham Baker, postmaster. Abolished February 12, 1856.

Nuato.—Established March 3, 1855, Freeland M. Stanley, postmaster. Abolished December 20, 1855.

Richardson.—Established January 10, 1855, Fry P. McGee, postmaster. Abolished September 29, 1874.

Richmond.—Established July 11, 1855, James E. Thompson, postmaster. Abolished July 12, 1859. (No connection with the Richmond in Franklin county.)

Sac and Fox Agency.—Established March 3, 1855, John Whistler, postmaster. Name changed to Greenwood February 27, 1861. Abolished September 3, 1872.

Shannon.—Established March 3, 1855, Samuel D. Houston, postmaster. Abolished March 12, 1858.

Shields.—Established March 15, 1855, C. Chandler, postmaster. Abolished March 30, 1878.

Smithton.—Established September 24, 1855, Alfred F. Barnett, postmaster. Name changed to La Porte February 12, 1858. Abolished March 3, 1859.

Urbana.—Established March 3, 1855, John Jett, postmaster. Abolished June 19, 1855.

* At the instance of Col. O. E. Learnard, of Lawrence, the Historical Society has been for a year looking for a man to write a chapter on "The Lost or Dead Towns of Kansas." Mr. C. E. Cory, of Fort Scott, writes as follows: "An idea occurred to me the other day of another line in which an immense amount of grubbing could be done, to the profit of future readers and students. I have been annoyed and bewildered by the reference in the early annals to different localities which have disappeared from the map and also from the memory. For instance, although I think I know something about Kansas history, I cannot now tell for the life of me where the Big Springs convention was held. If some fellow with the facilities at hand would go to work and get up a list of say 200 geographical names alluded to in the early history of Kansas, locate the places down to a forty-acre tract, which could be done now, it would be a valuable adjunct to every man's library. It would be a horrible undertaking for a man to tackle. Can't you find somebody who likes work who will try it?"

Whitehead.—Established March 3, 1855, James R. Whitehead, postmaster. Abolished April 10, 1866.

Whitfield.—Established March 15, 1855, Jas. A. Gray, postmaster. Abolished May 21, 1856.

Woodson.—Established August 9, 1855, John Jett, postmaster. Abolished December 22, 1855.

The number of offices established between January 1 and June 30, 1856, was eighteen, while four were abolished during the same period.

The following table will show the number of offices established and discontinued each fiscal year, beginning with that ending June 20, 1857:

Year.	Estab- lished.	Abol- ished.	Year.	Estab- lished.	Abol- ished.
1857	72	9	1870	129	17
1858	65	7	1871	197	40
1859	20	19	1872	176	72
1860	46	15	1873	178	52
1861	31	9	1874	139	45
1862	29	8	1875	133	50
1863	30	17	1876	78	38
1864	18	16	1877	73	38
1865	18	8	1878	123	36
1866	23	17	1879	212	49
1867	49	36	Total	1,957	636
1868	48	20			
1869	70	18			

Statement of the aggregate length in miles of mail routes in operation in Kansas on June 30 of each year, beginning with 1855:

Year.	Mode of transportation.		Total.	Year.	Mode of transportation.		Total.
	Not stated.	Coach.			Not stated.	Railroad.	
1855	570	.....	570	1867	4,935	220	5,155
1856	1,647	331	1,978	1868	4,812	423	5,235
1857	1,483	321	1,804	1869	3,474	545	4,019
1858	2,000	321	2,321	1870	3,863	1,005	4,868
1859	2,558	3,164	5,722	1871	3,889	1,620	5,509
1860	1,694	786	2,480	1872	4,506	1,823	6,333
1861	3,090	786	3,876	1873	4,935	2,382	7,317
1862	2,415	787	3,202	1874	6,287	2,379	8,666
1863	3,327	.....	3,327	1875	8,025	2,386	10,411
1864	3,188	.....	3,188	1876	9,140	2,570	11,710
1865	4,060	.....	4,060	1877	9,008	2,609	11,617
1866	4,106	.....	4,106	1878	9,101	2,798	11,899
				1879	9,899	2,835	12,734

The above table is not strictly correct, for the reason that, under the system of records in the department, the entire service on each mail route is charged to the state in which it is numbered, notwithstanding that it may extend through other states. For example, in 1859 route No. 15,050, from Independence, Mo., to Stockton, Cal., was recorded as Kansas mail service; and, by the way, the fact that said route was in operation but one year will account for the excess of service shown in 1859 over that of 1858 and 1860. Similar inaccuracy will be found

in the column of railroad transportation; as, for example, the Kansas Pacific from Kansas City, Mo., to Denver, Colo., is a Kansas route. The Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe route is also called a mail route in Kansas, although extending to Denver, Colo.

The table is, however, substantially correct, and will serve to illustrate the annual progress in the development of the state.

THE LECOMPTON PARTY WHICH LOCATED DENVER.

Written by ELY MOORE,* of Lawrence, in the *Denver Post*, June 23, 1901. *

ALL the old-timers of Lawrence, Kan., as well as many in Denver and Colorado, clearly remember the genial and learned young lawyer, Capt. Wm. B. Parsons, as a "fellow of infinite jest and most excellent fancy," possessing, as he did, all the dare, dash and determination so requisite in a leader of men. To "Billy B.," as he was called, belongs the honor of leading the first party who ever trod the weary road to the summit of Pike's Peak, and to Captain Parsons and followers is credit due, as the "white pathfinders," in discovering the gold and silver resources that have placed the Centennial state first in mineral wealth of our many possessions.

For many years it was asserted that William Larimer built the first house in Denver. That is not true, nor is it a fact that Leavenworth city sent out the first party to locate a town or develop gold or silver mines in Colorado. To dear old Lecompton, then the territorial capital of Kansas, and her citizens, belongs the prestige of locating and naming of Denver, and to the writer hereof the distinction of selecting the title. I have searched long and diligently for the letter of Captain Parsons (extracts from which are herewith published), refuting certain claims made by a writer in the *Chicago Times*, in 1884, as to who located and named the city of Denver, and who made the first discovery of gold in Colorado. My search for this letter was rewarded but very recently. In looking over an old scrap-book belonging to my daughter (Mrs. Charles C. Seewir, of Lawrence, Kan.), I found the Parsons letter, which appeared in the *Chicago Tribune* October 1, 1884.

*ELY MOORE was born in New York city, N. Y., December 7, 1833. Resided there until 1854, when he came to Kansas, settling at the Indian agency of the confederated tribes in Miami county, with his father, who was an agent to the confederated tribes, the Weas, Miamis, Piankishaws, Peorias, and Kaskaskias. He moved to Lecompton May 1, 1856, where he was deputy register of the land-office from 1857 until 1860. The first money he ever earned was as a carrier for the New York *Daily Times*, in 1853. He was a member of Typographical Union No. 6 in New York, and president of the first typographical union in Kansas, No. 76 chartered at Lecompton in 1857. He established the *Democratic Standard* at Lawrence in 1871. He organized and was chairman of the first democratic central committee in Kansas—Douglas county, in 1860; was also chairman of the first democratic club ever organized in Kansas, and served for fourteen years as a member of the democratic state central committee. Never held a political office. In 1861 he married Rose S. McKinney, of Williamsport, Pa. His father, Col. Ely Moore, was a well-known citizen of the territory, born in Sussex county, New Jersey, July 4, 1798. He died in Lecompton January 27, 1861. He served five years at the printing business in New York city, and was at one time a proof-reader on an edition of the Bible, Horace Greeley acting as copy-holder. He was elected to Congress in 1834, and served two terms, and was surveyor of the port of New York from 1839 to 1845, when President Polk appointed him marshal for the southern district of New York. In 1853 President Pierce appointed him minister to England, but this he refused to accept, preferring an Indian agency in Kansas. In coming West, it was the purpose that he should be first governor of the territory of Kansas, but his health forbade, and he recommended his friend, Andrew H. Reeder. He accepted the appointment of register of the land-office at Lecompton, which he held until his death. His father, Capt. Moses Moore, was a captain in the revolutionary war, distinguishing himself at the battles of Long Island, Monmouth, and Trenton.

Early in 1857 many reports reached us at the Pawnee land-office, situated at Lecompton, Kan., and whose jurisdiction then embraced both Kansas and Colorado, that bushels of glittering gold and nuggets as large as your fist could be found in the streams and along the foot-hills of the Rocky Mountains. While these reports were known to be exaggerated, still many were dangerously inoculated with the fever of adventure and gain. At that early day a trip of 600 miles across the "Great American Desert" was an undertaking of vast magnitude, and the great risk from hostile Indians and destructive blizzards—the tomahawk of the former no more deadly than the merciless sweep of the latter—held up the hand of warning against a too early start in the spring—June being considered the first safe month for the venture. But the young and vigorous American men who sought the mighty West in 1854, 1855, and 1856—men who had left behind them in the far-away East luxury and comfort, sweethearts and parents—laughed at fear and actually courted danger. To the heroism of such may be ascribed not only "the discovery of the West," but its development as well.

On the evening of October 10, 1857, a meeting of the citizens of Lecompton was called to assemble at the land-office for the sole purpose of forming a town-site association, to be located at some point along the Rockies, and to occupy ground near a running stream.

An organization, most minute in all its details, was perfected that night, and was composed of the following gentlemen: Gov. Hugh S. Walsh,* Gen. William Brindle,† Col. E. W. Wynkoop, George C. Baker, John Shannon, Ely Moore, Gen. Francis J. Marshall, Capt. Ed. C. Baird, Gen. H. J. Strickler,‡ and Gen. T. J. B. Cramer. Hugh S. Walsh was elected president and Ely Moore secretary-treasurer of the association, under the title of the "Colorado Town Site Association, of Lecompton, Kansas Territory." By resolution, we were instructed to start our train for the mountains as early in May, 1858, as might be deemed prudent by the captain of the expedition. Each member of the association subscribed \$500 as an earnest of his loyalty to the enterprise and for the further purpose of outfitting the train, which was to consist of five wagons and twenty-five men, provisioned for six months, depending largely upon the buffalo for our meat supply. Seventeen men were to be mounted, and eight drivers for our wagons, all well armed with rifles and a brace of revolvers, two Sharp's rifles being our reserve battery.

*HUGH S. WALSH came to Kansas from Alabama in 1857. He acted as private secretary to Acting Governors Stanton and Denver, and when the latter was made governor he was appointed secretary of the territory, May 12, 1858. He was acting governor of the territory at four different times. He was born in New Windsor, Orange county, New York, in 1810. He died in Jefferson county, Kansas, April 23, 1877.

†GEN. WILLIAM BRINDLE was receiver of the land-office at Lecompton. He came from Pennsylvania. He was for several years editor of the *Kansas National Democrat*. He still lives, in Washington, D. C. Col. E. W. Wynkoop was a brother-in-law to General Brindle, and was a clerk in the land-office. He became a very prominent Indian agent after his removal to Colorado. George C. Boher was also a clerk in the land-office at Lecompton. Thomas J. B. Cramer was territorial treasurer for the years 1856 and 1857. December 29 and 31, 1856, he made a report to Governor Geary as inspector general and treasurer of the territory. He was nominated for state treasurer under the Lecompton constitution.

‡HIRAM J. STRICKLER was born in Page county, Virginia, in 1831. He died at Tecumseh, Shawnee county, July 31, 1873. He was educated at the Virginia Military Institute, Lexington, Va. He settled in Shawnee county, Kansas, in February, 1855. He was a member of the first territorial council. He was appointed territorial auditor in 1857, which position he held until the admission of the state. He was adjutant and librarian of the territory for the year 1856. He retired to his farm in 1861. In 1866 he was made secretary of the State Agricultural Society, which he held until 1871, when he was made president. He married Miss Hattie, the daughter of Hon. Frederick P. Stanton.

During the month of April, 1858, Capt. William B. Parsons visited Lecompton and informed us that he would leave Lawrence for the Rocky Mountains early in May, with a party of forty men; that their object would not interfere with ours, as the party were gold-seekers, pure and simple, but urged that we go together for mutual protection. This we agreed to, but some hitch in the Parsons outfit delayed them beyond the time we thought it prudent to start; so on the 10th of May, 1858, we rolled out of Lecompton for the mountains, taking the northern route, Parsons and his party not leaving Lawrence until the 23d of the same month, and then taking the southern route.

The Lecompton party made a rapid and safe journey to Cherry creek, only encountering two sickly blizzards and a roving band of Cheyenne Indians. The Indians (about fifty in number) attacked us one morning just as we were shedding our blankets, and, though surprised, we joyfully and quickly got into action. As the enemy approached, and when a quarter of a mile distant, our Sharp's rifles put two of them *hors de combat*. This far-shooting weapon bewildered them and they fled, but in doing so resorted to their customary tactics of firing the dry grass ahead of us, thus destroying food for our cattle and horses, and to a large extent burning the buffalo-chips, so largely depended on for cooking purposes.

Here permit me to describe my first view of Pike's Peak. On the fourth morning before reaching Cherry creek (June 14), as I stretched my limbs and peeped from under my blanket, I noticed to the southwest, and nearly over our own camp, what I supposed to be a cloud with a silver-gold lining, but, strange to say, it did not move; and, stranger still, it appeared just in the same position the following morning, remaining absolutely stationary. The following day, however, we concluded it was a peak of the mountains covered with snow. When I first observed it, some early-rising Yank. must have been at his regular morning occupation of prying up the sun "away down east in Maine," and the rays, striking the snow-capped crest, reflected back, and gave it the appearance of a looking-glass suspended high in the heavens. It was Pike's Peak, sixty-five miles away.

We reached Cherry creek during the evening of June 17, 1858. We established our camp on the east side of the creek, some few rods from the river. Here we rested for a few days, for our stock was weary. We made several attempts at pan washing for gold. The first "color" secured caused a shout of joy from all. The gain of the glittering speck was looked upon as an assurance of better things to come; but it did n't pan out in the long run, for in a struggle with the icy waters for a day or two we secured less than ten dollars. This amount for twenty-five men proved a fizzle, stark and cold, and, besides, we were not gold-seekers, our sole mission being to establish a location for a city. However, our immense gold find soon reached civilization, being magnified into untold thousands; hence the intemperate rush for Pike's Peak.

At this juncture a half-breed Indian made an informal call upon us, and with eloquent gestures and badly mixed lingo imparted to his white brothers that at what is now known as Clear creek, near Golden City, silver and gold were "heap plenty," and good place for "much people." A few hours' experience in the cold waters of Clear creek was proof abundant that that untutored savage of the desert was a well-educated liar. Neither did the surroundings strike us as suitable for a city of huge proportions. We were particular in those days. And why not? We had the whole of what is now Colorado to select from.

We retraced our steps to Cherry creek, hoping that Parsons and his party would be there awaiting our arrival, but Billy and a few of his more daring

followers were just then leaving their footprints on the rocks of time at the very summit of Pike's Peak. They were unquestionably the first party that ever withstood the hardships and braved the dangers of that perilous ascent. They drove their stakes, giving date, etc., of their exploit, which fully explains the late find of hieroglyphics upon the summit, but recently chronicled in one of the Denver papers.

On the morning of July 3, 1858, while riding over the ground which Denver now so beautifully embellishes, we were deeply impressed with its adaptability to our special purposes. So firm was this conviction in our minds that we hastened to unpack our surveying paraphernalia, and before sundown that day we had run the north and south, east and west boundary lines of our projected city, embracing 640 acres, overstepping the land laws in force at that time for municipal purposes (but not strictly enforced by the land commissioner); for even at that remote day we made provision for a city of grand intentions and magnificent results, now fully attained. Just as we had completed the survey by streets, alleys, blocks, and lots (and for temporary purposes only given it the name of "Mountain City"), we were inundated by an influx of mixed tribes and nations—a live Yankee, typical of his state; a Jew, both long in nose and secretiveness; Mexicans, half-breeds, and he of the pure heathen color. They were awaiting the arrival of Parsons, who was several camps back, upon whose appearance they would open up the mines.

We remained a day or two, hoping to see Captain Parsons, desiring to take back with us the report of his journey; but as he failed us, we reluctantly packed our traps for a homeward march.

Upon reaching Lecompton, we at once complied with the requirements of the land commissioner and land laws governing the location of cities—filing our map and declaratory statement—all that was necessary to hold our property for municipal purposes.

It seems strange, and scarcely in keeping with right, that I, after the time, labor and money expended in locating and naming Denver, should not possess one foot of her soil. Let the mayor and council or some overburdened lot-owner donate me a piece of her dirt, even though but as large as my hat, and I will return thanks piled as high as your famous peak.

The city of Denver received its name under most peculiar circumstances. One night while sitting around our camp-fire, situated within what is now the corporate limits of Denver, a resolution was passed requiring a majority vote to give a permanent name to our recently acquired town site, and, as there were but ten of us who had votes, it was necessary for six members to vote in unison. (E. W. Wynkoop represented General Brindle and I Governor Walsh, by proxy.) Many names had been suggested—among them Eldorado, Eureka, Excelsior, Marshall, Jefferson, Columbia, Mineral, and Mountain City—but each and all failed to receive the necessary six votes, notwithstanding we balloted at each camp-fire on our homeward march to Kansas.

A few days before reaching home we killed a fine buck, some wild turkeys, and a buffalo calf. This suggested the propriety of giving our friends a game supper upon arriving at Lecompton. Among our invited guests was Gov. J. W. Denver.* The governor was tardy in making his appearance, and as he was to

* JAMES W. DENVER was born at Winchester, Va., October 23, 1817, and died in Washington, D. C., August 9, 1892. In 1831 his parents moved to Ohio, and settled in Clinton county in 1832. He studied civil engineering, and, in 1841, moved to Missouri, to work on public surveys. He returned to Ohio, and, in 1842, began the study of law. He graduated from the Cincinnati Law School in 1844. In the spring of 1845 he returned to Missouri, and settled in Platte

preside at the supper, we were killing time in selecting a name for our city, but, as heretofore, we failed to agree—much to the disgust of some of us. Finally the door opened, and there, in all his physical and mental magnificence, stood the governor. We all rose from our seats as he uncovered, greeting him most heartily—for we all loved the grand old man. Intuitively, the sight and occasion suggested to me “Denver” as a fitting name for our city. The motion was made and a vote taken, which received unanimous support.

Thus was the city of Denver named, and any other claim as to date of location, name and first survey of the land is pure fiction. The governor responded to our compliment in his happy and sterling way, lauding our enterprise and courage, and predicting that the Lecompton association had builded better than they knew; that we had taken the initiatory step toward laying the foundation of a city of vast extent and of commercial benefit to our country at large.

During the progress of our survey the teams were hauling logs for our house, and before leaving for home three logs high were in place, one of them blazed with the date of survey and the name of the association written upon it. We left James Maddox (one of our drivers) in charge of our house, who was to remain its occupant until some of our party returned. The house was tied by logs overhead and properly daubed. This was the first building ever erected in Denver, all reports to the contrary notwithstanding.

We intended to return to our city in a few weeks, but pressing business in the land-office prevented many of us from doing so, but Col. E. W. Wynkoop and a small party, taking with them lumber for floor, roof and door for our claim house, returned at once, and placed upon the land painted boards announcing our claim, name, etc. After a few weeks’ stay, he, like others, absorbing the mythical gold stories from New Mexico, went down to investigate them. His abandonment did not in the remotest degree invalidate our title, for we had religiously complied with all laws governing town-site locations, but left the door open for possible litigation. It transpired later on that in the fall of 1858 other parties “jumped” the city, adopting our survey in part or in full, and also the name we had given it. Had we known then what we see now, the association would have doubtless fought to a finish for their rights. Then Denver was a wilderness; now it is the brightest jewel in the diadem of cities.

In 1868 the Kansas Pacific (eastern division) extended an invitation to the editors of Kansas to take an excursion over that line as far as Denver and Golden City. I availed myself of the kindness, this being my first and last visit since I aided in laying out and naming your city.

As stated above, I have never been in Denver but once since its location, and then for a few hours only (the guest of Colonel Greenwood, chief civil engineer of the Kansas Pacific), but I am satisfied I could identify the spot where we built the first house ever erected in Denver. I realize that forty-three years back is “ancient history” for the West, but, nevertheless, I can see our camp at Cherry creek, our trail to the survey lines and the house we were erecting as

City. In March, 1847, he went to Mexico, as a captain of infantry, and served until July, 1848. He returned to Platte City, but, in 1850, crossed the plains and settled in Trinity county, California. In 1852, he was elected to the state senate of California. He killed Edward Gilbert in a duel. He served as secretary of state until the fall of 1855, when he took a seat in Congress. He was chairman of the special committee on the Pacific railroad, and originated the laws providing for that great highway. He was appointed commissioner of Indian affairs in April, 1856. In December, 1857, he was appointed secretary of the territory of Kansas, and, on May 12, 1858, he was appointed governor. He resigned October 10, 1858. President Lincoln made him a brigadier general of volunteers in 1861. See “Kansas Territorial Governors,” by William E. Connelley.

plainly as though it had been but yesterday. If my threescore and ten years will admit it, I hope before long to resurvey with my eyes the mighty and magnificent results accomplished by your people.

Captain Parsons in his letter correctly says: "There was no house on Cherry creek on August 12, 1858," but there was a log house partially built on Cherry creek (all land in that locality was known as Cherry creek bottom at that time) on or about the 17th of July, 1858, for I slept within the square formed by its logs that night. So say my notes.

In explanation of Mr. Parsons's letter, I will state that he was the special correspondent of the Chicago *Tribune*, writing to an attaché of that paper, a former officer in the United States army.

CAPTAIN PARSONS'S LETTER.

Extracts from the letter referred to, dated Denver, October 1, 1884:

"During the session of the free-state legislature in Lawrence, Kan., in the winter of 1857, it was whispered around among the boys that some Delaware Indians had brought in some fine specimens of gold from the 'Rockies,' and for a consideration would show us where it could be found. As you remember, we arranged with 'Fall Leaf' to guide us, but he was so injured in a drunken frolic that he could not go, and so, on the 23d of May, 1858, we set out without him. There were forty of us, and but two in the party, John Turney and Russell Hutchins, had ever seen a gold-mine or a sluice box or cradle.

"At Switzer creek (now Burlingame) we were joined by three men and one woman, who had a baby four months old. At Collinwood's, John Henry Holmes and Julia Archibald Holmes and her brother met us; thus making our party number forty-seven, exclusive of the baby. You will remember that the whole country beyond Council Grove, where now thriving cities stand and the thundering trains of commerce pour wealth and prosperity on their way from the Atlantic to the Pacific shore, was to us a *terra incognita*. We knew absolutely nothing of the route of the country except from Fremont's report of 1842, and what little we could gather from bullwhackers of the greaser variety. There was not a house between Diamond Spring (twenty miles west of Council Grove) and Bent's Fort. The latter was identical with the building known as the 'commissary' when you were in command at Fort Lyon in 1862, and I was there with my company G of the Ninth Kansas. A young man by the name of Russell, with four assistants, had charge of the fort, and the plains around were dotted with the tepees of Cheyennes and Arapahoes. Russell had not heard from the 'States' in four months. We camped in a grove of cottonwoods, near the present site of Fountain City, on the night of the 4th of July.

"We celebrated our nation's birthday in true frontier style, and I ventured the prediction in a spread-eagle speech that some of us would live to see 10,000 people in this region and a weekly mail. Smart, wasn't I? On the 6th day of July we camped at the gateway of the Garden of the Gods, and my tent was on the identical spot now occupied by General Palmer's residence. We corraled 100 mountain sheep on the high slate-shaped rock south of the gateway. On the 13th of July five of us ascended Pike's Peak. I don't claim to be a hero and don't want immortality that way, but I have been told by old John Smith, Kit Carson, Jack Jones, and several other mountaineers whose names I forget, that I was the first person that ever set foot upon its summit. I wrote a letter from there to the St. Louis *Democrat*, and though I have the slips before me, I cannot tell the date of its publication. Four days later Julia Archibald Holmes went to the summit, and from there wrote an article for the *National Era*, I believe, if it was then published; at all events, for some Washington publication. I have seen accounts of the ascension of the mountain by some Denver ladies long afterwards, and the claim was asserted that they were the first to plant their feet on the summit. The truth is, Julia Archibald Holmes, of Lawrence, Kan., afterwards secretary of the National Woman Suffrage Association, dressed in black, tight pants, a hickory shirt, and a pair of moccasins, was the first woman who ever set foot on the summit of Pike's Peak or any similar eleva-

tion in America.* From Pike's Peak we went to a location known as La Veta Pass and did some hard work and found a little gold. We there learned from some Mexicans that the most probable place to find gold in quantities was at Cherry creek. We went there as soon as we could, arriving some time in August. When we went there the 'inhabitants' were just these: Jack Jones, his Cheyenne wife, and two or three young Indians; Sanders, with about the same outfit; John Smith with two Sioux women, an Arapahoe woman and three or four young bucks, and John Atwell and squaw.

"We camped on the east side of Cherry creek, and about 300 feet from the river. The bottom was full of willows. Four days after we went there three men from Salt Lake came in, one of them being a gambler by the name of Vincent. During a game of monte he shot Atwell, the ball plowing along the left side of his head, but not breaking the skull. He ran into the willows, but the Indians soon unburrowed and captured him. I was selected judge, and a jury impaneled according to the forms of law. The man was found guilty, and my decision was that his horse and revolver should be given to Atwell, and that he be turned out of camp with his rifle, ammunition, and six days' rations, and the assurance that if ever again seen within a mile of camp he would be shot on sight. Thus I had the honor to preside at the first trial ever held in Denver. There have been many able judges in Denver since my day, but I venture to boast that justice has never been administered more speedily or satisfactorily than in Vincent's case.

"I have always seen that General Larimer built the first house in Denver, on August 12. This is not true. I don't know the exact date, but I am positively certain that there was no house on Cherry creek on August 31.

"John Smith's half-breed son washed out \$2.20 in gold during the day of August 18, and I think that was the first time that any man or boy ever obtained as much as one dollar in one day from the Colorado gold-mines. Gregory and Green Russell had meanwhile come, each with his own party, and, knowing far more than any others in the country about the business of prospecting, struck the first paying diggings in September. But, strange as it may seem, they had a tremendous excitement in St. Louis about our miners' discoveries at least thirty days before one of us ever gained a cent."

*Statement of her husband, Capt. James H. Holmes, made to Secretary Adams, at Topeka, July 17, 1894: "Accompanied by my wife, and her brother, Albert Archibald, I came up from Emporia and joined the Lawrence party, the first Kansas party to the Pike's Peak gold regions, in 1858. We joined the party in June or July, at the Cottonwood crossing of the Santa Fe trail. There were all together in the company forty-seven men and two women. Bancroft, in his Colorado volume, gives some account of us. We reached the Garden of the Gods the latter part of July. We camped there about a month, prospecting. My wife and I climbed Pike's Peak alone. She was the first woman who ever climbed the peak. We wrote a letter from the place where we stayed all night, which was published in a woman's-rights paper published at that time in Middletown, Orange county, New York, by Mr. and Mrs. Hasbrook. We called our camping-place that night 'Sun Dale.' It was just above the timber line. We could get just enough wood to build a fire by carrying it a little ways. We camped there over night, and went on up the next morning. I took to the summit a volume of Emerson's essays. I read at the top of the peak Emerson's poem which prefaces his essay on 'Friendship.'" Noble L. Prentiss, in his address on "Pike of Pike's Peak," says: "Pike, whose nearest approach to the peak was fifteen miles, believed it to be inaccessible; but climbing it has been an every-day matter since a Kansas woman, Mrs. Julia Archibald Holmes, the first lady who ever attained the summit, set the brave example."

Albert D. Richardson, in his "Beyond the Mississippi," page 320, under date of 1860, says: "At last, just before noon, passing two banks of snow which have lain unmelted for years, perhaps for centuries, we stood on the highest point of Pike's Peak, 13,400 feet above sea-level. The ladies of our party—one a native of Boston, the other of Derry, N. H.—were the first of their sex who ever set foot upon the summit."

THE LEGISLATIVE WAR OF 1893; INSIDE, OUTSIDE, AND BACK AGAIN.*

An address by J. WARE BUTTERFIELD,† at a banquet of the Douglass House, February 16, 1895.

WHAT I have to relate this evening will be solely what came under my observation during the legislative war of 1893, while performing my duties as correspondent of the Chicago *Inter Ocean* and the *Daily Eagle*, of Wichita. I shall not speak of the opening of the session and the row that went on for nearly a month, only to say that I did not have a ticket to the floor of the House at the opening session. The arrangements for admission were made by the chairmen of the state committees of the political parties, but the doors were in possession of the assistant adjutant generals appointed by Adjutant General Artz, and they admitted just whom they pleased. I therefore took to the ladies' gallery, and with Jerry Simpson and Mrs. Vickery looked down on the turbulent crowd. Subsequently I received a pass from Secretary of State Osborn, then one from Speaker Dunsmore, then one from Speaker Douglass; and finally one from Governor Lewelling, passing me "through the lines" after the capitol was surrounded by the militia.

Crowded into the ladies' parlor of the Copeland hotel on the night of February 14, 1893, were the sixty-seven members of the Douglass House, holding the most important caucus of the session. The arrest of Ben. Rich, the clerk of the Dunsmore House, and his rescue by the Populists, had brought matters to a focus, and either the legality of the Douglass House must be sustained or the members of it must yield their position, and right must give way to might. Rumors were afloat that the Populists would break faith and refuse to carry out their agreement that both parties should have equal access and occupancy of Representative Hall; that the members of the Douglass House would be refused admission in the morning; that the Populists would take sole possession of the hall, and that Governor Lewelling would call out the militia to aid in enforcing their order. It is, perhaps, needless to say where I was during this caucus, but myself and the editor of a daily Republican newspaper in the western part of the state had quite exact knowledge of the proceedings, hearing nearly all that was said, and giving strict attention, remarking at times upon the seriousness of the situation, and noticing with considerable grief the acrimony and bitterness of the discussion, which took a wide range, being criticism as to past management of

* Note by Mr. Butterfield: "This title has no reference to politics."

† J. WARE BUTTERFIELD was born at Andover, Merimack county, New Hampshire, February 24, 1838. He entered Dartmouth College and remained one year; studied law and graduated at Dane Law School, Harvard College. Went to Memphis, Tenn., opened a law office, and remained there until three weeks after Fort Sumter was taken; then he left for the North—saw stars and stripes at Cairo, Ill., for first time for a month. Went to New Hampshire. In 1862 he raised a company; was captain in the Twelfth New Hampshire volunteers, and served until January, 1863. Was taken prisoner by Gen. J. E. B. Stuart, and paroled; [Robert H. Semple, mentioned in this article, was taken prisoner at same time.] After reaching New Hampshire, in January, 1863, he resigned, and was afterwards appointed on the staff of Gov. James A. Weston, with rank of colonel. He came to Kansas in 1873, and settled at Florence, Marion county. Was elected representative from that county in 1882, and reelected in 1884. Practiced law, sold land and loaned money on real estate while in Marion county. His wife who came to Kansas with him died in 1878. In 1886 he married Helen M. Turner, formerly of Iowa City. In 1891 he moved to Topeka, and since then has done more or less newspaper work, being Kansas correspondent of the New York *Tribune*.

affairs as well as advice regarding future action. The excitement was intense. Geo. L. Douglass, the speaker, evidently felt that his manner of procedure was not fully indorsed, and that possibly some other course might be best. He talked about as follows:

"We have now arrived at the time when a conclusion must be reached. I have counseled against force. What I have done has been in the interest of peace, and for the best interests of the state. But now, when it is evident that we must meet our opponents in a struggle at the door of the capitol, I am not only ready to listen to advice but am willing to be a follower in the ranks under any one you may think best fitted to lead in this attempt to preserve rights."

J. B. Remington and M. W. Sutton engaged in hostile debate to such an extent that one would almost wonder how they escaped resorting to the "code." This episode seemed to bring the members to a sudden sense of the dangerous way they were traveling, and from that time there was less of personality in the debate. The leaders were all there. I shall only speak of two or three of them.

John Seaton was more disturbed than appeared to be parliamentary, saying, "What have we been doing? Nothing but boys' play. For nearly a month we have dallied with the people's rights. Peace may be all right, but ignominious peace is worse than crime. Are we to sit here to-night, and talk of peace and submission? Are we men with constitutional rights and privileges—men sent here to represent the people—or are we but slaves and vassals to the horde of miscreants who have taken possession of the capitol and propose to exclude us. We are either right or wrong. If right, we will never be forgiven if we do not do our duty and enter Representative Hall to-morrow morning, no matter who tries to prevent it. If we are wrong, we have been wrong all the time, and the people will make us suffer for it. I believe we are right, and that the people will say we are right; and believing that, I am in favor of some action now—now, not to-morrow morning, but now—that will secure us our seats in the hall to-morrow morning."

The man who appeared to be most worried of all was Col. Alexander Warner. He seemed to regard the situation as one that was about to test not only patriotism and fidelity to the cause, but a fortitude equal to that exhibited by the fathers of 1776. He was exceedingly vehement in his remarks. The vials of his wrath were not bottled up. The substance, and very nearly his words, were these:

"Whatever we decide upon must be decided at once. We have delayed so long now that we are becoming the laughing-stock of the people. Another such mistake as that made this afternoon will be fatal. Another hour's delay will be dangerous to our cause, and if we fail to sustain our position we will be held criminally responsible. We have been kept out of our rights too long already, and we alone are to blame for it. In God's name, gentlemen, what do you want to compel you to do your duty? We have right and justice on our side. We have the constitutional majority; we have the power, we have the ability. Why don't we use this power? Why don't we use this ability? Why don't we take possession of the hall provided for us by the state and proceed to our business as legislators? The people expect this, and they have a right to expect it. This weakening on our part at this last and supreme moment will be considered as nothing less than cowardice—pure and simple cowardice."

While the caucus was still deliberating upon the exact methods it should adopt, and believing that it would ultimately adjourn without accomplishing anything, I descended to the lobby. There sixty-seven assistant sergeants at-arms had been sworn in and occupied the club-room. When they came out I supposed that they were about to go to Representative Hall and take possession and hold it until morning; but on conversing with some of them I discovered that

this was not their purpose, but only to assist the officers and see that a certain witness who was on the way to Topeka was not taken away from Sergeant-at-arms Clevenger by the Populists. Just before midnight I wended by way home, being about as dissatisfied a man as the city contained. On my way I met one of Sheriff Wilkerson's special detectives, who told me that the Populists had been swearing in deputies all the evening in the auditor's office, and that the doors of the state-house were probably locked at that time. This news did not make me feel any better.

The morning of February 15 was cold and disagreeable, and I was a little late in getting down town. I went to the *State Journal* office a little before nine o'clock, and in coming out passed diagonally across Kansas avenue. As I did so I noticed a body of men walking double file from the Copeland hotel. I quickened my pace, thinking that it was the sixty-seven sergeants-at-arms, but soon perceived that it was the members of the legal and constitutional House of Representatives. Speaker Douglass and Speaker *pro tem.* Hoch led the procession, which seemed to have all the tall men in front and the small men in the rear, and they marched along as slowly and solemnly as if it was a funeral procession. As I came to Ninth street I actually skipped along, believing that they could not get into the capitol. I thought I would like to see what would occur. I ran ahead and was up the steps by the time the representatives had entered the state-house grounds.

I entered the state-house without trouble, and hastened through the hallway, in which there seemed to be an unusual number of people. Passing through the rotunda I entered the hall of the west wing and started to go up the main stairway to Representative Hall. This was blocked by men—it was jammed full of men so far as I could see. I did not notice any weapons. A burly man grabbed hold of me and said: "You can't go up here." I said: "Why not? I belong up there—I am a reporter." "Well, if you are, go to the other entrance; you'll not get up here." I hurried to the rear stairway and in the doorway stood two men who stopped me. The entry-way inside was crowded with men. I said: "Let me pass," and one of them answered, "You will not get up unless you have a pass." "A pass? who from?" said I. The answer was: "You must have a pass from our sergeant-at-arms." The Populist sergeant-at-arms stood just inside, and seeing him, I said: "There's the sergeant-at-arms; he knows me and I know him." "Give me a pass, Mr. Dick." He had a package of yellow cards in one hand and a pencil in the other. He made some marks on the card and passed it to me and the men squeezed up and let me through. The stairway was full of men. They made me show the pass all the way up. I held it up so they could see it, but never looked at it myself, and don't know what was on the card, on either side. At the head of the stairs there were a few guards having guns. One of them said: "Here, give me that pass." I answered, "No, you don't get it until I get in," and passed along. Another said: "Yes, you will give it up, too," and grabbed it out of my hand. Then I thought the game was up, and that I was to be kept out, and it puzzled me somewhat to see the door open to let me in.

The condition of things in the hall was very different from what had been the case for a month previous. Where heretofore all had been noisy and tumultuous now all was quiet and orderly; but few people were in the room, probably not over thirty-five or forty. On the north or Populist side of the House, a few members were in their seats. At the left of the speaker's desk, near the chief clerk's office, were a few Populists and some strangers talking. The seats on the south or Republican side of the House were vacant. I passed to my usual

place, nodding good-morning to the reporters who were present, who were Mr. A. G. Stacy, of the *Leavenworth Times*, Mr. M. Bunnell, of the *Kansas City Times*, Mr. C. Borin, of the American Press Association, and Mr. F. C. Trigg, of the *Kansas City (Kan.) Gazette*. On the right of the speaker's desk stood Mrs. Laura M. Johns, of Salina, and Mrs. S. A. Thurston, of Topeka. Mrs. Johns spoke to me, and I stepped to the front of the desk of Mr. Hoch. I kicked off my overshoes and removed my overcoat, and went over to Mrs. Johns, who said to me in a most tearful voice: "Mr. Butterfield, are our men going to take Dunsmore's pass to get into the hall?" Both Mrs. Johns and Mrs. Thurston seemed very much excited. I assured Mrs. Johns that the members would not enter the hall under any such arrangement, and told her that "our men" were already coming over in a solid body and that they were now in the building. "But don't you see they cannot get in? The stairway is blocked by men with guns in their hands," she replied. I said: "Nothing will stop them; they will come in anyway; but I reckon I'll go and reconnoiter."

I then passed rapidly down the main aisle, and about half-way down I met Mr. Semple, the Populist speaker *pro tem*. At the door of the House (the one afterwards battered down), I passed out unchallenged, except that the doorkeeper said: "You can't go down this way now." I made answer, "I am only going to the head of the stairs," and he said, "All right." I did not see a single person in the cloak-room as I passed through. There was no doorkeeper at the outside door of the cloak-room, and I think the door stood ajar. Stepping across the entry and coming to the stairway, I saw, a few steps down, the backs of half a dozen or more men, holding guns and pistols, pointed downward. Instantaneously I gave a loud shout at the top of my voice: "Don't shoot! don't shoot! for your life's sake, don't shoot!" I don't know that I had any thought of any results. I simply thought to astonish them by ordering them not to shoot. They seemed to think something had happened above them, for they quickly turned towards me, so suddenly that a pistol in the hands of L. T. Yount came near striking me in the face, while a musket in the hands of, I think, Mr. Gish came near hitting me on the head. These men rushed up-stairs, together with A. R. Boyd and S. L. Hopkins. Seizing this opportunity, I pushed down and jumped on the landing or broad stair, in sight of the men who were struggling at the foot of the stairs. As I jumped a hand slipped from my shoulder—someone attempting to grasp me. Seeing gave me inspiration to assist all I could, and, swinging my hat, I gave the yell: "Come on men, come on! The way is clear; they dare n't shoot."

The main stairway seemed to be full of men with guns and pistols and clubs, and this unexpected shout from the rear caused them to waver a little. This little was enough. In an instant I saw Douglass and Hoch and a few others make headway, and then the Pops. broke, and the rush commenced—you people to get up, and the Pops. to get away. When they turned, I did, and rushed up, too, in order to get back into the hall if I could. Just at the left, at the top of the stairs, was the door leading to the unfinished rotunda and to the lunch-room. Many Pops. went through that door. One or two got behind the lunch-counter at the head of the stairs, and a gun or two was thrown over that counter. While I was shouting on the stairs, the Pops. who had already passed by me had given the word that the assault was successful, and that the Republicans were coming. At the door of the hall (the one broken down), a part of the crowd that had come from the stairway was seeking entrance and hastening through. The north half, only, of the door was open, and they were just closing it when I got part way in. John W. Breidenthal, chairman of the Populist state

committee, was apparently in command. He said, "Shut that door!" I said: "No, you don't; I have a right in there, and I am going in." He said: "You won't get in; keep him out." This and other cries of "Keep him out," "Shut the door," "Push him back," etc. The doorkeeper, whoever he was, was good enough to say, "Yes, he belongs in." All this while I was struggling, with both fists doubled, and shouting—if I must confess it, cursing excessively. Breidenthal, seeing that the easiest and quickest way to get the door shut was to let me in, said: "Well, come in, then." At this, with my knee against the door and holding it part way open, I leaned back so as to prevent their getting hold of me, tried to hold the door open so some of you could get in. This scheme did n't work long, I can tell you, for Breidenthal said: "Bring him in—pull him through." And a dozen hands seemed to catch me at once, and I went through the door like a streak, and with such force that I was carried through a crowd of about twenty men, assembled close up to the door.

As you gentlemen who went through the rush can well understand, by this time I was pretty well used up. I went perhaps half-way across the hall, and turning about saw James A. Troutman facing me—his apparel awry, his hair disheveled, his collar torn, puffing and panting, and endeavoring to pull himself together. He had succeeded in getting through the door, and he is the only member I know who did, though a few moments after I saw Mr. Benefiel. For what seemed a long time, but probably was only two or three minutes, I stood transfixed, awaiting the expected hammering on the door, and not doubting that I would also hear the sound of shots. None came! Not a shot, not a shout; not a sound of any kind did I hear! What could be the trouble? Why did not something happen? Anything was better than such suspense. At last it came—the hammer struck the door. It seemed but a faint tap. A second stroke, and then I knew by the sound that it meant business; a third, and a panel slivered; a fourth and a part of the panel was knocked out. At this time I spoke to Mrs. Johns and Mrs. Thurston, and suggested that they get out of range and not stay in front of the door—and almost unwillingly they stepped across the aisle. Blow after blow was struck, and first the north panel and then the south panel gave way. I could see the men outside—Douglass, Hoch, Sherman, Swan, and others. I could see Elting with his pistol pointed directly in and apparently trying to get it on somebody, and Assistant Sergeant-at-arms Wilcox, with a leveled revolver in each hand. One Populist—I think it was G. C. Clemens—picked up the piece of panel and threw it back through the opening with great force. There was a little man inside who had a policeman's club, and was violently swinging it and shouting. I don't know who he was. Breidenthal, as his men left him, waved his hands and shouted at the Populists on the north side, "Come over and help hold this door! Are you all d—d cowards?"

At this time I was quite near the door, and to keep out of range of Elting's pistol and that Populist club kept me pretty busy; but I rushed up to Breidenthal, and, putting my hand upon his breast, said: "You are all wrong, John; don't you see you are? Get away, or you'll be killed (pointing to the pistols of Elting and Wilcox); don't you see you will?" By this time the continuous hammering had broken the lock, and Breidenthal and all the rest rushed to the stairway in the rear of the speaker's desk, and shouted to their friends there: "Get out! get down! The Republicans have got in." And I saw them no more.

The occurrences in the hall thereafter you are all familiar with—the intense joy of the occasion; the shouts that went up when Douglass called the House to

order. The assault had been successful. From that moment every effort was to hold what you had won. How the hundreds of sergeants-at-arms were sworn in; how the stairways were barricaded; how the militia surrounded the building; how Colonel Hughes came in and made his speech, declaring his "fidelity to law"; how provisions were brought in; how the Populists cut the telephone wires; how all communication was cut off; how the governor came before you and threatened to issue an order to the militia to eject you; how his private secretary came with a message and delivered it, with the remark that he trusted that you "would save the governor the necessity of issuing an order which would cause bloodshed"; how the ex-governor came before you and implored you not to resist the authority of the governor; how you spent the time waiting for reports from the different committees appointed to wait on the governor, etc.; how you ordered Chief Sergeant-at-arms R. B. Welch to place the stars and stripes on the flagstaff over Representative Hall, to show that the legal and constitutional House of Representatives was in session; how several of the armed recruits of the governor, with their guns and ammunition, were captured and brought bodily into the House; how loyal Republicans from every portion of the state came to Topeka, resolved to uphold the constitutional rights of the Douglass House; how that silent but courageous man, Sheriff John M. Wilkerson, assumed, as Colonel Hughes had done, the responsibilities of the hour, and called out 2000 deputies to assist him in preserving order—all these things and many more you will remember to your dying hour.

It would be strange if, after passing through scenes like these related, there should be nothing new come from it. There were two incidents which never happened before, which will probably never happen again, viz.: Two women were appointed assistant sergeants-at-arms, Mrs. Laura M. Johns and Mrs. Minnie D. Morgan, and they wore the badge of office; this being the first time, so far as I know, that a woman ever held that position. The other was this: At two o'clock in the morning of the 16th of February, 1893, the members of the legislature, and perhaps 200 other people, listened to a speech on "Woman Suffrage." This started in a humorous manner, but finally a committee was appointed to await on Mrs. Johns and ask her to talk to the legislature. Some of the members were asleep in their chairs, some reclining on the benches, but all at once everybody was awake, and for three-quarters of an hour Mrs. Laura M. Johns spoke vigorously upon the subject, receiving round after round of applause, and was rewarded by several conversions to the cause so dear to her heart.

The fact that the present House of Representatives contains ninety-two Republicans—thirty-one of your sixty-four members being reelected, while of the fifty-eight Populists only ten were reelected; that one of your members is the speaker, and another speaker *pro tem.*; that a Republican governor was elected by an enormous plurality; that one of your members was elected lieutenant-governor to preside over a Populist senate, and another member elected to the responsible office of treasurer of state—is abundant and gratifying proof that you were right, and that the people of the state were with you.

TRAVEL BY STAGE IN THE EARLY DAYS.

Reminiscences of HENRY TISDALE,* written for the Kansas State Historical Society.

I STARTED for Kansas in February, 1857, from Davenport, Iowa, in company with three brothers, one being married, and one sister of theirs, all from Nova Scotia. We left Davenport on a Mississippi steamboat for St. Louis. I remember my sensation on crossing over to Rock Island, on beholding a pile of bacon on the levee, men walking over it and dogs turning up to it, I being born in northern New York, and raised in Vermont and Canada. From St. Louis we took another steamer up the Missouri river and landed at Parkville. My friends had two horses, and a wagon with a canvas cover. I bought a pair of blankets for camping purposes, as the ladies occupied the wagon and we slept upon the ground. We stayed at Parkville until the next day, buying the necessary articles to use on the road. Left Parkville in the afternoon, going toward Weston, that being the only place where we could cross the river at that time. After going about four miles, we camped for the night near a small creek. The water froze that night about an inch thick. I nearly froze. Had to get up in the night and build a fire and walk around it to get warm. The next morning the sun came up warm and pleasant.

We went on to Weston, crossing the river there, and took the road to Fort Leavenworth. About noon the sun was very warm and my feet got sore walking, as the menfolks walked, except the driver, the team being heavily loaded. I sat down on a log and bathed my feet in a small brook that day. We went near Leavenworth city and camped, it being a small place then—only a few houses on and near the levee. From there we went to Lawrence, staying one day, and pushed on to Osawatomie, and selected claims about four miles west of Osawatomie. After building a preemption cabin—I say preemption cabin, so I will describe it: It was about ten feet square, made by placing logs one on top of another—a cat could jump through the cracks; some shakes for a roof, a hole for a chimney and a hole for a window—minus chimney and window; made a door by nailing some shakes onto two sticks about four inches in diameter, hinges being pieces of old boot-legs. In preempting, they asked the size of house. Answer: "Ten feet square, one story, one window, one fireplace, earthen floor."

When the cabin was done I went to Osawatomie to look for work. About the first person I met was Charles Martin, son of one of our neighbors, about my age, I not knowing he was in Kansas, and he not knowing I was in Kansas. You can imagine our surprise. I went to Lawrence with him, as he was driving the stage which ran once a week and carried the mail, Samuel Reynolds being the proprietor. I worked for Mr. Reynolds, building picket fence, and plowing on his farm three miles south of Lawrence, about three weeks. Martin left for home, and I entered into a partnership with Mr. Reynolds to drive and manage the stage line. We soon got the mail three times a week, which made me a permanent business.

*HENRY TISDALE was born in Norfolk, St. Lawrence county, New York, May 17, 1833. His family moved to Brasier Falls when he was about five years old, and thence to Missisquoi, province of Quebec, and here and at Bedford he lived until he was twenty-three. He obtained his education at Missisquoi Bay and Bedford, Canada, and Georgia, Vt. In the fall of 1856, he moved to Iowa, where he lived until February, 1857, when he settled in Lawrence, Kan. He has been engaged as president, general manager and superintendent of transportation lines and companies for the past forty years. He is now superintendent of the Southwestern Stage Company, and resides in Lawrence.

That fall typhoid fever and ague were so bad in Osawatomie there were not enough well ones to take care of the sick. The hotel there was a one-and-one-half-story frame building, with outside stairs going up to the sleeping-rooms. Down-stairs was used for an office, dining-room, and kitchen. Beds up-stairs, on each side of room, alley in the middle about three feet wide, and about eighteen inches between beds. It got so bad—the foul air—that I slept in my wagon. All water used was hauled from the creek in barrels each morning. The creek got low in summer; there was a scum over it; and you can imagine what made so much sickness.

The road from Lawrence to Osawatomie ran through Prairie City, Ottawa Jones's, and Stanton. There was n't any Baldwin City or Ottawa then. I drove that route, going one day and returning the next, until February, 1858; then went to work for Colonel Eldridge. He had started a stage line from Lawrence to Leavenworth, in opposition to one which was run by a Mr. Southerland, soon after the line to Osawatomie was started. A line was put on from Kansas City to Lawrence by Mr. Richardson. Colonel Eldridge then put on a line from Lawrence, through Wyandotte to Kansas City, in opposition to Mr. Richardson. They fought away from six to nine months, until they all got so poor they could n't pay their bills, when some parties from Ohio, two Messrs. Hawks and a Captain Terry, bought them all out and formed the Kansas Stage Company.

While I was in the employ of Colonel Eldridge, in the summer of 1858, the Kimball brothers built a foundry and machine shop, and imported a molder from Massachusetts. This was the first foundry in Kansas. About September of 1858 they tried to make some rollers for sorghum-mills, with other castings, and failed on account of their iron not being hot enough. They came to me, knowing I had been in that business, and, with the consent of Colonel Eldridge, I worked a half-day each day for two weeks and helped them out—made the casts and taught them how to melt iron; so they succeeded after that.

I went to work for the Kansas Stage Company under L. G. Terry, general superintendent. His headquarters was at Leavenworth. I acted as assistant superintendent. They ran lines from Topeka to Kansas City, *via* Lawrence, to Leavenworth; from Leavenworth to Topeka; and afterwards, in the summer of 1859, added lines from Topeka to Junction City, Leavenworth to Kansas City, and Leavenworth to Atchison.*

They had trouble at Leocompton as to the receipting agent. Mr. Terry sent me there to receipt the fares, and clerk in the hotel for Doctor Woods. At that time Governor Shannon was the principal lawyer there, and Colonel Moore, father of Ely Moore, was receiver of the land-office. Governor Walsh was acting gov-

*A Kansas City directory for the year 1860 announced the following stage lines for Kansas:

"Fort Scott Stage Company—A. B. Squires, general superintendent; James H. Roberts, agent. Office, corner Delaware and Levee. Distance from Kansas City to Fort Scott, 122 miles. Fare, \$11. Running through Westport, Little Santa Fe, Squiresville, Spring Hill, Paola, Osawatomie, Twin Springs, Brooklyn, Paris, Moneka, Mound City, Dayton, Mapleton, Osage, Fort Scott, and Warrenton.

"Kansas Stage Company—L. G. Terry, general superintendent; James H. Roberts, agent. Office, corner Delaware and Levee. Distance to Junction City, 150 miles. Fare, \$10. Running through Westport, Shawnee, Chillicothe, Monticello, Lexington, Eudora, Franklin, Lawrence, Leocompton, Big Springs, Tecumseh, Topeka, Indianola, St. Mary's Mission, Manhattan, Ogden, Fort Riley, to Junction City.

"Missouri Stage Company—James H. Roberts, agent. Office, corner Delaware and Levee. Running from Kansas City to Independence, Liberty, Plattsburg, and Osborne, connecting with the Hannibal & St. Joseph railroad. Distance, 55 miles. Fare, \$4. Also from Independence *via* Wilmington, Lexington, Dover, Jonesboro, to Booneville; distance, 136 miles. Fare, \$6.

"Moore & Walker's stage line from Kansas City to Leavenworth.

"Sac and Fox Agency—From Kansas City to Westport, Olathe, Gardner, Bull Creek, Black Jack, Palmyra, Prairie City, Boling City, Centropolis, Minneola, Sac and Fox Agency. Distance, 75 miles. Fare, \$5.

"Santa Fe mail—Hall & Porter line, running once a week from Independence *via* Kansas City to New Mexico and Santa Fe, N. M. Time, fifteen days. Distance, about 740 miles. Leaves Kansas City every Saturday morning at seven o'clock A. M. Government compensation, \$50,000. Value of stock employed in service, \$50,000."

ernor. Lecompton was one of the noted places of the territory. Every one had to go there to preempt land. A man by the name of Walker paid out \$60,000, nearly all in gold, buying Kansas land—which in after-years nearly broke him. In January, 1859, I think it was, they got word at Lecompton that John Brown was camped across the river, about four miles from their town. Doctor Wood, a man by the name of Phillips, and others—about ten in all—made up a party to go out and capture him. There was among the crowd a saloon-keeper. He had a fine horse. They all had Sharp's rifles, two revolvers apiece, and some had knives. They talked loud and smart about taking Brown and party prisoners. They started about nine A. M., and reconnoitered Brown's camp very carefully. The saloon-keeper, an Irishman, was braver than the rest and ventured nearer the camp. Brown and one man rode out, took him prisoner, kept him until next day, and turned him loose—minus horse and arms. The others returned the same evening quite crestfallen, and Brown went on out of the country.*

While I was at Lecompton I had an occasion to go to Topeka. There were six or eight passengers in the four-horse coach when we got to Big Springs to change horses. The driver and stock-tender led out one of the fastest teams on the road, but thin and stiff—so stiff it was quite an effort for some of them to step over the door-sill. We having made good time from Lecompton to Big Springs, the passengers made derogatory remarks regarding the new team. The driver remarked: "They are like cold potatoes, better when warmed up." He then started them on a walk, gradually increased the speed until, about Tecumseh, we were going at about the rate of eight or ten miles an hour, and at every rough place on the road the passengers were tolerably well mixed up inside, making the run in about one and one-half hours. If you want to vex a stage-driver, speak with derision of his team.

From Lecompton, the stage company put me on the Platte County railroad, which ran between Atchison and St. Joseph. I billed the stage passengers on the cars, for the stages for Leavenworth, Topeka, and other points in Kansas. Soon the railroad was extended to Iatan. A steamboat ran from Kansas City to Iatan, connecting with the railroad, in summer. In winter the stages ran from Leavenworth to Iatan, connecting with the railroad. It took from four to six stages per day to do the business; and, after the railroad got to Weston, about the summer of 1863, the boat connected there in summer and stages in winter. Travel grew so heavy it took eight and ten four-horse stages each day to haul the passengers, express, and mail, it being the principal route into the state of Kansas. We used to start twelve four horse stages out of Leavenworth per day in the winter.

We had many difficulties to contend with. Some of them were the ferry, about a mile and a half below Weston, an uncertain landing, as the water in the river rose and fell, a profane captain that could swear a blue streak, awkward drivers, and, when the ice was freezing, many times having to break ice four inches thick, and, near shore, six inches. One trip I will never forget. It was in the winter of 1864 or 1865. The ice was frozen too hard for the boat near shore,

*About midnight, and somewhere opposite Lecompton, on our way to Topeka, I noticed men behind a fence. Of course, I could not tell how many. Going to the wagon in which the old man rode, I acquainted him with the fact. He was dozing when I spoke, but my news woke him up. He told me to keep a good lookout. No one troubled us, however, but I found out afterwards, from some prisoners we took at Holton, that they had actually ambushed us, but could not conceive of ours being the outfit that they were looking for until it was too late; no oxen, no guards, or if there were guards they were behind and of an unknown quantity, and it might be unsafe to stop us, or it might be a strategic movement of some kind to take them in. They waited to see and missed us. (*Hinton's "John Brown and his Men,"* 1894, p. 223.)

but was quite thin in the middle of the river. We laid down boards in the thinnest places for the passengers to walk on, for safety. We had a large hand sled we hauled the mail, express and baggage on. One day we had some mail and express matter on the sled; two men were pulling on a rope about twenty feet long, and I was pushing behind with a long stick. The ice gave way with the sled, breaking as far back as where I was. I and the sled went into the river. I struck bottom in about four or four and one-half feet of water. There was considerable current; consequently mail and express goods commenced floating down stream. I threw out money box, goods, and mail, as fast as possible, on the ice, the men grabbing them as they came out. After all was out, I jumped into a stage and drove for Leavenworth as fast as possible, about five and one-half miles. On arriving there, my clothes were frozen so stiff I had to be helped out of the stage and into the Planters House and stage office. D. T. Parker, the receipting agent at the time, built up a good fire. I thawed out and dried my clothes on me—thereby I caught no cold, and the next morning was as good as ever. When J. W. Parker, the superintendent of the United States Express Company, heard of the exploit, he gave me \$25 as gratuity for saving the goods and money box, which contained quite a large amount of money.

I think it was in the summer of 1864* that the Kansas Stage Company started a stage route from Junction City to Fort Larned, making a through route from Leavenworth to Fort Larned of about 300 miles, *via* Topeka, Manhattan, Fort Riley, Junction City, and Abilene—then one house, a small store, about 12 x 12, and a blacksmith shop, used occasionally; then on to Salina, which had three dwelling-houses, one a hotel with one sleeping-room next to the rafters, one store, and a blacksmith shop. At the time there was n't anything west of Salina in the way of settlements. At Smoky Hill crossing, near where Ellsworth is now, there was a hunting ranch. Two young men lived there by killing buffalo for their pelts and tallow, and by killing wolves for their pelts. From there to Fort Larned there was not a white man. On my first trip over the road to establish stations, I found a lone Indian on the top of Pawnee Rock, near where the town of Pawnee Rock now stands. It was afternoon, and I was terribly hungry, after traveling about thirty-five miles that forenoon. Had not seen any one but the person I had with me, Ham Rogers, from Junction City. We ventured up to the Indian and made him understand we wanted something to eat. He cooked us some buffalo meat. We ate that and rested awhile, and went on to Fort Larned that night, some thirty-five miles more. This trip was done from Fort Riley with one pair of mules and a buckboard.

That summer we built a stage station north of Pawnee Rock about eight or ten miles, and put a man there to take care of stock. He never saw any one

*Evidently a mistake in his year. The following extract is taken from Andreas' History of Kansas, page 698:

"During the existence of the war Saline county had very little to excite either the avarice of bushwhackers or the vengeance of the Indians, but yet what little there was seemed to be sufficient to attract the attention of both. The first visit was from the Indians, who, in the early part of 1862, concluded to chase out or kill every white person in the Smoky Hill valley. West of Salina were a number of ranchmen, whom the Indians attacked first, several of whom they killed. The alarm soon spread from ranch to ranch, and being too weak to offer any organized resistance, those who had escaped hastened to Salina, where a stockade was erected and every preparation made to give the savages a warm reception, which caused the Indians to change their course without attempting an attack. The next hostile visit the people received was in the fall of the same year, from a gang of about twenty bushwhackers. So suddenly was the dash made into Salina, and so unexpectedly, that the people were altogether unprepared to meet it, and from the very moment the gang entered the town was at its mercy. Meeting with no resistance, they attempted no personal injury, but houses were entered, stores ransacked, and wherever any powder, ammunition, arms or tobacco were found, the marauders appropriated it. The firearms they could not carry off with them they destroyed. Everything thought to be of service to the people in case of pursuit was destroyed. On leaving, they took with them twenty-five horses and six mules, the property of the Kansas Stage Company. After they had gone, it was discovered that they had overlooked one horse, and this was mounted by R. H. Bishop, who rode to Fort Riley, and covered the distance, fifty miles, in five hours."

only when the stage passed, sometimes for a week or ten days at a time. The next summer the Indian war broke out. The Indians stole our horses, burnt the ranch, and killed the stock-tender. After that the government sent some soldiers, one company, to a point near where the Walnut creek empties into the Arkansas river, and called it Fort Zarah.* We then ran the stage in the night about forty miles from Smoky Hill, crossing to Zarah.

I remember one trip I made. When we got to Salina we heard that the Indians had come down on the road between Salina and Smoky Hill crossing and killed some soldiers who were coming east to Fort Riley. We had six passengers, myself and driver, with some arms. I had a Henry rifle and two revolvers. After going about ten miles west of Salina, we found three soldiers lying dead near the road, terribly mutilated. We went on to Smoky Hill crossing that day, and waited until about dark and started for Zarah, getting there just before sunup. Zarah was on the bottom of the Walnut and Arkansas rivers. There was one road up the Arkansas bottom which passed close to the military camp. Another road passed near the bluff and crossed the Walnut about a mile up the stream from the military camp, or Fort Zarah. We drove into camp and were turning out the mules with the government herd, when, looking up the creek, we saw about 300 Indians coming. We hurried the herd back to camp. The Indians came to this upper crossing and stopped, apparently to hold a consultation. At the same time there was a freight-train from Fort Leavenworth coming up the roads, about half on each road, the heavy wagons on the upper road, and the balance on the lower road, or "wet route," as it was called. The teamsters, about twenty-two in all, had no idea there was any danger or Indian war. Those on the upper road, driving towards the Indians, were about one-fourth mile from the creek, when half the Indians started down the road, and upon meeting the teamsters, they halloed "How!" the teamsters returning the salutation. When they got near the last wagon they commenced firing at the teamsters, killing ten and wounding five. Four of the wounded came running into our camp in horrible shape, being wounded with arrows.

In the meantime the soldiers, eighty-five in number, were ordered to mount. They counted off as fast as on parade and filled their cartridge-boxes. The captain ordered one-half of them out in the direction of the Indians. After going about half-way he wheeled them to the right, returning them to camp. The captain dismounted near where I stood, and asked a soldier to take his horse, he sitting down on a hardtack box perfectly exhausted by fright and nervousness, making a very pitiful and disgusting appearance. The captain was afterwards cashiered for cowardice and unsoldierly conduct. He was a printer from Topeka, it being a Kansas company. The men were brave enough. One sergeant requested the captain to let him take a part of the company and attack the Indians. The captain would not allow it. The Indians sacked the train, carrying off all the flour, sugar, blankets, etc., they could pack on their ponies, crossed the Arkansas, and disappeared. The next day we went with an escort to Fort Larned, taking the wounded. One boy among them, from Salt creek valley, near Leavenworth, was wounded sixteen times, and scalped so there was n't any hair on his head, except a little below the ear and a little in the back of the neck. The surgeon at Larned dressed his wounds and head. The boy afterwards went to Washington by President Lincoln's orders and request.

I remember a trip I made in the spring of 1863 or 1869. I started from Lawrence to go to Paola. Got there the same day *via* Baldwin and started from Pa-

* A history and diagram of Fort Zarah are given by B. B. Smyth in his "Heart of the New Kansas," 1880, page 82.

ola to return the next day. There were some eight or ten inches of snow on the ground, and as the sun came up it commenced thawing and the roads were bad, but we got to Baldwin about 4:30, and stopped there for supper before starting for Lawrence. About 5:30 the stage arrived from Lawrence for Ottawa with eleven passengers on board, having started from Lawrence about 1 P. M. Among the passengers were Colonel Bassett and other parties attending court. After supper the driver heard that a culvert or small bridge had washed out one and one-half miles from Baldwin. Creeks all being full, I thought it dangerous for him to start without help. I therefore took a lantern and walked ahead of the team to show them the way to the culvert and to examine it. When we got there we concluded the bridge or culvert was there, but with water about two feet deep running over it. We crossed it all right, I standing on the side of the stage. I concluded there were many more dangerous places between there and Ottawa, and I would go through with the stage, it being very dark that night. I walked the whole distance to Ottawa before the team, carrying the lantern, getting there a little after daylight. It turned cold in the night, so the team was all covered with frozen mud, and a person could n't have told the color of any of the four horses.

Another trip the same spring, about a month later, was from Ottawa to Burlington. Driver and I started with a dry-goods box tied to the front axle of the stage, and with a colored man, a barber of Burlington, as a passenger. We left Ottawa about seven A. M., roads very bad, and got to the second station, about twelve miles from Burlington, about six P. M.; got supper and started for Burlington; worked hard until about two o'clock that night, when we reached the river. It was high, but we thought we could cross it. We piled the mail on top of some boards on the box and started in, knowing we had a good swimming team. The horses waded a part of the time and swam the other part, landing a little below the proper place to get up the bank. The vehicle swung around within a few feet of the bank. The colored man jumped out into the water, catching some limbs of trees, and escaped. Driver and I crawled out on the wagon-pole and between the horses, and jumped ashore without getting much wet. After the horses got breath, and having now no load, they hauled the front gear, with the dry-goods box and mail, to the road, and to town. That time driver and I were so covered with mud a person could n't have told the original color of our coats.

These are some of the many unpleasant times we had staging in Kansas. While we had many delightful trips, with jolly passengers, good roads, good appetites, and good dinners, when the time went merrily, I could write of such trips in this state as I have described to fill an ordinary book, and of more in Colorado, since staging ended in this state by being superseded by railroads. But probably this will give you some idea of the early difficulties of the settlement of a new country.

There probably is no more pleasing sight than to see, as I have many a time, a fine stage team hitched to a Concord coach, well loaded with passengers, come down the side of the mountain—I in the valley below, at the station, where the smoke goes straight up from the chimney, and station nestled beside a trout stream—and hear the driver's horn go out, and see the stage swing along like a thing of life. The horses tramp in unison; the axles talk as the wheels work back and forth from nut to shoulder-washer; driver, with ferruled whip, and ivory rings on harness, drive up and say, "Whoa!" unhitch the horses, and see them take their places in the stable like they were human; see the next team started from the stable by speaking to them, and take their places at the coach so the breast-straps and tugs can be hitched without moving an inch, every horse in his place. It is one of the finest scenes on earth, and the delight of an old stage-man who has staged continuously for forty years.

SKETCH OF E. L. ACKLEY.

ERNEST L. ACKLEY was born in North Ridgeville, Ohio, November 30, 1863, and died at Concordia, Kan., August 27, 1901, in the thirty-ninth year of his age. He was the eldest of the three children of Chauncy T. Ackley and Jerusa McNeal, and came to Kansas with his parents when twelve years of age, locating on a farm in Ottawa county. Here he spent his boyhood, working on the farm and attending the district school. He early showed a desire for more knowledge and education than the school afforded, and eagerly read every book and periodical within his reach. He entered the bank at Minneapolis, Kan., when eighteen years of age, and spent two years in the bank, thus gaining a knowledge of practical business. It was at this time he resolved to enter the Kansas State University in order to prepare himself for the practice of law, and to this end he attended the university, spending four years in hard work in the school of arts, and graduated from the school of law in 1890. He was chosen as one out of six of the law class to represent the class upon the commencement program. While at the university he was thrown largely upon his own resources, doing newspaper work during vacations and at spare time, and there developed strength of character and perseverance which gave him such prestige since. He was for a time employed on the *Salina Republican*, when it was owned by J. L. Bristow (now fourth assistant postmaster general), and also on the *Lawrence Journal*, when it was conducted by Chas. F. Scott (now congressman at large).

He settled in Concordia in July, 1890, and engaged in the practice of law in company with A. L. Wilmoth, a fellow graduate. Being of a pleasant and genial disposition, he soon became popular with the better class of people of Cloud county, and was recognized as one of the very best attorneys in northern Kansas. He made many warm friends here, both among the business men and the country people. It was said of him that no one could settle a delicate business transaction and come out with more friends than he, and friends drawn from both sides. In 1897 the firm became Caldwell, Wilmoth & Ackley, a partnership being formed with W. W. Caldwell. In February, 1901, Mr. Ackley withdrew from the firm, and joined with Mr. P. B. Pulsifer in the formation of the firm of Pulsifer & Ackley. So, in a professional way, he made a marked success, always a strong factor in the best legal firms in this part of the state, and always connected with the most important cases at bar in all the courts of the northwest.

In politics, Mr. Ackley early became identified with the republican party, and was prominent in the councils of the party in Cloud county, and in the state. While never holding an elective office, and, in fact, never a candidate before the people, he has been honored by the party in several instances, being at one time chairman of the county central committee, in which position he showed marked executive ability. His tact, judgment and fairness won him the respect even of his political opponents and the admiration of his colleagues.

Mr. Ackley was a member of the college fraternity known as the "Phi Gams," an Odd Fellow, and a member of the Modern Woodmen of America. He was for years president of the Cloud County Bible Society, and presided at all their annual meetings. He was a member of the Baptist church, and for four years the superintendent of its Sunday-school. He threw his whole energy into

the work of the school, and drew the children very closely to him, and, in turn, was drawn very strongly to them.

On January 16, 1900, at a meeting of the board of directors of the Kansas State Historical Society, he was made an active member, and has always had an interest in its work, being a director at the time of his death. His interest in the history of his state prompted him to collect a "Kansas library," which contains works of history, poetry and fiction by Kansas writers. He was as much at home in literature as in law. Robert Burns was to him *the* poet, because he appealed to his sympathies and emotions. "We'll Always be Boys," "Tying her Bonnet under her Chin," "Little Boy Blue," were some of his favorite poems. James Fenimore Cooper was to him the great American novelist, and his tales of adventure were read over many times. He was broad, too, in his sympathies; charitable toward others who differed with him; a man universally admired for his talents and generosity.

In November, 1893, he was married, at Fairfield, Iowa, to Miss Ada B. Fry, once a teacher in the Concordia schools. She, with two small sons, survive him; Edward Eugene, aged six years, and Ernest L., aged one year.

In February, 1901, he was appointed by Governor Stanley to be one of the regents of the State University, a position for which he was eminently fitted, and filled most ably. The following resolutions were adopted at a meeting of the board of regents of the Kansas State University September 9, 1901:

"In the untimely death of Regent Ernest L. Ackley, the University of Kansas lost one of its staunchest friends, the board of regents a wise and safe counselor, and the state of Kansas one of its best citizens. Regent Ackley was stricken down in the prime of life, when by his industry, integrity and zeal he had won a large place in the hearts of the people of this state. His life was full of promise; he stood at the threshold of a useful and honorable career. Active, intelligent, and honest, a loyal friend and companion, he seemed destined to take a large and wholesome part in shaping the affairs of the state. To the members of this board, with whom he was so closely associated during the past year, his death comes as a personal loss, and we desire to place on record our appreciation of his manly Christian character, his loyalty to this institution, and his valuable and able services as a member of the board."

This is but one of the many testimonials which have come from all who knew him as to his character. To those who knew him the most intimately, his acquaintances in business and social life, he will be remembered as one of the very best of men—life never possessed a more useful or active manhood.

CAPT. CHARLES A. HAMELTON.*

Written by JOHN H. RICE,† of Fort Scott, for the Kansas State Historical Society.

CAPT. CHARLES A. HAMELTON, who figured largely in Kansas in an effort to make Kansas a slave state, was the oldest son of Dr. Thomas A. Hamelton, of Cass county, Georgia. The Hameltons were a rich, influential family. When the free-state war broke out in Kansas, Milton McGee, of Kansas City, came to Georgia to solicit men to go to Kansas and aid in this scheme. He came to Cassville, Ga., where I was living, and advertised a public meeting. I

*The author of the Marias des Cygnes massacre, May 19, 1858. See Kansas Historical Collections, vol. VI, p. 365.

†JOHN H. RICE, of Fort Scott, was born at Liberty, Bedford county, Virginia, November 25, 1825. At the age of sixteen he entered Tusculum College, and after his graduation he read law. In 1846 he established himself at Cassville, Ga. In 1858 he removed to Atlanta and engaged in the printing business, and became one of the editors of the *National American*. In 1856 he was

attended this meeting, but cannot remember dates. Mr. McGee made a fiery Southern-rights speech; Doctor Hamelton, also made a speech; and Captain Hamelton and his brother, George P. Hamelton, volunteered to go with McGee to Kansas. At this meeting Doctor Hamelton publicly donated \$1000 to the cause, and gave Mr. McGee a check for the amount.

After Captain Hamelton left for Kansas I had no personal knowledge of him until his return to Georgia. He lived on a fine plantation in Othekakloga valley, but left heavily in debt, and, on his return, his creditors stripped him of all his property, and he located in Rome, Floyd county, Georgia, where I was then living, practicing law. In a few months he determined to go to Texas, and he came and employed me to carry him through the proceedings of an insolvent, under the state insolvent-debtors' act. He made out his schedule of property, which was worth less than \$100, and in the superior court of Floyd county he was adjudged insolvent, and he took the insolvent oath. He started for Texas the next day. He had never said a word to me about a fee, but a few minutes before taking the train he came into my office and laid down on a table four twenty-dollar gold pieces and said, "This is yours." He bade me good-by and left. I had no personal knowledge of him after this. I know, however, from reliable information, that he located at Waco, Tex., and that very soon thereafter he owned a farm in that county, and, being a great lover of horses, he soon accumulated a lot of fine race-horses.

When the war of rebellion broke out he raised a regiment for the rebel army, was commissioned colonel, and joined General Lee's army in Virginia. He remained in the army until the close of the war. Some few years thereafter he returned to Georgia and stopped in Jones county where his father lived when he (Captain Hamelton) was a boy. He lived there about ten years, when he died suddenly of apoplexy; dropping off his horse as he was riding along the road.

His brother, George Peter Hamelton, who was in Kansas with him for some time, and who lived in Fort Scott, being the man who gave George A. Crawford an order to leave the territory, after returning to Georgia went to Mississippi, where he died of yellow fever.

REMINISCENCES OF KANSAS.

Written by ANDREW J. MEAD,* 66 Liberty street, New York, for the Kansas State Historical Society.

ASSOCIATED with my recollections of the early settlements in Kansas was a young man of attractive personality, high of purpose, with broad and generous sympathies with the people, and whose distinguished services are now a

major general of the Georgia militia, being elected as a union candidate over a Southern-rights candidate. In 1861 he suffered a sunstroke, which disabled him for several years, and in, 1865, was advised to move West. After three years on a farm in Missouri, he settled in Miami county, Kansas, and, in 1874, purchased the *Miami Republican*. In six years he sold out and purchased the *Fort Scott Monitor*. In 1884 he was elected a presidential elector, and cast his vote for James G. Blaine. In 1888 he engaged in railroad building in Mississippi. In 1893 he removed to southern Texas, and in 1895 changed to Sedalia, Mo. He lives in retirement at Fort Scott. General Rice, when asked about the spelling of the name Hamelton, February 24, 1902, responded, "The Hameltons spelled their name with an *e* (*el*, not *it*)."

* ANDREW J. MEAD was born and reared in New York city. He removed to Cincinnati in early manhood, and engaged successfully in the commission business, from which he withdrew in 1854. Early in the following year he came to Kansas, with the Cincinnati company, locating at Manhattan, of which town he was the first mayor. In 1858 and 1859 he was an influential member of the territorial council and an ardent free-state man. He was elected state treasurer

part of the history of the state. I here dedicate to the Hon. John Martin,* of Topeka, Kan., the following remembrances:

In 1854 our government sent supplies to Fort Riley by steamboat; hence the conclusion that the Kansas river was a navigable stream. Boatmen and others on the Ohio and elsewhere became greatly interested in the subject of the supposed navigable waters of the new territory. In the spring of 1855 emigration to Kansas had assumed such proportions as to attract the attention of capitalists and business men, and it was for the purpose of developing along these lines that a company was formed at Cincinnati to transport passengers and freight from the mouth of the Kansas river to the head of navigation, and there establish a town. The company was well under weigh in its organization when their plan was brought to my notice, and I was solicited to purchase an interest. In doing so, I had no other thought than to wait for returns of profit or loss. I had, in 1854, withdrawn from mercantile pursuits, which I had followed as boy and man for more than a quarter of a century, and was passing my time somewhat leisurely at Cincinnati or in New York, while contemplating a tour of observation to the Mississippi valley.

My purpose became known to a few. Among the number was one greatly interested in the success of the steamboat enterprise, and he brought to my attention a business matter in the interest of the Kansas expedition which caused me to change my plans. In addition to the expenses in the purchase of a steamboat, this company had concluded to purchase and ship ten houses, to be set up on the town site to be selected. The funds necessary to complete this plan were promised on condition that I would in person locate the site. It was estimated that sixty days would be sufficient for that purpose. Accordingly, early in May, 1855, I started from Cincinnati in advance of the steamer, with a surveyor equipped for the work.

Nothing worthy of note transpired *en route* until we reached Kansas City. That city then claimed a population of about 500. We here made the acquaintance of a few prospectors bound for the new territory, and arranged for a conveyance, with the understanding that a majority of the passengers should have control of the team and return with it to Kansas City at their pleasure. On the conclusion of our first day's journey of about fourteen miles we stopped for the night at John Ham's Indian cabin. *En route* we met a number of wagons with

on the free-state ticket, under the Lecompton constitution, December 21, 1857. The Kansas State Historical Society has a manuscript history of the Mead family, from A. D. 1422 down to the subject of this sketch, and here it ends, he modestly refusing to give the date of his own birth. The family came to America shortly after the Mayflower, and settled at Greenwich, Conn. Gen. John Mead was a member of the Connecticut legislature nine years, prior to the revolution. King George sent him a commission as captain which he declined, and entered the American army. He began a major and at the close of the war was a general. He died December 3, 1790.

* JOHN MARTIN was born in Wilson county, Tennessee, November 12, 1833, the eldest son of Matt and Mary Penn Martin. April 8, 1855, he settled at Tecumseh, in Shawnee county, Kansas. He came with Hon. Rush Elmore, United States judge. He was assistant clerk of the first territorial legislature, and was the first county attorney of Shawnee county. He was assistant United States attorney from 1859 until 1861, when he moved to Topeka. In 1883 he was appointed judge of the third judicial district, and was elected to that office in the fall of that year. He represented Shawnee county in the legislature of 1873 and 1874, and he was largely responsible for the establishment of the state insane asylum at Topeka. He was the democratic candidate for governor three different times. In 1893 he was elected United States senator to fill the unexpired term of Senator Plumb, serving from March 4, 1893, to March 3, 1895. He next served as clerk of the supreme court. He is a past grand master of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows for Kansas. Notwithstanding he has always belonged to the minority, he has been a popular and serviceable citizen of the state. He is now engaged in the practice of law in Topeka.

returning emigrants, who reported no good land west of Lawrence. On the afternoon of the third day we reached Indianola, by fording the Kansas river at Topeka, where all but two of our company declared, with great disgust, they had seen enough, and returned with the team to Kansas City. During our short rest at Indianola we learned it was probable that we could secure a conveyance for our journey at St. Mary's Mission, but none was obtainable at Indianola. It was, however, our good fortune to chance a ride of twenty-two miles to the mission with a typical breaker of the sod on his way to Rock creek. At St. Mary's we were made to feel that civilization had again dawned upon us, and by the kindness of the late Dr. L. R. Palmer* we secured a conveyance to Fort Riley. Our route from the mission was by the old military road, crossing the Blue at Juniata, and the only building seen or now remembered between the Big Blue and Pawnee was the house of Jacob Thiere. After a short stop at Pawnee we paid our respects to Colonel Montgomery, then in command at Fort Riley. Our reception was in keeping with traditions of West Point culture, and tenders of hospitality with facilities for the prosecution of our work beyond what we could have anticipated.

Although Colonel Montgomery was greatly interested in the development of Pawnee, he furnished horses and joined us in our search for a site for the new city at the head of navigation. After the selection was made, surveyed, and christened Manhattan (now the site of Junction City), I felt that my part of the work was about completed, and only awaited the arrival of the steamer "Hartford," which thereafter was to ply as a packet between Kansas City and Manhattan, to see that her passengers and freight were safely landed, and then return to Cincinnati. The company based the promise of returns upon assurances that the Kansas river was a navigable stream to and beyond Fort Riley. After long waiting for news of the progress of our steamer *en route* from Cincinnati, loaded with passengers and freight for the new city, a flatboat was built and launched at Pawnee with due ceremony, honored by the presence of Colonel Montgomery and a part of his staff, who witnessed our departure in search of the delayed steamer. Our voyage was a success, as we safely reached Kansas City after scraping many sand-bars, and there met the long-expected steamer "Hartford" waiting for a rise in the Kansas river.

Heavy rains soon followed and the steamer worked her way to the mouth of the Big Blue and there waited for another rise. Our passengers became impatient of delays, and, while considering a plan to convey them and their effects fifteen miles overland by wagons to the site selected, a delegation from Pawnee, headed by Major Klotz, waited upon me with a liberal proposition from the Pawnee settlement to join forces with them, especially as they were expecting government favors. About the same time came another proposition from the Boston Town Association, who claimed preemption rights at the junction of the Kansas and the Blue, where our steamboat was then stranded. Rumors were in circulation that the Pawnee company was in trouble, and that two army officers had

*DR. L. R. PALMER was born in Chatham, Columbia county, New York, January 9, 1819, and educated in Columbia boarding school, a Quaker institution. He graduated from the Berkshire Medical College, Pittsfield, Mass. Practiced medicine in New York four years, and then moved to Berrien county, Michigan, where he practiced until 1850, when he was appointed physician to the Pottawatomie tribe of Indians, and came to the agency at St. Mary's, where he resided until his death, in April, 1883. He was government doctor until 1857, and again from 1861 to 1864; and Indian agent for the same tribe from 1864 to 1870. He was a member of the Wyandotte constitutional convention, and in the same year was elected member of the territorial council. In 1872 he was elected to the state senate. He was the prime mover in the organization of Pottawatomie county, and was commissioner from 1857 to 1860. In October, 1882, he was appointed postmaster at St. Mary's.

been sent from Washington to investigate charges that had been made to the effect that the Pawnee settlement was trespassing on the military reservation, and after my interview with those officers I gave no further consideration to the Pawnee proposition, but later accepted the one from the Boston Town Association and transferred the name Manhattan from the supposed head of navigation to the mouth of the Blue. Lack of navigable water on the Kansas between the Blue and Republican rivers changed the site of Manhattan and dissipated legitimate forces of well-laid plans for profit.

After my return East a succession of disasters followed our Kansas enterprise—notably the burning of the steamer “Hartford,” near St. Mary’s Mission, while on her way to Kansas City. After this a small steamer made a few trips between Kansas City and Manhattan, when navigation on the Kansas river was abandoned. Later, while passing my time in New York, in the winter of 1855-’56 reports from Manhattan were so discouraging that word came to me from parties interested and residing in Cincinnati to the effect that Manhattan would be a failure unless some one came to its rescue. My first thought was to charge to profit and loss my Kansas venture, but on reflection, remembering friends who were interested, I wrote to my correspondents in Cincinnati that I would meet them there in a few days for consultation respecting our interests in Kansas; and there, after considering the pros and cons, agreed to make another trip to Kansas and personally learn of the situation, with the understanding that I could close out the company’s interest in Kansas or develop Manhattan with the resources at my command.

On my second visit to Kansas, I realized that “the best-laid schemes o’ mice and men gang aft agley,” yet the beautiful site for a city at the mouth of the Blue seemed to justify an effort to revive interest in Manhattan. Accordingly, in the spring of 1856, work was commenced by repairing damaged houses and by building an addition to one to be used for the accommodation of the traveling public. Two ferries were established, one on the Blue and another on the Kansas, and by the former the travel from the Juniata crossing, four miles north, was changed to the Manhattan crossing, and the latter a crossing to the south of the Kansas, with a stage line on that side of the river to Topeka. These facilities for travel brought emigrants in large numbers to and through Manhattan. Riley county was then comparatively free from the political disturbances that existed in other parts of the territory, and Manhattan rapidly became a busy and thriving settlement. These improved conditions, with the trend of emigration westward, greatly revived interest in Manhattan.

At the dawn of a promised era of prosperity, the hotel building was burned, with all its contents, guests barely escaping with their lives. Another loss by fire was a heavy drain upon the company’s resources, yet it did not seriously impede progress, for before the smoke from the embers had disappeared plans were being formed for the construction of a stone hotel building on the same site. This was soon completed, and for many years the Manhattan hotel was the center of business, social and political life, and a citadel of defense in the darkest period of Kansas history.

AN INDIAN FIGHT ON THE SOLOMON.

Written by D. S. REES, of Ottawa county, for the Kansas State Historical Society.

DURING the month of November, 1863, a small party of Delawares, headed by the young chief White Turkey, were trapping beaver and otter on the Solomon river, and while in camp at the mouth of Asher creek were visited by a few of a large band of Cheyennes, Old Gray Beard's warriors, who were camped some distance farther up the river. During the visit of this scouting party, the powwow was pleasant and friendly, but the Cheyennes insisted on coming down the next day with all hands and having a big talk and a good time generally, to which the Delawares assented.

After the departure of the visitors, the Delawares held a council among themselves, and came to the conclusion that the Cheyennes meant treachery, and accordingly agreed that it would be the part of wisdom to gather in their traps, pack their ponies, and in full possession of all their scalps, and other belongings, and, without waiting for the appointed meeting, get out of there. They planned to move down the Solomon a short distance, then cross over to the Saline, continue trapping down to the Smoky Hill, and down the Smoky Hill, until ready for home. But "the best-laid schemes o' mice and men gang aft agley." It would appear that the Cheyennes were also doing a little figuring. White Turkey's little band had moved down the Solomon to a point nearly opposite where now is the town of Simpson, and about three miles from the river, and, moving toward the Saline, they found themselves nearly surrounded by a large body of Cheyennes, estimated to be 300.

The Delawares immediately began to fall back to the shelter of the river, but it was a pretty stubborn fight all the way. The Delawares abandoned their pack ponies early in the fight, which meant the loss of provisions, traps, furs, and almost everything. They had two men badly wounded, one of whom died shortly after his arrival home, I was told. The Cheyennes, whom we met shortly afterwards, told me the Delawares were much better armed; that their long-barreled rifles appeared to be all the time loaded; that they had buried one of their chiefs on a hill near the river; that many of their ponies had been killed and wounded; that they had captured a heap of things, including what was above mentioned, and the evidence of beaver and otter skins cut in all kinds of shape, and used to ornament bridles, saddles, etc., were all around.

As the fight ceased when the Delawares reached the river, they made a short halt on the high bank. They were evidently much surprised to see our camp, which, from their position, they could look right into. Upon crossing the river, White Turkey and two or three of his men came riding on a charge straight into our camp, and talked with us a few minutes, White Turkey advising us that we had better get away or the Cheyennes would sure clean us out. One of his men carried the war bonnet, shield and spear of the dead Cheyenne chief, and informed us that the reason he did not have the scalp was because they did not give him time to get it.

The wind had been blowing a gale from the northwest all day, which was the reason of our being found in camp, as we could do no good at trapping or hunting, and in the evening the prairie-grass, which was of a wonderful growth, and very dry, was set on fire on the east side of the river by the Cheyennes, and the fiercest prairie fire that I ever witnessed swept down the valley, suffocating hun-

dreds of buffalo. The retreating Delawares, who camped on Pipe creek that night, near where now stands the town of Minneapolis, in looking around the next morning, found sixteen or eighteen dead buffaloes, mostly cows, lying headed all in one direction, southeast, just as they had been running before the wind when overtaken by the rush of fire and smoke, in which they perished in a group. The Indians brought in the tongues, and related the matter to a settler, S. McWright, who yet is living in Lincoln county.

ORIGIN OF COUNTY NAMES.

Prepared by the Kansas State Historical Society for the Geographer of the United States Geological Survey.

- Allen.—William Allen, United States senator from Ohio, 1837-'49.
- Anderson.—Joseph C. Anderson, member of first Kansas territorial legislature.
- Atchison.—David R. Atchison, United States senator from Missouri, 1843-'55.
- Barber.—Thomas W. Barber, free-state martyr, murdered near Lawrence December 6, 1855.
- Barton.—Miss Clara Barton, philanthropist and founder of the Red Cross Society in the United States.
- Bourbon.—Bourbon county, Kentucky.
- Brown.—O. H. Browne, member of the first Kansas territorial legislature.
- Butler.—Andrew P. Butler, United States senator from South Carolina, 1847-'57.
- Chase.—Salmon P. Chase, United States senator, secretary of the treasury, and chief justice.
- Chautauqua.—Chautauqua county, New York.
- Cherokee.—Indian tribe.
- Cheyenne.—Indian tribe.
- Clark.—Charles F. Clarke, Sixth Kansas cavalry, captain and assistant adjutant general United States volunteers; died at Memphis December 10, 1862.
- Clay.—Henry Clay.
- Cloud.—William F. Cloud, colonel of Second Kansas regiment.
- Coffey.—A. M. Coffey, member first Kansas territorial legislature.
- Comanche.—Indian tribe.
- Cowley.—Matthew Cowley, first lieutenant company I, Ninth Kansas; died at Little Rock, October 7, 1864.
- Crawford.—Samuel J. Crawford, colonel Second Kansas regiment, and governor from 1865 to 1869.
- Decatur.—Commodore Stephen Decatur.
- Dickinson.—Daniel S. Dickinson, United States senator from New York, 1844-'51.
- Doniphan.—Alexander W. Doniphan, colonel in the Mexican war.
- Douglas.—Stephen A. Douglas, United States senator, and the author of squatter sovereignty.
- Edwards.—W. C. Edwards, of Hutchinson, now of St. Paul, Minn., who built the first brick block in the county.
- Elk.—Elk river.
- Ellis.—George Ellis, first lieutenant company I, Twelfth Kansas; killed at Jenkins Ferry, Ark., April 30, 1864.
- Ellsworth.—Allen Ellsworth, second lieutenant company H, Seventh Iowa cavalry.
- Finney.—David W. Finney, lieutenant-governor, 1881-'85.
- Ford.—James H. Ford, colonel Second Colorado cavalry.

Franklin.—Benjamin Franklin.

Geary.—John White Geary, third territorial governor, 1856-'57; major general of Pennsylvania volunteers in the civil war, and governor of Pennsylvania, 1866-'73.

Gove.—Grenville L. Gove, captain company G, Eleventh Kansas; died November 7, 1864.

Graham.—John L. Graham, captain company D, Eighth Kansas; killed in action at Chickamauga September 19, 1863, before being mustered in.

Grant.—Ulysses S. Grant.

Gray.—Alfred Gray, secretary of Kansas State Board of Agriculture, 1873-'80.

Greeley.—Horace Greeley.

Greenwood.—Alfred B. Greenwood, commissioner of Indian affairs, 1859-'60.

Hamilton.—Alexander Hamilton.

Harper.—Marion Harper, first sergeant company E, Second Kansas; died from wounds December 30, 1863.

Harvey.—James M. Harvey, captain company G, Tenth Kansas; governor, 1869-'73, and United States senator, 1874-'77.

Haskell.—Dudley C. Haskell, member of Congress, 1876 till his death, in 1883.

Hodgeman.—Amos Hodgeman, captain company H, Seventh Kansas; died of wounds October 16, 1863.

Jackson.—Andrew Jackson.

Jefferson.—Thomas Jefferson.

Jewell.—Lewis R. Jewell, lieutenant colonel Sixth Kansas cavalry; died of wounds November 30, 1862, at Cane Hill.

Johnson.—The Rev. Thomas Johnson, missionary to the Shawnees in Johnson county, Kansas, 1829-'58.

Kearny.—Gen. Phil. Kearny.

Kingman.—Samuel A. Kingman, chief justice supreme court of Kansas, 1866-'76.

Kiowa.—Indian tribe.

Labette.—Labette river.

Lane.—James Henry Lane, United States senator from Kansas, 1861-'66.

Leavenworth.—Gen. Henry Leavenworth, officer in the United States army, 1812-'34.

Lincoln.—Abraham Lincoln.

Linn.—Lewis F. Linn, United States senator from Missouri, 1833-'43.

Logan.—Gen. John A. Logan.

Lyon.—Gen. Nathaniel Lyon, killed at Wilson Creek August 10, 1861.

McPherson.—Gen. James B. McPherson, killed at Atlanta, Ga., July 22, 1864.

Marion.—Gen. Francis Marion, or for Marion county, Ohio.

Marshall.—Francis J. Marshall, member first territorial legislature.

Meade.—Gen. George G. Meade.

Miami.—Indian tribe.

Mitchell.—William D. Mitchell, private company B, Second Kansas, and captain Second Kentucky cavalry; killed March 10, 1865.

Montgomery.—Gen. Richard Montgomery.

Morris.—Thomas Morris, United States senator from Ohio, 1833-'39.

Morton.—Oliver P. Morton, United States senator from Indiana, 1867 to his death, 1877.

Nemaha.—Nemaha river.

Neosho.—Neosho river.

Ness.—Noah V. Ness, corporal company G, Seventh Kansas; died from wounds August 22, 1864.

- Norton.—Orloff Norton, captain company L, Fifteenth Kansas; killed November 11, 1864, at Cane Hill, Ark.
- Osage.—Osage river.
- Osborne.—Vincent B. Osborn, private company A, Second Kansas; severely wounded January 17, 1865.
- Ottawa.—Indian tribe.
- Pawnee.—Indian tribe.
- Phillips.—William Phillips, free-state martyr; murdered at Leavenworth September 1, 1856.
- Pottawatomie.—Indian tribe.
- Pratt.—Caleb Pratt, second lieutenant company D, Second Kansas; killed at Wilson Creek August 10, 1861.
- Rawlins.—Gen. John A. Rawlins, secretary of war, March 11, 1869; died in office September 6, 1869.
- Reno.—Gen. Jesse L. Reno, killed at South Mountain September 14, 1862.
- Republic.—Pawnee Republic, a principal division of the Pawnee Indians, formerly located in that county.
- Rice.—Samuel A. Rice, brigadier general; killed at Jenkins Ferry April 30, 1864.
- Riley.—Maj. Gen. Bennett Riley, officer of United States army, 1813-'53.
- Rooks.—John C. Rooks, private company I, Eleventh Kansas; died from wounds December 11, 1862, at Prairie Grove.
- Rush.—Alexander Rush, captain company H, Second Kansas colored cavalry; killed at Jenkins Ferry April 3, 1864.
- Russell.—Avra P. Russell, captain company K, Second Kansas; died from wounds at Prairie Grove December 1, 1862.
- Saline.—Saline river.
- Scott.—Gen. Winfield Scott.
- Sedgwick.—Gen. John Sedgwick, killed at Spottsylvania May 9, 1864.
- Seward.—William H. Seward, United States senator and secretary of state, who proclaimed Kansas "the Cinderella of the American family."
- Shawnee.—Indian tribe.
- Sheridan.—Gen. Philip H. Sheridan.
- Sherman.—Gen. William T. Sherman.
- Smith.—J. Nelson Smith, Second Colorado; killed October 23, 1864, on the Little Blue, Missouri.
- Stafford.—Lewis Stafford, captain company E, First Kansas; killed at Young's Point, La., January 31, 1863.
- Stanton.—Edwin M. Stanton, secretary of war.
- Stevens.—Thaddeus Stevens.
- Sumner.—Charles Sumner, United States senator, assaulted by Preston S. Brooks for his speech entitled, "The Crime against Kansas."
- Thomas.—Maj. Gen. George H. Thomas.
- Trego.—Edward P. Trego, captain company H, Eighth Kansas; killed at Chickamauga September 19, 1863.
- Wabaunsee.—Pottawatomie Indian chief.
- Wallace.—Gen. William H. L. Wallace, veteran of the Mexican war; died April 10, 1862, from wounds received at Shiloh.
- Washington.—George Washington.
- Wichita.—Indian tribe.
- Wilson.—Hiero T. Wilson, sutler and merchant at Fort Scott from 1843 to 1854.
- Woodson.—Daniel Woodson, secretary of Kansas territory, 1854-'57.
- Wyandotte.—Indian tribe.

ORIGIN OF CITY NAMES.

Prepared by the Kansas State Historical Society for the Geographer of the United States Geological Survey.

- Abilene, Dickinson.—For the ancient tetrarchy mentioned in the third chapter of Luke, first verse, suggested to C. H. Thompson, the founder, in 1861, by Mr. Findlay Patterson, from Pennsylvania. (H. R. Thompson.)
- Alma, Wabaunsee.—Named by the Germans who settled it from the city and battle of Alma, Germany. (Welsh.)
- Alta Vista, Wabaunsee.—So named by the Rock Island railroad officials because the road here crosses the watershed between the Kansas and Neosho rivers. (J. E. Reagan.)
- Alton, Osborne.—Transferred from England and given to several towns in the United States. (Gannett.)
- Altoona, Wilson.—For Altoona, Pa., by I. N. Spencer, an early resident. (Mrs. Lizzie Hicks.)
- Americus, Lyon.—For Americus Vespuccius. (E. T. Andreas.)
- Anthony, Harper.—For Gov. Geo. T. Anthony. (John A. Martin.)
- Arcadia, Crawford.—Was named by the founders "Arcadia," in preference to "Eureka." (*Reporter*, December 28, 1882.)
- Argentine, Wyandotte.—For "argenta," silver, a smelter being the first industry there. (Landrey.)
- Argonia, Sumner.—From "Argo," the ship in which Jason sailed to Colchis in quest of the "golden fleece," by A. E. Parker, who proposed the name to the town company. (Benj. Nicholson.)
- Arkansas City, Cowley.—Near the junction of the Arkansas and Walnut rivers.
- Armourdale, Wyandotte.—For Armours, bankers and pork-packers. (Adams.)
- Ashland, Clark.—For Ashland, Ky. (J. I. Lee.)
- Assaria, Saline.—From the name of a congregation of Swedish Lutherans, who established a church on the site of the village previous to the incorporation of the town. It means "In God is our help." (*Salina Herald*, October 1, 1881.)
- Atchison, Atchison.—For David R. Atchison, United States senator from Missouri.
- Attica, Harper.—For Attica, a division of Greece, by Richard Botkin, father of J. D. Botkin.
- Atwood, Rawlins.—For Attwood Matheny, son of the founder, J. M. Matheny.
- Augusta, Butler.—For the wife of C. N. James, a trader.
- Axtell, Marshall.—For Dr. Jesse (?) Axtell, an officer of the St. J. & G. I. railroad. (George Delano.)
- Baldwin, Douglas.—For John Baldwin, of Berea, Ohio. (Adams.)
- Barnes, Washington.—For A. S. Barnes, publisher of the United States history, a stockholder in the Central Branch railroad. (Albert Hazen.)
- Baxter Springs, Cherokee.—For A. Baxter, the first settler, and the springs.
- Beattie, Marshall.—For A. Beattie, mayor of St. Joseph, Mo., in 1870.
- Belle Plaine, Sumner.—French, beautiful plain, name given to several towns in the United States, characteristic of this situation. (Gannett.)
- Belleville, Republic.—For Arabelle, wife of A. B. Tutton, president of town-site company. (Savage.)

- Beloit, Mitchell.—For Beloit, Wis. (*The Democrat*, Corning, N. Y., February 6, 1879.)
- Bird City, Cheyenne.—For its founder, Benjamin Bird. (Murray.)
- Blue Mound, Linn.—For Blue Mound, a neighboring eminence. (Andreas.)
- Blue Rapids, Marshall.—Located at a point on the Big Blue river, known as "Blue Rapids" before the establishment of the town. (W. H. Smith.)
- Bluff City, Harper.—Sited near Bluff creek.
- Bonner Springs, Wyandotte.—For Robert Bonner, horseman, and editor of the *New York Ledger*. It had formerly been called Tiblow, for a Delaware Indian, Henry T., who ran a ferry across the Kaw at this point.
- Brainerd, Butler.—For E. B. Brainerd, who owned the farm on which a portion of the town was situated. (C. E. Brumbaek.)
- Bronson, Bourbon.—For Ira D. Bronson, of Fort Scott.
- Brookville, Saline.—Descriptive. Given to many places in the United States. (Gannett.)
- Buffalo, Wilson.—For the bison which roamed over that county within the memory of the resident Indians.
- Burden, Cowley.—Rob. F. Burden was the leading member of the town company. (Andreas, p. 1601.)
- Burlingame, Osage.—For Anson Burlingame, afterwards United States minister to China.
- Burlington, Coffey.—For Burlington, Vt.
- Burr Oak, Jewell.—Sited at the mouth of a stream of that name.
- Burton, Harvey.—For Burton township, which was named for I. T. Burr, vice-president of A. T. & S. F. railroad.
- Caldwell, Sumner.—For United States Senator Alexander Caldwell, of Leavenworth.
- Caney, Montgomery.—From the Caney river, near which it is located. (H. E. Brighton.)
- Canton, McPherson.—Derived directly or indirectly from the city in China. (Gannett.)
- Carbondale, Osage.—Named because of its situation in a coal-mining district. (Gannett.)
- Cawker City, Mitchell.—For E. H. Cawker.
- Cedar Vale, Chautauqua.—Because of its situation in the valley of Cedar creek. (W. M. Jones.)
- Centralia, Nemaha.—Because it was the center of Home township. (F. P. Baker.)
- Chanute, Neosho.—For O. Chanute, civil engineer, L. L. & G. railroad.
- Chapman, Dickinson.—Is situated near the mouth of Chapman creek.
- Cheney, Sedgwick.—For Benjamin P. Cheney, a stockholder of the A. T. & S. F. railroad. (H. Collins.)
- Cherokee, Crawford.—For Cherokee county, as at that time the town was thought to be within its boundaries. (Andreas, p. 1132.)
- Cherryvale, Montgomery.—In the valley of Cherry creek. (Adams.)
- Chetopa, Labette.—From two Osage words, "che," meaning houses, and "topa," four, the town having been built on the site of four houses, occupied by the wives of an Osage chief. (H. E. Richter.)
- Circleville, Jackson.—From the suggestion that the town had been circling around the prairie in search of a location.
- Cimarron, Gray.—Spanish, meaning wild, unruly.
- Clay Center, Clay.—About the center of Clay county.
- Clearwater, Sedgwick.—Descriptive. (Gannett.)

- Clyde, Cloud.—For Clyde, Scotland.
- Coffeyville, Montgomery.—For Col. A. M. Coffey. (Adams.)
- Colby, Thomas.—For J. R. Colby, one of the oldest settlers. (Gill.)
- Coldwater, Comanche.—For Coldwater, Mich. (Cash.)
- Colony, Anderson.—In honor of a colony from Ohio and Indiana, who settled the neighborhood. (Andreas.)
- Columbus, Cherokee.—For Columbus, Ohio.
- Colwich, Sedgwick.—A compound of Colorado and Wichita, as applied to the Colorado & Wichita railway. (M. M. Murdock.)
- Concordia, Cloud.—After years of controversy over selection of site for permanent seat of county government, this location was agreed upon with unanimity, and a name meaning "harmony" chosen. (Hagaman.)
- Conway Springs, Sumner.—For the township Conway, and the spring on the town site. (C. W. Davis.)
- Coolidge, Hamilton.—For Thomas Jefferson Coolidge, former president A. T. & S. F. railroad. (Johnson.)
- Corning, Nemaha.—For Erastus Corning, of New York.
- Coronado, Wichita.—For the Spanish explorer, Francisco Vasquez de Coronado. (Postmaster, Leoti.)
- Cottonwood Falls, Chase.—At the point on the Cottonwood river known as the Cottonwood Falls. (W. A. Morgan.)
- Council Grove, Morris.—A fine grove on a branch of the Neosho, bearing the same name, where the United States commissioner appointed to mark a road from Missouri to Santa Fe, in August, 1825, met and concluded a treaty with the Osages. (Josiah Gregg.)
- Courtland, Republic.—For Courtland, N. Y.
- Delphos, Ottawa.—For the classical Delphos, of Greece. (Gannett.)
- Dexter, Cowley.—For Dexter, the trotting horse of Robert Bonner, of the New York *Ledger*, by G. W. Frederick, of Emporia. (J. McDermott.)
- Dighton, Lane.—For Dick Deighton, a surveyor; spelling changed. (Green.)
- Dodge City, Ford.—For Fort Dodge, named for Col. Henry Dodge.
- Doniphan, Doniphan.—For Alexander William Doniphan, colonel in the Mexican war.
- Douglass, Butler.—For Joseph Douglass, by whom it was laid out. (Andreas.)
- Downs, Osborne.—For William F. Downs, of Atchison. (Adams.)
- Dunlap, Morris.—For Joseph Dunlap, a trader among the Indians, and founder of the town. (L. W. Still.)
- Dwight, Morris.—For Dwight Rathbone, on whose land the depot was located.
- Edgerton, Johnson.—For Edgerton, the chief engineer of the A. T. & S. F. railroad. (Andreas.)
- Edna, Labette.—For a child, Edna Gragery, in 1876. (F. W. Elliott.)
- Effingham, Atchison.—For Effingham H. Nickels, of Boston, a promoter of the C. B. U. P. railroad. (C. E. Green.)
- El Dorado, Butler.—Spanish, "the golden land."
- Elk, Chase.—In the valley of Elk river.
- Elk Falls, Elk.—From the presence of a waterfall in the Elk river near the town. (Grenola *Chief*, October 7, 1882.)
- Ellinwood, Barton.—For post-office named for Col. John R. Ellinwood, locating engineer A. T. & S. F. railroad. (A. J. Hoisington.)
- Ellis, Ellis.—For Lieut. Geo. Ellis, Twelfth Kansas infantry. (Adams.)
- Ellsworth, Ellsworth.—For the county, named for Fort Ellsworth; in its turn, named for Lieut. Allen Ellsworth. When county was named, fort was supposed to have been named for E. E. Ellsworth. (Inman.)

- Elwood, Doniphan.—For John B. Elwood, of Rome, N. Y. First called Roseport, for Mr. Rose. (D. W. Wilder.)
- Empire City, Cherokee.—Name suggested to the founder, S. L. Cheney, from the fact that the town crowned a ridge. (L. M. Dillman.)
- Emporia, Lyon.—From Latin word *emporium*, a market or trade mart.
- Englewood, Clarke.—For Englewood, Ill., former home of C. D. Perry, one of the first settlers. (T. Abbott.)
- Enterprise, Dickinson.—By C. B. Hoffman, son of one of the proprietors. (*Anti-Monopolist*, January 1, 1885.)
- Erie City, Neosho.—For a little lake, one and a half miles west, named Lake Erie.
- Eskridge, Wabaunsee.—For C. V. Eskridge, who paid Ephraim Sanford, the proprietor, for the first choice of town lots. (W. W. Cone.)
- Eudora, Douglas.—For the daughter of Paschal Fish, Shawnee chief, who secured the town site from the Indians. (Andreas.)
- Eureka, Greenwood.—From a Greek word, *Eureka*, "I have found it."
- Everest, Brown.—For Col. A. S. Everest, of Atchison. (Andreas.)
- Fairview, Brown.—For the post-office established in the '60's on the farm of Major O. Fountain, one and one-half miles southwest of the present village, and named by his wife for its elevated position. (C. H. Isely.)
- Fall River, Greenwood.—From the stream on which it is situated.
- Florence, Marion.—For Miss Florence Crawford, of Topeka. (Crawford.)
- Ford, Ford.—For Jas. H. Ford, colonel Second Colorado cavalry.
- Fort Scott, Bourbon.—For Gen. Winfield Scott.
- Fort Leavenworth, Leavenworth.—For Gen. Henry Leavenworth, who established the fort.
- Frankfort, Marshall.—For Frank Schmidt, of Marysville, who purchased the site and with others organized a town company. (C. F. Koester.)
- Fredonia, Wilson.—For Fredonia, N. Y.
- Freeport, Harper.—Fanciful. (Gannett.)
- Fulton, Bourbon.—For Fulton county, Ill. (Chas. A. Mitchell.)
- Galena, Cherokee.—For Galena, Ill. (Postmaster.)
- Galva, McPherson.—By Mrs. J. E. Doyle, for her old home in Illinois. (E. E. Wyman.)
- Garden City, Finney.—Name suggested by a tramp as appropriate.
- Gardner, Johnson.—For Henry J. Gardner, governor of Massachusetts in 1885.
- Garnett, Anderson.—For W. A. Garnett, of Louisville, Ky.
- Gaylord, Smith.—For C. E. Gaylord, of Marshall county. (Andreas.)
- Geneseo, Rice.—Named by Maj. E. C. Modderwell, ex-president of town company, for Geneseo, Ill., his home town. (J. E. Junkin.)
- Geuda, Sumner.—For the mineral springs in that vicinity known by that name.
- Girard, Crawford.—For Girard, Pa.
- Glasco, Cloud.—Suggested by John Hillhouse, a Scotchman, and spelled by the first postmaster, H. C. Snyder, "Glasco." (W. A. Hillhouse.)
- Goddard, Sedgwick.—For J. F. Goddard, general manager of the Santa Fe, 1887-'88.
- Goff, Nemaha.—For Edward H. Goff, of the Union Pacific railroad.
- Goodland, Sherman.—For Goodland, Ind., by an early promoter of the town. (E. J. Scott.)
- Gove, Gove.—For Lieut. Grenville L. Gove, of Manhattan, captain company G, Eleventh Kansas, for whom the county was named.
- Great Bend, Barton.—North of point in Arkansas river where it commences its great bend to the southeast.

- Greeley, Anderson.—For Horace Greeley. (*Greeley Tribune*, April 3, 1880.)
- Greenleaf, Washington.—For A. W. Greenleaf, treasurer Union Pacific Railroad Company. (Adams.)
- Greensburg, Kiowa.—For Col. D. R. Green. (Bolton.)
- Grenola, Elk.—For Greenfield and Kanola, two rival towns of that neighborhood. (Long.)
- Grover, Douglas.—For Grover Cleveland. (John Speer.)
- Gypsum, Saline.—Is situated on a creek of that name.
- Haddam, Washington.—For Haddam, Conn., named about 1861 by John Ferguson, a former resident of Connecticut.
- Halstead, Harvey.—For the journalist, Murat Halstead. (Andreas, p. 784.)
- Hamlin, Brown.—For Hannibal Hamlin. (*Hiawatha World*, January 4, 1889.)
- Hanover, Washington.—For native town of Gerat H. Hollenberg in Germany.
- Harlan, Smith.—For John C. Harlan, one of the first settlers.
- Hartford, Lyon.—For Hartford, Conn., in 1857, by one of its founders, Harvey D. Rice.
- Havensville, Pottawatomie.—For Paul E. Havens, of Leavenworth; "ville" was added to distinguish it from Haven, Reno county.
- Harper, Harper.—For Harper county, named for Marion Harper, first sergeant company E, Second Kansas cavalry.
- Hays, Ellis.—For Fort Hays, named for Gen. Alex. Hays, killed in the battle of the Wilderness. (Montgomery.)
- Hazelton, Barber.—For its founder, the Rev. J. H. Hazelton. (T. A. McNeal.)
- Hepler, Crawford.—B. F. Hepler, of Fort Scott, was president of the town company. (Andreas, page 1139.)
- Herington, Dickinson.—For M. D. Herington, the founder. (*Capital*, July 14, 1888.)
- Hiawatha, Brown.—Named by Dr. E. H. Grant, from Longfellow's poem; meaning "a very wise man." (Grant.)
- Highland, Doniphan.—The town is situated on the highest elevation in the county.
- Hill City, Graham.—For W. R. Hill, who located the town site.
- Hillsboro, Marion.—From John G. Hill, several times mayor, and because it is on an elevation. (H. H. Fast.)
- Hoisington, Barton.—For A. J. Hoisington, of Great Bend.
- Holliday, Johnson.—For Cyrus K. Holliday, of Topeka, originator of the A. T. & S. F. railroad. (John Speer.)
- Holton, Jackson.—For Hon. Edward D. Holton, of Milwaukee, Wis.
- Hope, Dickinson.—Name selected for a post-office in the vicinity in 1871, and afterwards adopted by the Santa Fe for their new station at the point, already called Wegram by the Missouri Pacific, which consented to the change. (Hemenway.)
- Horace, Greeley.—For Horace Greeley. (*Daily Capital*, June 13, 1889.)
- Horton, Brown.—For Chief Justice A. H. Horton. (Adams.)
- Howard, Elk.—For Gen. O. O. Howard. (Adams.)
- Hoxie, Sheridan.—For H. M. Hoxie, general manager of the Missouri Pacific railroad at St. Louis. (*Capital*, May 26, 1889.)
- Hugoton, Stevens.—For Victor Hugo, "ton" afterward added because of the proximity of Hugo, Colo. (E. W. Joslin.)
- Humboldt, Allen.—For Baron von Humboldt.
- Hunnewell, Sumner.—For H. H. Hunnewell, president of the K. C. L. & S. K. railroad. (O. E. Learnard.)

- Huron, Atchison.—For a former town situated two and one-half miles to the southwest, named for the Huron Indians. (D. R. Anthony.)
- Hutchinson, Reno.—For C. C. Hutchinson, its founder, one of the owners.
- Independence, Montgomery.—Probably for Independence, Iowa; name by R. W. Wright and F. G. Adams. (Adams.)
- Inman, McPherson.—For Maj. Henry Inman, author. (P. G. Kroek.)
- Iola, Allen.—For the wife of J. F. Colborn, one of the owners of the site.
- Irving, Marshall.—For Washington Irving.
- Jamestown, Cloud.—In honor of James P. Pomeroy, in 1878 vice-president of the C. B. railroad. (John O. Hanson.)
- Jetmore, Hodgeman.—For Col. A. B. Jetmore, of Topeka.
- Jewell, Jewell.—For Lieut. Col. L. R. Jewell. (Adams.)
- Johnson, Stanton.—For Col. Alex. S. Johnson, of Topeka. (John Speer.)
- Junction City, Geary.—Near junction of the Republican and Smoky Hill rivers.
- Kanopolis, Ellsworth.—From Kansas and Centropolis; the town is situated near the center of Ellsworth county, the central county of Kansas. (*Commonwealth*, May 4, 1885.)
- Kansas City, Wyandotte.—For Kansas City, Mo. (Adams.)
- Kincaid, Anderson.—For Robert Kincaid, of Mound City, a member of the original town company. (J. E. Scruggs.)
- Kingman, Kingman.—For Chief Justice S. A. Kingman. (Adams.)
- Kinsley, Edwards.—For E. W. Kinsley, Boston, Mass.
- Kiowa, Barber.—Indian, "Great Medicine." (Thybody.)
- Kirwin, Phillips.—For Fort Kirwin; named for Col. John Kirwin, regular army. (Palmer.)
- La Cygne, Linn.—"The Swan"; the French name for the stream, Marais des Cygnes.
- La Harpe, Allen.—For La Harpe, Ill., by Mr. Latham, the first conductor on the Fort Scott, Wichita & Western railroad. (J. D. Hill.)
- Lakin, Kearny.—For David L. Lakin, of Topeka.
- Lancaster, Atchison.—For Lancaster, Pa., by B. F. Stoner. (Wilder.) (H. O. Whitaker.)
- Larned, Pawnee.—For Gen. B. F. Larned. (Henry Booth.)
- Lawrence, Douglas.—For Amos A. Lawrence, of Boston, Mass.
- Lebanon, Smith.—From the former home of the first postmaster, Dr. B. B. Ray, Lebanon, Ky. (A. L. Topliff.)
- Lebo, Coffey.—For Lebo creek, which derived its name from an early settler of the vicinity.
- Leavenworth, Leavenworth.—For Fort Leavenworth.
- Lecompton, Douglas.—For Judge Samuel D. Lecompte, president of the town company. (Andreas, p. 351.)
- Lenora, Norton.—For Mrs. Lenora Hauser.
- Leonardville, Riley.—For Leonard T. Smith, president of the old Kansas Central railroad. (J. E. Srack.)
- Leon, Butler.—For Leon, Iowa, or Ponce de Leon. (Andreas, p. 1445.)
- Leoti, Wichita.—Indian "Prairie Flower," name of a white girl in story, captured and adopted by Indian chief. (Triplett.)
- Le Roy, Coffey.—For Le Roy, Ill. (C. C. Gray.)
- Liberal, Seward.—Given in reference to the sentiment of freedom. (Gannett.)
- Liberty, Montgomery.—Sentiment of freedom. (Gannett.)
- Lincoln, Lincoln.—For President Lincoln.

- Lindsborg, McPherson.—Lindsborg, as a name, has the following history: Among the locating committee, and among the members of the first company and colony, were, among others, Lindahl, Lindberg, Lindgren, Lind, Lindey. The first part, the common part, of all these names was taken, and the Swedish "*borg*" (burg, castle) was added; and so we have Lindsborg. (Dr. Carl Swensson.)
- Linwood, Leavenworth.—By Senator W. A. Harris, for a linwood tree; formerly named Journey Cake, for an Indian chief, and Stranger, for the stream of that name. (Geo. C. Wetzel.)
- Little River, Rice.—In the valley of the Little Arkansas.
- Logan, Phillips.—For John A. Logan.
- Longton, Elk.—For Longton, England, his old home, by Herbert Capper, one of the town company. (And. B. McKay.)
- Louisburg, Miami.—First called New St. Louis; the M. K. & T. railroad changed it to Louisburg. (Postmaster.)
- Louisville, Pottawatomie.—For Louis Wilson, the son of the original preemptor of the town site.
- Lucas, Russell.—For Lucas Place, St. Louis, Mo. The station is called Elbon. (B. G. Scriven.)
- Lyndon, Osage.—For Lyndon, Vt. (Bailey.)
- Lyons, Rice.—For Truman J. Lyon, who owned the town site. (Andreas, p. 759.)
- McCracken, Rush.—For Wm. McCracken, of New York city, an official of the construction company of the Missouri Pacific. (F. L. Snodgrass.)
- McCune, Crawford.—For Isaac McCune, the founder.
- McLouth, Jefferson.—From the original owner of the land, Amos McLouth. (*Oskaloosa Independent*, March 15, 1890.)
- McPherson, McPherson.—For the county, named for Maj. Gen. J. B. McPherson. (Adams.)
- Macksville, Stafford.—For George Mack, the first postmaster in the county. (John W. Alford.)
- Madison, Greenwood.—For the township in which it is situated, formerly a part of old Madison county, and later annexed to Greenwood.
- Manhattan, Riley.—A compromise between persons who advocated the name New Boston and those who wished to name it New Cincinnati. (Fairchild.)
- Mankato, Jewell.—For Mankato, Minn. (Postmaster.)
- Marion, Marion.—For the county, named either for Gen. Francis Marion or for Marion county, Ohio. (Adams.)
- Marquette, McPherson.—From Marquette, Mich., by H. S. Bacon, in 1873, for his former home.
- Marysville, Marshall.—For Mary, the wife of Francis J. Marshall, for whom the county was named.
- Meade, Meade.—For Gen. Geo. Gordon Meade.
- Medicine Lodge, Barber.—For the river on the west, named by the Indians.
- Melvern, Osage.—For Melvern Hills, Scotland.
- Meriden, Jefferson.—By Newel Colby, for Meriden, N. H., his native town.
- Miltonvale, Cloud.—For Milton Tootle, of St. Joseph, owner of the land upon which the town was situated. (John Squires.)
- Minneapolis, Ottawa.—For Minneapolis, Minn., "City of Waters."
- Moline, Elk.—For Moline, Ill., at the suggestion of J. F. Chapman, of the original town company, who came from that vicinity, and because the farmers used the Moline plow largely. (E. G. Dewey.)

- Moran, Allen.—For Daniel Comyan Moran, a capitalist, who furnished the means for building the Ft. Scott, Wichita & Western railroad.
- Morganville, Clay.—For the founder, Ebenezer Morgan, in 1870.
- Morrill, Brown.—For Gov. E. N. Morrill. (Wilder.)
- Mound City, Linn.—For its proximity to Sugar Mound.
- Mound Ridge, McPherson.—For the township in which it is located, Mound, and for the elevation of the town site, at the suggestion of D. P. Jones, of Fort Scott, then in charge of the construction of Missouri Pacific railway through Harvey and McPherson counties. (John A. Randall.)
- Mound Valley, Labette.—From a range of mound-like hills in the vicinity.
- Mount Hope, Sedgwick.—From Mount Hope township, McLean county, Illinois. (C. B. Pyle.)
- Mulvane, Sumner.—For John R. Mulvane, of Topeka. (C. Hodgson.)
- Muscotah, Atchison.—From the Indian, signifying "beautiful prairie," or "prairie of fire." (Andreas.)
- Narka, Republic.—For a daughter of an official of the C. R. I. & P. railroad. The name is said to be of Indian origin. (D. W. Duskin.)
- Neodesha, Wilson.—Indian, and means "meeting of the waters"; at junction of Verdigris and Fall rivers. (Adams.)
- Neosho Falls, Woodson.—From the falls of the Neosho river at this point.
- Ness City, Ness.—For Noah V. Ness, Seventh Kansas cavalry. (Adams.)
- Netawaka, Jackson.—From Indian term, meaning "fine view."
- Newton, Harvey.—For Newton, Mass.
- Nickerson, Reno.—For Thomas Nickerson, president A. T. & S. F. railroad.
- Norton, Norton.—For Capt. Orloff Norton, Fifteenth Kansas cavalry. (Editor *Courier*.)
- Nortonville, Jefferson.—For L. Norton, jr., then roadmaster of the A. T. & S. F. Railroad Company. (L. F. Randolph.)
- Norwich, Kingman.—For Norwich, Conn., his native town, by Mr. Burns, superintendent of the Missouri Pacific. (Cloud.)
- Oakley, Logan.—For Mrs. Eliza Oakley Gardner, by her son, David D. Hoag, of Kansas City, Kan.
- Oberlin, Decatur.—For Oberlin, Ohio. (Editor *Eye*.)
- Ogden, Riley.—For Maj. E. A. Ogden, U. S. A., founder of Fort Riley.
- Oketo, Marshall.—For the head chief of Otoe Indians, Arkaketah. His name was shortened by the settlers to Oketo.
- Olathe, Johnson.—Shawnee for "beautiful."
- Onaga, Pottawatomie.—From Onago, a Pottawatomie Indian name, selected from the head-rights book of the tribe by R. W. Jenkins, with final "o" changed to "a" by Paul E. Havens, secretary Kansas Central railroad.
- Oneida, Nemaha.—For Oneida, Knox county, Illinois.
- Osage City, Osage.—For Osage Indians; means "strong." (B.)
- Osage Mission, Neosho.—For mission established by Jesuits in 1847. (Brunt.)
- Osawatomie, Miami.—Combination of Osage and Pottawatomie, at the junction of which streams the town is situated.
- Osborne, Osborne.—For V. B. Osborn, private Second Kansas cavalry. (Adams.)
- Oskaloosa, Jefferson.—For Oskaloosa, Iowa. (*Independent*, March 15, 1890.)
- Oswego, Labette.—For Oswego, N. Y. (Case.)
- Ottawa, Franklin.—For the Ottawa Indians. "Traders," who formerly lived on the town site.
- Paola, Miami.—For Baptiste Peoria; Indian pronunciation.

- Parker, Linn.—For J. W. Parker, of Atchison, who owned the town site and sixteen quarter-sections adjoining, now in apple orchards. (Andreas.)
- Parkerville, Morris.—For C. G. Parker, on whose land it was built. (Andreas.)
- Parsons, Labette.—For Judge Levi Parsons, one of the builders of the M. K. & T. railroad.
- Pawnee Rock, Barton.—For a rocky promontory known by that name which juts out upon the bottom land of the Arkansas river at this point, on the old Pawnee and Santa Fe trails to the south and west.
- Peabody, Marion.—For F. H. Peabody, of Boston, president A. T. & S. F. railroad.
- Perry, Jefferson.—For John D. Perry, president U. P. railway, eastern division. (*Oskaloosa Independent*, March 15, 1890.)
- Phillipsburg, Phillips.—For Col. Wm. A. Phillips.
- Pittsburg, Crawford.—For Pittsburgh, Pa.
- Plainville, Rooks.—For the plain upon which it is situated, a divide between the Solomon and Saline rivers. (*Prentiss, Champion*, July 23, 1881.)
- Pleasanton, Linn.—For Gen. Alfred Pleasanton; town on battle-ground. (Postmaster.)
- Pomona, Franklin.—By J. H. Wheatston for the goddess of fruit; "Pomona," his apple orchard in that vicinity, being then the largest in the state. (P. P. Elder.)
- Powhattan, Brown.—For the old post-office of Powhattan, in the same township, named in honor of the Virginian chieftain. The township, formerly Loch-nane, also took the name of the post-office.)
- Pratt, Pratt.—For county, named for Lieut. Caleb Pratt. (Glendenning.)
- Prescott, Linn.—For C. H. Prescott, who was auditor and treasurer of the M. R. F. S. & G. railroad. (Andreas.)
- Quenemo, Osage.—For an Ottawa Indian, Quenemo, who lived among the Sacs and Foxes in the neighborhood of Melvern.
- Randolph, Riley.—For Gardner Randolph, who came in 1855 from the South, and with his family settled a large tract of land near the mouth of Fancy creek; originally called Waterville. (F. B. Vawter.)
- Reading, Lyon.—For Reading, Pa. (Andreas, p. 869.)
- Republic, Republic.—For the county; named for the Republican band of the Pawnee Indians, formerly located in the county.
- Richfield, Morton.—Named by A. T. Spotswood, who laid it out and thought it would prove a "rich field." (Price.)
- Robinson, Brown.—For Gov. Charles Robinson, by Chas. B. Ellis, who surveyed and owned the original town site. (Mrs. Ellis.)
- Rosedale, Wyandotte.—For the mass of wild roses on the site; selected by Maj. E. Henning, superintendent, and Colonel Prescott, surgeon, of the Fort Scott & Gulf railroad. (Frank Holsinger.)
- Rossville, Shawnee.—For W. W. Ross, agent of the Pottawatomie Indians. (G. W. Veale.)
- Russell, Russell.—For Avra P. Russell, captain company K, Second Kansas cavalry. (Adams.)
- Sabetha, Nemaha.—Probably a corruption of the word Sabbath; because a temporary fort was established on Sunday, and town named for fort.
- St. John, Stafford.—For Gov. John P. St. John. (Hoffman.)
- St. Mary's, Pottawatomie.—A Catholic mission. (Adams.)
- St. Paul, Neosho.—Originally Osage Mission. The name was changed, and that of the Apostle St. Paul adopted. (J. M. B.)

- Santa Fe, Haskell.—For Santa Fe, N. M., the trail, and the railroad. (John J. Miller.)
- Scammon, Cherokee.—For four brothers from Illinois who settled in that vicinity, and later laid out the town, which at first was spelled "Scammonville." (P. Graham.)
- Scandia, Republic.—Colonized by Scandinavian Agricultural Society, of Chicago, a contraction of New Scandinavia.
- Salina, Saline.—A fancy of Colonel Phillips, partly for river. (Phillips.)
- Scott, Scott.—For Gen. Winfield Scott.
- Scranton, Osage.—For Scranton, Pa.
- Sedan, Chautauqua.—For Sedan, France, named about the time of the German victory, 1870, by E. K. Parris, founder. (Adrian Reynolds.)
- Sedgwick, Harvey.—For Gen. John Sedgwick. (Adams.) Named before the change in boundary lines, when Sedgwick was in nearly the center of Sedgwick county. (H. S. Mueller.)
- Seneca, Nemaha.—For Seneca county, Ohio, by founders who had lived there.
- Severance, Doniphan.—For one of the three proprietors of the town site. (Andreas, p. 490.)
- Severy, Greenwood.—For L. Severy, of Emporia, a director of the Santa Fe. The town had first been called "Gould," but changed with the advent of the Santa Fe.
- Sharon, Barber.—Founded by members of the Christian church, and name suggested by the scriptural allusion to the "Rose of Sharon." (T. A. McNeal.)
- Sharon Springs, Wallace.—For sulphur springs in the locality. First called Eagle Tail, for the creek on which it was situated. (Chas. C. Ward.)
- Silver Lake, Shawnee.—From the lake formed by the bend in the Kansas river at that point. (Andreas.)
- Smith Center, Smith.—County-seat and near center of Smith county, which was named for Maj. J. Nelson Smith, Second Colorado volunteers. (Adams.)
- Soldier, Jackson.—In Soldier township, which takes its name from Soldier creek.
- Solomon, Dickinson.—At mouth of Solomon river, a corruption of "Salmon." (Phillips.)
- South Haven, Sumner.—For South Haven, Mich., at the suggestion of the Dye brothers, early settlers from Michigan. (Chas. Spencer.)
- Spearsville, Ford.—For Alden Speare, of Boston, a promoter of the A. T. & S. F. railroad.
- Spivey, Kingman.—For Capt. R. M. Spivey, president Arkansas Valley Town and Land Company.
- Spring Hill, Johnson.—For Spring Hill, Ala. (Andreas.)
- Stafford, Stafford.—For Capt. Lewis Stafford, a soldier and Andersonville prisoner. (Sullinger.)
- Sterling, Rice.—For Sterling township, which was named in honor of Sterling Rosan, father of C. W. and J. H. D. Rosan, early settlers, from New York, who asked the privilege. (W. E. Nicholas.)
- Stockton, Rooks.—For Stockton, Cal. (Dunaway & Wiley.) First settlers were cattle dealers, and named the town Stocktown, afterward changed to Stockton. (Andreas.)
- Strong, Chase.—For W. B. Strong, president A. T. & S. F. Railroad Company. (E. Wilder.)
- Summerfield, Marshall.—For E. Summerfield, of Lawrence, Kan., an officer of the K. C. Wyandotte & N. W. railroad. (J. H. Murphy.)

- Sylvan Grove, Lincoln.—The town was first situated about one mile southwest of the present site, and named for the twin groves on the north bank of the Saline river. (St. Clair & Smith.)
- Syracuse, Hamilton.—For Syracuse, N. Y. (Lester.)
- Thayer, Neosho.—For Nathaniel Thayer, of Boston, a capitalist, who furnished the money to build the L. L. & G. railroad. (O. Chanute.) (O. E. Learnard.)
- Tonganoxie, Leavenworth.—For a Delaware Indian, who kept a stopping place in early times near the present town site. (C. R. Green.)
- Topeka, Shawnee.—From an Indian term, meaning "a good place to dig potatoes," the root of a species of sunflower found on the lowlands of the Kansas river. (Dunbar.)
- Tribune, Greeley.—For the New York *Tribune*, Greeley's paper.
- Troy, Doniphan.—For the ancient city of Troy, Asia Minor, by Jas. R. Whitehead, county clerk. (Henry Boder, jr.)
- Udall, Cowley.—For Cornelius Udall.
- Ulysses, Grant.—For Gen. U. S. Grant.
- Uniontown, Bourbon.—Name occurring in many places in the United States in combination with other words, such as town, ville, etc., all in reference to Union. (Gannett.)
- Valley Center, Sedgwick.—In the center of the valley of the Arkansas. (S. C. Timmons.)
- Valley Falls, Jefferson.—In the valley of the Delaware river, and near rapids. (Adams.)
- Vermillion, Marshall.—For the stream, Black Vermillion, on which it is situated.
- Vining, Clay.—For E. P. Vining, an officer of the U. P. Railway Company. (U. S. Banner.)
- Wa Keeney, Trego.—For the founders, A. E. Warren and J. F. Keeney.
- Wakefield, Clay.—For the Rev. Richard Wake, one of the founders.
- Walnut, Crawford.—Situated on Little Walnut creek.
- Walton, Harvey.—In honor of a stockholder of the A. T. & S. F. railroad.
- Wallace, Wallace.—City and county for Gen. W. H. L. Wallace, killed at Shiloh. (Wilson.)
- Wamego, Pottawatomie.—Named for a Pottawatomie chief; means "running waters," or, "many towns." (Beal and Chilcott.)
- Waterville, Marshall.—For Waterville, N. Y., by Major Osborne, the contractor and builder of the C. B. U. P. railroad. (M. Delaney.)
- Wathena, Doniphan.—For Wathena, a Kickapoo chief, who settled there in 1852. (Andreas, p. 494.)
- Washington, Washington.—Either for Washington, N. Y., residence of Colonel Osborne, contractor C. B. U. P. railroad, or for General Washington. (Adams, and editor *Republican*.)
- Waverly, Coffey.—For Waverly, Ind., by Andrew Pierson, who laid out the town, for his old home. (O. J. Rose.)
- Weir, Cherokee.—For T. M. Weir; the founder. (Andreas, p. 1169.)
- Wellington, Sumner.—For the Duke of Wellington.
- Wellsville, Franklin.—For D. L. Wells, a railroad contractor. (P. P. Elder.)
- Westmoreland, Pottawatomie.—From the post-office, named in 1860 by John McKimens, first postmaster, for Westmoreland, Pennsylvania, his native county.
- Wetmore, Nemaha.—For W. T. Wetmore, vice-president of the C. P. U. P.
- White City, Morris.—For F. C. White, superintendent U. P., southern branch, 1870-'71. (F. B. Harris.) (G. W. Martin.)

White Church, Wyandotte.—A white church had been built there in pre-territorial times, and the post-office took the name.

White Cloud, Doniphan.—For Ma-hush-kah, an Indian chief. (What tribe?)

White Rock, Republic.—For the stream on which it is situated.

Whitewater, Butler.—For White Water creek, upon which it is situated.

Whiting, Jackson.—For Mrs. Whiting, of Massachusetts, the last wife of Senator S. C. Pomeroy.

Wichita, Sedgwick.—For a band of Wichita Indians, who came with Jesse Chisholm in 1864, when he established a trading post.

Willis, Brown.—For Martin C. Wills, an early settler. (Andreas.) (Wilder.)

Wilson, Ellsworth.—For Hiero T. Wilson, a pioneer who staked out the town. (Coover.)

Winchester, Jefferson.—For Winchester, Va. (*Oskaloosa Independent*, March 15, 1890.)

Windom, McPherson.—For Wm. Windom, United States secretary of the treasury; first called Laura. (C. S. Lendell.)

Winfield, Cowley.—For the Rev. Winfield Scott, of Leavenworth.

Yates Center, Woodson.—For Abner Yates, the owner.

COL. RICHARD J. HINTON.

Written by WILLIAM E. CONNELLEY,* of Topeka, for the Kansas State Historical Society.

COL. RICHARD J. HINTON, the friend of Kansas, and one of her pioneer settlers and soldiers, died in London December 20, 1901. With other business he had there at that time was the collection of material for a historical volume to be called "The John Brown Papers." This work was under way by him and the present writer. He believed there existed on the subject some valuable papers abroad, and he hoped to find them. Word came to his friends in America that his health was failing, but he had rallied from the very grave's brink so often that all hoped he would recover at least sufficient strength to enable him to return to his adopted land—his home in very truth. But it could not be so, and the end came rather suddenly. When word came of his death it brought sadness and grief to thousands of friends in the United States, many of them in Kansas, where he lived so long and labored so well. Extensive biogra-

*WILLIAM ELSEY CONNELLEY was born in Johnson county, Kentucky, March 15, 1855. His father was a soldier in the Union army during the civil war. The family came from Armagh, Ireland, and settled in South Carolina about 1685, and were among the founders of Charleston. The family furnished several soldiers to the armies of the American revolution. After the revolution they moved to North Carolina, and thence to Kentucky, which state they explored with Boone and Harmon. The Connelleys intermarried with the Blairs, who founded Princeton University. Wm. E. Connelley's father was a cousin of Francis P. Blair, sr., and his mother descended from William Burke, who was a soldier in the revolution in "Lee's Legion," commanded by "Light Horse Harry" Lee. Mr. Connelley began teaching school in Kentucky at the age of seventeen, and taught there for ten years. He came to Kansas in April, 1881, and was principal of the public schools of Bonner Springs, Wyandotte county. In 1882 he was appointed deputy county clerk of that county; elected county clerk in 1883, and reelected in 1885. Some four or five years ago he moved to Topeka, where he now resides. Mr. Connelley never wasted a minute of his time, and when not engaged in current business he delved into the history of the Wyandottes, or some other subject of a historical or ethnological nature. He has prepared the only vocabulary of the Wyandotte nation, and has done much work for the bureau of ethnology concerning the Wyandottes, Delawares, Shawnees, and other tribes. He has prepared many manuscripts concerning these Indians and also relating to the history of Kentucky, Ohio, and the Virginias, and, in addition, he has studied thoroughly the history of Kansas and Nebraska. His works written and published are: "Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory" (Kan-

phies of him were written and published in the press. In one of these, his lifelong friend, F. B. Sanborn, Esq., in the Springfield (Mass.) *Republican*, said:

"Hinton had gone into Kansas in the autumn of 1856 with an armed company from Massachusetts, under the lead of Martin Stowell, of Worcester; the arms he carried, he says, were given him by Theodore Parker and by Dr. William F. Channing, then of Boston, and who died in Boston last year. He first met Brown at or near Plymouth,* in northern Kansas, but had no extended conversation with him until two years later, June 25, 1858, at Lawrence. He yielded allegiance to the resolute old man, and enrolled himself in his company for future service, but never did engage in any contest, I think, under his lead. Generally he pursued his chosen calling of printer, reporter, and journalist—now here, now there—and was always found on the right side. From Kansas he took service in the civil war, and rose to be lieutenant colonel. Afterward he was a Washington correspondent, etc., and the author of many magazine articles and several books, the most important being "John Brown and his Men," published in 1894 by Funk & Wagnalls, New York. Long practice and the educative experience of journalism made him an easy and often a forcible writer; and he was as accurate as rapid journalists are apt to be, though not very exact in his research and compilation of authorities. Like the proverbial rolling stone, he gathered little of the moss, either of conservatism or of property; but his warmth of heart, his sanguine hope of the future and his attachment to the good old cause of freedom were as vivid when we last corresponded as when I first made his acquaintance and was indebted to him for friendly services again and again. He had passed the scriptural limit of threescore and ten, but, as Doctor Channing said of himself, Hinton was 'always young for liberty.'"

The following sketch of Colonel Hinton is an outline only, brief and incomplete. The real man must be sought in his extensive writings; he had the faculty of imparting his strong personality to what he wrote. He was an earnest man, and his convictions were strong. You always knew he could be found decidedly and aggressively on one side or the other—very seldom, indeed, on the wrong side. He was intensely democratic in his sympathies, and he championed the rights of the people. No man was ever a more thorough believer in the declaration of independence.

Hinton was born in London, England, November 26, 1830. His early life was one of hardship—a struggle for bread. He was brought up to labor, learning the stone-cutter's trade. But he was ever brave and sanguine; discouraging circumstances proved his greatest blessing, for they developed in him those sturdy qualities for which the Briton is so world-famous. Small of size, he was full of energy and ambition; while doing the same work performed by much larger boys, his labor was but half done when the shop closed, for he spent many hours poring over his books. By his own efforts he secured a fair education. He was a profound student, even in youth, and the labor he did only developed the qualities of mind and heart which made him ponder deeply the condition of those who struggled for their daily bread. Political, social and economic ques-

sas); "James Henry Laue, the Grim Chieftain of Kansas"; "Wyandotte Folklore"; "Kansas Territorial Governors"; and "John Brown." Hon. Eugene F. Ware thus writes of Mr. Connelley as a historian: "An author who writes to preserve the truth. An author of this class must have the historic instinct; he must be a man of candor, of fairness, and of worldly experience; he must want the truth to prevail; he must desire to instruct and benefit. Men of this kind don't have time to make money—they have other ambitions. Their capital is their experience and their integrity. They know that nothing is so immortal as a good book. They know that such books have and will outlast the palaces of Sargon and the obelisks of Rameses." To this class of writers Mr. Ware says Mr. Connelley belongs.

*"THURSDAY, August 7.—Kansas Territory, Pony creek, four miles from the boundary.—. . . On Friday we left a party of seventy men and one family back at the first place we camped in Kansas, near the head of Pony creek, right on the direct road for emigrants, to found a town under the name of Plymouth." (Extract from Colonel Hinton's manuscript diary of 1856, while in company with Massachusetts emigrants through Iowa and Nebraska.)

tions were his favorite studies. He became a republican, and believed the citizen should be accorded what nature had given him—the fullest liberty consistent with stable government, and that special privileges should be enjoyed by none. It was plain to him that the sources of all power in government are in the people. Being of this faith, he came to regard America as the most congenial country for him, and he determined to make it his home. He saw in this land of freedom broader opportunities, and he turned to it as so many others of his countrymen and our kindred have done. He had in him that spirit of adventure and that daring and contempt for danger and hardship which have given so much of the habitable globe to the Anglo-Saxons. It was of no concern that he left his native land with little more than would carry him to the hospitable shores of the new England founded by his race beyond the Atlantic. He was sure to find useful and honorable work to do, and he knew that duty nobly done would gain him recognition and friends.

This adventurous young man landed in New York in June, 1851, before he had attained his majority. It was his intention to get a more liberal education. He learned the printer's trade, and while supporting himself by laboring in this occupation he studied medicine and also graduated in the profession of topographical engineering. Besides, he mastered the art of shorthand writing, a study of which he had begun in England, and was employed as a reporter by different newspapers in New York and Boston. The fugitive-slave law was then being put into effective force, and the brutalities of it engaged his sympathetic nature and aroused his sense of justice. It was impossible for one with his conceptions of the rights of man to remain aloof and neutral in such a conflict as was then raging in the United States. He espoused the cause of the oppressed, and was soon numbered as one of the champions of freedom. He made the acquaintance of the leaders of this cause, and became an antislavery advocate. Mr. Hinton was among the first to recognize the need of the immediate organization of a national party to oppose the aggressions of the slave power, and he assisted in the formation of the republican party. He did valiant work for the election of his friend Fremont, whose phenomenal popularity, together with the enthusiasm with which the young party he represented was received, so nearly made him president of the United States in the first election after the formal organization of the republican party. The interest aroused throughout the country in the affairs of Kansas attracted Mr. Hinton, and early in 1856 he determined to cast his lot with the struggling patriots of the territory. This resolution was due most largely to the conviction that the issue of freedom for Kansas meant that of emancipation also for the slave states.

Young Hinton set out for Kansas in June. His journal of this journey is in the library of the Kansas State Historical Society, and it proves a valuable contribution to Kansas history. Under date of June 24, it says: "Shall see New York in the morning, and then westward for Kansas. . . . Kansas is the word, and the overruling Father of Love alone knows what will be my fate there. One thing I do know, and that is I shall not shrink from my duty, be it what it may." Right bravely and nobly said! And to his honor it can be affirmed that he lived up to this high resolution. He came to fight with sword or pen, or both, as circumstances might demand. On the road his company learned of the capture of a number of free-state emigrants that had preceded them—learned that the border ruffians had captured, disarmed and turned back the party as it was passing up the Missouri river. He reflected upon this circumstance, and the conclusion arrived at is recorded for us in his journal, as follows: "I trust that if it should be our fate to encounter a body of these scoundrels [the border ruffians],

we may prove true to New England and liberty. I shall not be willing to give up my arms without a struggle, and trust

"That I may not fall defeated,
Sore with wounds or faint with heat,
Ere one haughty foe lies trampled
And disarmed beneath my feet."

The journey to the West was a continual revelation to him. The vast resources and extent of the country stirred his enthusiasm and fortified his resolution to do and dare for liberty. He wrote: "Every facility seems here to have been heaped by the Father's hand that a free nation would require to make it great and glorious. Magnificent lakes, grand navigable rivers, broad fertile fields, valleys and prairies, with wild forests, mountains, cataracts, and torrents, all combine to make its soil a paradise and the fit home of a happy people. All this is to be put in peril to satisfy the wild ambition of a few men who, living under a bane, want to extend its blight and mildew all over the broad expanse of Western lands. God forbid that this should be; and if strong arms, brave hearts and noble principles will conquer, the votaries of freedom must triumph."

The route selected for the company with which Hinton came led from New York to Buffalo; from Buffalo the company went by steamer to Detroit; thence by rail to Chicago and Iowa City, the latter then the westernmost point reached by railroad; thence by wagon-train to Nebraska. The journal mentioned before relates in detail the many incidents of the journey. We have not space to enumerate them in this brief sketch. We shall give the entry describing the entrance of this company into the promised land. It was consolidated with many other companies of patriotic pilgrims, all of whom made up that body of freedom-loving people who carried such consternation to the ruffian hordes, and who were known as "Lane's Army of the North." They crossed the north line of Kansas territory on the day made glorious in our annals by their entrance—August 7, 1856. Of this event, so full of import to Kansas and the free-state cause, Hinton wrote:

"KANSAS TERRITORY, PONY CREEK,
(Four miles from the boundary.)

THURSDAY, August 7, 1856.

"Walking across the prairies, the appearance of our train was remarkable. Extending from one end to the other, the distance was probably not less than three-quarters of a mile. If a person could have stood on some hilltop in the distance and watched our passage, he would have supposed us to have been at least a thousand strong. What a mighty movement did this seem to me, when viewing our route and calling to mind the primary cause of our being here! Never in the annals of the world has such a sight as greets my eyes been seen by the world. Over the ruffled ocean of human progression, when the long-drawn shadows of the future shall be fainter and the pathway open, our movement will glisten and glow, a living beacon to guide, direct and teach a glorious truth and a grand example of heroism to those struggling mariners who, in the storm-tossed bark, may be seeking the haven of freedom.

"In the train now moving there are fifty-three wagons, with teams of oxen or horses, some twenty-five horsemen, and over five hundred other persons on foot. . . . This morning we started at about seven, and at about ten crossed the Kansas line. For the first time I stood upon her soil, and, after six weeks of toil and fatigue, have reached the promised land. My heart is too full to find words to express my thoughts, and it seems hard to realize that we are on the prairies destined by the slave oligarchy to be blackened by the hell of men in bondage. But the good God who provides for all, in His infinite providence, will not let this evil 'fall upon us and overcome us like a summer cloud.' The fair prospects of humanity must not be blotted, nor the hope of the world blasted."

The company in which Hinton came determined to found a town on the direct road for emigrants, under the name of Lexington, and this delusive enterprise

detained him for some time. The record he has left of it is quite interesting, and is as follows:

"SATURDAY, August 9, 1856.—Yesterday our party consisting of twenty-eight men; the Fremont independent company, of twenty-one persons, under the direction of H. S. Dean; the Moline company, nine members, under J. P. Wheeler—in all, fifty-seven persons—formed a city association to organize and raise the city of Lexington, Worcester county, Kansas territory. The government of the association is vested in a president, one vice-president, treasurer, secretary, and five councilmen. Held a meeting, and elected, as president, Martin Stowell, formerly of Worcester, Mass.; vice-president, H. S. Deau, same place; secretary, T. L. Merritt, from St. Lawrence county, New York; treasurer, J. P. Wheeler, from Worcester county, Massachusetts; first councilman, J. O. B. Dunning, of Texas; second councilman, M. C. Brewster, Montrose, Susquehanna county, Pennsylvania; third councilman, Frank D. Drake, of Maine; fourth councilman, Asa Jaquith, Fitchburg, Mass.; fifth councilman, O. F. Robinson, Lévi Station, Kane county, Illinois. After electing officers the city was named. Quite an exciting vote was taken on that subject, one side wanting it Worcester, the others Lexington. Lexington carried the day. We shall now have a city of that glorious old title, that will not disgrace, as its Missouri neighbor has done, the hallowed associations that cluster in beauty around it. From our Lexington shall go forth, we hope, brave deeds and pure patriotism, such as made the days of '76 full of living light and glorious hopes, and reared a goal for all the world to march to. From the plains of Kansas shall ring out a brave tune for humanity to march, whose music shall fill the soldiers of progress with martial ardor, and in clarion tones sound the name and glory of freedom all over the world."

He seems to have been impatient to proceed, for he records, "I must go, for where the work is doing, there must I be." Before this he had written: "Our company work progresses very slowly. The house is about six logs high and the well about twenty feet deep. No one seems to have any energy, or to care whether it is done or not. For myself, I am fast losing what interest I ever had in it."

On Sunday, August 31, 1856, Hinton arrived at Lawrence, "very tired and weary, but, fortunately for my comfort, I met a friend, Henry Sullivan, from New York, who insisted upon my sharing his lodgings for a week." Hinton was not idle a day after his arrival, but plunged at once into the business of writing to Eastern papers upon Kansas affairs. His journal shows that he gathered a vast fund of information immediately, and that he had even then a remarkably clear and correct comprehension of the conditions existing in the territory. He wrote for many papers during the stirring times which followed; among them, the *Boston Traveler*, of which he was the regular correspondent; the *Tribune*, *Times*, and *Herald*, of New York; the *Worcester Spy*, *Concord Monitor*, *Cleveland Leader*, *Chicago Tribune*, *Missouri Democrat*, *Anti-slavery Standard*, and *Boston Commonwealth*. He also helped to establish papers in Kansas. In this field of journalism he spent, mainly, the time to the beginning of the civil war.

He was always the friend of the free-state cause, and of the struggling patriots who were striving against such enormous odds and difficulties to make that issue triumphant. He was clear-headed, and the subterfuges introduced by the administration for the purpose of deception never once obscured his vision. He seems to have disliked Lane at first; but after witnessing the tireless energy with which he served the cause of freedom, Hinton became his friend and supporter. He was also charmed with the courage and disinterestedness of John Brown. Here was a man striking at the root of the evil. To do this he was sacrificing his time, strength, means. He put his life in the balance, and counted it as dross; and he gave his sons as freely as he offered his own life. He expected and wished no fee, reward or recompense beyond the approval of

his conscience. Such heroic devotion to the principles of liberty and Christianity aroused the admiration of the younger advocate in the same field. He saw in John Brown one of those men so rare in the history of the world—one who cast everything away but that which he could use for the benefit of humanity. This example of lofty and unselfish patriotism found a response in the heart of the young man who had crossed the Atlantic to enjoy the liberal institutions established here in America by the later generations of his race. It acted upon him as a powerful stimulant to exertion and emulation, and the inspiration remained with him through life. John Brown invited him to go to Harper's Ferry, and business engagements previously entered into are perhaps the only causes which prevented his having been in the army of the "first invasion," whose ranks he made at the time of attack a persistent and dangerous effort to reach. The majority of those who did go were the associates and intimate friends of Hinton—and a man was hung for him by the Virginians!

After the civil war began, Hinton, early in 1862, was appointed and mustered first lieutenant (adjutant) to recruit and command colored soldiers,* being the first so appointed in the United States. He served in the Union army three years and four months. When he was mustered out, in November, 1865, he bore the rank of brevet colonel, and was acting inspector general of the Freedmen's Bureau. In the early months of the struggle for the Union he was sent South from Washington on important secret-service work, for doing which he received the personal thanks of President Lincoln.

After the close of the war Colonel Hinton remained in Washington for some years in his old profession as correspondent. Later, he went on extensive travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa. He was a very active contributor to the current magazines and other publications of his time. He edited with ability the *Boston Daily News*, *San Francisco Evening Post*, and *Washington Sunday Gazette*. In Kansas he was editorial or special writer on the *Register*, *Times*, *Conservative*, and *Bulletin*, in Leavenworth; on the *Kansas News*, and *Atchison Champion*. In all these varied labors of workman, writer, and soldier, he remained a student. He read law extensively, and was admitted to the bar.

In addition to his labors as a journalist, he labored extensively and well in other fields. In 1858 he wrote, with James Redpath, a "Guide-book to Kansas and Pike's Peak." In 1860 he wrote and published the "Lives" of William H. Seward and Abraham Lincoln. In 1866 he brought out his "The Army of the Border," a history of the Price raid of 1864. In 1874 he published, in a series of brief biographies, "English Radical Leaders." While in San Francisco he prepared and published (in 1879) a "Handbook of Arizona." In collaboration with Col. Frank A. Burr, he was the author of a "Life of Gen. Philip Henry Sheridan." And though so occupied in these fields, he found time to contribute to monthly periodicals extensive and exhaustive articles on literary, historical, economic and scientific subjects. Some of the magazines to which he contributed are as follows: *Continental*, *Atlantic*, *Scribner's* (old style), *Galaxy*, *Kansas Magazine*, *North American*, *Forum*, *National Review*, *Frank Leslie's*

*"The second regiment in order of muster was the 'First Kansas Colored,' dating from January 13, 1863. The first enlistment in the Kansas regiment goes back to August 6, 1862, while the earliest technical date of enlistment in my regiment was October 19, 1862; although, as was stated above, one company really dated its organization back to May, 1862. My muster as colonel dates back to November 10, 1862, several months earlier than any other of which I am aware among colored regiments, except that of Colonel Stafford (First Louisiana Native Guards), September 27, 1862. Colonel Williams, of the 'First Kansas Colored,' was mustered as lieutenant colonel on January 13, 1863; as colonel, March 8, 1863. These dates I have (with the other facts relating to the regiment) from Col. R. J. Hinton, the first officer detailed to recruit it." ("Army Life in a Black Regiment," 1882, by T. W. Higginson.)

Monthly, and *The Chautauquan*, In his list we must include *The Victoria Magazine*, *Westminster*, and others, both of English and French periodicals.

The greatest work written by Colonel Hinton is "John Brown and his Men." This he published in 1894, and it is in many respects the leading biography of the men who went to Harper's Ferry. No other writer had so intimate an acquaintance with Brown's men as did Colonel Hinton. In no other work can so complete an account of their lives and achievements be found.

Another charming and valuable work for which we are indebted to Colonel Hinton is the "Poems of Richard Realf." This was published in 1898. Realf was one of the real poets. He gave several years of his life to the cause of liberty in Kansas. His talents were great. The inspiration he obtained in Kansas made him sublime. His pages burn with fervent patriotism. His heart bled for Kansas and her wrongs. Here he added to his genius the title of the friend of humanity. He wrote much, but made no effort to preserve his writings. For many years Colonel Hinton sought them out with great diligence, and the result of his labors is the charming volume mentioned. It is a contribution to the literature of Kansas. The indomitable and unconquerable spirit of our fathers breathes through the glowing lines of the brilliant writer. In a small volume, published by Crane & Co., Topeka, he preserved additional lyrics written by Realf for Kansas, its sufferings, and noble deeds. The biography of the poet, by Colonel Hinton, will long remain an addition to literature and a tribute to genius, tender and faithful.

Colonel Hinton held many official positions. Among them we mention the following: Reporter constitutional convention, 1858, Leavenworth. Reporter court of impeachment, Kansas, 1862. Lieutenant, adjutant, captain, and brevet lieutenant colonel (volunteers), Union army. Commissioner of emigration in Europe, 1867. Inspector United States consulates in Europe. Special agent of President Grant to Vienna, 1873. Special agent treasury and state departments on the frontier and in Mexico, 1883. Irrigation engineer United States geological survey, 1889-'90. Special agent in charge department of agriculture, April, 1890, to May, 1892, of the United States artesian and underflow investigation, and of the irrigation inquiry. In these latter capacities he wrote nine volumes of reports, all extensive and large; these reports are accepted as the highest authority in the work they cover. In addition to these, he made a report to the United States in 1869, on the "Decline of American Tonnage." Other reports by him are as follows: On "Labor Questions," in 1871-'72, and in 1884-'85; on "Agriculture in Mexico," 1883; on the "Commerce of the Mediterranean," 1873-'74; on "Reciprocity in Mexico," 1883.

Colonel Hinton was elected an honorary member of various scientific and other societies in Europe and America.

Colonel Hinton was a devoted friend of Kansas for more than forty years. He came here young and full of enthusiasm. He was from the first a graphic writer, and was indignant at the treatment, outrageous and diabolical, inflicted upon Kansas and her people by the border ruffians, and at the injustice heaped upon her people by the government of the United States. His letters were among the best and most reliable sent from the territory. They were not overdrawn, but were full, clear, incisive, always coming to the vital point at once. They were the result of deep conviction; their strength lay in their earnest sincerity. He was quick to discern between real and sham patriots, and was not slow to criticize derelictions of duty. This earned him the ill will of some of the territorial editors, but no higher nor better proof of his sincerity could exist than this enmity. He served through the civil war in Kansas regiments. After the war he stood for

Kansas in newspaper, book, and magazine. The memory of her noble sons was his chief concern, and manfully and ably did he defend them from the vile assaults of the sham patriot and the defamer. He fought our battles, wrote our history, enriched our literature. He earned our gratitude, and his memory deserves well at our hands. He was entirely unselfish in his labors, and we never gave him the credit he earned. In a conversation with the late Judge Franklin G. Adams, secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society, D. W. Wilder said:

"Hinton was a thoroughly good man. He has done good literary work for Kansas.

"In 1861 I published a little thing in the Leavenworth *Conservative* about Hinton. The next day he came to me with tears in his eyes and said, 'That is the first kind thing a Kansas paper has said about me.' You know he was of English birth, and dropped his 'h's,' and the boys all made sport of him. He showed through the war, in the organization of the gallant troops and companies, that he was a man of really genuine manhood."

Colonel Hinton leaves two sons, both identified with Western interests and associations. The elder, George F., has been editor and writer in California, Idaho, and Utah. He is now manager of the famous Sousa band. The younger, Ralph, lives, on account of his health, in the Southwest, and is well known as a brilliant young writer in El Paso and New Mexico. He is now on the editorial staff of the *New Mexico Republican*, at Santa Fe. Colonel Hinton's wife, Mrs. Isabella H. Hinton, a lady of culture and refinement, and, like himself, a native of England, survives him.

The earnest love of Colonel Hinton for Kansas, and his deep solicitation for the memory of his collaborators in the struggle to make Kansas free, are perhaps most clearly seen in the notable address, "On the Nationalization of Freedom," which he delivered in January, 1900, before the Kansas State Historical Society, at its annual meeting. In that scholarly speech he eloquently set forth the place that Kansas holds in the nation's great struggle, framing its story in the massive outlines he gave of the long and most severe struggle for an equilibrium of votes and power in the United States senate, definitely beginning in 1814 and continuing down until chattelism received a final blow in the culmination of freedom for Kansas in 1860-'61. He skilfully grouped this struggle around the persons of John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina, and Thomas Hart Benton, of Missouri. The sincere, even pathetic interest Colonel Hinton continued to maintain in Kansas and its historical well-doing, is illustrated by a sonnet which is embodied in the address referred to, and which is given here:

"As the dust-drawn valves of memory dim
Swing slowly unto the rhythm of that hymn
Which time is chanting now, I see the dawn
That, when freedom's low notes were piping slim,
With all the future still in doubtful pawn,
Made rugged men but gird their loins more grim,
Until through the night's gray shades so forlorn
We heard the breathing of the growing corn.

"I see the fields so fair that toil hath won;
I hear glad voices that grow with western sun;
I know the wilderness in blood made quick,
And roads that human feet are thronging thick;
So here I feel the youthful service sweet,
And learn such gifts their rip'ning fruits shall greet."

PATRIOTISM AND EDUCATION IN THE METHODIST CHURCH.

An address by JOHN SPEER,* delivered May 31, 1898, at the fortieth anniversary of Baker University.

THIS is a memorable occasion in the history of Kansas. In forming a new commonwealth, the first essential action is a recognition of the reigning power of the universe in the establishment of its religious institutions, and only secondary thereto is the organization of schools.

The denomination which established Baker University† is here to celebrate the fortieth anniversary of the college's existence. It emanated from one of the leading churches, in the advance of Christian civilization. This denomination placed itself from the beginning aggressively in the forefront of the battle against the extension of a barbarity which its great founder more than a century before had declared was "the sum of all villainies"—the institution of slavery. The estimated value of property involved in the perpetuation of that institution was stated by Horace Greeley, at Osawatomie, Kan., May 18, 1858, to amount to 3000 millions of dollars. What fearful aggregate of wealth to confront! Nevertheless, the Methodist Episcopal church, in solid phalanx, heroically met the issue at the very outset of the organization of Kansas.

From the day that Wesley hurled his anathema against the slave code and the slave trade, the Methodist church aggregately sustained their heroic leader in his position.

Still, there were many individuals in that church who were interested in the profits of the institution, and in sympathy with them were vast numbers of kindred and friends. But righteousness prevailed, and the dissolution of the church followed. That dissolution not only cemented the bonds of unity in the church triumphant, but gathered strength from the liberty-loving people of America as well as other nationalities; and when the act organizing Kansas became a law, that church embodied more conscientious Christians in its ranks for freedom in Kansas than any other religious body in the world. Other religious organizations spoke out in their representative capacities, in synods, in conventions, and otherwise; but the Methodist church was a unit for freedom. The dissenting brotherhood which had broken away from the principal body, known as the Methodist Church South, comprising perhaps one-fourth of the original organization, was correspondingly active and defiant in its support of slavery; and in more than a figurative sense the hand of brother was raised against brother in the conflict which resulted in the greatest war of the century, if not in the whole history of the world.

The slavery branch of Methodism in the adjoining state of Missouri was not only boldly aggressive, but, in its proximity to Kansas, largely in the majority. Your speaker traveled through all the settled portions of Kansas territory to Tecumseh (four miles east of Topeka), arriving there September 30, 1854, where he proposed to start an antislavery newspaper, but was seriously admonished against such wickedness by a minister of the Church South, who informed him that the patriarchs and the apostles sustained and practiced slavery, that Paul

*See foot-note, pages 230, 231, this volume.

†See foot-note, page 425, this volume.

sent Onesimus back to his master, and commanded "servants to obey their masters." I evaded a controversy with him by asking him a few questions: "Do you hold that a man cannot be a Christian without being a slaveholder?" "Oh, no," he said; "but he has the same right by Holy Writ to invest in slaves as in lands, cattle, horses, or mules." "Then," said I, "it is merely optional whether a man buys men or mules?" "Yes," he responded. Then I told him, "As a matter of political economy, I prefer the mules. I want to live among schools, churches, and all the enterprises of Christian civilization."

The town proprietor, a slaveholder, refused to allow me any privileges, and I returned to Lawrence. The Topeka pioneer company came along a few weeks after and offered him a bonus of \$5000 and a large share of the town in hand, and \$5000 more in a year, for his 800 acres of land, which he indignantly refused, and Tecumseh became a solitude and Topeka the capital of one of the grandest states of the American Union.

The next experience with Methodism was the following night. I stopped at a store two miles west of Lawrence a little after dark. A rough-looking crowd was hanging around the door, and my brother with me suggested "they must sell liquor there." Not so. We had but reached the tents at Lawrence (afterwards named) when Dr. C. Robinson came to us and told all that were present that a young Methodist minister had just arrived with his bride and was threatened with a mob. That couple were Rev. Thomas J. Ferril and his beautiful young wife. The free-state boys rallied, went out to the new home on the California trail, held a council of war, and negotiated peace for the time being; and the sermons of the bold bridegroom and his songs of praise at the Wakarusa camp-meeting are still ringing in the ears of many of the old-time Kansas Christians all over the state.

There was then a nucleus of Christians in Kansas who preceded all others. They were Methodist Indians. Between-the-Logs and John W. Gray-eyes, of the Delaware nation, were local Methodist ministers, converted under the ministrations of Rev. James B. Finley, at Sandusky, Ohio; Charles Ketchum and Charles and Isaac Johnnycake (if my recollection serves me) were of the same persuasion. Armstrong was an Indian of the Wyandot nation who married the daughter of Rev. Russell Bigelow, a Methodist missionary; and Lucy B. Armstrong, his wife, was a Christian, venerated alike by whites and Indians for her Christian virtues; and one of the presidents of Baker University, Rev. L. L. Hartman, afterwards married her daughter, whom some of you will remember as of a very beautiful type of Indian features, as well as a devout Christian girl.*

Tooley was a Christian Indian of the Shawnees who once communed at a camp-meeting where Rev. H. D. Fisher was the leading presiding elder. On the 17th of May, 1855, with my family, I was a passenger up the Kansas river on the steamer "Emma Harmon," from Kansas City to the Lawrence landing. For about twenty miles we had Tooley as a passenger, and it being the Sabbath, the Rev. Ephraim Nute, a New England Unitarian, delivered a sermon, and Tooley led in prayer in the Shawnee tongue. His prayer was all Shawnee to me, but to Him to whom it was addressed, from the apparently sincere earnestness of the man, it must have been the personification of true eloquence. I asked Tooley what he thought of slavery. Bowing his head momentarily in thought, he repeated, solemnly: "God make him white man; God make him red man; God make him black man; but God never make him slave." When Jefferson uttered the declaration "I tremble

*"The Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory and the Journals of William Walker," by W. E. Connelley, 1899, give much biographical information concerning the individuals mentioned in this paragraph.

for my country when I remember that God is just," he uttered no more eloquent sarcasm against the accursed institution than did the untutored Shawnee on that occasion. Tooley afterwards ferried my brother, Joseph L. Speer,* and me across the Kansas river when we were fleeing from the proslavery forces and the United States army, in the conflict with slavery in 1856, and to the offer of pay he responded: "Take him no money. Good white man."

After the war, seven different nationalities (besides Americans) communed together at a camp-meeting near the Little Wakarusa—English, Irish, Scotch, German, and members of three different tribes of Indians. Perhaps no other denomination, unless we except the small body of Covenanters, and a similar body of Quakers, whose testimony is well-known, have so universally recognized all nationalities and all races as equal in the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. Ignoring the honors and emoluments of government, the Covenanters led in enunciating the Mecklenburg declaration nearly two years before Jefferson penned the declaration of independence. Protesting that they believed in the recognition of the "powers that be," they nevertheless declared that they were of the opinion that the colonists, rather than the oppressive British government, constituted the "powers that be," and solemnly declared that they would prayerfully submit the question to God, and let Him decide it.

We must not forget those distinguished pioneer ministers, Rev. Dr. Abram Still† and Rev. L. B. Dennis,‡ and their ministrations among the pioneers of Kansas in the "times that tried men's souls." Theirs was an unflinching heroism, sustained only by the Almighty.

Doctor Still was both a physician and a minister, a patriot and a philanthropist, whose adventures would read like romance. He told a most amusing story of a perilous journey. He was traveling over the treeless and houseless plains after a destructive rain-storm. A severe cold wind followed which chilled him through and through. He came to a swollen stream, apparently unfordable. Looking around, up and down the stream, he discovered a tree, the long limbs of which extended across it within eight or ten feet of the ground; and on a limb of that tree he saw his only hope of escape to the next house, many miles

*JOSEPH LOWRY SPEER was born October 20, 1826, at Kittanning, Armstrong county, Pennsylvania. He died December 7, 1901, at Speer, Lincoln county, Oklahoma. He was hauling some lumber to his farm, when, in crossing a bridge, a wheel slipped over the edge and his wagon went crashing to the bottom of the canyon, about fifteen feet, the load falling on top of him. He was educated at Baldwin University, Berea, Ohio, paying his tuition by clerking in a store. He was appointed postmaster at Berea by President Taylor, for whom he cast his first ballot. He came to Kansas in September, 1854. He was very prominent in organizing the country for John C. Fremont for president in 1856. He was a political campaigner of great force and interest, and was in demand in Pennsylvania in 1856, Indiana in 1876, and in all the territorial controversies. He was a member of the Kansas legislature in 1871. He lived for many years on a farm in Jefferson county, twelve miles from Topeka. He moved to Oklahoma in 1891.

†REV. ABRAM STILL was born in Buncombe county, N. C., August 25, 1796. He was licensed to preach in the Methodist Episcopal church in 1817, ordained deacon by Bishop McKendree in 1821, and elder by Bishop Soule in 1825. He served in Virginia and Tennessee until 1838, when he migrated to Missouri and labored as minister and practicing physician. At the division of the church in 1844, he adhered to the Methodist Episcopal church, and was appointed presiding elder in the Hannibal and Platte districts. In 1850 he became missionary to the Shawnee Indians, and removed with his family to Kansas in 1851, continuing in this charge for three years. In 1855 he was appointed presiding elder for Kansas by the Missouri conference, and was again appointed to this position by the Kansas and Nebraska conference until 1859. He continued in the work of the church until his death, December 31, 1867. The autobiographies of his daughter, Mary Still Adams, and his son, Dr. Andrew T. Still, give many incidents of his arduous labors on the frontiers of Missouri and Kansas.

‡Rev. L. B. Dennis removed to Iowa in 1865, having been an active member of the Kansas conference since 1856.

away. At once he stripped off all his clothing, but pants and shirt, to unencumber himself in the climbing of the tree and the dangerous experiment of trusting to the swinging limb, where he might be dashed into the water. Placing the clothing as compactly as possible, to secure it against wetting, he tied it upon the saddle, and with a long limb of a tree he forced the mule into the water and saw him swim swiftly ashore and then stop to brouse upon the dead prairie-grass. Up he went into the tree, and then scrambled across and dropped himself down into the brush and grass with a thug which startled the mule and sent it scurrying over the plains as if a wild beast was in its pursuit. Terrible was the dilemma as he shivered in the cold. But at once he dropped upon his knees in earnest prayer that the Lord would stop that mule, as his only rescue. The mule stopped as he advanced upon it, but seeing him coming bereft of nearly all his clothing, it took fright again. There seemed no hope but in prayer, and again he prayed that the Lord would stop that mule; and his prayers were again answered, for the mule stopped. He reached a friendly Indian habitation, ate a wholesome meal of corn bread and milk, over which he asked the Lord for His blessing, and for blessings upon the Indian household. He has told that story at a camp-meeting with such fervor as to melt his audience to tears and rouse them to laughter over his fortunate escape.

We never can forget Rev. Charles H. Lovejoy, * the chaplain of the first free-state legislature.

Much is due the mothers in Israel of those days. No history can do justice to the Christian women of that period. We can only take a bright and shining example to illustrate their heroism, their endurance, and their suffering. It is a sermon in itself to listen to the unadorned story of the venerable Mrs. Cavaness, who, now in her ninety-second year, her husband eighty-nine, are among us to-day living memories of the age of adventure and of heroism. They erected their cabin in Lawrence. In the tragedy of 1856 the battle raged furiously and almost continuously. Her husband and two sons at once rallied in defense of the free-state cause. When the two forces were likely to come together she was warned that her house was in the line of battle and advised to get away. "Well, then," she replied, "if you do not want to kill me, you will have to change your lines. I know of no better place to die than this."

Twenty-seven hundred men advanced on Lawrence and the city was defended by less than 300, under Colonel Learnard, John Brown, Captains Walker and Cracklin; and again her house was endangered, but stay there she would.

She was one of the women who aided in making the big tent† for the first Methodist conference ever held in Kansas, and she relates with much interest

* CHARLES HAZELTINE LOVEJOY was born in Hebron, Grafton county, New Hampshire, October 20, 1811. He received but six months' schooling, but acquired through reading, while on his father's farm, a religious training sufficient to secure appointment as circuit preacher at the age of twenty-one. He preached in Maine, New York, Vermont, and New Hampshire, and emigrated to Kansas in 1855, becoming the second traveling Methodist preacher in the territory. He was a member of the Manhattan Town Company, March 24, 1855, and built the first house on the site. In 1857 he located on a farm near Baldwin, and became one of the earliest and most successful fruit-growers in Kansas. He was chaplain of the first legislature under the Topeka constitution, chaplain of the house of representatives of 1857 and 1858, and of the state house of representatives in 1861. He served as chaplain of the Seventh Kansas. His wife, Julia L. Hardy, came with him to Kansas and shared in his work and privations. In an address before the Quarter-centennial Anniversary, at Bismarck Grove in 1879, she said: "God bless these old settlers, these old Kansans, these old pioneer wives. We women thought you were not going to give us a chance. We have gone through just as much as any of you."

† Mrs. Speer also assisted in that work.

the fervid sermon of Bishop Baker, for whom this grand institution is named, many men bristling with guns, knives, and revolvers.

Many were the exciting and interesting scenes of the Wakarusa camp-meeting, which was held annually for several years in a handsome grove on the banks of that stream. The Methodist camp-meeting was considered almost an abolition institution, and was frequently threatened. I have seen thirty or forty armed men go out from Lawrence vowing that no camp-meeting should be broken up or insulted except over their dead bodies.

Occasionally a good family of Southern Methodists would make a settlement, and the earnest Christians of the opposing organization of the same creed would tender them all the courtesies of good neighborhood. A good old lady from Georgia was persuaded to attend, with the assurance of good will and Christian love. For a time she hesitated, fearful of abolition influences. At last she came, with hesitation and fear. As she warmed up in the revival, she fairly electrified the audience by rising up and shrieking out: "Amen! Thank God! I feel just as happy here as I ever did down in Georgia."

"He prayeth well who loveth well
Both man and bird and beast;
He prayeth best who loveth best
All things both great and small;
For the dear God who loveth us
He made and loveth all."

The people of the Methodist church probably lost more, expended more and suffered more than any other religious denomination. Their numbers and their position in the war brought alike upon them sufferings and sacrifices. One of the most marvelous escapes in the Quantrill massacre was that of Rev. H. D. Fisher, D. D. He had been a chaplain in the army, and conspicuous in guiding "contrabands" to freedom, and was a marked man for vengeance. Four men followed him into his house. Not finding him elsewhere, they ordered his wife, with curses, to show them the way to the cellar, and attempted to light a lamp, but, not understanding its machinery, they turned it out. They then ordered Mrs. Fisher to bring another light from the upper chambers, which she refused, saying she had her babe in her arms to attend to. One of them took the babe from her, and cooed to it while she brought the lamp. But still they failed to find their victim. A part of the cellar was left in the natural condition of the earth, with a trench deeper around the wall, and in that Mr. Fisher had laid down close to the wall, and was undiscovered. Certain that he could not have escaped, they set the house on fire, and occupied a position to shoot him at sight. Mrs. Fisher and a neighbor lady* commenced to carry out the household goods, and dragged out the carpet, which he crawled under, until they threw it over some shrubbery, and placed tubs, buckets, chairs, beds, and everything conceivable over and around him, and the ruffians sat and looked on until the house was burned to the earth, and they went away cursing their failure.†

John Baldwin, for whom your town was named, was prime mover and benefactor of Baldwin University, at Berea, Ohio, as well as a benefactor of Baker. He was a very peculiar man, as careless of his person as Chief Justice Marshall, but liberal to the church and to education. When he came to Kansas to aid in this great work, he walked all the way from Kansas City here, and

*To the everlasting credit of humanity be it said, that that woman and philanthropist, who thus risked her life by helping his wife to save that Methodist minister from a torturing death, was a Roman Catholic—Mrs. John Shugro.

† "The Gun and the Gospel," by H. D. Fisher, gives a vivid account of his escape.

labored with his own hands in erecting a sawmill and some other of the necessary pioneer improvements. The works of the good people of Baldwin City and Baker University have followed them, and statesmen and heroes and divines have represented them too numerous to recall. I think now of Col., Rev. and Dr. Werter R. Davis,* eminent in theology, war, and politics. Baldwin and Baker University were theological twins. From the Methodists prominent in Ohio and Kansas, connected with these institutions, Bishops Harris and Walton loom up before me.

One of the gratifying evidences of Kansas prominence in education, in which your institution has had so large a part, is the fact that of the 3000 men just enlisted in the war with Spain not a single man signed his name with his "mark." These men know what they are fighting for. And apropos here, I may say that the wounds inflicted in the ranks of Methodism are evidently healing, with great prospect of church consolidation. I hope I may not seem irreverent in relating a story of a Methodist chaplain, as illustrative of the spirit of the times then and now. A sedate man came to headquarters in the enemy's country, and inquired of the commandant: "General, can you inform me of any person who can show me the different houses of God in this town?" "Yes, yes. Chaplain, show this gentleman the houses of God in the city," replied the general. Pointing in different directions, the chaplain said: "There is the Presbyterian church of God; there is the Baptist church of God; there is the Methodist church of God; and right beyond is the Methodist church south of God." This temper and spirit have gone long ago, and I have seen both organizations partaking of the Lord's supper together in great harmony and Christian feeling. If, during the war, there ever was a pastor of the Church South in the position of chaplain in the northern army, I never heard of him.

The triumphs of the principles of Lincoln are recognized everywhere. Another war is upon us; a war for the defense of the rights of man. Lined up in the same columns under Lee, Wheeler and other Southern commanders are the North and South, shoulder to shoulder, and chaplains of each branch of the followers of Christ and the pupils of Wesley are praying for our united army in the cause of God and humanity. With good men of both sections praying and fighting in the same lines, would it be unreasonable to predict the consolidation of these churches as one of the good results of this war? Such a consolidation would give to such a union more than 5,000,000 men, who never ought to have been separated. In the spirit of the Helvetic song, they shall reunite as their fathers did in the revolution.

"They shall wake beside their forest sea,
In the ancient garb they wore,
When they linked the hands that made us free
On Grutli's moonlight shore;

* WERTER RENICK DAVIS, first president of Baker University, was born in Circleville, Ohio, April 1, 1815, and was educated at Kenyon College, and the College of Medicine and Surgery in Cincinnati. He then became a member of the Ohio Methodist Episcopal conference, and was stationed at various places in Ohio and West Virginia. He was transferred to the Missouri conference prior to 1844, and while at St. Louis became professor of natural sciences in McKendree College, acting as president during the last year, 1858. He was then elected president of Baker University, and removed to Kansas in 1859. In 1862 he resigned to become chaplain of the Twelfth Kansas infantry, and in 1864 colonel of the Sixteenth Kansas cavalry. Mr. Davis was chaplain of the Wyandotte constitutional convention, and a member of the first state house of representatives, 1861. He was a member of three general conferences of the Methodist church, and delegate to the Ecumenical conference in London, and of the Centennial conference of American Methodism, at Baltimore in 1884. He served repeatedly as presiding elder of the Kansas conference, and died at Baldwin June 21, 1893.

And their voices shall be heard
 And be answered with a shout
 Till the echoing Alps are stirred,
 And the signal fires blaze out.

“And the land shall see such deeds again
 As those of that proud day
 When Winkelried, on Sempach’s plain,
 Through the serried spears made way;
 And when the rocks came down
 On the dark Morgarten dell,
 And the crownèd helms o’erthrown
 Before our fathers fell.”

JOHN HUTCHINSON—IN MEMORIAM.

A paper prepared by HENRY B. WHIPPLE, late Bishop of Minnesota.

THE late Hon. John Hutchinson, the subject of this memorial, was born on the 28th day of March, 1830, among the green hills of Vermont, where he spent his boyhood studying in the common school, preparing for college at the West Randolph Academy, after which he entered the Vermont University, at Burlington, Vt., and passed his freshman year. He graduated at Dartmouth College July 28, 1853, and had the honor of being selected from his class as one of the orators on that occasion. His subject was “The Power of Mystery.” In August, 1853, he commenced the study of law under the instruction of the Hon. William H. Seward, in Auburn, N. Y.

In March, 1854, he went to Madison, Wis., where he finished his law course with General Atwood, in the office of Orton, Atwood & Orton, and was admitted to the bar June 20, 1854. Just then the first emigrant parties were organizing in the East for settling in Kansas territory. The political controversy that followed at once enlisted Mr. Hutchinson’s warmest sympathies, and he readily gave the cause of free Kansas his support, and, as if destiny had marked him for distinction, he joined in the grand moving army of freedom, to which slavery finally capitulated.

We remember him marching on to Kansas in the great battle fought on her soil, and pitching his tent on the site where now stands the city of Lawrence, among the very earliest of her settlers. For his positive and unflinching courage in the irrepressible conflict then and there being waged, he was elected to the first territorial legislature, March 30, 1855, under the provisions of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, as a free-state man. A large majority of that body were proslavery, elected by illegal votes from Missouri. The free-state members of that legislature were refused seats, which were given to the proslavery candidates voted for at the election. Before leaving, however, Mr. Hutchinson made a speech, advocating the cause of liberty, defending the constitution of the United States, and vindicating his right to a seat.*

He was one of the first to move in the formation of a state government, and was elected member of the first state legislature under the Topeka constitution, and was elected speaker of that body January 7, 1857.

In the winter of 1855 and 1856 he was sent by the executive committee of Kansas to the New England states and Washington for the purpose of advocating before the legislatures and Congress the admission of Kansas into the Union.

The late Anson Burlingame, at that time a member of the national house of representatives introduced Mr. Hutchinson to that august body, when he pre-

* Andreas, p. 108.

sented the outrages of Kansas so well and ably that it aided much in rousing the antislavery sentiment of the country, impelling free-state emigration to Kansas, and in hastening the victory which culminated in the defeat of the slavery propaganda and the erection of the free state of Kansas.

His motto was "Kansas shall be free," and until that result was reached he toiled constantly to attain it, and though encountering much personal danger he never shrank from duty, and thereby achieved laurels of which any man might be proud; but all vainglory or display was most foreign to his nature. He was always the same modest, unassuming, honest man. In 1856, when Lawrence was sacked, his office was pillaged and he was taken prisoner by Sheriff Jones, and twice arrested by the proslavery party. These occurrences stamped him as a leader, and during the presidential Fremont and Lincoln campaigns of 1856 and 1860 he was constantly engaged in public speaking through portions of the Western, Northern and New England states.

When Mr. Lincoln was inaugurated Mr. Seward sent for Mr. Hutchinson, and he was appointed secretary of Dakota territory, where, by means of the resignation of the governor, he became the chief executive for several years. The territorial difficulties which lead to the resignation of the governor brought Mr. Hutchinson to close personal relations with President Lincoln, the last official act of whose life was to sign Mr. Hutchinson's commission as United States consul to Leghorn, Italy, having signed it just as he was about leaving the White House for Ford's theater, on the fatal night when that great and lamented patriot fell a victim to the assassin's bullet and the frenzied yell, *Sic semper tyrannis*.

After about fourteen years of almost continuous patriotic public service, wherein he served with distinguished honor, he retired from office and came to Chicago. From that time to the date of his death, December 12, 1887, he was engaged in a high-minded, honorable practice of his profession at the Chicago bar.

Mr. Hutchinson always tried to help others to help themselves. When a comparatively small sum comprised the entire estate of dependent persons, he gratuitously took care of it and kept it loaned at a good rate of interest on perfect security, and by sound advice and helpful service he sought to make them self-sustaining, which he regarded the highest and best charity. He was an exemplary member of Trinity Church, and prominent in Lakeside Masonic lodge. His noble wife, a devoted partner of his fortunes, and a loving daughter who can never forget her almost idolized father, still survive him, and while lamenting his loss rejoice in the memory of his magnanimous character and illustrious achievements.

THE COLLEGE OF EMPORIA, ANDREW CARNEGIE, AND JOHN BYARS ANDERSON.

An address delivered by GEO. W. MARTIN, Secretary Kansas State Historical Society, at the dedication of the Anderson Memorial Library Building, College of Emporia, June 4, 1902.

WE are assembled, not to exult or flatter ourselves upon a local enterprise or success, but to recognize one of the most potent and far-reaching individual or family forces for good. This is a broad statement, but, to my mind, easy of demonstration. The *Philadelphia Press*,* writing along the line interesting us at this time, says: "To the thoughtful student of character and influence, as well as to the mere casual observer of what may be termed 'long-distance results,' the events in Andrew Carnegie's life which led to his munificent library gifts are profoundly interesting. If Mr. Carnegie had made these great educational benefactions simply as an expression of the desire to use wisely and helpfully the wealth he has accumulated, that lesson alone would be most valuable. The honest Scotch-American millionaire and philanthropist goes farther, however, and, in frankly stating that his library idea was prompted and inspired by the generous kindness of another man, he reveals and emphasizes yet an inner lesson—the abiding force of fine example." A brief review of three generations of the Anderson family will show clearly why we have the splendid tribute in this memorial building, which is not alone a mute acknowledgment, but a single feature of a mighty force established and to continue through the ages.

The Rev. John Anderson, D. D., was born in Guilford county, North Carolina, in April, 1768. He was licensed to preach in 1793, and spent several years in itinerant labors in North and South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, and Kentucky. In 1799 he visited western Pennsylvania, and after laboring as an evangelist as far west as the present state of Indiana, he accepted a call in 1802

*The *Philadelphia Press* further says: "JOHN BYARS ANDERSON was born in Washington county, Pennsylvania, November 22, 1817, and lived a long, useful life of eighty years, ever radiating the same helpful influences which touched Andrew Carnegie. He died in Manhattan, Kan., in 1897. He was educated at Washington College, and was graduated at that historic institution in 1836. In the same year he went to Bradenburg, Ky., where he taught school five years. In 1838 he was married to Miss Cecelia Alexander, daughter of Maj. A. J. Alexander, U. S. A., and in 1841 the young couple moved to New Albany, Ind., where they established two collegiate schools, then unequaled in that part of the country. The Anderson Collegiate Institute for Boys and Anderson's Female Seminary flourished for nearly twenty years, drawing patronage from all over the country, as far east as New York and as far south as New Orleans. In 1853 fifty graduates were registered on the Anderson catalogues. Mr. Anderson was a man of great learning and of strong mentality, and his influence as an educator still pervades the middle West.

"During the civil war Mr. Anderson was made superintendent of railway transportation for the Army of the Cumberland, with headquarters at Nashville. His ability as a man of affairs was recognized by Secretary Stanton, and a brigadier generalship was pressed upon him, but the honor was declined. In 1864 he was retired at his own request, with the title of colonel, conferred on him by Secretary Stanton.

"In Manhattan, Kan., from 1868, Colonel Anderson was identified with the Kansas Pacific railway, and also had large interests in Kansas lands. At the time of his death he had been for ten years president of the First National Bank of Manhattan. To the Emporia College, at Emporia, Kan., Colonel Anderson gave the little library of 400 volumes, from which Carnegie had read, as a nucleus for a college library; and at the celebration of his golden wedding, in 1888, the money gifts received by himself and wife, to whom no children had ever been born, were donated by them to the college library. This gift inaugurated a movement which resulted in several thousand volumes and several hundred dollars in money being otherwise contributed to the library collection."

to the pastorate of the church at Upper Buffalo, Washington county, Pennsylvania, which he continued to hold until June 18, 1833. He died February 8, 1835. He was president of the board of trustees of Washington College for twenty-four years, his service ending in 1831; and in the early years of the century also conducted a theological school. For this last service he was paid \$400 per year, but if a young man was unable to pay board or tuition he received both from the doctor without pay. He was a trustee of the Western Missionary Society, and made frequent preaching tours among the Indians. About 1810 he was active in starting the *Western Missionary Magazine*, and was one of its editors.

It is not to be wondered at that such worth and force in the world as we are called to consider came from Washington county, Pennsylvania. At the town of Washington there was located the College of Washington, and at Canonsburg, ten miles away, Jefferson College. They were instituted about 1802, and consolidated under the name of Washington and Jefferson, in March, 1865. There was a second Rev. John Anderson, D. D., in the neighborhood, who came direct from Scotland in 1792. He is the man referred to as having established the first theological seminary on the continent, at Service, in Beaver county, in 1794. He belonged to the United Presbyterian branch. There were also in this same county and same branch of the church Rev. Abram Anderson, D. D., the Rev. A. R. Anderson, and in the eldership, Joshua Anderson and Abraham Anderson. There was no connection between these Andersons and our Doctor Anderson, who came from North Carolina. The United Presbyterian church evidently sympathized with Jefferson College, at Canonsburg. The consolidated schools had, up to 1900, 3849 graduates. In a letter regretting his inability to attend a centennial exercise at Washington, the famous lawyer, Jeremiah S. Black, said that in the Ohio legislature, of a certain year, both houses, a majority of the members were born in Washington county, and that there was not a knave or blockhead among them. We can readily believe this when we recall ex-Gov. John A. Martin, ex-Gov. Thomas A. Osborn, John W. Geary, John Speer, John C. Carpenter, William H. Smith and others of like character and usefulness contributed to Kansas by that corner of the Keystone state.

The Rev. William C. Anderson, D. D., the oldest son of the Rev. Doctor Anderson, from North Carolina, was also a pastor in Washington county in 1843, a professor of rhetoric and belles-lettres in Hanover College, and for five years, from 1849 to 1855, president of Miami University, a state institution in Ohio, raising the number of its students from twelve to over 250. He was for twelve years a trustee of Washington College. Benjamin Harrison was a graduate from Miami under Doctor Anderson.

His second son, Col. John Byars Anderson, LL. D., immediately upon his graduation from Washington College, in 1836, moved to Kentucky, and taught school. In 1841 he established a school for boys and girls at New Albany, Ind., known as the Anderson Collegiate Institute, and this he continued until 1858. He had two buildings, about a block apart, one for boys and the other for girls, and in each he had from fifty to sixty pupils each year. He always had in the school four and five boys or girls whom he deemed bright enough to appreciate an education, belonging to families not able to pay, whose education cost them nothing. In his school and living with his family, teaching to pay his expenses while studying theology, was the Rev. W. A. P. Martin, D. D., president of the Imperial University of Peking. The Rev. Charles Woodruff Shields, D. D., professor of the harmony of science and revealed religion at Princeton University; Col. William H. Hillyer, of General Grant's staff during the war; and the Rev.

John B. Worrall, D.D., of the theological seminary at Danville, Ky., were graduates of the Anderson Collegiate Institute. His removal to Kansas, thirty-four years ago, did not free him from school duties, for he was chosen in 1883 a member of the board of trustees of the College of Emporia by the synod of Kansas, at Parsons, and served fourteen years, being president of the board for the last twelve years of this period.

Rev. John A. Anderson, the grandson, being the son of William C. Anderson, of Miami University, came to Kansas in 1868, and after five years in the ministry, a portion of the time being a regent of the State University, he assumed the presidency of the Kansas State Agricultural College, and, after overcoming marvelous difficulties, established this institution according to the act of Congress, and made it the first of its class in the country. This grandson lived for five years in California, and in connection with the famous Unitarian preacher, Starr King, made a vigorous canvass of that state against certain abuses in the charitable institutions, causing a radical reform.

These services for the betterment of mankind, limited to the line of educational development, are but a tithe of the good seed sown along the pathway of this family through life. One of the greatest philanthropists, if not the greatest, the world has ever known, Andrew Carnegie,* also a writer of originality and force, has published a book entitled "The Gospel of Wealth," in which he suggests various methods by which millionaires can use their money for the greatest benefit of mankind. He puts first the founding of great universities, a field he explains which can never be fully occupied, for the wants of universities increase with the development of the country; second, the establishment of free libraries; third, the founding or extension of hospitals, medical colleges, laboratories, and other institutions connected with the alleviation of human suffering; fourth, public parks; fifth, public halls, suitable for large crowds; sixth, swimming baths; and seventh, churches—left to the last because they are sectarian, and will be amply provided for by each element interested. Mr. Carnegie's benefactions being mainly devoted to free libraries, in the publication referred to, page 27, he tells of their usefulness, and makes to the world the following explanation:

"*Second*—The result of my own study of the question, What is the best gift which can be given to a community? is, that a free library occupies the first place, provided the community will accept and maintain it as a public institution, as much a part of the city property as its public schools, and, indeed, as an adjunct to these. It is no doubt possible that my own personal experience may have led me to value a free library beyond all other forms of beneficence. When I was a working boy in Pittsburgh, Colonel Anderson, of Allegheny—a name I can never speak without feelings of devotional gratitude—opened his little library of 400 books to boys. Every Saturday afternoon he was in attendance at his house to exchange books. No one but he who has felt it can know the intense longing with which the arrival of Saturday was awaited, that a new book might be had. My brother and Mr. Phipps, who had been my principal business partners through life, shared with me Colonel Anderson's precious generosity, and it was when reveling in the treasures which he opened to us that I resolved, if ever wealth came to me, it should be used to establish libraries, that other poor boys might receive opportunities similar to those for which we were indebted to that noble man."

*ANDREW CARNEGIE was born in Dunfermline, Scotland, November 25, 1837; came with the family to the United States in 1848, settling in Pittsburgh. He took charge of a small stationary engine in 1849; became telegraph messenger, operator, clerk and manager telegraph lines Pennsylvania road; was interested with Mr. Woodruff, the inventor of the sleeping-car, and by this gained the nucleus of his fortune; became superintendent Pittsburgh division, Pennsylvania railroad; made a fortune in oil, and became an iron, steel and coke manufacturer. In 1887 he married Louise Whitfield, of New York. He is the author of "Triumphant Democracy," "An American Four-in-hand in Britain," "Round the World," "The Gospel of Wealth," etc. Mr. Carnegie established his first free library at Dunfermline, Scotland, July 27, 1881.

There is some question as to whether the Colonel Anderson in whose honor the statue is being erected in Allegheny is Col. James Anderson* or Col. John B. Anderson, but there is no question as to whom this memorial building is for. But any doubt as to the identity of Colonel Anderson at Allegheny does not affect the lesson we are to learn; for when we consider the thousands of young men and young women who have been started in the world with the impulses and teachings of these four men, and their delightful wives, it is a source of great pride that we meet in the heart of Kansas to accept a testimonial, not a lifeless shaft, but a living thing, contributing to the current of good. And it is profoundly gratifying that Mr. Carnegie's words are not a passing compliment, but with his money, consecrated to the benefit of his fellow men, he strengthens the life purpose of his friend. I think I have established the fact that the College of Emporia has behind it a wonderful impulse, and the richest of blood in its veins. And, adding to the faithful teaching and preaching of this family, and of the preachers and teachers they have sent abroad in the world, the limitless influence of the books and the national university set in motion by Mr. Carnegie's wealth, the proposition is established that we are considering one of the mightiest individual forces for good.

Three of these men rest on a Kansas hilltop, amid a panorama of nature peculiar only to Kansas, two of them having lived in the state long enough to be of great service; and I trust that some day the College of Emporia may be so liberally endowed as to furnish a living monument to the uncle, as important and extensive as the State Agricultural College, with its land-grant endowment, and its aid from the state of Kansas, is to the nephew.

The Anderson Memorial Library was established in connection with the College of Emporia April 25, 1888, in honor of the fiftieth wedding anniversary of Col. John B. Anderson, its president, and Cecelia Geraldine Anderson, and the building has since been erected as a testimonial to John Byars Anderson by Andrew Carnegie.†

William C. Anderson, D. D., was not only a teacher, but he was a preacher of rare gifts. He was born in Washington county, August 18, 1804, and died in Junction City, Kan., August 28, 1870. He graduated from Washington College in 1824, and studied theology under his father. He held two pastorates in Washington county, one in 1829 and the second in 1844. In 1835 he was installed as pastor at New Albany, serving until 1841, and twenty-six years later he served the same people for another term of two years. In 1840 he visited Yucatan, and in 1842 England and Scotland. In 1848 the First Church of Dayton, Ohio, of which he was then pastor, sent him to Germany, where he spent several months

*WM. M. STEVENSON, librarian of the Carnegie Free Library, Allegheny City, Pa., writes, under date of May 8, 1902: "The man in whose honor a statue is to be placed on the public grounds of this city, is Col. James Anderson, of Allegheny. . . . There is no doubt that Col. James Anderson was the man who first inspired Mr. Carnegie with the love of learning, and gave him the idea of the great system of free libraries which he is now founding on all sides. . . . I believe Mr. Carnegie had access, also, to Col. John B. Anderson's private library while in the employ of the Pennsylvania railroad; hence the reference to 'opening the temple of knowledge.'" Col. James Anderson died March 11, 1869, in the eighty-fourth year of his age. He was an iron manufacturer. He obtained the title of "colonel" while serving under General Harrison, in the war of 1812. He was a Scotch-Irishman, and belonged to the United Presbyterian church.

†To a letter dated January 3, 1900, authorizing drafts to be made upon him, Mr. Carnegie added: "P. S.—The inscription suggested I think would be improved by something like the following: 'John B. Anderson Memorial Library, erected by Andrew Carnegie in grateful remembrance of Mr. Anderson's having opened his own private library for the working boys of Allegheny City, of whom Mr. Carnegie was one.'"

for his health. He then became president of Miami, where he remained until 1854. In 1855 he went to the First Church of San Francisco, where he remained until 1863. In consequence of enfeebled health he again visited Europe, extending his trip to Egypt and Palestine. He spent the summer of 1868 with his son, Rev. John A. Anderson, at Junction City, Kan. He preached frequently at Abilene and Manhattan. It was in the days of the cattle trade, and it was of marvelous interest to see the roughest of men, the greater number of them with revolvers strapped about them, crowd the building to hear him talk. Doctor Anderson had much to do with the reunion of the old- and new-school branches of the church, and he it was who championed, in committee and the general assembly of 1861, the Spring resolution pledging the utmost loyalty on the part of the Presbyterian church to the general government. His wife died at Junction City January 20, 1870.

One day his son, Rev. John A. Anderson, invited me to drive about three miles in the country to call on a family just settling. Capt. W. B. Low, a retired army officer, and, until his death, a well-known resident of Geary county, and his wife, were members of the family. On the drive he told me his interest in Captain Low. His father, Peter B. Low, was a noted politician in Ohio, and was one of the regents of Miami when Doctor Anderson was president. One day he informed the president that they proposed to add a certain man to the faculty for political reasons. Doctor Anderson responded that the man had neither character nor qualification for the place and he would not serve with him. The regents met and soon sent the doctor notice of the appointment. The same messenger returned with the doctor's resignation. As soon as he could walk across the building, Peter B. Low addressed Doctor Anderson: "You did right; I know you have n't got a dollar; here is my bank account; you travel for six months and draw on me for your expenses." Above the line of partizanship two great souls thus met.

Col. John Byars Anderson, LL. D.—an incident in whose life has called us together at this remote day under most delightful circumstances—was born in Washington county, Pennsylvania, November 22, 1817. He died in Manhattan, Kan., July 25, 1897. He graduated from Washington College in 1836, and immediately started for Kentucky, where he engaged in school-teaching. April 25, 1838, he was married to Cecelia Geraldine Alexander.* In 1841 the couple moved to New Albany, Indiana, and opened a school for boys and girls, which they conducted with the greatest success until June, 1858, when it was discontinued. Three years previous to this Colonel Anderson engaged in railroad work, as superintendent of the New Albany & Salem railroad, now known as the Monon route, running from the Ohio river to Chicago. In 1858 he became superintendent of the Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton, where he remained but a short time. December 1, 1858, he assumed the duties of division superintendent of the Pennsylvania, and in February, 1859, he was made general superintendent Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne & Chicago. According to an inscription on a gold watch, an heirloom in the family, a gift from the employees, he left the Fort Wayne December 31, 1859. Early in 1860 he became superintendent of transportation for the Louisville & Nashville. His promotion in railroad work was very rapid. Some trouble existed between the Pennsylvania and the Hamilton & Dayton, and a conference of railroad men met at Pittsburgh to adjust the matter. Colonel Anderson's talk was so effective as to give unanimous judgment in favor of the contention of the Hamilton & Dayton. "Who is that man?" inquired J. Edgar

* The brother, William C. Anderson, married Jane Mary Alexander, of Cumberland county, Pennsylvania, November 1, 1831. There was no connection between the two Alexander families.

Thompson of Thomas A. Scott. "His name is John B. Anderson," was the reply. "We must have him on our road," ordered Thompson. And so, in less than five years from the time he assumed railroad work, he had served two minor roads and the Pennsylvania, and the same interest had him at work straightening out the Fort Wayne enterprise to Chicago. He never asked for a position in his life. Every call to duty came unsolicited from the master spirits of the different enterprises needing him, upon their own discernment in him of the qualities demanded.

During his term of service on the Louisville & Nashville the civil war commenced. The government appointed him military superintendent of railroads for the Southwest, with the rank of colonel. While occupying this position he had control of the Louisville & Nashville, running north from Nashville, and the Nashville, Chattanooga & St. Louis railroad, running south. On these two lines the army depended at that time. Scarcely a day passed for a year or more without a bridge being destroyed by Confederate soldiers, and Colonel Anderson had abundant opportunity to display his ability as a railroad manager and a constructing engineer in the building of bridges. He performed most arduous service in keeping the road open and forwarding supplies amid endless confusion. He was offered a brigadier general's commission, which he declined. Railroad-ing in a guerrilla country, with a superabundance of captains, lieutenants and all sorts of rank constantly interfering, induced him to resign and quit. In the late summer of 1863 he was traveling with his wife and brother in the New England states, when one day Thomas A. Scott, then assistant secretary of war, telegraphed over the country inquiring "Where is Anderson?" The supplies for the army immediately preceding and during the battle of Chickamauga were precarious and alarming, and Scott knew that if any living soul could keep the boys fed, under the circumstances, it was John B. Anderson. The colonel sent his family to Pittsburgh and went to the front, taking charge of the railroad as Scott had ordered. There was but a limited quantity of rations on hand, and the nerves of those in authority were strained to the utmost. The boys never missed the rations, but the few in charge of the supplies were without several nights of sleep. Old railroad men in that section, and others in Kansas who knew him then, refer to him always in terms of admiration and affection.

The road he was first asked to take charge of ran north from the Ohio river to Lake Michigan, and its projectors were very zealous in building up a great through trade in connection with the lakes, with ill success, however, and generally a shortage. The colonel's first idea was to make a trip along the road and offer side-tracks at any point where a mill, a quarry or any enterprise that would contribute business to the road could be established. It was but a few months until the entire line was astir, and local shipments made the money fondly anticipated from castles in the air at the end of a long haul.

John B. Anderson first became interested in Kansas affairs in the spring of 1864. He was recommended by Junius B. Alexander, a brother-in-law, to the St. Louis parties who had contracted with Samuel Hallett and John C. Fremont for the construction of the Union Pacific, eastern division, and who were in trouble with the enterprise. All old Kansans will remember the entanglement resulting from Hallett's management, and his death at the hands of an engineer. In April of that year Colonel Anderson visited Leavenworth and secured the transfer to the St. Louis parties of the stock of the Leavenworth, Pawnee & Western, under which charter, granted by the first territorial legislature, of 1855, construction was authorized as far as Fort Riley. He was invited by the St. Louis parties to secure them aid in building the road. Hallett offered him an enormous bonus

to build the road to the 100th meridian in his (Hallett's) name, which was declined, notwithstanding Hallett offered to go to Europe and remain there until the road was completed. The St. Louis parties offered him a liberal salary to superintend the construction of the road, but this was declined because of the complication with Hallett. Several years preceding the war, Colonel Anderson had attracted the attention of the leading railroad men of the United States as a civil engineer and as a railroad manager. He began negotiations with Thomas A. Scott and J. Edgar Thompson, of the Pennsylvania company, to take lot with the St. Louis parties, but the contract with Hallett was still in the way. The murder of Hallett,* at Wyandotte, July 27, 1864, and the announcement by Mrs. Hallett that she was unable to complete her husband's contract, enabled the Eastern men to see their way clear to take hold of it. Trouble, however, continued through the summer of 1865, concerning the delivery of the government subsidy, evidently instigated by the Omaha interests.

No matter how clearly and plainly history may be written the why of things oftentimes mystifies. The subject of this sketch had no direct connection with the location of the line of the Union Pacific, eastern division, or its construction. He had some geographical and engineering ideas, which, if they had been adopted, would have been of great value to the property, time having demonstrated their correctness. His idea was that the road should branch at Salina; one covering the present Santa Fe route, and the other following the Saline valley to Denver. Others preferred the route adopted, to which Anderson was bitterly opposed, because of the Harker hills. Now, we have one of the first overland roads where he desired to build, along the Arkansas; the road should have been out there years before it was. We have a branch from Salina to McPherson, and another up the Saline; and we had a branch from Kit Carson south to Las Animas, on the Arkansas, forty-two miles long—always a desolate thing—built September 11, 1873, and torn up May 11, 1878. This last was built to head off the Santa Fe, which started west from Topeka in October, 1868, reaching the west line of the state December 23, 1872. Anderson located the Armstrong shops where they are now, but he was overruled, and they were placed in the Missouri bottom north of old Wyandotte. The water washed them away, and finally they were built in the right place. He was extremely anxious that the company should purchase the Pottawatomie reserve, and their neglect of his advice lost them the richest tract of land in the state. The Leavenworth, Pawnee & Western had the chance to buy the Pottawatomie lands at \$1.25 per acre, but a majority of the committee said the lands were not worth that, and so the Santa Fe obtained the land according to treaty closed in August, 1868. His theory of local business for a road would long ago have made the country from Solomon to

*SAMUEL HALLETT was shot and killed at Wyandotte on the morning of July 27, 1864, by O. A. Talcutt. Samuel Hallett had the contract for building the Union Pacific up the Kansas valley. He was a man of exceptional business capacity and success, but his methods had been called in question by some. O. A. Talcutt was chief engineer. Hallett had demanded that Talcutt make an official report of progress of the work entirely inconsistent with the truth, under oath, either to get the first subsidy of \$16,000 per mile, for twenty miles, from the government, or to secure more money from the capitalists by representations that the first donation of \$320,000 was due. This Talcutt refused to do. Hallett left for Washington, attempting to get the proof in some other way, but when there met a report from Talcutt, in the proper department, which absolutely blockaded his game. Samuel Hallett then telegraphed Thomas Hallett to whip Talcutt, which Thomas did unmercifully. Talcutt awaited the arrival of Samuel Hallett, and "laid for him" with a rifle and shot him dead in the street. Talcutt disappeared, and was never afterwards heard of. This is John Speer's statement, corroborated by B. F. Kingsbury, for many years a resident of Burlington. Both say that if Talcutt had remained he would have been acquitted by a jury. Kingsbury made a tour of inspection of the road, and he said that Talcutt was right in his protests—that the work was the grossest sort of fraud.

Ellsworth one vast salt field—salt having been made at Solomon in 1866, twelve years before its development at Hutchinson—and Junction City and Manhattan stone would have furnished half the building material of those valleys.

Colonel Anderson never missed an opportunity to sow good seed or do a clever act. However, like all big-hearted men, he did a great many favors that probably never will count, except in his own consciousness of helping or relieving a poor soul on the journey through life, because he was most susceptible to sympathy and easily worked. While a man of great business capacity and judgment, he was thus often imposed upon, but I never heard him complain or regret anything he had done for another. I was in his room one day when a man called and asked him to sign a bond. He remarked: "I have signed four bonds since I came to Kansas; I have been elected on three of them, and the fourth is not due." I regarded this more as a joke than a complaint, for they pulled some sort of fraternal or other string on him, and he signed, and he paid this also. But the seed that has returned to him and his are as ten-thousand fold. Following the day the telegraph announced his death, scores of letters came from people, some of whom had not been heard of for fifty years, scattered from the Alleghanies to the Pacific ocean, and as far south as New Orleans, telling how they were indebted to him for everything they had been in this life. Can there be any greater tribute possible of conception by the human mind than that given by Mr. Carnegie in a letter to Mrs. Anderson: "Your husband, who opened to me the temple of knowledge." Multiply this by the daily opportunities in his association as a teacher with 100 boys and girls each year for seventeen years, with the same disposition shown to others along business lines, and there can be no question but that the College of Emporia is in line with one of the greatest individual forces for good of modern times.

Colonel Anderson and his wife had a housekeeper or servant named Sarah McMinaman, known to all the friends of the family and the neighbors as Sallie. She died at Manhattan in 1895, after thirty-one years of service with them. She was a most devout Catholic, and her religion was as much to the Andersons as their own. While in Junction City they lived within a half block of the Catholic church, and everything in the family considered for a church purpose had to be divided with Sallie's church. It was not a necessity, not a matter of policy, but a loving desire to honor the woman's religion. When she came to death she expressed a wish to be buried in the Anderson lot at Junction City: but this had been anticipated, and arrangements made with the priest to consecrate the ground, and her soul was relieved of the last trouble. Her religious rite was essential, to the church, but she knew that with the Anderson family resting there the lot would be abundantly consecrated.

John B. Anderson was most impetuous when a friend was in trouble. He was not a man to wait for solicitation or argument. I am unspeakably proud of my association with the Anderson family. Pardon reference to a personal business matter. During the eight years I occupied the position of state printer, from 1873 to 1881, I did not have a minute of peace, political or otherwise, although I always managed to win out. I had a reasonable home, some town lots, and a good printing-office, but this was practically worthless in putting up a printing-office such as was required, and in carrying the state for \$23,000 of work for six months, with the Jay Cooke crash of 1873 in the middle of it. The colonel practically volunteered to furnish the capital. I had at times \$15,000 of his money without security, and occasionally without the scratch of a pen, and I have the word of the nephew, given me years after, that he had set aside \$30,000 to sink on me. I am more thankful for the fact that he never lost a dollar on me than

I would have been had I made ten-thousand fold the profit. When I began borrowing he was given a mortgage on what I had. A rival newspaper soon began making remarks about my indebtedness. When the colonel learned of this he took the mortgage to the court-house, had it canceled on the records, tore it into bits, and threw it into the waste-basket. I know this was not recklessness or carelessness in business on his part, but a natural impulse that a friend should not be annoyed. In the twenty-nine years I associated with him I learned of other similar mileposts on his journey through this life.

Colonel Anderson and wife lived in Germantown, Pa., from 1864 until 1868, excepting a couple of trips they made to Europe. His nephew, Rev. John A. Anderson, after a series of occupations during the war, desired to return to the pulpit. The Rev. Alexander Sterrett* organized a Presbyterian church at Junction City, March 8, 1868, and suggested Mr. Anderson for pastor. He was called, and in the summer of that year the colonel and wife, the father and mother, Rev. William C. Anderson, D. D., and wife, and two sisters of the father and uncle, Mrs. Huston and Miss Nancy Anderson, settled at Junction City also. Seven of them now rest in a beautiful cemetery, created by the pastor, John A., suggested by the death of his mother, the community previously burying its dead on the hillside, without title or enclosure. The oldest of the family, somewhat feeble, but as sound, apparently, as she ever was, remains with us, and I hope her days and strength may endure until she sees the tribute of Mr. Carnegie to a life of which she was a most delightful portion.

The colonel lived practically a retired life after his settlement in Kansas. He did a little banking business at Junction City, managed a few farms in Riley, Geary and Dickinson counties, and was afterwards president of a national bank at Manhattan. While in Junction City, about 1876, he was called to Kentucky to manage the Maysville & Lexington railroad, in which a brother-in-law and himself were involved, and after a year or so he sold it to the Louisville & Nashville, and returned to Kansas. In 1880 he moved to Manhattan, and again joined the nephew, who had been called there by the regents of the State Agricultural College. It has always been a wonder how a man of his power and ability could spend so many quiet years in a small town in Kansas, when great opportunities were constantly offered him in all parts of the country; but he was childless, and the way he and his good wife followed the nephew and niece, the ex-congressman and wife, was a marvel of devotion.

John B. Anderson accepted one public position in Kansas as a mere pastime, and it is a matter of universal regret among public men that the political jobber stepped in and squeezed him out before the building was finished. When the legislature ordered the building of the west wing of the state capitol, Governor St. John appointed him one of a board of three state-house commissioners. The board organized with one standing with Anderson, and one always opposing everything. Colonel Anderson was a most accomplished civil engineer, a man of taste, culture, and travel, a railroad man who had handled vast jobs of construction, independent financially, and above any suspicion of jobbery. He built the west wing and placed the foundation in for the main building. At this point the make-up of the board was changed, and the colonel resigned immediately. A great scandal and row soon followed, and the man who took the colonel's place on the board—Mr. E. T. Carr, of Leavenworth, a worthy man, undeserving of

*REV. ALEXANDER STERRETT came to Kansas in 1866, when he first preached in Junction City. He located at Manhattan. He organized the Presbyterian churches at Junction City, Manhattan, Wamego, and Kansas City, Kan. He died in the latter city in 1884. His widow, Mrs. Anna Sterrett, was a student at the Anderson Collegiate Institute at New Albany. Mrs. Col. George W. Veale, of Topeka, was also a student of the Andersons, at New Albany.

such trouble—tells me he was the victim the colonel would have been had he remained. The present executive council, having in charge the completion of the building, is doing honest and thorough work, but, in adjusting various portions of the building to given uses, have been compelled to test the walls and floors, only to find that when the specifications called for fifteen-inch "I" beams there were seven- and nine-inch "I" beams. Three times in the last year and a half, in the main building, the walls and ceilings have been torn up to strengthen. This was an unspeakable outrage, for which there is no amends, and it happened when the board was changed. True, the colonel was earnestly beseeched to remain, but after the struggle he had had he knew what the change meant. The west wing is a monument of durability and integrity.

Colonel Anderson was a man of exceeding modesty. In all my association with him I never heard him speak of Mr. Carnegie except as a great business man, or as a correct and serviceable young man. Once, when in a despondent mood as to the outcome of the College of Emporia, his good wife inquired why he did not write to his friend Mr. Carnegie. He responded, "Mr. Carnegie has forgotten that such a man as I ever lived." He could not comprehend that he had done anything to merit Mr. Carnegie's lifelong remembrance, and the public learned of it after his death through Mr. Carnegie. He chided his wife for telling a friend that his *alma mater*, Washington and Jefferson, had made him an LL. D. "I wish you had not told it and no one would have known of it," he said. I think he has done himself, his friends and the public great injustice by talking so little about himself. His life was full of richness and of comfort to so many.

Although always a liberal supporter of the church, Colonel Anderson did not make a public profession of religion until July 5, 1872, when he united with the Presbyterian church of Junction City. "And when he is old he will not depart from it." On the 11th of March, 1877, that congregation elected him a ruling elder. On the 1st of February, 1882, his membership and that of his family was removed to the Manhattan church, where he also served as an elder. He was a thorough Biblical scholar, and greatly interested in Sabbath-school work. At the time of his death he had been married fifty-nine years. In 1886 he attended the fiftieth anniversary of the graduation of his class from Washington and Jefferson, honoring the event with a gift of \$2500 to the endowment fund. In 1855 he was elected grand master of the Grand Lodge of Odd Fellows of the state of Indiana, succeeding Oliver P. Morton. The grand secretary of Indiana writes me that his name appears frequently in the printed record prior to his election, showing that he had a wide influence in the legislation of the order at that time. At his old home at New Albany there still stands a very humble though characteristic monument to him, known as Anderson chapel, a house of worship for the Zion African Methodist Episcopal church. It is not only a house of worship, but its charter says it shall be open one hour each evening of the week for the instruction in reading and writing of aged colored people.

Rev. John A. Anderson, the fourth and youngest of these remarkable men, was born in Washington county, Pennsylvania, June 26, 1834. He died in a hospital in Liverpool, England, May 18, 1892, while on his return home from Cairo, Egypt, where he had been as United States consul. He was the son of the Rev. Wm. C. Anderson, D.D., and the grandson of the North Carolina Doctor Anderson. He graduated from Miami University in 1853. He began work as pastor of a Presbyterian church in Stockton, Cal. He erected a handsome church building, and at the breaking out of the war he entered the service as chaplain. He came to Kansas in February, 1868, and settled at Junction

City, where he remained five years, doing a remarkable work. He was a regent of the State University, and during nearly all of his residence in Junction City was a member of the local school board. In 1873 he was elected president of the Kansas State Agricultural College, an institution requiring some one to place it where Congress contemplated in the act giving a large land grant for schools in each state devoted to agriculture and the mechanic arts. He made a success of it, the school now being about the first of its kind in the land and satisfactory to the friends of industrial education all along the line. This achievement added much force to the educational service of the family, largely and widely supplementing their influences through a school popular and with an abundance of land grant and state backing.* In 1878 he was elected to Congress by a majority of 9804, and again in 1880 by 18,534 majority, and 1882 by 22,089, from the north half of the state, then known as the first district. In 1884 he was returned from the fifth district—composed of ten counties—by a majority of 9888. In 1886 he was beaten in the convention by the local-candidate trick. The people were caught napping, and there never was such a storm raised in Kansas before or since. He was placed before the people by three different conventions as an independent republican candidate, and notwithstanding there was 10,000 republican majority in the district he was elected over both opponents by 2254 majority. A united party unanimously nominated him in 1888 for his sixth term, and at the polls gave him 7378 majority. In 1885 his wife died, and he began to lose physical force; he lost the hearing of one ear, and in 1890 a general indifference overcame him, and he made no fight. In 1891 Benjamin Harrison, his schoolmate and friend, appointed him consul to Cairo, Egypt.

John A. Anderson was innocent of politics, but he had a tremendous hold on the people. If he had retained his strength he might have represented that district in Congress to this day. For some years at that time the only political manipulation the politicians had was to prevent him from making any headway toward the United States senate. In the bolting campaign of 1886 he made seventy-two speeches in forty days, and they were each two hours long. His canvass was so planned as to take him around those ten counties four times. Measured by the accomplishment of practical results, the conception or construction of something, from the day he began work in Stockton until within two years of his end as a congressman from Kansas, he was the greatest man Kansas ever had in Washington. He had a constructive mind, not only in statesmanship, the ministry, and school work, but in the lesser problems of every-day life.

But what of the wives of these men? They are fully up to the standard to be found in the last chapter of Proverbs: Her husband is known in the gates where he sitteth among the elders of the land. She will do her husband good and not evil all the days of her life. She openeth her mouth with wisdom, and in her tongue is the law of kindness. Her children arise up and call her blessed; her husband also, and he praiseth her. In one of his letters concerning our friend John B. Anderson, Mr. Carnegie says: "I see, as is usually the case, the wife had a great share in making the husband. Truly my experience is that when we do find a man, a worthy noble man, we also find in his home a heroine."

The interest of the Andersons in education was not limited to a means of making a living. The life of each was devoted to a purpose—the instruction and helping of others. And so, in addition to a useful and sometimes an essential connection with Washington and Jefferson, with Miami and Hanover, the Anderson Collegiate Institute for boys and girls, the Kansas State Agricultural College and the College of Emporia, these families each constantly reached out

*See pages 179-188, this volume.

to be of service to the individual, whether lad or grown—as in entertaining the young man Carnegie, or furnishing tuition free, from the theological school of the father and academy of the son, down to a vigorous canvass by the grandson and nephew, showing the people of a county how they were to be humbugged in building a narrow-gauge railroad instead of a standard gauge.* It is not to be wondered at that they sought the school-dotted state of Kansas, attracted by the ambition of its people along the line of mental and moral cultivation. And since the general assembly but recently observed the centennial anniversary of the home mission board, it comes to mind that the church † the Andersons established in Kansas, and which has been honored by Mr. Carnegie with a memorial organ, is the only one which never drew a dollar from the home mission board. It is but justice to state, however, that many a poor preacher carried a shortage, due from some church unable to pay, and without claim upon any home board, and all such the Andersons loved.

And this leads me to remark that I have been familiar with the home missionary on the border for forty-five years. I am not of those who think it was all self-sacrifice and suffering with the pioneer. My recollection is that, even under the most trying circumstances, there was much enjoyment. No existence on earth can surpass that which witnesses the accomplishment of great things—the development out of nothing of inanimate objects furnishing service and comfort, and of living forces destined to go on forever. All were subjected to the same risk of success or failure, losses incident in all enterprises; but I think the elements which contributed the most in developing Kansas, or any new country, for the least pecuniary return, are the minister, the teacher, and the newspaper editor. I think the home missionary as a statesman away above the politician. From the Alleghanies west the trail of the pioneer preacher of the gospel blazed the way for all that has followed of service to mankind. The same gospel of light and liberty which sought the eastern shore of the continent in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has covered the land and crossed the Pacific; the American idea has followed the foreign missionary; and the discussion of the Philippine question is as empty and vain as the abuse given Thomas Jefferson for the purchase of the Louisiana territory or the fun that was poked at William H. Seward for buying Alaska.

In the settlement of Kansas we see the same marks of the priest and preacher which followed the travels of Dr. John Anderson and his gospel associates through the trackless region of Ohio, Kentucky and Indiana 100 years ago. These men were impelled by a faith, a greater incentive than gold and silver or personal honor or renown. A month ago I attended an anniversary service of the first Presbyterian church in Topeka. The exhibit showed that during the past five years the contributions of this congregation averaged \$862 per year for foreign missions, \$1115 per year for home missions, \$3384 per year for all other benevolences, and \$8565 for their own worship and comfort. Thirty or thirty-five years ago this church was a charge on the board of home missions. This evidence that the seed sown is returning many fold exists with equal liberality in all the denominations, and in all portions of the state, varying of course on account of the

*About 1872 a great craze passed over the country for building railroads on a three-foot gauge. While preaching at Junction City, John A. Anderson made two speeches a day for a week in Clay county, where bonds for a narrow gauge were then pending, against the theory of a narrow gauge. The bonds were voted, the road built, and afterward changed to the standard gauge. He was great in mathematics, figured resistance, speed, etc., and was much in earnest that the people should not be fooled.

†The First Presbyterian Church, Junction City.

condition of material development. Kansas is old enough to show results, and in all lines, especially in our church and school work, do we see bread returning.* When the old faith is destroyed, what will take its place?

Kansas has been characterized from the start by the greatest liberality toward schools. We have an illiterate percentage of 3.4 among our male voters. There are two states with a lower percentage of illiteracy, Iowa, with 2.7, and Nebraska, with 2.5. State Superintendent Nelson† estimates the value of school property in the state at \$20,336,158, and the present annual expenditures for education to be approximately \$10,000,000, while during the past fifteen years there has been expended \$65,357,996 for public schools. For the support of common schools we have a permanent endowment of \$7,500,000 in round numbers, and 1,000,000 acres of school land yet to be disposed of; and we have an annual tax levy for schools ranging from two mills to twenty mills on the dollar, probably averaging ten mills.

We have also supported, by direct legislative appropriation, a State University, and a State Normal, with an Agricultural College partially so maintained. The legislature also sustains schools for the deaf and dumb, the blind, an institute for the feeble-minded, and an industrial school each for boys and girls. The State University has a faculty of 80, with 1200 students, and \$930,000 worth of property; it has an endowment fund of \$150,000. For the current biennial period, June 30, 1902-'03, the legislature gives the University \$135,000 each year for salaries; for buildings, \$35,000 in 1902, and \$50,000 in 1903. The State Normal has 2150 students, 44 teachers, and \$390,000 worth of property. It has an endowment fund of \$200,000, increasing at the rate of \$8000 per year, and the last legislature gave \$45,000 for 1902, and \$107,000 for 1903. The State Agricultural College has a faculty of 50, with 1400 students, and \$666,000 worth of property. It has an endowment fund of \$500,000, and the last legislature gave it \$117,880 for 1902, and \$62,280 for 1903. In 1873 it had 183 students, and in 1878, 238. But John A. Anderson's great work was in establishing one of the first free schools of college grade in the United States where systematic daily manual work became an obligatory branch of instruction for all male students. His change of policy saved the school from obliteration and the transfer of its endowment to the State University. These institutions obtained all their endowments and property from the government, state or national, excepting \$124,616 Eastern benefactions to the State University, this latter amount all invested in buildings. These institutions have a total attendance of 4750 students. They have done a remarkable work, giving to the country above the average of useful and leading men and women.

* The Presbyterian churches in Kansas gave to home and foreign missions, for the year ending May, 1901 (the figures for 1902 not yet available), as follows:

	<i>Home.</i>	<i>Foreign.</i>
Presbytery of Emporia	\$3,016	\$5,186
Presbytery of Highland	1,114	789
Presbytery of Larned	646	999
Presbytery of Neosho	1,278	1,255
Presbytery of Osborne	246	147
Presbytery of Solomon	881	876
Presbytery of Topeka	2,868	3,117
	\$10,049	\$12,369

† FRANK NELSON, who is on his second term as state superintendent of public instruction, was born in Andover, Ill., December 14, 1865. He is of Swedish descent. He was reared in Iowa, a farmer lad. His early training was at a district school. He attended the Mt. Pleasant Academy, and later took a teachers' scientific course at the Southern Iowa State Normal. He graduated at the Iowa State University in 1892. In 1892 he became dean of the normal department of Bethany College, at Lindsborg, Kan. He made his mark as a political orator before the Kansas Day Club in 1896. He was elected state superintendent of public instruction in 1898, by a majority of 14,579, and again in 1900, by a majority of 19,031.

But, as elsewhere, we have denominational and private schools, supported, independent of and in addition to the expenses of the state institutions, by various elements of our people. There are twenty-four denominational schools in Kansas, employing 400 teachers, attended by 6500 students, and owning \$2,855,485 of property and endowment. These schools are maintained by sixteen different religious organizations. The schools of Kansas have received in benefactions from private sources outside of the state, including \$124,616 to the State University, \$993,616. Deduct the university, and the denominational schools have received \$869,000, which deducted from the total property and endowment, shows that local and church people have invested in these schools \$1,986,485, besides their current expenses. Eight of these schools have among them \$312,500 endowment funds, besides some land, amount not stated, but in several instances only a few hundred acres adjoining for town lots. The Congregationalists lead, with \$180,000 of property, \$270,000 received from benefactions, and \$75,000 endowment; Episcopalians second, with \$406,000 property, \$141,000 benefactions, and \$11,000 endowment; the Methodists, with \$403,485 property, \$115,000 benefactions, \$10,000 endowment; the Methodist Protestants, \$250,000 property, and \$75,000 from benefactions. Then follow the Catholics, with \$210,000 of property; Swedish Lutherans, \$165,000 property, and \$40,000 benefactions; the Baptists, with \$143,000 property, and \$9000 benefactions; the Friends, \$150,000 benefactions; and Evangelical Lutherans, \$4000 benefactions. There are three Presbyterian institutions (Emporia, Highland, and Oswego), with \$153,500, not counting the United Presbyterians, with \$56,000, all together receiving about \$65,000 in benefactions. These figures are not absolutely correct. They are the best I could obtain, and will approximately give an idea. I hope they may lead to something more accurate in this line.

I have known of all these institutions since the first, and have watched their growth. I am old-fashioned enough to object to surrendering all to the state, and hence have been interested in the development of the denominational school. These Kansas church schools have done work equal to the best in the country—their pupils taking rank with any—supported by fees, as against the free tuition of the state schools, and with the greatest self sacrifice upon the part of teachers. Among the oldest of these schools are Baker and St. Benedict's, which began in 1858, the Sisters of Bethany in 1859, and Washburn in 1865, but the average existence of them all is twenty-one years.* In this time they have graduated 2959 pupils. Their graduates in 1900 numbered 406, which is nearly three times the average of the twenty-one years. This disparity will give some idea of the struggle in the earlier years to work up current expenses, the endowments, and nearly two millions of property. It has been hard work for forty years to gather this capital.

These figures, as imperfect as they may be, are a gratifying surprise to me. Our own people have done better by these schools than I anticipated; and further,

* Baker, founded in 1858; Bethany, Lindsborg, 1881; Bethel, Newton, 1893; College of Sisters of Bethany, Topeka, 1859; College of Emporia, Emporia, 1882; Cooper Memorial College, Sterling, 1887; Fairmount, Wichita, 1895; Highland University, Highland, 1856; Kansas Christian College, Lincoln, 1882; Kansas Wesleyan, Salina, 1886; Lane, Lecompton, 1865; McPherson College, McPherson, 1888; Midland, Atchison, 1887; Ottawa University, Ottawa, 1865; St. Mary's College, St. Mary's, 1849; St. Benedict's, Atchison, 1858; St. John's Military School, Salina, 1887; Soule College, Dodge City, 1894; Southwest Kansas College, Winfield, 1885; The Friends' University, Wichita, 1898; Kansas City University, Kansas City, Kan., 1896; Washburn, Topeka, 1865; Western University, Quindaro, 1891. See Superintendent Nelson's report, 1900. It is going rather too far back to commence with 1858, to get these averages, considering the small showing made before the close of the war. These figures would be much better and fairer if the date of commencement was set forward to at least 1870.

when we compare our age with that of Eastern communities, and that we began with nothing and had a permanency to establish, we have done fairly well in the amount received from benefactions distributed throughout the country. But when we contemplate the gifts to schools, universities and colleges alone in the United States during recent years, it would seem as though Kansas was not getting her proportion. We have followed other people and worked out our own course. We have established a permanency beyond doubt, and we have accomplished it by the most persistent, vigorous and self-sacrificing labor. The ambition of localities for higher educational privileges is responsible for some of the schools, rather than the religious societies in charge; there have been some localities rendered unfortunate by the material development of the state; but in all the history of these institutions there has never been any charge of mismanagement, nor of business or moral scandal, and the only trouble ever known came from a pinched condition of finances, which was at all times heroically mastered.*

The question of ecclesiastical management is singularly shown in a wider sense in a comparison I saw in an Eastern paper between the cost of the industrial school for freedmen at Tuskegee and the cost of the schools for freedmen under control of the Presbyterian board for freedmen. Booker T. Washington, for one school, with 90 instructors, and 1190 pupils, wants \$110,000 for support for one year. Under the control of the Presbyterian board for freedmen there are 79 schools, with 10,708 students, and 263 instructors, costing the church but \$75,000 per year. Perhaps the greater expense of the Tuskegee school is because of the cost of machinery, etc., for manual training, and the expense connected with farming.

The College of Emporia is an institution of high grade owned and controlled by the Presbyterian synod of Kansas. It was incorporated and located at Emporia October 6, 1882, and opened in the autumn of 1883. The first class was graduated in 1889. The total number of graduates in full college course, including the present senior class of 19 members, is 133. Its course of study is equal to that of the best colleges in the West. Its graduates are admitted to the senior class of Yale and Harvard. Its faculty is composed of able and experienced teachers. The campus consists of thirty-eight acres adjoining the city of Emporia. The buildings, including the new library, the gift of Mr. Carnegie, cost \$95,000. The total property, worth \$120,000, is entirely free of debt. The college now appeals to the friends of higher education for help, not to pay debts or current expense, but in raising endowment and making needed repairs.

As has been suggested, the range of development not anticipated, mistaken judgment as to lines of road and local advantages, have seriously affected some of these denominational-school enterprises. This was unavoidable, and it will have to be made up. The College of Emporia is centrally and conveniently located, but it is not as strong as it should be, and the Presbyterians are behind others in Kansas, notwithstanding they are the most liberal givers in the coun-

*Those who pass by the handsome and commodious brick buildings and grounds at St. Mary's, on the Union Pacific, will be amazed when they read the following:

APRIL 8, 1902.

Geo. W. Martin, Topeka: DEAR SIR—In reply to yours of the 1st inst., I wish to say that St. Mary's College receives and has received no financial aid from rich men or philanthropists from any quarter, nor has the church or local friends aided the college in any other way than by giving encouragement and moral support. The present condition of the college is the result of the industry and management of the fathers from the time when they came to this place from Sugar creek, in 1848, when the reservation was established here. The growth has been slow but steady. Our property, therefore, and income are derived from the fees of the students. We have no other source of income. It may be well to call your attention to the fact that the members of the faculty, who are Jesuits, cannot receive other recompense for their services than respectable support. Their vow of poverty requires this. You will see, therefore, that the expense of high-salaried professors is spared the college. Were it not for this, the college could not have become what it is to-day. Yours very truly, JAS. MCCABE, S. J., President.

try, because the original location was unfortunate. An incident of history in this connection shows what might have been. Highland University, in the extreme northeastern corner of the state, and off a railroad line, was first under the care of the board of missions and subsequently the synod of Kansas. The synod concluded to move and reestablish another elsewhere in 1832. The Rev. John Armstrong McAfee, D. D.,* was professor of Greek at Highland from 1870 to 1875. He removed in the latter year to Parkville, Mo., nearly opposite Kansas City, and opened school May 12. George Shepard Park,† an heroic antislavery man on the border since 1838, furnished some property to start with. Doctor McAfee and George S. Park were brought together by Mr. Josiah Copley,‡ an old-time resident of Kansas, who singularly enough was a regent of the Kansas State Agricultural College, and was instrumental in placing John A. Anderson in charge of that institution. Park College to-day, founded by Doctor McAfee, has property and endowment worth \$500,000; it has 400 students, and a total number of 427 classical graduates. It has an alumni association which has pledged \$10,000;

*JOHN ARMSTRONG MCAFEE, son of Joseph McAfee and Priscilla Armstrong, was born in Marion county, Missouri, December 12, 1831. He graduated from Westminster College in 1859. He married Anna Bailey, of St. Charles county, Missouri, August 23, 1859. He taught a young ladies' school at Fulton, Mo., and afterwards at Ashley and Louisiana, Mo. In 1875, after five years' service at Highland, in Kansas, he was solicited by George S. Park to open an industrial school at Parkville. Park gave him a stone hotel to start with.

†GEORGE SHEPARD PARK was born near Grafton, Vt., October 28, 1811. At the age of fifteen he started for the great West, walking. He stopped in Ohio and taught school. He then moved to Illinois, traveling with Stephen A. Douglas and Archibald Williams, a noted lawyer. In 1827 he started to take a course in the University of Illinois, at Jacksonville. In 1834 he taught school in Calloway county, Missouri. He failed in health, and soon started South. He enlisted with the Texans in the war against Mexico, and fought under Sam Houston. He was in the Goliad massacre, and was one of three who escaped. Park suspected treachery when the Texan prisoners were drawn up in line, and he and two of his companions dropped before the fatal volley and feigned death. He was on a scouting expedition on the day of the battle of the Alamo. On account of the violent disposition of the Apaches he returned to Missouri, in 1838, and entered the land on which Parkville now stands. He established a paper called the *Luminary*, and, being an ardent free-soiler, trouble soon came to him. He bitterly denounced the invasions of Kansas for voting purposes. David R. Atchison, then president of the senate of the United States, arranged to buy his press. Park would not deliver until he had time to go to St. Louis and buy another. Atchison informed him that the purpose in buying the press was to suppress his paper, when Park responded that he did not have money enough to suppress his paper. April 14, 1855, while Park was at Manhattan, a mob seized his press and sank it in the Missouri river. From 1854 to the close of the civil war mobs were after him all the time. One time a pro-slavery meeting sent a messenger to Park with the warning that he must leave in a few hours. He returned to the meeting with the messenger, and there defied them, announcing his intention to remain, and when they were on the point of doing him violence, Col. Fielding Burns sprang to his side and informed his followers that he would die in defense of Park. He slept in caves and the woods for months at a time because they were after his life. He died June 6, 1890, at the residence of his daughter, in Magnolia, Ill., and was buried at Parkville. He left an estate worth \$500,000. Here are his last words to the students of Park College: "Study the truths of God as given in the Bible and in nature. Fear God and keep his commandments. Be temperate in all things. Be true to the best good of mankind. Be honest. Be reliable. Be faithful. Be industrious. Serve the Creator always, first and last. Pray."

‡JOSIAH COPLEY was born in Shippensburg, Pa., September 20, 1803. He died in Pittsburgh, Pa., March 2, 1855. He was apprenticed early in life to the printing business, and, in addition to his office work, carried the mail on horseback between Indiana, Johnstown, and Bedford, in Pennsylvania. In 1825 he engaged in the printing business at Kittanning, Pa. He married a Philadelphia lady in 1826. About 1835-'39 he became connected with the *Pittsburgh Gazette*, and again from 1850 to 1852, retiring because of ill health. He became connected with the *Gazette* again in 1860. In 1866 he came to Kansas in the interest of the capitalists then connected with the Union Pacific, eastern division. He wrote a book entitled "Kansas and the Country Beyond." He lived for many years on a farm near Perry, in Jefferson county. While in Kansas he served as a regent of the State Agricultural College. He was always interested in church, school and literary work. Josiah Copley, of Lawrence, is his son.

about \$2000 of which has been paid. There is not a dollar of indebtedness on any of the property, and its value has been largely created by student labor. Special attention is given to the culture of Christian life, and Park College has the credit of educating more ministers than any other school in the country. Doctor McAfee might as well have worked in Kansas.

The world has never known such lavish generosity as the rich men of the United States have shown in some years past toward educational institutions, libraries, churches, and charities—a systematic giving, increasing with each year—practical beneficence in the line of obtaining something for their money of value to the general public. During the year 1901, the gifts reached \$123,888,732, in sums of \$1000 and upward. Of this total, the princely sum of \$68,850,961 was given to educational institutions; \$22,217,470 to charities; \$15,388,732 to libraries; \$11,133,112 to museums and art galleries; and \$6,298,489 to churches. In 1900 the total was \$62,461,304, and in 1899 it was \$79,749,956.* Up to April 30 last, when Mr. Carnegie sailed for Scotland, he had given away \$67,212,923 to nearly 500 different objects, mostly for libraries, but universities came in for considerable. He has established libraries in all the states and territories except six. In addition to the handsome favor Mr. Carnegie has bestowed upon the College of Emporia, costing \$30,000, his practical beneficence reached also other points in Kansas, as follows: Blue Rapids, \$500; Fort Scott, \$50,000; Emporia, \$20,000; Kansas City, Kan., \$75,000; Lawrence, \$25,000; Leavenworth, \$30,000; Newton, \$10,000; Ottawa, \$15,000; Salina, \$15,000; Winfield, \$15,000.† Not the least interesting feature of Mr. Carnegie's work is the big-heartedness which prompted him to ascribe so much of the credit to a friend of boyhood's day, and, in view of what he has done and proposes to do, who can measure the broadness, the depth and the reach of the tribute to his friend, he "opened to me the temple of knowledge."

This vast amount of money, excepting Mr. Carnegie's portion, goes out to institutions already bursting with endowments, confined to a limited area. I do not understand that adjoining states are any more fortunate than Kansas. It is one of the glories of the age that with the development of the millionaire comes

* *Chicago Tribune*, January 1, 1902.

† The *Chicago Tribune*, May 4, 1902, says: "Before he sailed for Europe, Andrew Carnegie revised a list of his gifts. It is the first time that he has consented to authorize a statement of what he has done. Until now, the only lists of his gifts that have been published have been such as were compiled with more or less success from the published records."

"According to this authoritative list, the total of his donations is \$67,212,923. It is divided between the United States, Scotland, Canada, England, Cuba, and Ireland, in the order named. The United States naturally has the largest share. Scotland, which comes next in point of benefit, has received only about one-quarter of what has been given to the United States, and \$10,000,000 of the \$13,078,750 that went to Scotland was given in a lump to found a fund providing a college education for those who wish it but lack the funds."

"The only other sum that was given by Mr. Carnegie that can compare in size with this one sum of \$10,000,000 is the \$10,000,000 donation for the establishment of a national university in Washington."

"In the last six months that were spent here by him he gave away more than \$20,000,000, or at the rate of \$111,000 a day."

"If Mr. Carnegie desires that his name shall become a household word throughout the country long after he is gone, the fulfilment of his wishes seems assured, for new libraries bearing his name will have been established soon in 368 cities and towns in the United States alone."

"His gifts are divided into these sums:

United States.....	\$52,270,173
Scotland.....	13,078,750
Canada.....	876,500
England.....	420,000
Cuba.....	252,000
Ireland.....	65,500
Miscellaneous gifts to Great Britain.....	250,000
Total.....	\$67,212,923

"The four largest gifts in the last six months, with the exception of the two \$10,000,000 donations, were \$300,000 to Cooper Union, in New York city; \$200,000 for library purposes in Denver, Colo.; \$175,000 for a library in Albany, N. Y.; and \$180,000 for the same purpose to Cincinnati."

the philanthropic spirit to bestow funds to such extent for the benefit of the world. But the inherent Kansas hope and spirit loses in its own impatience the thought that our schools must wait for their own millionaire graduates for equal endowment.

A certain number or class of men in this country have evinced a desire to give away millions that others may be benefited. They have made it a business proposition to place their money where it will do the most good. Why should not Kansas be considered in their plans? The educational institutions referred to have certainly demonstrated their permanency, and the integrity, faithfulness and capability of those managing them. We are just as other people—no better, and no worse. It may be conceded that Kansas does not stand well with moneyed men. More money has been lost in Kansas by the operations of non-residents than through the legitimate mistakes or swindling of the residents. The life of Kansas has been exceptional, and its troubles have not always been of its own making. The only sin Kansas people are guilty of is ingratitude—the meanest of all. We have a magnificent heritage. There is no thankfulness in us. If a crop is short or fails, we whine, even in anticipation; we are looking for distress or no rain all the time; and yet everything has happened just right for us, until we are as well fixed per capita as any people; but we boast until we make real millionaires feel cheap and poor. We have made great progress the past three or four years in eliminating debts, and while we are more comfortable than ever before, there are no great individual surpluses from which important benefactions could be expected. We have some political afflictions, but no more than other people; and the worst of all is the statesman who turns up in nearly every legislature with some patent stay law in the interest of the unfortunate and shiftless, and against the man who owns money. If the wheat or corn or rain should be short this season, keep quiet about it, and go on with your work, and if we have a great crop, quit blowing and boasting. Last July a howl went up about dry weather almost equal to that of 1874 or 1860, and yet when the year 1901 averaged up, it was among the best the state ever knew. There are many little things we might do to relieve ourselves of a prejudice that may stand in the way. I wish we could get into a more equable way of living; less agitation; less of the superlative; less sensationalism. Some control, perhaps, of our freaks might answer.

In the days of our territorial trouble Charles Sumner said that Kansas was worthy to be the central pivot of American institutions. William H. Seward said that Kansas was the Cinderella of the American family, and that she would live to protect, sustain and defend the country. John W. Forney said that if he was commanded to chose one spot on which to develop absolute liberty he would select Kansas. Eugene F. Ware, pension commissioner, says that "Kansas is not a state; it has never been a state; it is and has been a university." Boys and girls, born and grown in Kansas, already occupy a proud position in the affairs of the state, the nation, and of the world, and in the development of coming generations in this state there is limitless room for labor and means. Charles Moreau Harger, in an article entitled "The Prairie Woman: Yesterday and Today," published in the *Outlook* for April 26, 1902, says:

"At a tea-party of two dozen women in a farmhouse in central Kansas a few months ago experiences were interchanged, and it was found that eight of the party had at some time in their lives been to Europe. All of the eight had college diplomas laid away among their treasures. Several of the others also had been to college, and two had postgraduate degrees earned by hard work in the classroom. The schools of the West are the pride of the people, and well they may be. A record of over 1100 students of a Western university [the Kansas

State University, the writer informs me], taken this year, shows that the parents of forty-two per cent. of them are farmers, and that forty-seven per cent. of the students are self-supporting, working their own way through the school."

There are always lessons to be learned from the records of each other, notwithstanding we cannot all be Carnegies. Industry and attentiveness, however, can be cultivated, and these seem to be the features of Carnegie's boyhood—his great ability and generous heart manifesting themselves later. Mrs. Anderson says the first time she ever heard of Mr. Carnegie was one night when her husband came home from work on the Pennsylvania, and remarked: "Tom Scott has the best telegraph operator I ever saw or ever heard of." A vast majority of the failures in this life come from neglect of opportunity rather than from want of capacity, and the loss is generally made between the ages of twelve and twenty.

William H. Smith, president of the Kansas State Historical Society, was a soldier in the Sixty-second Pennsylvania regiment, commanded by Col. Samuel W. Black. In the first three months of the war Pennsylvania had about eleven regiments more than the government would accept, but Governor Curtin was confident they would be needed, and so he kept them in camp drilling. The Sixty-second was camped and maintained by the people of Pittsburgh in a cow pasture in the city of Allegheny, now a magnificent park, adorned by the Carnegie Free Institute. At the meeting of the national encampment of the Grand Army, held at Pittsburgh in 1892, Mr. Smith made an address to old soldiers in the Carnegie Institute. He told how, after the battle of Bull Run, the secretary of war inquired when the Sixty-second would be ready for the field, and the colonel responded as soon as transportation could be furnished. In three hours a young man brought into camp an order for the regiment to load on to any sort of cars and move to Washington immediately. The young man who brought the order into camp was Andrew Carnegie.

A reunited country and a stable government, results of the heroic services of the soldier, afforded the opportunity for Mr. Carnegie to enlarge from the position and fortune of a telegraph operator to a great iron master, possessing the means not only to give his neighbors and collaborators the splendid institute in which they were meeting, but to dot the whole country with similar advantages for others. Mr. Carnegie availed himself of his opportunity, and in turn he is presenting opportunity to millions. The old boys had fought to make possible the great industries Mr. Carnegie had conceived and built up, and not to burn and destroy them.

This Carnegie-Anderson incident connects Kansas with the greatest individual philanthropic movement in the world's history. I congratulate the College of Emporia upon its associations. I congratulate Kansas, and the schools of Kansas, that the spirit of the Andersons, while it covers a vast territory through boy and girl students, has focused in two of the educational institutions of the state. And I congratulate the world, and our common humanity, upon the soul-entrancing spirit which induced Andrew Carnegie forty-three years after to build this memorial to one who did him but a slight favor in his young manhood. May the College of Emporia be strengthened for greater work, and may the influence of this event be coextensive with all the denominational schools of Kansas, which have not only accomplished much by hard labor and sacrifice in the accumulation of means, but have given men and women scholars to all vocations as bright as any in the land!

THE EVENTS OF 1856.

Papers read before the meeting of '56ers at Lawrence, October 26, 1901.

THE TWENTY-FIRST OF MAY.

By R. G. ELLIOTT.

THE irrepressible conflict between two social conditions, each of which had found a place in the structure of the federal government, though discerned and first enunciated four years later by Lincoln and Seward as an economic law, based upon the very foundation of social organization, had its first overt manifestation on the plains of Kansas.

The controversy that had convulsed the nation and distracted the government in vain attempts at settlement by compromises was finally shifted by Congress upon the people of two newly organized territories, having boundaries defined, inviting a separation of the conflicting elements on geographical lines, thus avoiding a conflict and postponing the contest for supremacy.

As the policy of the government from the first had been the admission of free and slave states in pairs, for the purpose of maintaining their equilibrium, this division of the territory, which was an amendatory proposition proffered by Stephen A. Douglas, was accepted by the South as an allotment of their rightful inheritance in the national domain. By a majority of the intelligent leaders, this concession was accepted more as a recognition of what they considered a constitutional right than as a prospective possession. None knew better than they their impotence in a race for expansion with the North. Though under the sympathetic care of the two great national parties, and with federal protection by a stringent act for the return of its fugitives from the free states, slavery was shrinking decadent from its northern boundaries, massing southward, and plotting expansion toward the tropics. Besides, it moved to the frontier slowly, and behind an advance-guard of non-slaveholders.

The revelations of the census of 1850,* that had been given a wide publicity by the discussions in Congress with which the period was rife, showing the tidal flow that was filling the free West with population and wealth, contrasted with the sluggish and turbid streams flowing away from the South, had dashed any hope that might have been entertained by the Southern leaders of winning back for slavery any of the territory that, for a full generation, had been consecrated to freedom. Kansas lay with its full breadth in the deepest channel of the impending flood of emigration—a flood that in its shallower northern channel, in a season of less volume, had poured a population of 40,000 into the less desirable territory of Iowa within the first two years of her territorial existence.

The quiet acquiescence of the South in this view of the situation is shown by the speeches of congressmen in discussing the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and the comments thereon of the leaders of the Southern press, from Baltimore to New Orleans, extracts from which could be produced did space permit.

Only on the western border was there a purpose shown to interfere with the natural current of events. Here intractable slave extensionists, in political control of the state, with hopes enlivened by their proximity and commanding posi-

* The disparity between the wealth and population of the North and the South was set forth clearly in Hinton Rowan Helper's "Impending Crisis," published in 1857. This book was used by the republican party as a campaign document in 1860. Though not a friend of the slave, Helper showed the disadvantages of slave labor in the South.

tion for preoccupying the field, in command of ample subservient forces, and with the assured connivance of the whole array of federal officials, plotted its seizure.

The commerce of the plains, that in its growth of a generation had built up the frontier to a commanding eminence in population, wealth, and political influence, had also bred and trained an army of plainsmen, restless, daring, adventurous, impatient of the restraints of civilization, and lending themselves readily to purposes of violent leaders. Passing the freighting season beyond the restraints of law, in winter and seasons of idleness they found quarters in the border counties, developing into the border ruffian of the Kansas conflict, and graduating as the bushwhacker of the rebellion.

With the first wave of migration into Kansas rising in Missouri, it was planned, with this mobile element, to ride in on its crest, and through the ballot-box, having seized the legislature, entrench themselves in power. In justification of this lawless seizure, it was charged that an organization in the North to promote emigration to Kansas furnished both the suggestion and the excuse.*

The expanding West, the teeming hive of pioneers, conscious of the flowing

*COTTAGE FARM (near Boston), March 31, 1855.

Hon. D. R. Atchison, Platte City, Mo.: DEAR SIR—I take the liberty to address you upon a subject in which I have a common interest with yourself, viz., the settlement of Kansas. Since the repeal of the Missouri compromise by the last Congress, this territory has attracted the attention of the distant not less than of the neighboring states; for it is evident that here must be decided the question, unsettled now, whether there shall be slaves or free labor over a vast region of the United States. You and your friends would make slave states, and we wish to prevent your doing so. The stake is a large one, and the ground chosen. Let the fight be a fair one.

It is to secure this that I address you. Your influence is requisite to restrain your people from doing great injustice to actual settlers, and provoking them to retaliatory measures, the consequences of which would be most deplorable. I beg you, my dear sir, to use your efforts to avert so great an evil.

Let the contest be waged honorably; for, unless it be so, no settlement of the question can ever be final. It is already reported here that large bodies of Missourians will cross over merely to vote, that they may gain this election as they did the last. But how delusive to suppose that settlers who have come from 1000 to 2000 miles with their families will acquiesce in any election gained by such means, or that any future election can be satisfactory which is not conducted according to the law. The advantage of proximity is yours. Your people can afford not only to be just, but generous in this matter.

This repeal of the laws which secured this territory against the introduction of slavery is considered by most men in the free states to have been a breach of the national faith; and it is not unreasonable for those who have gone there for a home to expect a compliance with the laws as they are. Those from New England have gone there in good faith and at their own expense. They are chiefly farmers, but among them are good representatives from all professions. Some have considerable property; but all have rights and principles, which they value more than money, and, I may say, more than life itself. Neither is there any truth in the assertion that they are abolitionists. No person of that stamp is known to have gone from here, nor is it known here that any such have gone from other states. But oppression may make them abolitionists of the most dangerous kind.

There has been much said in regard to an extensive organization here, which is wholly untrue. I assure you, sir, that what has been undertaken here will be carried on fairly and openly. The management is in the hands of men of prudence, of wealth, and of determination. They are not politicians nor are they aspirants for office; they are determined, if it be possible, to see that justice is done to those who have ventured their all in that territory. May I not hope, sir, that you will second this effort to see that the contest shall be carried on fairly? If fairly beat, you may be sure that our people will acquiesce, however reluctant; but they will never yield to injustice. Respectfully yours,

AMOS A. LAWRENCE.

REPLY.

PLATTE CITY, MO., April 15, 1855.

Amos A. Lawrence, Esq.: DEAR SIR—Your letter of the 31st March last has been received, and would have been answered promptly had I not been absent for the last ten days. Although I have no personal acquaintance with you, I have yet heard enough of your history and character to entertain a high regard for you. I doubt not that you are actuated by kind and noble impulses and generous sentiments; but upon the question of slavery, by a mistaken judgment.

You say that you have a "common interest with myself in the settlement of Kansas." This I admit; but your interest is not equal to mine. I live within a few miles of Kansas, and have a few slaves; you have none (at least black ones). You have not the hazard of good or bad neighborhood to encounter; I have.

You say: "Since the repeal of the Missouri compromise by the last Congress, this territory has attracted the attention of distant not less than of the neighboring states; for it is evident that here must be decided the question whether there shall be slave or free labor over a vast region of the United States, now unsettled. You and your friends would make slave states, and we wish to prevent your doing so. The stake is a large one," etc. You are right in your conjecture that I and my friends wish to make Kansas in all respects like Missouri. Our interests require it; our peace through all time demands it; and we intend to leave nothing undone that will conduce to that end and can with honor be performed. If we fail, then we will surrender

tide of population that was rolling onward to the frontier, herself a living measure of its volume and force, trusted calmly to the natural forces in operation, with supreme confidence in the final outcome.

But the farther East, whose currents of emigration flowed in eddies or were thrown off in a more northerly channel, unconscious of the forces that were silently making for freedom, only saw Kansas bound and helpless, delivered to the slave power for her debauching, and rushed to her rescue with a scheme of promoted emigration.

Not only were the gracious efforts of this organization countervailed by the lawless intervention which it suggested and provoked, but the unwisdom of its directors in projecting armed resistance to the territorial authorities, provoking

to your care and control the state of Missouri. We have all to lose in the contest. You and your friends have nothing at stake.

You propose to vote or drive us from Kansas. We do not propose to drive you or your friends from that territory; but we do not intend either to be voted or driven out of Kansas, if we can help it; for we are foolish enough to believe that we have as much right to inhabit that country as men from New England. Neither do we intend to be driven from Missouri, or suffer ourselves to be harassed in our property or our peace, if we can help it. At least, we will try and make you and your friends share some of our anxieties. There now exists no reciprocity between the free and slave states. You and your friends can leave Massachusetts and pass through and take up your abode in Missouri or Arkansas, and our people and our laws protect your persons and your property not only from injury, but our hospitality and kindness save you from insult. How different from your state! I cannot pass through Massachusetts, or any other Northern state, with my servant, without the certainty of having him or her stolen, myself insulted, and perhaps my life taken. There is no reciprocity in this. Yet we are supposed to be citizens of the same republic. Our fathers fought side by side and formed an alliance, etc. The fight shall be as free as the nature of the case admits. Indeed, there should be no fight at all. I do not desire it; but, sir, if I am met by a robber in the highway, and he demands my purse or my horse, I will not stop to ask him whether he has a revolver, but will immediately resort to the use of my own weapons and make the best defense I can.

Your people, you say, leave their homes, thousands of miles distant, and come out of the ordinary course of emigration, for no other purpose, as they avow, but to exclude us from Kansas and overthrow our institutions. Ah! to overthrow slavery and establish freedom, as they say. At the election, last fall, for delegate to Congress, it is a fact beyond controversy, that many, very many, Northern men came from New England, New York and other remote points to vote, and for no other purpose; for not less than 150 of them left for the East, together with their candidate, on the day after the election.

Now, was it right for the abolitionists, 1000 miles off, to come to Kansas to vote us out of that territory, and wrong for the people of Missouri, living in sight of her green hills and broad prairies, to go there to secure their homes? Answer this, if you please. You say that my "influence is requisite to restrain your [our] people from doing great injustice to actual settlers," etc. My influence shall be used to prevent injustice to all actual settlers who come to Missouri or Kansas to improve their condition, whether they be from the North or the South. But let the settlers be sure that they do not come with the express purpose of doing great injustice to us. If so, they deserve, and shall have, no protection from me. The crusade preached by Peter the Hermit, and headed by Walter the Penniless, was just, righteous and holy compared with the Northern crusade to Kansas, and against Missouri and the other slave states. Peter complained of exactions, oppression and outrage upon the pilgrims to the holy sepulcher by infidels. To redress those grievances he preached his crusade; but you and your friends have no such grievances to complain of whatsoever, in the South or the territories. When you come among us you are greeted as friends, and treated as brothers, unless you come with the avowed purpose of doing wrong to us.

Now, sir, fanaticism preaches; the three thousand Peters of New England and the abolition battalions of Walter the Penniless will, I doubt not, meet the fate of their prototypes. Indeed, they have already, to some extent, met it; you say that "proximity is yours," and that we "can afford to be not only just, but generous." We can and we will not only be just and generous; we will protect ourselves and do the least possible injury to the persons and property of those who are neither just nor generous. For just and generous men will not come from Massachusetts to war upon the rights of men who never wronged them. You say that "the repeal of the laws which secured this territory against slavery is considered by most men in the free states to have been a breach of national faith." The history of the country, the public records, show this to be a mistaken assumption. Did it never enter into the heads of men in the free states that the enactment of the law which was repealed was a gross violation, in the first place, of a national faith, and that the disgraceful "statute" should long ago have been expunged?

You say that "those who go from New England to Kansas have gone in good faith, and at their own expense," etc. This may be and I doubt not is true in many instances; for I do not for one moment suppose that you would knowingly misrepresent, yet you may not be fully informed. You further say: "Neither is there any truth in the assertion that they are abolitionists. No person of that stamp is known to have gone from here." Now, my dear sir, we may not exactly agree as to the term "abolitionist"; but I care not how this may be settled — a man coming from Massachusetts or South Carolina to settle in Kansas, with the express purpose of excluding slaveholders from that territory and, by means of his influence in that territory, abolishing slavery in Missouri, I regard as an "abolitionist," and an enemy to justice and right, and the constitution and union of these United States. I respect a man who is willing to overthrow our government — involve the United States with each other in civil war — that African slavery may be abolished. So I would admire the man who would declare it wrong, and who would stake his life and his property on the proposition, that it was sinful and against God's law to butcher a calf or slaughter a lamb. The term "freesoiler" is to me far more odious than "abolitionist." The one implies something of honesty; the other all of knavery and hypocrisy.

retaliation and reprisals, inaugurated a reign of brigandage and terror that threatened extermination to the party of freedom.*

The method of entrenching itself in power served to weaken rather than strengthen the authority of the usurping legislature. The magnitude of the force by which it had been installed was proclamation and proof of glaring fraud, depriving it of all moral sanction for its enactments, and the ignominy of its laws for the protection of slavery covered it with contempt, that made it a merit to resist their enforcement. By necessity, the force that installed the legislature would be relied on to vindicate its authority, and a mob was summoned from Missouri to punish Lawrence for the rescue of a prisoner from the sheriff that laid siege to the town from their encampment on the Wakarusa.

A conflict, however, was avoided, and the embattled rabble, balked of their

I do not know what organizations you may have for abolitionizing Kansas; but most assuredly we have seen in the Boston and other Northern papers, and heard from Northern men, that companies have been chartered, and by some of your legislatures, the object of which was to colonize Kansas with abolitionists. And we have certainly seen notices of public meetings called to organize what they termed "emigration aid societies," one of which had F. P. Blair for president.

You say that "what has been undertaken here (Boston) will be carried on fairly and openly. The management is in the hands of men of prudence, of wealth and determination," etc. Now, my dear sir, let me assure you that the management of our affairs here to meet your movements in the North is also under the control and direction of prudence and determination. We have not much wealth amongst us, but we have a sufficiency, and we will see that justice is done to your people and ourselves, and when we are fairly ruined by your power we will then acquiesce, but not till then.

In conclusion, I would say that you and your people are the aggressors upon our rights. You come to drive us and our "peculiar" institution from Kansas. We do not intend, cost what it may, to be driven or deprived of any of our rights. Missouri will never again compromise or concede. We are, and intend to remain, your equals. Since the war of the revolution you have done nothing for the extension and glory of the confederacy. In the war of 1812, except a few of your sailors, you did nothing. In the contest with Mexico, Massachusetts, with the exception of a mutilated regiment, was not in the war, and your peculiar friends did not aid in raising and equipping that regiment. When territory is purchased with our money and our blood, you are for monopolizing it. I may be somewhat unjust in the foregoing remarks, but such is my recollection of history. If I am wrong you can correct me. The sin of slavery, if a sin, is ours, not yours. Your fathers sold their slaves, and ours bought them. If you consider slavery in Missouri or Arkansas a grievance to you, say at once that we must free them or you will separate from us. Do this and you will act like honest men, and we will meet you half way. We cannot ever maintain this state of *quasi-peace* and *quasi-war*.

I have been informed that you have an income of \$100,000. Let me suggest that you purchase \$90,000 worth of negroes; come out to Kansas; feed and clothe your slaves well; give them employment; build for them and yourself good houses; improve their condition; build for yourself fine barns and stables; cover the prairies with wheat, hemp, and corn; feed your cattle on a thousand hills; assist your poor neighbor; and my word for it you will do more good for your race, both white and black, than you are doing or can do in Boston. I should be happy to have you for a neighbor; and you will find as much good among slaveholders as you have found among non-slaveholders. At least, you will have tried an experiment. Your obedient servant,

DAVID R. ATCHISON.

(From *Littell's Living Age*, July 26, 1856, page 254.)

*The following is from a pamphlet entitled "Information for Kansas Immigrants," prepared by Thos. H. Webb, secretary of the New England Emigrant Aid Company, 1856:

ARMS.—Should they be taken along for protection against Indians, for hunting, etc.? Our opinion of the red man has already been given, viz.: As a general rule, if treated kindly, and met as a man, he will behave like a man; but if treated like a wild beast, you must expect conduct like one. Still, as impositions are constantly being practiced on him, and trespasses committed upon his rights, by vagabonds of our own race—of instances of which we ourselves have had repeated cognizance—it is not impossible, though hardly probable, that some roving bands from the distant plains, or fastnesses of the Rocky Mountains, may, under exasperation, make their appearance on the borders; and, as "an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure," and "discretion is the better part of valor," it would be well for all to go prepared for such emergencies.

Besides, it would be somewhat vexatious to a hungry man (and one who intends to be a pioneer must expect often to be hungered) to see game fleeing by him which might have furnished him many a good meal and be none the better for it, because, presuming there was no use for powder and ball, he went to his new home without them. Thus did not the hardy pioneers of the days of our ancestors. Moreover, wolves, rattlesnakes and other reptiles of various forms will be occasionally encountered or be detected around the claims; and although the former, like many enemies in human shape who make much noise, are great cowards, and seldom attack one, excepting when they are sure of an advantage, it is advisable to be prepared to give them a warm reception.

Whether there may be any other use for arms the writer, perhaps, is not qualified to judge; but, in accordance with the old Latin maxim, that it is permitted to be taught by an enemy, he thinks it sufficient, and it will probably be perfectly satisfactory to inquirers to adduce the opinion of Hon. David R. Atchison on this point. In a letter of very recent date to a gentleman at the South, he says: "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 will be an acquisition! The more the better. We

purpose by a threefold combination of causes—a December snow-storm, the intervention of Governor Shannon, and a treaty,* signed by Robinson and Lane, on behalf of the citizens of Lawrence, pledging them to “aid in the execution of the laws, when called on by proper authority.”

As punishment, rather than the exacting of submission, had been the purpose of the raid, the invaders yielded more to the persuasive influence of the snow-storm than to the conditions of the treaty, and went back to Missouri with threats of returning. Also, the beleaguered forces in Lawrence, on the rumor that their commanders had pledged them to a recognition of the bogus laws, wrought up to a point of mutiny, plotted a night attack upon the unsuspecting invaders, but were dissuaded from their design by a lesson in casuistry, enabling each one for himself to determine what was “law” and who were “proper officers.”

In this attitude of the parties winter passed, with Lawrence protected by its intense severity, with threats from the border, emphasized by the destruction of the *Leavenworth Register*,† and the murder of R. P. Brown,‡ a member elect of the nascent legislature, by the Kickapoo rangers.

With the opening of spring, unusual activity along the border presaged another invasion. Hitherto these raids had been projected without legal pretense. The last, though marshaling under an official proclamation, was mainly a mob led by the sheriff, which might have been rightfully resisted, and which the governor had been compelled to disown and disperse.

want men—armed men. We want money; not for ourselves, but to support our friends who may come from a distance. Let your young men come on in squads, as fast as they can be raised, well armed. We want none but true men.”

Such is the advice of one who, we are told “has occupied, for a quarter of a century at least, an eminently high position among the statesmen of the Union, and who, in the senate of the United States, over which he presided with so much satisfaction to that body, fairly earned a reputation of which few can boast.” The advice of such an one on the present subject of inquiry it would ill become us to gainsay.

We cannot refrain from quoting this gentleman's concluding sentiment, and most cordially reiterating his hope: “We hope that there will be an uprising of the people in every county and town in the state, and that, while our young men will in hundreds respond to the call of Kansas, the old and wealthy will give that aid which, if withheld, will keep from ‘there’ many a dauntless spirit, brave heart, and strong arm.”

The following is from Eli Thayer, in “New England Emigrant Aid Company,” 1857, page 45:

“As for Sharps' rifles, I know many went along with the emigrants sent by the company, and these men knew how to use them when the emergency demanded, as those familiar with Kansas history well know. No organization openly provided such implements at first, but they generally formed a part of the equipment of our colonies. The directors furnished them on their individual responsibility. Mr. Lawrence and others of the company provided a large quantity of arms and ammunition and sent them to Kansas in 1855. (See *Transactions Kansas Historical Society*, vols. I, II, pp. 221-224.) I, myself, bought two cases of rifles of Waters & Co., in the spring of 1855. These went to Kansas. (During the Kansas troubles I expended of my own money \$4500 for the purchase of rifles and cannon.) The complaint of the abolitionists themselves, early in 1855, that we were ready to repel force by force, is a sufficient refutation of the insinuation that the early emigrants would not fight. But they did not believe in shedding blood wantonly. Doctor Robinson's firm and decided policy, and the fact that the settlers were well armed with Sharps' rifles and ready to use them, caused the retreat of the Missourians from Lawrence in December, 1855.”

The following is from the free-state executive committee's minutes, pages 44 and 49:

“LAWRENCE, December 23, 1855.—In the absence of the chairman, C. K. Holliday was elected chairman *pro tem*. A letter from Eli Thayer proposing to furnish the militia of the territory with 1000 stand of improved arms for \$1200 Kansas certificates of indebtedness, was laid before the committee. On motion of G. W. Smith, Mr. G. W. Brown was instructed to correspond with Mr. Thayer, accepting the proposition.”

“LAWRENCE, January 16, 1856.—On motion of J. K. Goodin, the vote upon the acceptance of a proposition to purchase 1000 stand of arms was rescinded, and the agency given to Mr. G. W. Brown in relation thereto was revoked. The grounds for the motion were, that since the former order was made by the committee a letter had been received from Mr. Thayer proposing a loan of the arms without asking any remuneration therefor.”

*This document is printed in “Kansas; its Interior and Exterior Life,” by Mrs. Sara T. L. Robinson, page 150.

†While Mark W. Delahay, the editor of the *Register*, was in Lawrence, in attendance on the free-state convention, December 22, 1855, the contents of his printing-office were thrown into the Missouri river by a proslavery mob.

‡See page 334, this volume.

A winter's counseling by the border chiefs determined them to adjust their scheme more carefully to the forms of law, and arm themselves with both the force and the name of the combined territorial and federal governments.

The assertion of the paramount rights of the South to the possession of Kansas, in the division of the territories, that had served as the motive and excuse for all the outrages perpetrated, was placed in the background, and in its stead the enforcement of law and the suppression of insurrection was adopted as a pretext with loud proclamation, and the retroactive drama of Beelzebub casting out devils placed upon the stage.

A representative convention of the free-state party had proclaimed "resistance to the bogus laws, to a bloody issue." An independent state government,* with a constitution designed by its framers to be petitionary and consonant with the organic act, had been organized, but its executive was taking measures to support it by an armed military force,† a gauge of battle eagerly accepted by the border chiefs. A new partizan cry was taken up, and the proslavery party was ostentatiously reorganized as the law and order party.

A premonition of coming events was the appearance of Sheriff Jones with a batch of writs against parties charged with defiance of the laws. Attempting first to arrest Robert Buffum, his wife‡ interposed, and, seizing her husband by the arm, demanded his release. As she accentuated her demand with a warning shot from her revolver, Jones's gallantry and discretion getting the better of his official obligation, he acquiesced. On a subsequent day he attempted the arrest of S. N. Wood,§ who had expressed a willingness to submit to arrest for the pur-

*Among the manuscripts of the Historical Society are three volumes containing the original records of the Topeka constitutional movement, the gift of Hon. Joel K. Goodin: The minutes of the executive committee, covering the period from August 15, 1855, to February 11, 1856; the record-book containing the expenditures of the same committee, and the journal of the Topeka house of representatives, March 4, 1856, to June 13, 1857.

† Governor Reeder, in his diary, printed in volume III of the Society's Collections, page 206, under date of May 7, 1856, says: "Learned from the best authority that the plan we had so often heard of was about being carried out, to paralyze the free-state party; that the grand jury now in session at Lecompton had been charged by the court, as had the last grand jury at Delaware, that not only all the officers of the state government, but all the judges of election, were indictable. . . . Governor Robinson and Lieutenant-governor Roberts and myself had a consultation, and all came to the same conclusion. . . . Resolved that we must soon make an open, organized, armed resistance, and that, to make it as effectual and justifiable as it is already righteous and just, we must do it under and through the forms of the state government, and thus set up the state against the territorial government. For this we must call the legislature together, plan laws, organize courts, organize and officer our militia, and supply them all with arms who are not already supplied. . . ." (See page 334 of this volume, commission of R. P. Brown.) July 15, 1857, the free-state convention at Topeka, to nominate state officers under the Topeka constitution, appointed General Lane to organize the people to protect the ballot-box at the coming election. This military organization was quite effectually carried out, (See the Society's Collections, volume V, page 364.)

‡ Mrs. Robinson's "Kansas," page 183.

§ SAMUEL NEWITT WOOD was born at Mount Gilead, Ohio, December 30, 1825. He received a common-school education. His parents were Friends, and he imbibed their antislavery spirit. In 1844, though too young to vote, he was chairman of the liberty party central committee of his county. In 1848 he supported Martin Van Buren, free-soil candidate for president. In 1849, while returning from an underground railroad trip with some slaves, he made the acquaintance of his future wife, Margaret W. Lyon. He taught school and studied law, and was admitted to the bar June 4, 1854. Two days later he was on his way to Kansas. Early in July he settled, with his family, on a claim four miles west of Lawrence. He was one of ten men who rescued Jacob Branson from Sheriff Jones November 22, 1855, which defiance of "law" brought on the Wakarusa war. Volume V of the Society's Collections, pages 74-87, contains an account of the adventures of Mrs. Wood and Mrs. G. W. Brown in securing ammunition for Lawrence during this "war." Mr. Wood was a delegate to the Pittsburgh, Pa., convention which organized

pose of testing the validity of the laws. Wood had been a leader in the rescue of Branson,* that furnished the pretext for the Jones invasion, but, being prudently advised, had left the territory, and spent the winter in Ohio, whence he had just returned with a company of upwards of 100 men, "among whose baggage," to use his own description, "were some twenty boxes which had been borrowed, with their contents, from the Ohio state militia."

Under these changed conditions, Wood silently recalled his proffer of submission, and, encouraged by the sympathetic crowd closing around them, snatching a revolver from the sheriff's hip pocket, pulled himself away from the official clutch, and escaped through the crowd. On the following day a third attempt was made, on S. F. Tappan,† also one of the Branson rescuers, with like result.

the republican party, in 1856, to the Philadelphia convention, the same year, which nominated John C. Fremont for the presidency, and to the Leavenworth constitutional convention, in 1858. In 1859 Mr. Wood removed to Chase county. He represented Chase, Morris and Madison counties in the territorial legislatures of 1860 and 1861, was a member of the first state senate, in 1861, and again in 1867. During the latter session he secured the submission of a constitutional amendment granting suffrage to women, and gave it his hearty support in the campaign which followed. Colonel Wood was a member of the house of representatives in 1864, 1866, 1876, and 1877, and speaker during most of the last session. In 1864 he was appointed brigadier general of the state militia, and in 1867 judge of the ninth judicial district. This same year he went to Texas and remained two years. He was one of the original stockholders of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad Company. Mr. Wood was part owner of the *Kansas Tribune*, Lawrence, in the '50's, established the first newspaper at Cottonwood Falls, the *Kansas Press*, and at Council Grove, the *Council Grove Press*. The *Chase County Banner*, 1867, was printed on a press brought to Kansas by the missionary Jotham Meeker in 1833. In 1879 Mr. Wood was connected with the *Kansas Greenbacker*, Emporia; in the early '80's, with the *Topeka State Journal*, and in 1889 published the *Woodsdale Democrat*, and the *Woodsdale Sentinel* in 1891, in Stevens county. In politics he was always connected with reform movements, the republican, greenback, labor and populist parties. He was killed June 23, 1891, by Jim Brennan, as the result of a county-seat fight. (See Memorial of Samuel N. Wood, 1892, U. S. Biog. Dic. for Kansas, 1879, and scrap-book of the Society.)

*JACOB BRANSON came to Kansas territory from Indiana in March, 1854, settling in the neighborhood of Hickory Point, Douglas county, in August. November 21, 1855, a young man who had been living with him was shot and killed by proslavery neighbors. A meeting of free-state men was held next day at the scene of the murder, and Branson attended. That night Sheriff Jones arrested Branson for participating in the meeting. On the way to Leecompton with the prisoner, a party of free-state men, under James B. Abbott, met the sheriff's posse and released Branson. This affair was made the pretext for the Wakarusa war.

†SAMUEL F. TAPPAN is a native of Massachusetts. In 1848 he entered a mercantile house in Boston. He came to Lawrence, Kan., in August, 1854, with a party of about thirty settlers, mostly from New England. He wrote Kansas letters to the New York *Tribune* and Boston *Atlas* that month, telling of the first contest with border ruffians from Missouri at a settlers' meeting at Miller's, a few miles above Lawrence. He went East in May, 1855, returning in June, and, with Martin F. Conway, made a canvass of southern and western Kansas in favor of an organized free-state movement. He was clerk of the Topeka constitutional convention, and assistant clerk of the Topeka house of representatives. He took part in the Branson rescue, and was afterwards arrested and committed for trial, but was finally released without bail. He had hoped to carry his case to the supreme court for the purpose of testing the territorial laws. As assistant clerk of the Topeka house of representatives, July 4, 1856, (Thomas A. Minard, speaker, and Joel K. Goodin, chief clerk, being absent,) he was the presiding officer at the time of its dispersal by Col. E. V. Sumner. In July, 1856, Mr. Tappan visited Washington, D. C. On his return to Kansas, in August, he found a party of Buford's men on the train between St. Louis and Jefferson City, on their way to Kansas. He returned to St. Louis, and, after consultation with the Kansas committee and with Mr. O. H. Browning, of Quincy, Ill., obtained an order from the committee at Chicago for a large number of Sharp's rifles, Colt's revolvers, Bowie knives, and a quantity of ammunition, with which he set out with eighteen men for Kansas, by way of Iowa City and Nebraska. He met T. W. Higginson at Iowa Point, and at Plymouth, Kan., joined James Redpath, with about 200 men, among whom he distributed the arms. Stopping at Topeka on the way to Lawrence, the party was arrested, but the governor, being assured that the prisoners were a party of peaceable emigrants, permitted them to proceed. January 8, 1857, Mr. Tappan again performed the duties of speaker of the Topeka house of representatives, that offi-

Defeated by the good-natured jamming of the crowd around him, the sheriff, unable to fix the responsibility on any one, charged his failure against the whole population of the town, as an act of Punic faith in the observance of the Shannon-Robinson treaty, to be expiated at some future reckoning.

In his fourth and more successful attempt at the service of his writs he was supported by a squad of United States troops under Lieutenant McIntosh; but, remaining in town over night to make further arrests, he was shot in the back through the walls of the officer's tent.*

This attempt at assassination filled the measure of aggravation to overflowing, inflamed the spirit of revenge, and throughout the border of Missouri, notwithstanding her reprobation of the crime and offer of a reward for the detection of the assassin, the destruction of Lawrence was demanded as retribution. To give the infliction of the predetermined penalty the form of legality, indictments were obtained against the Free-state hotel as a "fortification for insurrectionary purposes," and the two printing-offices, for the publication of articles claimed as "inciting resistance to the laws."

To invoke federal assistance to territorial authority, an indictment was obtained against ex-Governor Reeder, on the charge of resisting the United States marshal who had served an attachment upon him for contempt in the presence of the congressional investigating committee sitting at the Free-state hotel. Reeder, pleading constitutional exemption from arrest, had defied the marshal, averring that he would defend his personal liberty by all the means that God had given him. The official withdrew abashed, and as he emerged timidly from the presence he was jeered by the crowd in the street that had been attracted to the scene. This demonstration was construed as organized rebellion, and a proclamation was issued by the marshal commanding the "law-abiding citizens to appear at Leecompton in numbers sufficient for the execution of the laws." To this call, the lawless forces of the border, with the still more vicious recruits arriving from the far South, responded, and were mustered in as a posse of the United States marshal.

How valiantly they acquitted themselves in executing their lawless purposes by legal sanction will appear from an account of their proceedings on the 21st of

cer, with other members, having been arrested the day before by Deputy Marshal Pardee and conveyed to Tecumseh. He was secretary of the Leavenworth constitutional convention, in 1858, and a clerk of the Wyandotte convention, in 1859. In July, 1860, Mr. Tappan left Kansas for Denver, where he took an active part in securing the organization of the city government. In July, 1861, he raised a military company in the mountains, and in August was commissioned lieutenant-colonel of the First Colorado, which did gallant service in that territory and in New Mexico. In the summer of 1864 he was ordered East, returning to Colorado late in November, two days before the perpetration of the Sand Creek massacre, and later presided over a military commission to investigate that affair. In August, 1867, he was a member of the commission authorized by Congress to arrange a peace with the plains Indians and locate the different tribes on permanent reservations. The other members of the commission were Generals Wm. T. Sherman, William S. Harney, and Alfred H. Terry, N. G. Taylor, commissioner of Indian affairs, J. B. Henderson, United States senator from Missouri, and Gen. John B. Sanborn, of Minnesota. The commission sat first at St. Louis, August 6, and the New York *Tribune* of August 13 contains an account of the meeting, written by Mr. Tappan. Hon. Thomas A. McNeal tells of a later meeting of this commission, at Medicine Lodge, and the salutary results of its work, in his article printed in the Society's Collections, vol. VI, p. 344. Mr. Tappan is now a resident of New York city. (See manuscript autobiography of Mr. Tappan, given the Society by Colonel Hinton in 1895. Statement of Mr. Tappan, dated December 14, 1856, in Historical Society's Collections, vols. I, II, p. 212.)

*The shooting of Sheriff Jones has generally been ascribed to Charley Lenhart, but, in a letter to the Society, under date of September 18, 1897, Philip W. Woodward says it was James P. Filer, of Lawrence, a surveyor from New York, who fired the shot.

May as condensed from "The Recollections of Colonel Eldridge," now in course of preparation for publication.*

In reviewing these events, satisfying as memories to those who took a noble part in them, however painful in enduring, with their relations to the subsequent throes of the nation, we cannot but be impressed with the failure of all movements on either side of the conflict to accomplish the immediate results intended—of councils failing and schemes brought to naught. We are compelled to acknowledge the divine law in the evolution of humanity in its nobler attributes—the breaking of the chrysalis shell that "cribbed and confined" a nation—calling into life its—

"Spiritual counterpart . . .
Consummating its meaning, rounding all
To justice and perfection, line by line,
Form by form, nothing single nor alone,"

enthroning it arbiter among nations, and commanding the admiration of the world.

And over the earthy chrysalis of the period of the conflict, now transformed, as, with awakening consciousness of untried power and exalted conceptions of

* The account of the events of the morning of the 21st of May, 1856, by Col. S. W. Eldridge, in his "Recollections" of the early times in Kansas, is herewith given:

"Sunrise on the 21st of May, 1856, revealed Mount Oread astir for the assault upon the doomed town. A battery of four brass pieces was wheeled into line, trained upon the heart of the town, manned and charged. Supporting it were 200 horsemen, magnified by their eminence, with their arms and a red banner glittering in the morning sun. These were reinforced by company after company, mounted and on foot, that came marching around the crest of the divide, from the California road, their numbers magnified by their elevated position and their ostentatious method of approach—an imposing array of 800 men, performing the maneuvers of an army preparing for an engagement. Prominent among them were Senator Atchison, of Missouri, now sporting the title of general, with his "Platte County Rifles," manning two of the cannon; the Kickapoo rangers, under Colonel Clarkson; the Hotspur Col. Warren D. Wilkes, of South Carolina, and Colonel Titus, of Florida. These had come from Leecompton. From camp near Franklin came the Missouri border forces, under Colonel Boone, the government freighter from Westport, Colonel Buford, the patron of the fire-eaters, from Alabama, and other less distinguished Southern leaders.

"With the military forces, either as political advisers, legal counselors, or director-generals, were Gen. B. F. Stringfellow, the chief executive of the slave propaganda; the able lawyer, Peter T. Abell, and a full contingent of the border editors and politicians of Missouri—an array that only a majestic fete expected could call out. The affected strategy and imposing maneuvers, with the attendant retinue of lawyers, editors, and politicians, confirmed the premonitions that the marshal had more serious business than the service of a few writs.

"Lawrence lay below in Sabbath stillness, in affected innocence, and unsuspecting of its doom, the citizens being advised to avoid every demonstration that would invite attack. The forces being placed in order for attack, and the battery in readiness, with lighted fuses, the marshal, with a posse of ten unarmed men, rode into town, and found those for whom he had writs submitted to arrest without resistance or attempt at evasion, and, invited to dinner by Colonel Eldridge, partook of the only public meal served in the Free State hotel.

"The Free State hotel was the pride of the town. Built by the Emigrant Aid Company, as if to atone for the shabbiness of their other structures, it was of city dimensions and appurtenances. It had been leased by Colonel Eldridge, who furnished it at a cost and with an elegance unsurpassed by any hotel in the West, and stored its cellars with the choicest supplies, but had delayed the opening from rumors of its intended destruction. His previous residence in Kansas City had prevented his complicity in the affairs of Kansas, and to his personal appeals he had obtained the promise of the governor and marshal that the hotel should be protected, and to insure the good-will of the latter had prepared a lavish spread. But in vain. The marshal left without even acknowledging the hospitality, turned his forces over to Jones 'for the execution of the orders of the court,' as it was proclaimed. Receiving the command, Jones dashed up to the hotel with a company of horsemen, and demanded the surrender of all the arms, to be stacked in the street within thirty minutes by his watch, under penalty of the bombardment of the town; an order not to be neglected, as was subsequently proved. The cannon was brought from its concealment, and the few guns not in the hands of private parties were given up. On the reception of these, he notified Colonel Eldridge to vacate the hotel, giving him two hours in which to remove his furniture. Without a place to store it, or ability to remove it within the time, he was compelled to abandon it, and place his family, with a sick daughter, in hacks, and send them back to Kansas City.

"While the furniture was being cast out and the elegant hangings appropriated by the vandal posse, two companies were detailed for the destruction of the printing-offices. The presses and furniture were broken up, type emptied into the street or thrown into the river, and the stock and files scattered to the winds. In the office of the *Free State* was a library of 300 volumes. The books were torn up, hacked with sabers, and thrown into the street, and, as the work of destruction was completed, the company marched away, each member carrying away a book on his bayonet. At the expiration of the two hours cannons were brought up, and the bombardment of the hotel began. The first shot, a Minie bomb, sighted by Atchison, missed

national destiny it expands its wings beyond the continent, we behold the glory of a transfiguration.

And through the sacred grief and sublime admiration expressed by a great and united people for their martyred president [President McKinley] we see the face of a nation chastened but regenerated, reinvigorated, raised to a loftier plane of action, and glowing with a divine illumination.

* * * * *

CAPTURE OF FORT SAUNDERS, AUGUST 15, 1856.

By O. P. KENNEDY.

I presume that anything that I can say about the causes which led up to the capture of Fort Saunders* would be nothing new to you. It will be remembered that Saunders was a proslavery man, and his place on Washington creek was made the headquarters for the border ruffians in that part of the county. It was about four miles southeast of Clinton, if I remember correctly, or about twelve miles southwest of Lawrence. Saunders had a strong log house which was used as a fort. An old corn-crusher was located there, and David S. Hoyt† was sent out August 11, ostensibly to get a sack of corn crushed, but in reality to learn all that he could in regard to these ruffians. He was murdered on getting away from there. It is believed, from the fact that he was a Mason, that his life was protected while in camp, but some of the border ruffians followed him, and beat his head into a mass. It was a horrible sight, and created much indignation. This occurred just before the fight at Franklin. Our company, the Wakarusa guard, was camped at Blanton's bridge.‡ It had been determined upon to drive all of these proslavery camps out of the country, and this murder of Hoyt made us more determined than ever. Our company, about eighty strong, camped on Doctor Macy's claim, near Fort Saunders, and waited for reinforcements, and at the same time prevented the border ruffians from Lahay's place coming to the rescue. During the night reinforcements arrived. Lane and Brown came in. I don't know whether John Brown brought his Osawatimie company or not. Lane assumed command. A council of war was held that night, and they had a

the building, passing over its three stories, and, burying itself in west Lawrence, was uncovered and identified some thirty years later. Fifty shots failing to knock down the walls, and two kegs of powder to explode it, the work of destruction was completed by fire. Vandalism was supplemented by looting stores and private dwellings, and, on leaving town, Governor Robinson's dwelling on Mount Oread, that had been appropriated as headquarters, was fired and destroyed, with its valuable contents."

*An account of the killing of Hoyt and surrender of Fort Saunders is given in the Society's Collections, vols. I, II, pp. 227 and 230.

†DAVID STARR HOYT, of Deerfield, Mass., came to Kansas in March, 1856, as leader of a company of young men raised by Dr. Calvin Cutter. The party had in charge four cannon and 100 Sharp's carbines with ammunition. In coming up the Missouri river in the "Arabia" the arms were discovered, and Hoyt identified as the person in charge. After much violent discussion as to the best mode of procedure, the arms were put ashore at Lexington, and a receipt given Hoyt for certain boxes which were to be delivered to Governor Shannon or his successor in office. The slides of the carbines had been sent ahead with Doctor Cutter, and reached Kansas in safety. Hoyt afterwards secured, through Governor Geary, most of his goods. August 11, 1856, Hoyt volunteered to visit Fort Saunders, a proslavery camp south of Lawrence, on a friendly mission. On his return he was accompanied some distance from camp by two men, who murdered him, and after maltreating his body buried it in a shallow grave. His body was afterwards recovered by a party of which Henry J. Shombre was one. William B. Parsons, who accompanied Major Hoyt from Massachusetts, published in the *Kansas Magazine* of July 1872, an article in memory of his friend, David Starr Hoyt.

‡This bridge was built by James B. Abbott across the Wakarusa on the claim of H. B. Blanton, situated on the northwest quarter of section 19, township 13, range 20, about three miles south of Lawrence.

pretty hot time of it. Brown and others wanted to fight early in the morning, but the majority wanted to wait until later in the day. I don't know what their reasons for delay were. We came up from three different sides, and reached the fort just as they were preparing to eat dinner. A number of shots were exchanged with the pickets, but when our main army reached the fort the border ruffians "skedaddled" out. It was a bloodless victory, as no one was injured, to my knowledge; but it had a good effect.

I wish to correct John Speer's account of it. In his "Life of Lane" he says, on page 114: "At Fort Saunders was a solid log house, besides breastworks of considerable strength, with a superior force to Lane's. But Lane made an exhibition of force by marching around elevated objects, which alarmed the enemy, and they fled the country in all directions."

Governor Robinson, in his "Kansas Conflict," on page 306, quotes John Speer as saying, in the *Lawrence Tribune*, June 20, 1876: "He (Lane) ordered out all his forces of cavalry. Then he gathered in all the farmers' wagons and, placing boards across them like seats, made holes in these boards, into which he stuck pegs, and around these pegs he tied bundles of straw, so as to make them at a distance look like men. Thus prepared, the whole force of live and straw men made their appearance upon the heights in sight of Fort Saunders. As the view of them was an oblique one from the fort, the teams were spread out to a good distance apart, but still looked as if they were close together. As they emerged from the woods they seemed to keep coming as if there were no end to them. This ruse had its effect, and before a gun was fired the men were seen fleeing in all directions." I am sure there is nothing to this, for there were no wagons, only those which carried our baggage. We had plenty of men, in fact, more than they had, and wanted to capture them if we could.

I suppose that the governor republished the *Tribune* article in order to show the fighting qualities of Lane, but I don't know why Speer should ever have written it. While we captured none of the border ruffians, we captured some guns and ammunition and camp equipage. Captain Hutchinson detailed me to take a squad of men and see where they went to; we were unable to overtake them, but supposed that they escaped to Fort Titus. Colonel Walker, in command, followed them that night, and we had a fight the next morning at Fort Titus, two miles south of Lecompton. These border ruffians had been plundering and robbing the farmers, but the capture of Fort Saunders cleared them out, and there was practically no more trouble in that part of the country. Forty-five years is a long time to accurately remember details, but I have given an account of the capture of Fort Saunders to the best of my recollection.

I want to say that I am glad that we have formed this organization of old settlers, and regret that it was not formed long ago. An accurate history of those trying times can never be written now, and the younger generations, I fear, will never fully understand the hardships and trials the settlers of 1856 and those prior to that time went through with to make homes for themselves and Kansas a free state. And there should be no differences or ill feeling between us old fellows, for but a few years more and there will be no one to meet at these annual gatherings of the settlers of 1856. It should make no difference to us now whether we were Brown men, Lane men, or Robinson men. The fact that we went through these trials together should be a tie strong enough to bind us all together, and if any of us know of any of the old settlers who have not met with us to-day, let us make special effort to look them up and have them with us a year hence.

THE CAPTURE OF TITUS, AUGUST 16, 1856.

By WILLIAM CRUTCHFIELD, one of the participants.

In order to give an intelligent account of the capture of Fort Titus, it is necessary to give some of the causes which led up to the event.

In the spring of 1856, military parties came from Georgia and South Carolina determined to make Kansas a slave state. They were under the charge of Buford, Titus, and others, provided with arms and banners. The South Carolinians had a blood-red flag, with "Southern Rights" on one side and "South Carolina" on the other, which is now in the Historical Society's care. As these parties arrived, they were enrolled with the marshal's posse, to assist in arresting "treason prisoners." After making arrests in Lawrence, May 21, 1856, he turned the posse over to Sheriff Jones, who destroyed the hotel and printing-presses and sacked the town. These Southerners afterwards divided into small parties and fortified themselves at the town of Franklin,* in a camp near Osawatomie, at Fort Saunders on Washington creek, and at Colonel Titus's house, about two miles from Lecompton, living off of the settlers and committing depredations of various kinds. During this time the Missourians would not allow any free-state emigrants to come up the Missouri river, and in order to reach Kansas they had to come through Iowa and Nebraska.

The outrages of the Georgians near Osawatomie finally led the free-state settlers of that neighborhood to appeal to Lawrence for help. But when an attack was made, August 5, the Georgians had abandoned the post, leaving a store of provisions, which were taken by the free-state men and the fort destroyed. The garrison betook themselves to Fort Saunders, and continued their depredations. The free-state committee of safety finally decided to see if arbitration would not lessen the difficulties, and Major Hoyt volunteered to go on a conciliatory expedition. He was killed while returning from Fort Saunders. His body was not recovered until August 14. This murder roused the free-state men to break up the proslavery camps. Franklin was first attacked and a cannon and other arms secured, part of the proslavery defenders being captured, and others taking refuge at Fort Saunders, which post was the next objective point of the free-state forces. The Stubbs company and other reenforcements from Lawrence went to Rock creek in the night, and found encamped there Doctor Cutter and his company:

*"Franklin, Kansas territory, is what the geographer would call pleasantly situated on a somewhat prominent hill or prairie ridge. It was first settled by one Wallace, of Iowa, in October, 1853, but permanent buildings were not commenced until June of the present year [1855]. As regards the value of land, town lots, 60 by 120 feet, bring, according to location, from \$25 to \$100; although, for that matter, we should much prefer to buy at a less rate, and at a greater distance from the main body of the place; for we understand that the whisky-drinking and gambling propensities of the good citizens of Franklin are pretty generally known. Timber, principally oak (various kinds) and black walnut, is to be had in present abundance, at the distance of a little over a mile from the town. Excellent water may be obtained by digging to a depth of from twenty-five to thirty-six feet; but these wells sometimes go dry. For building purposes, pine lumber may be obtained at Kansas City—the nearest point—at a cost, including transportation to Franklin, of eighty dollars per 100 feet. Agriculturists say that the yield of corn in that vicinity, first crop, taking a range of two miles from Franklin, has been sixty bushels to the acre, in lands on the Wakarusa bottom, and twenty-five bushels in sod on the prairie. A two-story frame building, forty-two by thirty-two feet, comfortably furnished inside, has just been put up, at a cost of \$1400. We were afterwards invited to attend a housewarming upon the completion of this dwelling by its owner, who very kindly offered to send a conveyance to Lawrence, where we were then stopping, to bring us down, and we regret that our engagements and the severity of the weather should have prevented us from seeing a social fandango in Franklin, where, to do the people justice, they are said to get up those sort of things in very good (frontier) style. But to return. There are some twelve houses and cabins built or in process of erection. The population of this place is from 75 to 100 souls. It is a strong proslavery town, and furnished a large quota—nearly sixty men—to the governor's forces for 'the war.' It has a steam sawmill of eighteen horse-power. The citizens claim to have had no cases of that great Western bugbear, the all-shaking fever and ague, as yet; but we should say that the location, with the large swampy bottom in its vicinity, was favorable to the production of swamp miasmas. Franklin is distant by some thirty-eight miles from Westport, Mo., fifty-five from Independence, three from Lawrence, and fifteen from Lecompton, the capital of Kansas territory." It was situated in section 10, township 13, range 20. [The above quotation is copied from "The War in Kansas," 1856, by G. Douglas Brewerton, page 131.]

also Colonel Harvey and his company, who had come through Iowa, and Jim Lane, John Brown and a number of other Kansans.

It was rumored that Maj. John Sedgwick, U. S. A., had sent a squad of soldiers to protect Saunders's camp. A committee was sent to Lecompton to learn the truth of the report, but found there was no such order. The policy of the free-state men was not to come in conflict with the United States troops.

In the afternoon we marched on Camp Saunders, but its defenders fled at our approach. After destroying everything about the camp, we returned to Rock creek with Hoyt's body. Then we heard that two free-state men had been arrested and taken to Lecompton, and were to be hung the next morning. We resolved to go to their rescue. We started across the prairie for Lecompton. The leaders, Colonel Walker, Joel Grover, and others, went to Lawrence for consultation. As we got near the California road, about twelve o'clock at night, John Mack and John Armstrong went toward Wakefield's to get water. It was a calm moonlight night. They came across Titus and party on a night foray. Soon we heard some shots fired, and the patter of the horses feet, as they came near. Our leaders cried, "Prepare to fight!" While we were preparing Titus and his party came up, not more than forty rods from us, and halted, but seeing the prairie covered with men, they made a dash past us for their camp. Almost every one fired at them but none were hurt on either side.* Then we lay down in the grass near Colonel Walker's house until daylight. When the party from Lawrence came and ordered an advance on Titus, there were a number detailed to take positions between Lecompton and the troops, so as to prevent a message being sent from Governor Shannon to the troops that were guarding the treason prisoners about half a mile from Titus's house. This detail was fired on from a window in Titus's house. There were a number of them more or less wounded, Shombre mortally. Titus's party was in tents near the house and in running to the house one of them was killed.

Then Bickerton with his "Sacramento" sent some of his type bullets into their log house, which caused them to surrender. Twenty-one surrendered to Colonel Walker. During this time a message had got through to Major Sedgwick from Governor Shannon, and the troops went into Lecompton in a hurry.

Titus's house was burned and everything destroyed. While preparing to take the prisoners to Lawrence the troops came in sight, and we expected that they would attack us to rescue the Titus party. Colonel Walker went along the line and gave orders not to allow any one to be arrested or any of the prisoners to be taken. The troops followed us until they came to where Titus's house was burning, and did not follow any further. We arrived in Lawrence Saturday afternoon with the prisoners, and they were put under guard until it was decided what to do with them. The feeling against Titus was very strong, and some were determined that he should not be liberated.

On Sunday it was rumored that the troops were coming from Lecompton to rescue Titus's party. In the afternoon, Governor Shannon, with an escort of about thirty United States troops, came down on a peace mission; so the leaders had a conference with him in the Cincinnati House, which lasted most of the afternoon. There was a large crowd on the street waiting the result of the conference. Colonel Walker came out and said that an agreement had been made, and that Governor Shannon would state it. Bedlam broke loose; men jumped to their feet with drawn revolvers and cried: "Never! Never!"

Then Colonel Walker jumped on a horse, drew his revolver, and said: "The

*In the Hyatt manuscript Colonel Harvey says that two of the enemy were wounded in this engagement, one fatally.

first man that insults Governor Shannon does it over my dead body." He also said: "I have always been with you; but Governor Shannon shall not be insulted."

It stopped them as quick as a thunderclap. They then said that they would hear him as Shannon, but not as governor. Governor Shannon then stated the result of the conference: that he would send down the cannon that was taken at the time the hotel and printing-presses were destroyed, and also the prisoners that were arrested for the attack on Franklin, in exchange for Titus and his men. This agreement was carried out. The next day the prisoners and cannon were delivered, and Titus and his party were given over to the United States troops. Thus ended the capture and release of Titus and his party.

Wounded at Franklin: Arthur Gunter, dangerously, in lungs; G. W. Smith, slightly; John Brook, in the head; W. D. Wells, in the hand; John Crocker, slightly.

At Titus's: Henry J. Shombre, mortally; A. W. White, arm amputated; George Henry, slightly; James N. Velsor, slightly; J. M. Shepherd, slightly; Chas. Jordan, slightly; George Leonard, slightly.

* * * * *

BATTLE OF HICKORY POINT, SEPTEMBER 13, 1856.

By CHARLES W. SMITH.*

Hickory Point was laid out in March, 1855, and a settler named Charles Hardt was appointed postmaster by the government. From the very earliest settlement, there was a contest between the free-state and the proslavery residents, as to which party should control the politics of the county. At first the proslavery men gained the ascendancy, from the fact that it was so near the Missouri line it was very easy to run in votes enough to control the elections. Party feeling ran high; each party regarded the other as having no rights that they were bound to respect. At the first election the proslavery men took possession of the polls and carried things with a high hand. After this there was but little respect for law and order on either side. After the outrages at the first election each party held separate elections and refused to acknowledge those of the other as legal, or to obey the laws passed by the other. Late in the summer of 1856 the trouble had become so bad that the free-state settlers having increased in numbers, they determined to drive the border ruffians out of the country.

On Sunday, June 8, 1856, two proslavery men, Jones and Fielding, from near Hickory Point, were driven away. Both parties were organized and skirmishes became frequent. One A. T. Pattie, a proslavery man, had built stores at Grasshopper Falls. He would not recognize the town authorities, but built his stores in the streets. So bold and troublesome had he become, that the free-state men drove him out of the country. A man named R. H. Crosby and his brother built a store at Grasshopper Falls early in 1856. September 8, 1856, the town was raided by an armed body of border ruffians, who rode into town, shooting in all directions. Unable to resist such numbers, and being taken by surprise, the men fled in all directions. The town was sacked and Crosby's store burned; also the

*CHARLES W. SMITH was born in Portage county, Ohio, December 7, 1832. Before coming to Kansas, in 1854, he learned the carpenter's trade, and for a short time had been connected with a cotton manufactory in Lowell, Mass. In September, 1854, he settled upon a claim in Douglas county, Kansas, and became a member of the first Lawrence Town Company. In 1863 he moved from his farm and engaged in the carpenter's trade in Lawrence, and later in the furniture business. He has served several terms as a member of the city council. During the early troubles he was connected with different free-state organizations, and married, April 14, 1864, Miss Jane E., eldest daughter of Col. Samuel Walker, of Lawrence.

drug-store of Doctor Northrup, and his library and surgical instruments were burned. Both parties were now armed, and the country was overrun by armies from each side—Gen. James H. Lane and others on the one side, and the Kickapoo rangers on the other side.

One of the first encounters was upon Slough creek,* north of the town of Oskaloosa. The border ruffians started out from Lecompton, and Colonel Harvey and Captain Hull were sent out, each in command of a division of men, to intercept them. The two commands came together near Springdale, and camped in and near a two-story log house. The next day they marched to a point ten miles east of Oskaloosa and camped. In the night a report came in of various outrages being committed by the border ruffians. Colonel Harvey and his command at once started out, and found the ruffians on the north side of Slough creek. At three o'clock on the morning of September 11 the attack was made. The South Carolinians were surrounded and taken entirely by surprise. There was but little fighting, the border ruffians trying to escape. Finding it impossible to escape, they all surrendered but Captain Palmer and Lieutenant Merrill, who escaped. Sixty stands of arms, two wagons and several fine horses were captured.

The next event in the troubles was the battle of Hickory Point, which was fought on September 13 and 14. Though it was called a battle, it was a mere skirmish. Governor Geary had arrived in the territory, and issued a proclamation ordering all armed bands to disperse. Gen. J. H. Lane was near Topeka, and did not know of the proclamation. He, with a small party, was starting out for Holton, where he was met by messengers from Osawkie, who told him that the border ruffians had burned Grasshopper Falls, and intended to burn other free-state towns. Lane's assistance was solicited, and he marched to Osawkie at once. After recruiting his force from the free-state men near, he made an attack on the town of Osawkie, and after he had burned the store of a proslavery man named Dyer and his brother, and other houses, and driven out the proslavery men, he learned that a large party of proslavery men, armed for fight, were at Hickory Point. He marched to that point, determined to capture them or drive them from the country.

Hickory Point was situated on the northwest quarter of section 5, township 9, range 19 east, on the main road from Leavenworth, on land since owned by Andrew Wilson. At that time three log houses, a store, hotel and blacksmith shop were located there. Lane found about 100 men assembled, all ready for a fight, and thoroughly armed, under the command of Capt. H. A. Lowe, the owner of Hickory Point. Captain Lowe had about fifty of the South Carolinians in his force—the same ones who had been committing the outrages in the vicinity.

General Lane found the proslavery forces too securely fortified to be driven out. Lane then sent to Lawrence for Captain Bickerton, with other reinforcements and the historic cannon, "Sacramento." This was on Saturday, the 13th of September. Colonel Harvey was in command of this body. They started, taking the direct road, marching all night. After cooking breakfast at Newell's Mills, now Oskaloosa, they resumed the march, arriving at Hickory Point about ten A. M. on Sunday. In the meantime General Lane heard of Governor Geary's order to disperse, and started for Topeka, expecting to meet the forces from Lawrence. But Colonel Harvey, having taken the direct road, missed the Lane force.

*Among the Hyatt manuscripts belonging to the Society are maps of the battles of Slough creek and Hickory Point, together with Col. J. A. Harvey's account of both affairs. Henry Reisner, of Topeka, who was severely wounded while manning the hay wagon at Hickory Point, has given the Society a written statement of his recollections.

When Colonel Harvey and his force came up the proslavery men attempted to retreat, but finally took refuge in the log houses. Harvey ordered his wagons driven up to within 300 yards of the buildings, where they halted. Over the buildings three flags were floating, one of them being a black one. No message was sent on either side, but the cannon was placed in position, about 200 yards from the blacksmith shop, on the south, and at once commenced firing. The cannon was supported by twenty men, armed with United States muskets. The Stubbs company was stationed about 200 yards to the southeast, in a timber ravine. The first shot from the cannon passed through the blacksmith shop and killed Charles G. Newhall. About twenty shots were fired, but without effect, as the proslavery men watched for the firing and threw themselves on the ground, and thus avoided the shots. A continuous firing was kept up by the men on both sides, but little harm was done.

Finding it impossible to dislodge Lowe and his men, Colonel Harvey ordered a wagon loaded with hay backed up to the blacksmith shop, to be set on fire. This plan worked all right until the wagon was near the shop, when the occupants of the building began shooting under the wagon, thus hitting the men, until they were glad to get up on the tongue of the wagon. After remaining some time they set fire to the hay, and got away under the smoke. Soon after a white flag was sent out from the shop, asking for terms. After a conference, each party agreed to give up all plunder and all non-residents of each party to leave the country. The casualties were as follows: One proslavery man killed and four wounded. Of the free-state men, three were shot in the legs, one got a badly bruised head, and a boy was shot through the lungs. Thus ended the battle of Hickory Point.

LINCOLN IN KANSAS.

"DECEMBER 1, 1859.—Abram Lincoln arrives in Elwood and makes a speech that evening. He was met at St. Joseph by M. W. Delahay and D. W. Wilder.* His speech was substantially the same he made soon afterward at the Cooper Institute, New York, and one of the ablest and clearest ever delivered by an American statesman."—*Wilder's Annals of Kansas*.

"DECEMBER 3, 1859.—The Leavenworth *Times* says: 'The Hon. Abe Lincoln is on Kansas soil. He has spoken at Elwood, Troy, and Doniphan. Last night he spoke at Atchison. To-day at noon he arrives in Leavenworth. To-night he speaks at Stockton. He received a public reception and made two speeches, one on the 3d and one on the 5th.'"—*Id.*

HIS FIRST SPEECH.

Copied from the Elwood *Free Press*, dated Saturday, December 3, 1859.

"**H**ON. ABRAHAM LINCOLN arrived in Elwood Thursday, December 1. Although fatigued with the journey, and somewhat 'under the weather,' he kindly consented to make a short speech here. A large number of our citizens assembled at the Great Western hotel to hear him.

"Mr. Lincoln was received with great enthusiasm. He stated the reasons why he was unable to make a speech this evening. He could only say a few

*Hon. D. W. Wilder, in a letter to the secretary, of April 22, 1902, says:

"Delahay came to Elwood and stayed all night, I suppose. He and I went to St. Joseph the next morning, and way down south to the Hannibal depot (the Hannibal & St. Joe R. R., completed that year) and took Lincoln up town in an omnibus. I took him to a barbershop near the Planters' House and bought for him the New York or Chicago papers at the post-office news-stand. All sat in the dirt waiting for the ferry-boat; to the Great Western hotel, a large frame building. That night he spoke in the dining-room of the hotel; the meeting an

words to us who had come out to meet him the first time he had placed his foot upon the soil of Kansas. Mr. Lincoln said that it was possible that we had local questions in regard to railroads, land grants and internal improvements which were matters of deeper interest to us than the questions arising out of national politics, but of these local interests he knew nothing and should say nothing. We had, however, just adopted a state constitution, and it was probable that, under that constitution, we should soon cease our territorial existence, and come forward to take our place in the brotherhood of states, and act our part as a member of the confederation.

"Kansas would be free, but the same questions we had had here in regard to freedom or slavery would arise in regard to other territories, and we should have to take our part in deciding them. People often ask, 'Why make such a fuss about a few niggers?' I answer the question by asking, What will you do to dispose of this question? The slaves constitute one-seventh of our entire population. Wherever there is an element of this magnitude in a government it will be talked about. The general feeling in regard to slavery has changed entirely since the early days of the republic. You may examine the debates under the confederation in the convention that framed the constitution and in the first session of Congress and you will not find a single man saying that slavery is a good thing. They all believed it was an evil. They made the Northwest Territory, the only territory then belonging to the government, forever free. They prohibited the African slave trade. Having thus prevented its extension and cut off the supply, the fathers of the republic believed slavery must soon disappear. There are only three clauses in the constitution which refer to slavery, and in neither of them is the word 'slave' or slavery mentioned. The word is not used in the clause prohibiting the African slave trade; it is not used in the clause which makes slaves a basis of representation; it is not used in the clause requiring the return of fugitive slaves; and yet, in all the debates in the convention the question was discussed and slaves and slavery talked about. Now, why was this word kept out of that instrument, and so carefully kept out that a European, be he ever so intelligent, if not familiar with our institutions, might read the con-

nounced by a man going through the streets pounding a gong. He stayed in Elwood that night, December 1, warm day; December 2, very cold; he went to Troy; spoke in the court-house; speech replied to by Col. Andrew J. Ege [Agey], a native of Maryland. At Troy he was met by A. D. Richardson, my brother [A. Carter Wilder], and John P. Hatterscheidt. Then to Doniphan, then Atchison. B. F. Stringfellow in the audience. John A. Martin used to say that Stringfellow called it the greatest antislavery speech he ever heard. Jeff. L. Dugger's paper in Leavenworth [the *Register*] was Delahay's organ, and Delahay was the Kansas leader of the movement to secure Lincoln delegates to the Chicago convention of 1860. The speech I return is important. The report must have been chiefly written by Lincoln; his language is used."

ABEL CARTER WILDER [mentioned above] was born at Mendon, Mass., March 18, 1828. His education was only "such as bright boys get for themselves; he attended no academy, no college, but was a wonderfully well-informed boy and man." He early engaged in trade, and at various points, finally establishing himself as a merchant in Rochester, N. Y. Here he became identified with the public library, and brought to the town Wendell Phillips, Thompson, and Sumner. He took great interest in the Kansas question, and came to the territory at his first opportunity, in March, 1857. He settled at Leavenworth and engaged in the land business. He was earnest in his opposition to the Lecompton constitutional movement. Mr. Wilder was a delegate to the Osawatimie convention, in May, 1859, and afterwards became secretary of the first republican central committee, and chairman in 1860 and 1862. He was chairman of the Kansas delegation at the national republican convention at Chicago in 1860; a strong supporter of Seward. August 7, 1861, he was made a brigade commissary by President Lincoln, and stationed at Fort Scott. In November, 1862, he was elected a member of the thirty-eighth Congress, and served on the committee on Indian affairs. Though declining reelection in 1864, he came within eleven votes of renomination. In the fall of 1865 he returned to Rochester, N. Y., and, with his brother Daniel W., engaged in the publication of the *Evening Express*. In 1873 he was elected mayor of Rochester, but resigned the office because of ill health, and, after extensive travel in hopes of alleviation, he died in San Francisco, Cal., December 22, 1875.—G. W. M.

stitution over and over again and never learn that slavery existed in the United States? The reason is this: The framers of the organic law believed that the constitution would outlast slavery, and they did not want a word there to tell future generations that slavery had ever been legalized in America.

"Your territory has had a marked history—no other territory has ever had such a history. There had been strife and bloodshed here; both parties had been guilty of outrages; he had his opinions as to the relative guilt of the parties, but he would not say who had been most to blame. One fact was certain—there had been loss of life, destruction of property; our material interests had been retarded. Was this desirable? There is a peaceful way of settling these questions—the way adopted by government until a recent period. The bloody code has grown out of the new policy in regard to the government of territories.

"Mr. Lincoln, in conclusion, adverted briefly to the Harper's Ferry affair. He believed the attack of Brown wrong for two reasons. It was a violation of law; and it was, as all such attacks must be, futile as to any effect it might have on the extinction of a great evil.

"We have a means provided for the expression of our belief in regard to slavery—it is through the ballot-box—the peaceful method provided by the constitution. John Brown has shown great courage, rare unselfishness, as even Governor Wise testifies. But no man, North or South, can approve of violence and crime.' Mr. Lincoln closed his brief speech by wishing all to go out to the election on Tuesday and to vote as became the free men of Kansas."

Albert D. Richardson, in "Field, Dungeon, and Escape," (1865,) page 313.

"Late in the autumn of 1859, he visited the territory for the first and last time. With Marcus J. Parrott, delegate in Congress, A. Carter Wilder, afterwards representative, and Henry Villard, a journalist, I went to Troy, in Doniphan county, to hear him. In the imaginative language of the frontier, Troy was a town—possibly a city—but, save a shabby frame court-house, a tavern, and a few shanties, its urban glories were visible only to the eye of faith. It was intensely cold. The sweeping prairie wind rocked the crazy buildings, and cut the faces of travelers like a knife. Mr. Wilder froze his hand during our ride, and Mr. Lincoln's party arrived wrapped in buffalo-robos.

"Not more than forty people assembled in that little bare-walled court-house. There was none of the magnetism of a multitude to inspire the long, angular, ungainly orator, who rose up behind a rough table. With little gesticulation—and that little ungraceful—he began, not to declaim, but to talk. In a conversational tone, he argued the question of slavery in the territories, in the language of an average Ohio or New York farmer. I thought, 'If the Illinoisans consider this a great man their ideas must be very peculiar.' But, in ten or fifteen minutes, I was unconsciously and irresistibly drawn by the clearness and closeness of his argument. Link after link it was forged and welded, like a blacksmith's chain. He made few assertions, but merely asked questions: 'Is not this true? If you admit that fact, is not this induction correct?' Give him his premises, and his conclusions were inevitable as death.

"His fairness and candor were very noticeable. He ridiculed nothing; burlesqued nothing; misrepresented nothing. So far from distorting the views held by Mr. Douglas and his adherents, he stated them with more strength probably than any one of their advocates could have done. Then, very modestly and courteously, he inquired into their soundness. He was too kind for bitterness, and too great for vituperation.

"His anecdotes, of course, were felicitous and illustrative. He delineated

the tortuous windings of the democracy upon the slavery question from Thomas Jefferson down to Franklin Pierce. Whenever he heard a man avow his determination to adhere unswervingly to the principles of the democratic party, it reminded him, he said, of a 'little incident in Illinois.' A lad, ploughing upon the prairie, asked his father in what direction he should strike a new furrow. The parent replied, 'Steer for that yoke of oxen standing at the further end of the field.' The father went away, and the lad obeyed. But just as he started the oxen started also. He kept steering for them, and they continued to walk. He followed them entirely around the field, and came back to the starting-point, having furrowed a circle instead of a line.

"The address lasted an hour and three-quarters. Neither rhetorical, graceful, nor eloquent, it was still very fascinating. The people of the frontier believed profoundly in fair play, and in hearing both sides; so they now called for an aged ex-Kentuckian, who was the heaviest slaveholder in the territory; responding, he thus prefaced his remarks: 'I have heard, during my life, all the ablest public speakers, all the eminent statesmen of the past and the present generation, and while I dissent utterly from the doctrines of this address, and shall endeavor to refute some of them, candor compels me to say that it is the most able—the most logical—speech I ever listened to.'

Reminiscences of Franklin G. Adams.

"I had first seen Mr. Lincoln and heard him talk in Atchison in 1859. He was not then popularly known in Kansas. He was known to be a candidate for the nomination in 1860 as president. The people of Kansas were for Wm. H. Seward. Seward had fought our battles in the United States senate. He was the idol of our people; yet Lincoln was greatly admired for his noble defense of our free-state cause in his great debate with Douglas in 1858. In Atchison we appointed a committee to receive him and to provide a place for his address in the evening. He was taken to our best hotel, the Massasoit House, and a good many of the citizens came into the hotel office to shake hands with him and to hear him talk. He was soon started, with his chair tipped up, and among the first to engage in conversation with him was Col. P. T. Abell, the head and brain of the proslavery party in our town and largely in the territory. Both had been Kentuckians. Abell knew many citizens of Illinois who had moved there from Kentucky. The two immediately found mutual acquaintances about whom they could converse, and Lincoln began to tell stories, relating incidents in the lives of Illinois Kentuckians.

"I was on the committee to provide a place for the Lincoln meeting that evening. Judge P. P. Wilcox was a member of the committee. The best audience room in town was that of the Methodist church. Our committee hunted up the trustees, and Wilcox says he had considerable difficulty in gaining consent to have a political meeting in a church. I scarcely remember how it was, but Wilcox says we met with such a rebuff and refusal that he lost his patience, and it took the best I could do in the way of persuasion to get the church, which we did. I still remember the appearance of Mr. Lincoln as he walked up the aisle on entering the church and took his place on the pulpit stand. He was awkward and forbidding, but it required but a few words for him to dispel the unfavorable impression, and he was listened to with the deepest of interest by every member of the audience.

"I have mentioned the attachment of the people of Kansas for Wm. H. Seward. Our own local paper, the *Atchison Champion*, of which John A. Mar-

tin was the editor, made no mention of Mr. Lincoln's presence in Atchison at that time. Martin was wrapped up in Seward and could not brook the thought of any encouragement or countenance given by the people of Atchison to a rival candidate."

Item from the New York *Daily Tribune*, December 5, 1859.

"LEAVENWORTH, K. T., Saturday, December 3, 1859.—The Hon. Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, arrived here to-day, and is now addressing one of the largest political assemblies that ever met in Kansas. The election for state officers takes place on Tuesday next. Much confidence is felt of the early admission of Kansas into the Union under the Wyandotte constitution."

Item from the Leavenworth *Daily Times*, December 8, 1859.

"LEAVENWORTH, Tuesday, December 6, 1859.—The election to-day for state officers, under the Wyandotte constitution, passed off without excitement. The result cannot be stated for several days, but it is thought it will differ materially from the vote given in October for territorial officers. The Hon. Abraham Lincoln and Mr. Parrott leave to-morrow for Washington."

SYNOPSIS OF LINCOLN'S SPEECH AT LEAVENWORTH.

December 3, 1859.

After being introduced to the large audience by Col. Mark W. Delahay,* Mr. Lincoln said, substantially, as follows:

"LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: You are, as yet, the people of a territory; but you probably soon will be the people of a state of the Union. Then you will be in possession of new privileges, and new ideas will be upon you. You will have to bear a part in all that pertains to the administration of the national government. That government from the beginning has had, has now and must continue to have a policy in relation to domestic slavery. It cannot, if it would, be without a policy upon that subject; and must, of necessity, take one of two directions. It must deal with the institution as being wrong, or as not being wrong."

"Mr. Lincoln then stated, somewhat in detail, the early action of the general government upon the question—in relation to the foreign slave trade, the basis of federal representation, and the prohibition of slavery in the federal territories;

* MARK W. DELAHAY came to Leavenworth, Kan., in 1854 or 1855 from Alabama. He was a native of Maryland, and had practiced law in Springfield, Ill. Though a democrat, and favoring the policy of squatter sovereignty, his sympathies soon became enlisted with the free-state party. July 7, 1855, he began the publication of the *Leavenworth Register*. He served as one of the secretaries of the Topeka convention of September 19, 1855, and a member of the Topeka constitutional convention in the following October. While absent attending the convention for nominating free-state officers at Lawrence, December 22, his newspaper office was destroyed by a proslavery mob. He was elected delegate to Congress under the Topeka constitution. In May, 1857, he started the *Wyandotte Register*, the first paper published in that town. He was a member of the Osawatimie convention of May 18, 1859. He served as chief clerk of the house of representatives in 1860. In April, 1861, he was appointed surveyor general of Kansas, holding the position until October 7, 1863, when he received the appointment from President Lincoln of United States district judge for Kansas, which position he resigned in March, 1873. He died at Kansas City, May 8, 1879, at the age of fifty-one. Mrs. Delahay was a relative of President Lincoln, and gave to the Historical Society a banner presented to Lincoln by the students of Lombard College, Galesburg, Ill., during the Lincoln and Douglas debates of 1859.

Interview by Col. Daniel R. Anthony, in the *Kansas City Star*, February 23, 1902:

"Most of the free-state men of influence in the town were from New York or New England, aside from the Germans, and favored Senator Seward, of New York, for the presidency. Lincoln was out of Congress, had been defeated for the senate, and his candidacy for the republican nomination did not impress the young Easterners. Mrs. Delahay, wife of the judge, was a kinswoman of Lincoln—a cousin, I believe—and the Illinois ex-congressman was coming to Leavenworth to visit her. We had notice of his coming, and the Wilders, both of them, I think,

the fugitive-slave clause in the constitution—and insisted that, plainly, that early policy was based on the idea of slavery being wrong; and tolerating it so far, and only so far, as the necessity of its actual presence required.

"He then took up the policy of the Kansas-Nebraska act, which he argued was based on opposite ideas—that is, the idea that slavery is not wrong. He said: 'You, the people of Kansas, furnish the example of the first application of this new policy. At the end of about five years, after having almost continual struggles, fire, and bloodshed, over this very question, and after having framed several state constitutions, you have, at last, secured a free-state constitution under which you will probably be admitted into the Union. You have at last, at the end of all this difficulty, attained what we, in the old Northwest Territory, attained without any difficulty at all. Compare, or rather contrast, the actual working of this new policy with that of the old, and say whether, after all, the old way—the way adopted by Washington and his compeers—was not the better.'

"Mr. Lincoln argued that the new policy had proven false to all its promises—that its promise to the nation was to speedily end the slavery agitation, which it had not done, but directly the contrary—that its promises to the people of the territories was to give them greater control of their own affairs than the people of former territories had had; while, by the actual experiment, they had had less control of their own affairs and had been more bedeviled by outside interference than the people of any other territory ever had been. He insisted that it was deceitful in its expressed wish to confer additional privileges upon the people; else it would have conferred upon them the privilege of choosing their own officers; that if there be any just reason why all the privileges of a state should not be conferred on the people of a territory at once, it only could be the smallness of numbers; and that if, while their number was small, they were fit to do some things, and unfit to do others, it could only be because those they were unfit to do were the larger and more important things; that, in this case, the allowing the people of Kansas to plant their soil with slavery, and not allowing them to choose their own governor, could only be justified on the idea that the

John Hatterscheidt, William Tholen and I drove in a carriage to Doniphan, a few miles north of Atchison, to meet him. We found him at the tavern, where a committee from Troy had brought him, and we drove back to Leavenworth. He took a room at the Planters', and went from there to the Delahays'. That night he made a free-state speech, and we gave him as good a reception as if Seward had never been heard of.

"After the meeting he came to a room occupied by Carter Wilder, Tholen, and me. It was across the street from the hotel, on the second floor, and contained two beds, a cot, some plain chairs, and an old box stove. That stove could eat wood enough to keep one man busy carrying fuel up the stairs and two or three men poor paying for it. Lincoln and Marcus J. Parrott, the Kansas delegate in Congress, were our guests, and they stayed until all the wood in the room had been devoured by the glutton stove.

"It was a cold night, as I remember it, and nobody was willing to leave the room long enough to go for wood. Mark Parrott had sent us great sacks full of patent-office reports from Washington to distribute among the boys. Times were not dull enough in the town to make government reports popular reading-matter, and many sacks full of bound paper were unopened in the room. Some had already served for fuel, and when the fire died down two or three bulky books went into the stove.

"We were all Seward men, and Mr. Lincoln knew it. Up to this time, out of courtesy to our guest, no one had mentioned politics; for, while Lincoln was ostensibly visiting his kinswoman, Mrs. Delahay, it was well known that he was n't forgetting the national convention of the next year. Besides, Delahay was his Kansas champion. Lincoln afterward appointed him United States judge. As the books were heaved into the stove one of the men asked:

"Mr. Lincoln, when you become president will you sanction the burning of government reports by cold men in Kansas territory?"

"Not only will I not sanction it, but I will cause legal action to be brought against the offenders," said Lincoln, smiling good-naturedly. That's the only reference to the presidency made that night, and every man in the room was a politician. Lincoln sat there for hours, his feet against the stove, and his chair tilted back. His reputation as a story-teller is deserved, for he was the leader in swapping tales that night. None of them, however, was sufficiently funny, strong or unique to make a forty-years impression on me. I can't recall a single one of them. It was simply a winter evening of talk among young men who liked to talk. There was nothing to drink, but some of the men were smoking.

"In appearance Lincoln was not the impressive man the next few years made him. He was made up of head, hands, feet, and length. The lines that gave his face and figure a majesty of sadness were yet to come."

planting a new state with slavery was a very small matter, and the election of governor a very much greater matter. 'Now,' said he, 'compare these two matters and decide which is really the greater. You have already had, I think, five governors, and yet, although their doings, in their respective days, were of some little interest to you, it is doubtful whether you now even remember the names of half of them. They are gone (all but the last) without leaving a trace upon your soil, or having done a single act which can, in the least degree, help or hurt you, in all the indefinite future before you. This is the size of the governor question.

" 'Now, how is it with the slavery question? If your first settlers had so far decided in favor of slavery as to have got 5000 slaves planted on your soil, you could, by no moral possibility, have adopted a free-state constitution. Their owners would be influential voters among you, as good men as the rest of you, and, by their greater wealth and consequent greater capacity to assist the more needy, perhaps the most influential among you. You could not wish to destroy or injuriously interfere with their property. You would not know what to do with the slaves after you had made them free. You would not wish to keep them as underlings; nor yet to elevate them to social and political equality. You could not send them away. The slave states would not let you send them there, and the free states would not let you send them there. All the rest of your property would not pay for sending them to Liberia. In one word, you could not make a free state if the first half of your own numbers had got 5000 slaves fixed upon the soil. You could have disposed of, not merely five, but 500 governors easier. There they would have stuck, in spite of you, to plague you and your children, and your children's children indefinitely. Which is the greater, this, or the governor question? Which could the more safely be entrusted to the first few people who settle a territory? Is it that which, at most, can be but temporary and brief in its effects, or that which, being done by the first few, can scarcely ever be undone by the succeeding many?'

" He insisted that, little as was popular sovereignty at first, the Dred Scott decision, which is indorsed by the author of popular sovereignty, has reduced it to still smaller proportions, if it has not entirely crushed it out. That, in fact, all it lacks of being crushed out entirely by that decision is the lawyer's technical distinction between decision and *dictum*. That the court has already said a territorial government cannot exclude slavery; but, because they did not say it in a case where a territorial government had tried to exclude slavery, the lawyers hold that saying of the court to be *dictum* and not decision. 'But,' said Mr. Lincoln, 'is it not certain that the court will make a decision of it the first time a territorial government tries to exclude slavery?' Mr. Lincoln argued that the doctrine of popular sovereignty, carried out, renews the African slave trade. Said he: 'Who can show that one people have a better right to carry slaves to where they have never been than any people have to buy slaves wherever they please, even in Africa?'

" He also argued that the advocates of popular sovereignty, by their efforts to brutalize the negro in the public mind—denying him any share in the declaration of independence, and comparing him to the crocodile—were beyond what avowed proslavery men ever do, and really did as much, or more than they, toward making the institution national and perpetual.

" He said many of the popular-sovereignty advocates were as much opposed to slavery as any one, but that they could never find any proper time or place to oppose it. In their view, it must not be opposed in politics, because that is agitation; nor in the pulpit, because it is not religion; nor in the free states, be-

cause it is not there; nor in the slave states, because it is there. These gentlemen are never offended by hearing slavery supported in any of these places. Still, they are 'as much opposed to slavery as anybody.'

"One would suppose that it would exactly suit them if the people of the slave states should themselves adopt emancipation; but when Frank Blair tried this last year, in Missouri, and was beaten, every one of them threw up his hat and shouted 'Hurrah for the democracy!' Mr. Lincoln argued that those who thought slavery right ought to unite on a policy which should deal with it as being right; that they should go for a revival of the slave trade; for carrying the institution everywhere, into free states as well as territories; and for a surrender of fugitive slaves in Canada or war with Great Britain. Said he: 'All shades of democracy, popular sovereign as well as the rest, are fully agreed that slaves are property and only property. If Canada now had as many horses as she has slaves belonging to Americans, I should think it just cause of war if she did not surrender them on demand. On the other hand, all those who believe slavery wrong should unite on a policy dealing with it as wrong. They should be deluded into no deceitful contrivances, pretending indifference, but really working for that to which they are opposed.' He urged this at considerable length.

"He then took up some of the objections to republicans. They were accused of being sectional. He denied it. What was the proof? 'Why, they have no existence, get no votes in the South. But that depends on the South, and not on us. It is their volition, not ours; and if there be fault in it, it is primarily theirs, and remains so unless they show that we repel them by some wrong principle. If they attempt this, they will find us holding no principle other than those held and acted upon by the men who gave us the government under which we live. They will find that the charge of sectionalism will not stop at us, but will extend to the very men who gave us the liberty we enjoy. But if the mere fact that we get no votes in the slave states makes us sectional, whenever we shall get votes in those states we shall cease to be sectional; and we are sure to get votes, and, a good many of them, too, in these states next year. You claim that you are conservative, and we are not. We deny it. What is conservatism? Preserving the old against the new. And yet you are conservative in struggling for the new and we are destructive in trying to maintain the old. Possibly you mean that you are conservative in trying to maintain the existing institution of slavery. Very well; we are not trying to destroy it. The peace of society and the structure of our government both require that we should let it alone, and we insist on letting it alone.

"If I might advise my republican friends here, I would say to them, Leave your Missouri neighbors alone. Have nothing whatever to do with their slaves. Have nothing whatever to do with the white people, save in a friendly way. Drop past differences, and so conduct yourselves that, if you cannot be at peace with them, the fault shall be wholly theirs.

"You say that we have made the question more prominent than heretofore. We deny it. It is more prominent; but we did not make it so. Despite of us, you would have a change of policy; we resist the change, and, in the struggle, the greater prominence is given to the question. Who is responsible for that, you or we? If you would have the question reduced to its old proportions, go back to the old policy. That will effect it. But you are for the Union; and you greatly fear the success of the republicans would destroy the Union. Why? Do the republicans declare against the Union? Nothing like it. Your own statement of it is, that if the black republicans elect a president you won't stand it. You will break up the Union. That will be your act, not ours. To justify it,

you must show that our policy gives you just cause for such desperate action. Can you do that? When you attempt it, you will find that our policy is exactly the policy of the men who made the Union. Nothing more and nothing less. Do you really think you are justified to break up the government rather than have it administered by Washington and other good and great men who made it, and first administered it? If you do, you are very unreasonable; and more reasonable men cannot and will not submit to you. While you elect the president, we submit, neither breaking nor attempting to break up the Union. If we shall constitutionally elect a president, it will be our duty to see that you submit. Old John Brown has just been executed for treason against a state. We cannot object, even though he agreed with us in thinking slavery wrong. That cannot excuse violence, bloodshed, and treason. It could avail him nothing that he might think himself right. So, if constitutionally we elect a president, and therefore you undertake to destroy the Union, it will be our duty to deal with you as old John Brown has been dealt with. We shall try to do our duty. We hope and believe that in no section will a majority so act as to render such extreme measures necessary.'

"Mr. Lincoln closed by an appeal to all, opponents as well as friends, to think soberly and maturely, and never fail to cast their vote, insisting that it was not a privilege only, but a duty to do so. Mr. Lincoln here concluded, amid loud and long cheers. The immense crowd remained motionless for a long time to look upon the old, war-worn veteran of free-state principles. Truly never did a man win the affections of an audience so completely as did Mr. Lincoln on Saturday night."

DECEMBER 1-5, 1859.—SPEECHES IN KANSAS.

From "Abraham Lincoln's Complete Works," edited by John G. Nicolay and John Hay.

"[In response to invitations from republicans of the then territory, Mr. Lincoln made a visit to Kansas in December, 1859, and made speeches at Elwood (opposite St. Joseph, Mo.), at Troy, Doniphan, Atchison, and Leavenworth, Kan. Among his papers were a number of disconnected sheets of autograph manuscript, which contained internal evidence that they were portions of the addresses made by him on these occasions. Though the fragments seemed to belong to different addresses, the topics treated in them justify their presentation in the order here arranged, as the general line of argument followed by him.]

"INTRODUCTION.

"Purpose of the Republican Organization.—The republican party believes there is danger that slavery will be further extended, and ultimately made national in the United States; and to prevent this incidental and final consummation, is the purpose of this organization.

"Chief Danger to that Purpose.—A congressional slave code for the territories, and the revival of the African trade, and a second Dred Scott decision, are not just now the chief danger to our purpose. These will press us in due time, they are not quite ready yet—they know that, as yet, we are too strong for them. The insidious Douglas popular sovereignty, which prepares the way for this ultimate danger, it is which just now constitutes our chief danger.

"Popular Sovereignty.—I say Douglas popular sovereignty; for there is a broad distinction between real popular sovereignty and Douglas popular sovereignty. That the nation shall control what concerns it; that a state, or any minor political community, shall control what exclusively concerns it; and that an individual shall control what exclusively concerns him,—is a real popular sovereignty, which no republican opposes.

"But this is not Douglas popular sovereignty. Douglas popular sovereignty, as a matter of principle, simply is: 'If one man would enslave another, neither that other nor any third man has a right to object.'

"Douglas popular sovereignty, as he practically applies it, is: 'If any organized political community, however new and small, would enslave men or forbid their being enslaved within its own little territorial limits, however the doing the one or the other may affect the men sought to be enslaved, or the vastly superior number of men who are afterward to come within those limits, or the family of communities of which it is but a member, or the head of that family, as the present and common guardian of the whole—however any or all of these are to be affected, neither any nor all may interfere.'

"This is Douglas popular sovereignty. He has great difficulty with it. His speeches and letters and essays and explanations explanatory of explanations explained upon it, are legion. The most lengthy, and as I suppose the most maturely considered, is that recently published in *Harper's Magazine*. It has two leading objects: The first, to appropriate the authority and reverence due the great and good men of the revolution to his popular sovereignty; and, secondly, to show that the Dred Scott decision has not entirely squelched his popular sovereignty.

"Before considering these main objects, I wish to consider a few minor points of the copyright essay.

"Last year Governor Seward and myself, at different times and occasions, expressed the opinion that slavery is a durable element of discord, and that we shall not have peace with it until it either masters or is mastered by the free principle. This gave great offense to Judge Douglas, and his denunciations of it, and absurd inferences from it, have never ceased. Almost at the very beginning of the copyright essay, he quotes the language respectively of Seward and myself—not quite accurately, but substantially, in my case—upon this point, and repeats his absurd and extravagant inference. For lack of time, I omit much which I might say here with propriety, and content myself with two remarks only upon this point. The first is, that inasmuch as Douglas in this very essay tells us slavery agitation began in this country in 1699, and has not yet ceased; has lasted through one hundred and sixty years, through ten entire generations of men—it might have occurred to even him that slavery in its tendency to agitation and discord has something slightly durable about it. The second remark is, that Judge Douglas might have noted, if he would, while he was diving so deeply into history, the historical fact that the only comparative peace we have had with slavery during that one hundred and sixty years was in the period from the revolution to 1820, precisely the period through which we were closing out the African slave trade, abolishing slavery in several of the states, and restraining the spread of it into new ones by the ordinance of '87, precisely the period in which the public mind had reason to rest, and did rest, in the belief that slavery was in course of ultimate extinction.

"Another point, which for the present I shall touch only hastily, is Judge Douglas's assumption that the states and territories differ only in the fact that the states are in the Union, and the territories are not in it. But if this be the only difference, why not instantly bring the territories in? Why keep them out? Do you say they are unfitted for it? What unfits them? Especially what unfits them for any duty in the Union after they are fit, if they choose, to plant the soil they sparsely inhabit with slavery, beyond the power of their millions of successors to eradicate it, and to the durable discord of the Union? What function of sovereignty out of the Union or in it, is so portentous as this? What func-

tion of government requires such perfect maturity, in numbers and everything else, among those who exercise it? It is a concealed assumption of Douglas's popular sovereignty that slavery is a little, harmless, indifferent thing, having no wrong in it, and no power for mischief about it. If all men looked upon it as he does, his policy in regard to it might do. But neither all, nor half the world so look upon it.

"Near the close of the essay in *Harper's Magazine* Douglas tells us that his popular sovereignty pertains to a people only after they are regularly organized into a political community; and that Congress in its discretion must decide when they are fit in point of numbers to be so organized. Now I should like for him to point out in the constitution any clause conferring that discretion upon Congress, which, when pointed out, will not be equally a power in Congress to govern them, in its discretion, till they are admitted as a state. Will he try? He intimates that before the exercise of that discretion their number must be ten, fifteen or twenty thousand. Well, what is to be done for them, or with them, or by them, before they number ten thousand? If any one of them desires to have slaves, is any other one bound to help him, or at liberty to hinder him? Is it his plan that any time before they reach the required numbers, those who are on hand shall be driven out as trespassers? If so, it will probably be a good while before a sufficient number to organize will get in.

"But plainly enough this conceding to Congress the discretion as to when a community shall be organized, is a total surrender of his popular sovereignty. He says himself it does not pertain to a people until they are organized; and that when they shall be organized is in the discretion of Congress. Suppose Congress shall choose to not organize them until they are numerous enough to come into the Union as a state. By his own rule, his popular sovereignty is derived from Congress, and cannot be exercised by the people till Congress chooses to confer it. After toiling through nineteen mortal pages of *Harper*, to show that Congress cannot keep the people of a new country from excluding slavery, in a single closing paragraph he makes the whole thing depend upon Congress at last. And should Congress refuse to organize, how will that affect the question of planting slavery in a new country? If individuals choose to plant it, the people cannot prevent them, for they are not yet clothed with popular sovereignty. If it be said that it cannot be planted, in fact, without protective law, that assertion is already falsified by history; for it was originally planted on this continent without protective law.

"And, by the way, it is probable that no act of territorial organization could be passed by the present senate; and almost certainly not by both the senate and house of representatives. If an act declared the right of Congress to exclude slavery, the republicans would vote for it, and both wings of the democracy against it. If it denied the power to either exclude or protect it, the Douglasites would vote for it, and both the republicans and slave-coders against it. If it denied the power to exclude, and asserted the power to protect, the slave-coders would vote for it and the republicans and Douglasites against it.

"You are now a part of a people of a territory, but that territory is soon to be a state of the Union. Both in your individual and collective capacities, you have the same interest with the past, the present, and the future of the United States, as any other portion of the people. Most of you came from the States, and all of you soon will be citizens of the common Union. What I shall now address to you will have neither greater nor less application to you than to any other people of the Union.

"You are gathered to-day as a republican convention—republican in the

party sense, and, as we hope, in the true, original sense of the word republican. I assume that republicans throughout the Nation believe they are right and are earnest and determined in their cause.

"Let them then keep constantly in view that the chief object of their organization is to prevent the spread and nationalization of slavery. With this ever distinctly before us, we can always better see at what point our cause is most in danger.

"We are, as I think, in the present temper or state of public sentiment, in no danger from the open advocates of a congressional slave code for the territories, and of the revival of the African slave-trade. As yet we are strong enough to meet and master any combination openly formed on those grounds. It is only the insidious position of Douglas that endangers our cause. That position is simply an ambuscade. By entering into contest with our open enemies, we are to be lured into his train; and then, having lost our own organization and arms, we are to be turned over to those same open enemies.

"Douglas's position leads to the nationalization of slavery as surely as does that of Jeff. Davis and Mason of Virginia. The two positions are but slightly different roads to the same—with this difference, that the nationalization of slavery can be reached by Douglas's route and never can be by the other.

"I have said that in our present moral tone and temper we are strong enough for our open enemies and so we are. But the chief effect of Douglasism is to change that tone and temper. Men who support the measures of a political leader do, almost of necessity, adopt the reasoning and sentiments the leader advances in support of them. The reasoning and sentiments advanced by Douglas in support of his policy as to slavery all spring from the view that slavery is not wrong. In the first place, he never says it is wrong. He says he does not care whether it shall be voted down or voted up. He says who ever wants slavery has a right to have it. He says the question whether people will have it or not is simply a question of dollars and cents. He says the Almighty has drawn a line across the continent, on one side of which the soil must be cultivated by slave labor.

"Now let the people of the free states adopt these sentiments and they will be unable to see a single reason for maintaining their prohibitions of slavery in their own states. 'What! do you mean to say that any thing in these sentiments requires us to believe it will be in the interest of Northern states to have slavery?' No. But I do mean to say that although it is not the interest of Northern states to grow cotton none of them have, or need, any law against it; and it would be tyranny to deprive any one man of the privilege to grow cotton in Illinois. There are many individual men in all the free states who desire to have slaves; and if you admit that slavery is not wrong, it is also but tyranny to deny them the privilege! It is no just function of government to prohibit what is not wrong.

"Again, if slavery is right—ordained by the Almighty—on one side of a line dividing sister states of a common Union, then it is positively wrong to harass and bedevil the owners of it with constitutions and laws and prohibitions of it on the other side of the line. In short, there is no justification for prohibiting slavery anywhere, save only in the assumption that slavery is wrong; and whenever the sentiment that slavery is wrong shall give way in the North, all legal prohibitions of it will also give way.

"If it be insisted that men may support Douglas's measures without adopting his sentiments, let it be tested by what is actually passing before us. You

can even now find no Douglas man who will disavow any one of these sentiments; and none but will actually indorse them if pressed to the point.

"Five years ago no living man had placed on record, nor as I believe verbally expressed, a denial that negroes have a share in the declaration of independence. Two or three years since, Douglas began to deny it; and now every Douglas man in the nation denies it.

"To the same effect is the absurdity compounded of support to the Dred Scott decision, and legislation unfriendly to slavery by the territories—the absurdity which asserts that a thing may be lawfully driven from a place, at which place it has a lawful right to remain. That absurd position will not be long maintained by any one. The Dred Scott half of it will soon master the other half. The process will probably be about this—some territorial legislature will adopt unfriendly legislation; the supreme court will decide that legislation to be unconstitutional, and then the advocates of a present compound absurdity will acquiesce in the decision. The only effect of that position now is to prepare its advocates for such acquiescence when the time comes. Like wood for ox-bows, they are merely being soaked in it preparatory to the bending.

"The advocates of a slave code are not now strong enough to master us; and they never will be unless recruits enough to make them so be tolled in through the gap of Douglasism. Douglas, on the sly, is effecting more for them than all their open advocates. He has reason to be provoked that they will not understand him, and recognize him as their best friend. He cannot be more plain, without being so plain as to lure no one into their trap—so plain as to lose his power to serve them profitably. Take other instances. Last year both Governor Seward and myself expressed the belief that this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. This gave great offense to Douglas, and after the fall election in Illinois he became quite rampant upon it. At Chicago, St. Louis, Memphis and New Orleans, he denounced it as a 'fatal heresy.' With great pride he claimed that he had crushed it in Illinois, and modestly regretted that he could not have been in New York to crush it there too. How the heresy is fatal to anything, or what the thing is to which it is fatal, he has never paused to tell us. At all events, it is a fatal heresy in his view when expressed by a Northern man. Not so when expressed by men of the South. In 1856, Roger A. Pryor, editor of the Richmond *Enquirer*, expressed the same belief in that paper, quite two years before it was expressed by either Seward or me. But Douglas perceived no 'heresy' in him—talk not of going to Virginia to crush it out; nay, more, he now has that same Mr. Pryor at Washington, editing the *States* newspaper as his especial organ.

"This brings us to see that in Douglas's view this opinion is a 'fatal heresy,' when expressed by men wishing to have the nation all free, and it is no heresy at all when expressed by men wishing to have it all slave. Douglas has cause to complain that the South will not note this and give him credit for it.

"At Memphis, Douglas told his audience that he was for the negro against the crocodile, but for the white man against the negro. This was not a sudden thought, hastily thrown off at Memphis. He said the same thing many times in Illinois last summer and autumn, though I am not sure it was reported then.

"It is a carefully formed illustration of the estimate he places upon the negro and the manner he would have him dealt with. It is a sort of proposition in proportion. 'As the negro is to the crocodile, so the white man is to the negro.' As the negro ought to treat the crocodile as a beast, so the white man ought to treat the negro as a beast. Gentlemen of the South, is not that satisfactory? Will you give Douglas no credit for impressing that sentiment on the Northern

mind for your benefit? Why, you should magnify him to the utmost, in order that he may impress it the more deeply, broadly, and surely.

"A hope is often expressed that all the elements of opposition to the so-called democracy may unite in the next presidential election; and to favor this it is suggested that at least one candidate on the opposition national ticket must be resident in the slave states. I strongly sympathize with this hope; and the particular suggestion presents no difficulty to me. There are very many men in the slave states who as men and statesmen and patriots are quite acceptable to me for either president or vice-president. But there is a difficulty of another sort; and I think it most prudent for us to face that difficulty at once. Will those good men of the South occupy any ground upon which we of the free states can vote for them? There is the rub. They seem to labor under a huge mistake in regard to us. They say they are tired of slavery agitation. We think the slaves, and free white laboring men, too, have more reason to be tired of slavery than masters have to be tired of agitation about it.

"In Kentucky a democratic candidate for Congress takes ground against the congressional slave code for the territories, whereupon his opponent, in full hope to unite with republicans in 1860, takes ground in favor of such slave code. Such hope, under such circumstances, is delusion gross as insanity itself. Rational men can only entertain it in the strange belief that republicans are not in earnest for their principles; that they are really devoted to no principle of their own, but are ready for and anxious to jump to any position not occupied by the democracy. This mistake must be dispelled. For the sake of their principles, in forming their party, they broke and sacrificed the strongest mere party ties and advantages which can exist. Republicans believe that slavery is wrong, and they insist, and will continue to insist, upon a national policy which recognizes it and deals with it as a wrong. There can be no letting down about this. Simultaneously with such letting down republican organization would go to pieces, and half its elements would go in a different direction, leaving an easy victory to the common enemy. No ingenuity of political trading could possibly hold it together. About this there is no joke and can be no trifling. Understanding this, that republicanism can never mix with territorial slave codes becomes self-evident.

"In this contest mere men are nothing. We could come down to Douglas quite as well as to any other man standing with him, and better than to any other standing below or beyond him. The simple problem is: Will any good and capable man of the South allow the republicans to elect him on their own platform? If such man can be found, I believe the thing can be done. It can be done in no other way.

"What do we gain, say some, by such a union? Certainly not everything; but still something, and quite all that we for our lives can possibly give. In yielding a share of the high honors and offices to you you gain the assurance that ours is not a mere struggle to secure those honors and offices for one section. You gain the assurance that we mean no more than we say in our platforms, else we would not entrust you to execute them. You gain the assurance that we intend no invasion of your rights or your honor, else we would not make one of you the executor of the laws and commander of the army and navy.

"As a matter of mere partizan policy, there is no reason for and much against any letting down of the republican party in order to form a union with the Southern opposition. By no possibility can a union ticket secure a simple electoral vote in the South, unless the republican platform be so far let down as to lose every electoral vote in the North; and even at that not a single vote would be

secured in the South, unless by bare possibility those of Maryland. There is no successful basis of union but for some good Southern man to allow us of the North to elect him square on our platform. Plainly it is that or nothing.

"The St. Louis *Intelligencer* is out in favor of a good man for president to be run without a platform. Well, I am not wedded to the formal written platform system; but a thousand to one the editor himself is not himself in favor of his plan, except with the qualification that he and his sort are to select and name the 'good man.' To bring him to the test, is he willing to take Seward without a platform? O, no; Seward's antecedents exclude him, say you. Well, is your good man without antecedents? If he is, how shall the nation know that he is a good man? The sum of the matter is that, in the absence of formal written platforms, the antecedents of candidates become their platforms. On just such platforms all our earlier and better presidents were elected, but this by no means facilitates a union of men who differ in principles.

"Nor do I believe we can ever advance our principles by supporting men who oppose our principles. Last year, as you know, we republicans in Illinois were advised by numerous and respectable outsiders to re-elect Douglas to the senate by our votes. I never question the motives of such advisers, nor the devotion to the republican cause of such as professed to be republicans. But I never for a moment thought of following the advice and have never yet regretted that we did not follow it. True, Douglas is back in the senate in spite of us; but we are clear of him and his principles, and we are uncrippled and ready to fight both him and them straight along till they shall be finally 'closed out.' Had we followed the advice, there would now be no republican party in Illinois, and none to speak of anywhere else. The whole thing would now be floundering along after Douglas upon the Dred Scott and crocodile theory. It would have been the grandest 'haul' for slavery ever yet made. Our principles would still live and ere long would produce a party; but we should have lost all our past labor and twenty years of time by the folly.

"Take an illustration. About a year ago all the republicans in Congress voted for what was called the Crittenden-Montgomery bill; and forthwith Douglas claimed, and still claims, that they were all committed to his 'gur-reat pur-principle.' And republicans have been so far embarrassed by the claim that they have ever since been protesting that they were not so committed, and trying to explain why. Some of the very newspapers which advised Douglas's return to the senate by Republican votes have been largely and continuously engaged in these protests and explanations. For such let us state a question in the rule of three. If voting for the Crittenden-Montgomery bill entangle the Republicans with Douglas's dogmas for one year, how long would voting for Douglas himself so entangle them?

"It is nothing to the contrary that republicans gain something by electing Haskins, Hickman, and Davis. They were comparatively small men. I mean no disrespect; they may have large merit; but republicans can dally with them, and absorb or expel them at pleasure. If they dally with Douglas, he absorbs them.

"We want, and must have, a national policy as to slavery which deals with it as being a wrong. Whoever would prevent slavery becoming national and perpetual yields all when he yields to a policy which treats it either as being right, or as being a matter of indifference.

"We admit that the United States general government is not charged with the duty of redressing or preventing all the wrongs in the world. But the government rightfully may, and subject to the constitution ought to, redress and pre-

vent all wrongs which are wrongs to the nation itself. It is expressly charged with the duty of providing for the general welfare. We think slavery impairs and endangers the general welfare. Those who do not think this are not of us, and we cannot agree with them. We must shape our own course by our own judgment.

"We must not disturb slavery in the states where it exists, because the constitution and the peace of the country both forbid us. We must not withhold an efficient fugitive slave law because the constitution demands it.

"But we must, by a national policy, prevent the spread of slavery into new territories or free states, because the constitution does not forbid us and the general welfare does demand such prevention. We must prevent the revival of the African slave trade, because the constitution does not forbid us, and the general welfare does require the prevention. We must prevent these things being done by either congresses or courts. The people—the people—are the rightful masters of both congresses and courts—not to overthrow the constitution, but to overthrow the men who pervert it.

"To effect our main object we have to employ auxiliary means. We must hold conventions, adopt platforms, select candidates, and carry elections. At every step we must be true to the main purpose. If we adopt a platform falling short of our principle, or elect a man rejecting our principle, we not only take nothing affirmative by our success, but we draw upon us the positive embarrassment of seeming ourselves to have abandoned our principle.

"That our principle, however baffled or delayed, will finally triumph, I do not permit myself to doubt. Men will pass away—die, die politically and naturally; but the principle will live, and live forever. Organizations rallied around that principle may, by their own dereliction, go to pieces, thereby losing all their time and labor; but the principle will remain, and will reproduce another and another till the final triumph will come.

"But to bring it soon, we must save our labor already performed—our organization, which has cost us so much time and toil to create. We must keep our principle constantly in view, and never be false to it.

"And as to men for leaders, we must remember that 'He that is not for us is against us; and he that gathereth not with us scattereth.'"

Item from the Springfield, Ill., *State Journal*, December 6, 1859.

"MR. LINCOLN IN KANSAS.—A dispatch from Leavenworth, Kan., announces that the Hon. A. Lincoln addressed the citizens of that city on the 3d. His audience comprised the largest political gathering which ever met in Kansas. The election of state officers takes place to-day. Much confidence is felt of the early admission of the territory into the Union under the Wyandotte constitution."

Press telegram.

"LEAVENWORTH, December 6, 1859.—The election to-day for state officers, under the Wyandotte constitution, passed off without excitement. The result cannot be stated for several days, but it is thought it will not differ materially from the vote given in October for territorial officers. Messrs Lincoln and Parrott leave to-morrow for Washington."

Editorial item, Springfield *State Journal*, Saturday, December 10, 1859.

"Mr. Lincoln returned home from his recent visit to Kansas night before last. He expresses himself delighted with his visit and with the cordial reception he met with from the people of that incipient state. During his visit Mr. Lincoln made six speeches, one at Elwood, one at Troy, and one at Doniphan, all in Doni-

phan county; one at Atchison, in Atchison county, and two in Leavenworth city. At all he had very large and enthusiastic audiences. The election occurred on the 5th, and the returns thus far indicate that the republicans did their whole duty, having made great gains on the vote of the former election."

Editorial item, *Springfield State Journal*, December 12, 1859.

"In another place is published a brief synopsis of the speech delivered by Mr. Lincoln in Leavenworth city, on the 4th inst., as we find it in the *Leavenworth Register*. We commend it to the attention of our readers as embodying sound and patriotic doctrine, most elegantly and truly expressed. The Leavenworth papers speak of the speech as being the ablest ever delivered upon the soil of Kansas."

ERNEST VALETON BOISSIERE.

Written by GEORGE A. HURON,* of Topeka, for the Kansas State Historical Society.

THE subject of this sketch, Ernest Valetton Boissiere, was born June 9, 1810, at Chateau de Certes, in the commune of Audenge and Lanton (the baronial estate of his family), in the department of Gironde, southwest of Bordeaux, France. He belonged to a family of the ancient nobility of France, and had among his heirlooms the family seal, embellished with his family coat of arms, that had come down to him from the thirteenth century. Of his early personal history the writer knows nothing, except such as he obtained in three interviews of a few hours each, most of which time was consumed with business matters. In these interviews it was learned that Mr. Boissiere was educated in the Polytechnique school, at Paris, the most scientific school of France, and upon his graduation with high honors, for superior scholarship, was given a commission in the celebrated engineers in the French army. He remained in the army several years, received promotion for valiant services rendered, and then resigned his commission to take charge of his estate. A part of his estate consisted of several thousand acres of sea marsh, which at low tide was mostly at sea-level, but at high tide was covered with water, and in places where channels had been cut by the waves the depth of water was considerable. Mr. Boissiere studied the habits of fishes, and discovered that they were found in greatest schools where the water flowed in currents. Learning this, he conceived the idea of building a sea-wall along the front of his marsh lands and putting sluiceways at intervals upon its top, so that when the tide got high enough to flow over the wall through the sluiceways the currents would attract the fishes, and they would then go inside in large numbers; a trap attachment would then prevent them returning to the sea. He matured his plan, and put it into execution by building a sea-wall seven miles in length. The result was that he immediately became the owner of

*GEORGE A. HURON was born March 29, 1838, in Hendricks county, Indiana; was raised a farmer; attended district school during winter months until eighteen years of age, then taught school and attended an academy as student until the beginning of the war of the rebellion. He enlisted, and served three years with the Seventh Indiana, in the army of the Potomac, and was mustered out September 20, 1864. He was then appointed Indiana sanitary agent by Governor Morton, with headquarters at City Point, Va., which position he held until the close of the war; was then employed for three years in the office of third auditor of the treasury, at Washington, D. C., during which time he took the law course and was graduated from the law department of the Columbia University, in June, 1868. He came to Kansas in August, 1868, settled at Valley Falls, and practiced law successfully in Jefferson county until 1883, when he came to Topeka, where he has since resided. While in Jefferson county, he was for four years judge of the probate court, but has held no other office.

the finest fisheries on the coast of France. These fisheries he improved by building an elaborate system for hatcheries and fish culture.

Mr. Boissiere all his life was kind to and considerate of the poor, and so, when the weather was calm enough to allow fishermen who were dependent upon their business for the support of their families to go out to sea to catch fish, he would not permit any of his fish to be taken; but when storms beat upon the coast, so that the fishing smacks could not venture out, he would supply the entire city of Bordeaux with the products of his fisheries. In following this course, Mr. Boissiere disclaimed any merit as a philanthropist, saying: "It was only good business, for, by leaving the Bordeaux market to the poor fishermen in good weather, the market was never glutted, and the poor could always get good prices for their fish; while, by waiting until there was no other fish supply, I got big prices, and so made more money than if I had glutted the market with my fish all the time." He exhibited drawings of the various departments of his fisheries at the Paris Exposition in 1886, and received highest honors, with the additional result that other fisheries on the French coast have, with profit, been modeled after his.

In his young manhood, Mr. Boissiere planted 5000 acres of barren land of his domain in pine trees. These made such rapid growth that for twenty-five years before his death the tar and turpentine products of this pine forest brought him a large income. Indeed, most of his income during the later years of his life was derived from these two sources—his pine forest and fisheries.

A political earthquake convulsed France, when at dawn of the 2d day of December, 1851, Louis Napoleon, president of the French republic, by a bold act of usurpation, dignified by the title *coup d'etat*, took forcible possession of every department of the government. Backed by the army that by his direction had been massed in all the streets of Paris, he issued his decree dissolving the national assembly, repealing laws that obstructed the road of his ambition, and decreeing a state of siege in the whole of the first military division. During the day some of the members of the national assembly met at the residence of M. Daru, declared the president guilty of treason, and decreed his deposition. Immediately after signing the decree all of the participants were seized by the military and thrown into prison. No newspaper that did not support the president was permitted to be printed and circulated. The *coup d'etat* was completely successful. The republican constitution was overthrown and Louis Napoleon was a monarch in all but in name. During the days following all resistance to the president's usurpation was overthrown in Paris by the troops that swept the boulevards, fired upon the buildings, and drenched the streets with blood by the massacre of more than 2000 innocent people. Twenty-six thousand citizens were immediately banished to French Guiana and Algeria, among them Victor Hugo and General Changarnier.

Mr. Boissiere said that he had labored for the establishment of the French republic, and that when Louis Napoleon's conduct pointed toward the overthrow of the republic and the establishment of an empire, he had allied himself with the radical wing of the republican party, and had taken a very active part, and had associated and cooperated with Victor Hugo, General Changarnier, and other leaders, in their efforts to thwart the plans of Napoleon. He had presided at large meetings where the subjects agitating the French nation were plainly and pointedly discussed, and when Napoleon proclaimed the empire most of his associates were banished. He was not banished, but was made to understand that he must go abroad for his health, and so he came to the United States. Mr.

Boissiere said that the property of some of his intimate associates was confiscated but that his was not taken from him.

Upon his arrival in the United States he began to study our government and to compare it with the various governments of Europe. He also visited different parts of the country, and journeyed through New England and the middle Atlantic states, Maryland, Virginia, and other Southern states, to inform himself as to their resources and development and the enterprise and public spirit of the people. He made investments in property in New Orleans, bought several merchant ships, and for several years, and until about the beginning of the war of the rebellion, his vessels ran regularly between New Orleans and various European countries. He made frequent trips upon his own vessels, and, all together, crossed the Atlantic ocean fifty-two times.

In 1858 Mr. Boissiere visited Charles Sears, who then resided at Atlantic Highlands, in New Jersey, about twenty miles south of New York city. Mr. Sears had formerly been connected with a cooperative association, the North American Phalanx, in Shrewsbury, Monmouth county, New Jersey, for about twelve years, as its president. The North American Phalanx was an associated community. It owned 673 acres of land, on which were farms, orchards, vineyards, and various factories, the principal of these being a sawmill and grist-mill. The grist-mill made a specialty of corn products, and turned out large quantities of the corn products known at that time. Large sums of money had been expended in buildings and machinery, when in 1854 all of the buildings and machinery were consumed by fire. The company in which these were insured proved to be insolvent, so that there was a total loss. The profits of the business for twelve years had been invested in new buildings, machinery, and general development, and the stockholders were so discouraged by the loss of all that they determined to abandon the enterprise, and so directed Mr. Sears to dispose of the land, pay all debts, and close up the business. Horace Greeley was one of the principal promoters, and when Charles Sears had paid all obligations and a dividend of eighty per cent. to the stockholders, Horace Greeley wrote him a personal letter, complimenting him upon his success in closing up the business so well.*

When Mr. Boissiere first visited Charles Sears, in 1856, he inquired particularly into the plans and methods of the North American Phalanx, and stated that he desired to devote a part of his income in founding and establishing an educational, industrial, cooperative institution. Mr. Boissiere visited Sears occasionally, and they corresponded frequently, the correspondence being largely with reference to benevolent, industrial and cooperative institutions.

Immediately after the close of the war Mr. Boissiere settled in New Orleans, and began to look around for opportunities to help the helpless and needy. Some ladies connected with the freedmen's aid society of the Methodist Episcopal church were trying to establish a home and industrial school for friendless and orphaned colored children, and, hoping to secure help from the benevolently inclined of New Orleans, they called upon Mr. Boissiere, who listened attentively, inquired particularly as to their plans, and set a day and hour for them to call again. At the appointed time the ladies called, hoping to receive a small contribution. Mr. Boissiere inquired more particularly into the purposes and plans of their institution, listened to the statements of its needs, offered some suggestions as to the breadth and helpfulness such an institution should aim at, and when the ladies assured him that they fully agreed with him, but that for want of funds the attainment was impossible at that time, he struck them dumb by

* In his "Recollections of a Busy Life," page 153, Mr. Greeley tells of the North American Phalanx, which, he says, began in 1843 and ended in 1850.

handing them a check for \$10,000. When the ladies found voice, he stopped their profuse thanks by saying: "It is nothing. I want to do something for that part of the human family that is most needy. I have for some time been impressed that the most needy persons in New Orleans are the poor, homeless, parentless negro children that are outcasts upon its streets. I have inquired into the reputation of you ladies, as well as the character of the work you are doing, and I am satisfied that you are honest, capable women, and that in your hands what I can give will be worthily bestowed, and so you give me pleasure in allowing me this privilege of helping you."

No thought was given as to the impropriety of publishing their success, and so the ladies, as an inducement to others to emulate the gracious philanthropy of the old Frenchman, circulated the news of their success and of the great things that they proposed doing with the large funds placed in their hands. And so it came to pass that in a day the gift of the Frenchman, together with the views he held, became the talk of the city. And now the unexpected happened. Mr. Boissiere was waited upon by a committee of citizens, who informed him that while they did not particularly care, on general principles, how foolishly he spent his money, he could not spend it in New Orleans for the benefit of "niggers." This interview was followed by such persecution of Mr. Boissiere by the people of New Orleans that he inquired as to the liberty accorded citizens in other states, with the result that he closed his business affairs there and came to Kansas in 1863.

In 1869 and 1870 he bought a tract of nearly 4000 acres of unimproved prairie land in the southwest corner of Franklin county, being about twenty miles southwest from Ottawa. The Burlington branch of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe railway now runs through the tract, and the flag-station Silkville is located on it.

This tract of land was bought for the express purpose of founding thereon some sort of educational, industrial, cooperative institution for the development of certain industries. During the years of effort along these lines over 3100 acres of this land was enclosed by fifteen miles of substantial stone wall and twenty-five miles of barbed-wire fence. Six hundred acres were put in cultivation; 100 acres were planted in vineyard, orchard, Russian mulberry and forest-trees; 500 acres of prairie-grass were reserved as hay land. The remainder was held for pasture. The pasture land was supplied with water from a dozen artificial ponds.

About the year 1884, during one of his trips to France, Mr. Boissiere established an industrial school upon his estate at Audenge. This was a very successful and prosperous school, and was supported from his own income. He also provided a fund for the giving of annual prizes for the best work in the various departments, and was several times an interested spectator at the examinations of the contestants for prizes, giving his congratulations to the winners and sympathy and encouragement to try again to those who were defeated. The abundant success of this school led him to finally conclude that he could best secure his desire to devote his property in Kansas for securing the greatest possible good for humanity by making of it the foundation of another industrial school. This led him to make known his desires in that direction, with the result that numerous persons visited him in the interests of institutions already established and others with plans for the establishment of new institutions.

Among those who thus visited him were leading citizens of Ottawa, who hoped to secure the property for an industrial department to Ottawa University; also leading citizens of Lawrence, among them ex-Gov. Charles Robinson, who

desired to secure it for a separate department of the Kansas State University. Leading members of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows of the state of Kansas had for several years been considering the subject of providing a home for aged and indigent members of the order and a home for the orphans of deceased members. During the discussion of the various plans and dispositions that were being considered, the fact of the desire above referred to led Louis C. Stine,* of Ottawa, grand treasurer, to visit Mr. Boissiere at his home and suggest to him the propriety of devoting his property for the benefit of the order of Odd Fellows. After a study of the constitution, laws and literature of the order for several weeks, Mr. Boissiere decided to give audience to some of the leading members, and for this purpose directed Mr. Stine to invite Dr. Milo B. Ward,† of Topeka, at the time grand master of the grand lodge, I. O. O. F., of Kansas, and other prominent members, to visit him for the purpose of acquaintance and consultation.

Mr. Stine then went to Topeka, had an interview with Doctor Ward, and they two called upon the writer, and explained the opportunity that had come to us to secure the immensely valuable property in question for the benefit of the Order of Odd Fellows. After consultation, it was thought best to have an interview with Mr. Boissiere for the purpose of learning full particulars as to the purposes and terms of his proposed gift, and we agreed to meet at his residence at such time as would suit his convenience. A few days afterward Doctor Ward and the writer received an invitation to visit Mr. Boissiere, and about the 20th of April, 1892, we went, in company with Mr. Stine.

I had previously seen Mr. Boissiere in charge of a silk exhibit at a fair held at Bismarck Grove, Lawrence, also at a state fair in Topeka, but had had no extended conversation with him. At the time indicated, in company with Doctor Ward and Mr. Stine, I went to the residence of Mr. Boissiere, at Silkville, in Franklin county. He met us at the front entrance of the building, and was introduced to Doctor Ward and myself. His greeting was very cordial, and at once suggested that he would show us the house, which he proceeded to do. As we went through, he called attention to different rooms, and stated their suitability for the different purposes of the proposed home. Among them, he pointed out a room that he thought suitable for a library room; another that would be a good playroom for small children; a room in the basement that would be suitable for a gymnasium for the smaller boys. His entire conversation indicated that the establishment of the institution, that we had gone to interview him about, was settled in his own mind, and he spoke of it as an existing arrangement.

*LOUIS C. STINE was born at New Market, Highland county, Ohio, in 1847. When twenty years of age he went to Iowa and was a traveling salesman for ten years. In 1876 he studied law at Wilton, Iowa. Ill health suggested outdoor employment, and, in 1878, he came to Kansas and located on a farm. In 1880 he started a bank in Williamsburg, Franklin county. He served as cashier until 1887, when he organized the Ottawa State Bank, of which he was president until 1893. He became an Odd Fellow in 1873 at Mattoon, Ill. In 1883 he was elected grand treasurer of the grand lodge of Kansas, which position he held for ten years. In 1876 he was married to Mary Catharine Williams. He was a delegate to the national democratic convention at Chicago in 1896, and his church affiliation is Presbyterian. He was elected president of the board of trustees created by Mr. Boissiere. He was mainly instrumental in calling the attention of Mr. Boissiere to the Independent Order of Odd Fellows.

†DR. MILO B. WARD was born in Huron county, Ohio, in 1848, and worked in his early years as a telegraph operator. In 1873 he studied medicine, and graduated at Keokuk, Iowa. In 1879 he settled at Manhattan, Kan. In 1882 he was appointed chief hospital surgeon of the Mexican Central railway, and removed to Chihuahua, Mexico, where he remained until 1885. In this latter year he returned to Kansas, and located at Topeka. He founded Stormont hospital. He was grand master of the Odd Fellows in 1891. He moved to Kansas City, Mo., in 1897. He died at 2708 Troost avenue in that city July 27, 1901.

The building in question was three stories high above the basement, was 36 by 95 feet, and contained 60 rooms. From the windows of the upper story he pointed out the extent of the land that he proposed to convey by deed to trustees, explaining to us that the land was three miles long north and south, and while irregular on the east and west, that in some places it was two and one-half miles wide. After examining the dwelling-house, he escorted us to the four stone barns, with a capacity to shelter 200 head of cattle, 300 hogs, and 40 to 50 horses. He also called attention to a stone building that he had erected for the accommodation of the people he hoped to interest in a cooperative community for the holding of religious meetings, so that ministers of the Gospel, passing through the country, could come and preach to the people, and said that this building had been used for that purpose through the time he was forming the settlement: that afterwards he had built an addition to it and used it for the raising of silkworms and for a silk factory. He also expressed the opinion that this building would make a good schoolhouse, since it would furnish two large, well-lighted school-rooms. In his company we visited the vineyard, the orchard, a grove of mulberry trees of seventy acres; and he also pointed out groves of thrifty forest-trees, principally walnut, that he had planted. At this time he expressed the opinion that land planted to walnuts and left to grow for a hundred years would by that time be immensely valuable.

He told of his efforts to establish a silk industry,* and said that the climate of Kansas was very similar to the climate of that part of France where silk-raising was most prosperous, and that he had commenced the work hoping to successfully demonstrate that silk could be produced in Kansas with profit. With this view he planted seventy acres to Russian mulberry trees, and induced several French families to emigrate from France to Kansas. All together, he had secured more than forty French immigrants for this purpose, some of them being expert in raising and manufacturing silk, others being laborers. He explained that his plan was to establish a cooperative community, in which each should perform the labor for which he was best qualified. The value of the work performed was to be carefully graded, so that each member should in the end secure that share of the profits which his own individual labor had produced. His plans included the establishing of other industries than the raising and manufacture of silk, all to be conducted upon the cooperative plan. He stated that his plans failed because the people he brought from France, as soon as they learned the English language sufficiently to talk with the people of the neighborhood, learned that they could earn much greater wages as farm laborers and mechanics than they could hope

* Mr. Boissiere began weaving silk ribbon in 1869, and he was quite enthusiastic and enterprising in the business until after the Centennial Exposition, in 1876. He had three looms constantly employed, one adjusted for any width of ribbon. The looms had a capacity of 224 yards of ribbon per day. Broad goods were woven in 1870-'71, but the market was not profitable. In 1870 he took the preliminary steps to grow silk. His first silkworms were produced from California eggs. In 1873 he imported eggs from Japan; in 1874 the second growth of cocoons showed a marked improvement, and in 1875 were still better than the first generation bred from Japanese eggs. He sold his product in New York, and always received the highest prices, but he says: "There seems to be a good business in it for the commission man, but not for me." His display at the Centennial attracted a good deal of attention. The award of the Centennial authorities said: "Commended for successful attempts to raise silkworms, and for cocoons of good quality." In the general report of the judges, Le Boutillier, one of the American judges of silk, says he was so impressed with the exhibit of Boissiere that he requested Mr. Hayami Kenzo, of Japan, an expert in raw silk, to again examine Boissiere's product. He opens a very flattering detailed statement as follows: "Having examined the cocoons from Kansas, we marked them as good as the best cocoons from France, Italy, and Japan." In 1871 Prof. C. V. Riley, the noted entomologist, visited Mr. Boissiere, and made a very elaborate report of his doings in the Fourth Annual Entomological Report of Missouri.

to receive as their share of the present profits of an infant industry. The result was that all of the people he brought from France abandoned the enterprise in from a few months to a year, for the more remunerative employments found in the neighboring country and towns.

Determined to test the question as to the possibility of raising silk in Kansas, he continued his experiments with hired workmen. He imported silkworm eggs from both France and Japan, and demonstrated that Kansas-grown eggs were better and less subject to disease than those imported. Also, the silk produced was of excellent quality; in fact, was unsurpassed by that of any other country. He exhibited the product of his looms at various fairs in Kansas, where he was awarded diplomas, and carried off first honors for the excellence of his fabrics at the Centennial Exposition, in Philadelphia, in 1876, and at the exposition in Paris, France, in 1886, was awarded the bronze medal and favorable mention in the report of the experts upon the committee, who certified that the raw silk and silk fabrics he exhibited were unexcelled.

He then explained that, although the climate of Kansas seemed perfectly suited to the production of silk, he found it impossible, with the high-priced labor he was compelled to employ, to compete with China, Japan, or France, for the reason that the laborers of those countries worked for a pittance, and the protective policy of the United States did not include silk-raising. He then said: "But when you get the home filled with children, by having some competent woman to superintend the work, the children can gather the mulberry leaves, care for and feed the worms, and reel the silk, and you can raise raw silk at a profit."

Mr. Boissiere also established a cheese factory and for several years made cheese of finest quality. His aim was to develop this industry upon the co-operative plan, but in this he encountered the same difficulties in the matter of labor as in the silk industry. His plan was to furnish families as many cows as they would care for and milk, the milk to be delivered at the creamery, to be paid for in a proportionate share of the profits of the business. But the people preferred present cash, and by reason of the sparse settlement sufficient supplies of milk could not be secured from families. The experiment of procuring a large herd of cows for the farm and having them milked by the high-priced farm labor was also unprofitable. All of these experiments were finally abandoned for general farming and stock-raising, which business was carried on profitably for several years.

Mr. Boissiere was methodical in everything, but there was nothing elaborate in his methods. His rooms were plainly furnished, but scrupulously clean. The floor was bare; the chairs had wooden seats; his desk was plain and commodious. His accounts were kept with scrupulous nicety by an expert bookkeeper.

Upon returning from inspecting the buildings, he escorted us to his rooms, where we entered into a discussion of the details of the business that had brought us together. The writer had been introduced to him as a lawyer, and Mr. Stine had explained to him that, so far as the business was concerned from a legal standpoint, I would represent the other proposed trustees; so that he had me sit with him on the same side of the table as himself. Mr. Stine and Doctor Ward had positions opposite to us. It was a long library table, and he was hard of hearing, being entirely deaf in his right ear, and hard of hearing in his left; so that I sat close to him. In the conversation that followed, I could, with difficulty, make him hear and understand my conversation about the proposed plan of organization; so I took from my pocket a large envelope, in which I had memoranda of the plan I was trying to submit, and said to him: "Mr. Boissiere, we

recognize that this property is yours, and you have the right to do with it as you please; that, if we take it as trustees, we will have to take it upon your terms, but I have here some memoranda of a plan of the things that seem to me essential. I will let you look it over, and save my voice." He replied: "That is well; it shows you have an idea of business; and while I am looking at your plan, you had just as well look at mine." He took some papers out of his desk, upon which he had made memoranda, and handed them to me.

I commenced examining his memoranda, and he commenced to examine mine. In a very short time he picked up a pencil and rapidly erased from my memoranda some part of it, and said, "This will not do," and explained to me the reason why he objected to the matter that I had inserted, and his erasure of it. One of the things was a provision that the trustees to be appointed by him should hold their office until the next meeting of the grand lodge; that at that meeting five trustees should be elected by the grand lodge, one to hold office for one year, another two years, another three years, another four years, another five years, and that at each subsequent meeting a trustee should be elected by the grand lodge for five years to fill the vacancy.

He said: "My experience in association with men and what I have learned about the constitution of your grand lodge lead me to think that that will not be the best plan. I have learned from my examination of the grand lodge journals and conversations with members, that your grand lodge is composed of representatives from some 400 lodges, meeting annually, and representing some 20,000 members in the state; that it holds its session usually two days; that in that time it legislates for these 400 lodges and 20,000 members; that a great many of the lodges do not send the same representative a second time, but send a man as representative as a sort of reward of merit, because he has passed through the offices that make him eligible to the office of representative, and not with any special reference to his qualifications as a legislator. My experience is that bodies of men constituted as that body is, and holding such short sessions, will pass a large amount of immature legislation, and if the grand lodge is charged with the duty of electing this board of trustees, the result will be that very few, comparatively, of the representatives will comprehend the importance of such an institution as this; consequently the election of the trustees will be put off until the last. Also, it will not be regarded as a most important office, as it ought to be. The higher offices will be filled first, and when the election of trustees for the orphans' home is reached, the representatives will likely take up some one who has been defeated for some other office, and elect him, without any regard to his qualifications for the office of trustee of such an institution, and the result will be that they will elect incompetent men; men will be chosen without regard to their opinions as to the management of such an institution, and your board will be incompetent and out of harmony, filled with cross-purposes and dissensions, and the result will not be good."

Then he said that he had carefully considered the matter and had come to the conclusion that the trustees should hold their offices for life; that if the trustees realize that they will be held responsible for the proper conduct of the institution during their lives they will make their plans accordingly, and work for the consummation of those plans—and for that reason he intended that they should hold for life. I had explained to him in the conversation that it was our aim to get the institution as near the grand lodge as possible, so as to have the order throughout the state feel that it was very near to the membership. He said that was right, but so far as the grand lodge was concerned he thought his plan was better. He said: "I have learned from your journals, and from my conversation

with members, that it seldom happens that a man is elected grand master until he has served in the subordinate offices and has become acquainted with the order throughout the state, and with that arrangement it is hardly possible for a bad man to be elected grand master; and when a member is promoted from one office to another until he gets the highest position in the gift of the order he is likely to be well acquainted with the membership all over the state, and with their qualifications for such service as this, and in consulting with the trustees he and the trustees can come to a conclusion as to who are the best men to fill these positions; so that my plan is that vacancies shall be filled by nomination by the grand master, upon consultation with the trustees, and this nomination shall be confirmed by the trustees."

He called my attention to another provision, viz., that the real estate should be controlled by the trustees, and held or disposed of as they should think for the best interests of the institution. He said: "I don't intend to give this property so that you can sell it. I intend to have it kept together." In the conversation I had mentioned the large extent of land, and the fact that it would require a very considerable amount of skill and care to look after it, and that it might be deemed well in the future, if the country around should be thickly settled, to lay out a town on the estate and sell town lots, so as to derive a revenue and get a larger fund or larger value from the land than could be obtained otherwise. He answered: "I don't want any town here; there is a town within three miles; and if you have a town here, there is danger that the boys will be loafing about the town, and it will make you trouble. I don't want any town nearer than three miles, and I don't want any authority left in the trustees that they can sell any part of this property at all."

There were other objections made and explained in such a way that it was at once apparent that he had considered the matter, and that his mind was entirely made up. I began to explain briefly the law of trusts and trustees and the obligations that were placed upon trustees of such institutions. He stopped me with the remark that he had thoroughly considered the subject; that he had his mind directed to it a great many years before, and in the conversation had with him I found that he was fully as good as the average lawyer on that subject. He also said he wanted that a board of visitors should be organized from the members of the grand lodge that would at all times be men of influence in the order, so that their report would be approved by the members of the order, and be received as coming from men who were above reproach. He said: "I want that board to be of three members: three men, the highest officers of the order; and the result will be that this board of visitors will be changed at each meeting of the grand lodge, so that if there should be a dishonest man on the board of visitors, and on the board of trustees who should agree together to do anything wrong, or to rob the estate, it cannot be covered up or be continued. The members of the board of trustees and the board of visitors will always have in mind the fact that they are together for only one year; consequently they cannot cover up anything for another year."

He said he wanted the trustees whom he chose to form a corporation, and he wanted the fewest possible number under our statute that could form a corporation, for the reason that the fewer competent men there were the more successfully could they carry out his plans. There would be less probability of dissension and cross-purposes in the board. He said a few men could dispatch business better than a large number, and for that reason he wanted not to exceed five members in the board of trustees, and he wanted to see all of them. He asked us to recommend names for the other members of the board, and we sub-

mitted the names of quite a large number of prominent Odd Fellows scattered throughout the state.

During the conversation I had become interested in Mr. Boissiere—very greatly interested—by reason of his broad intelligence. He was well informed on all subjects that came up. In the conversation, Mr. Boissiere explained in general terms the disposition he expected to make of his estate in France. This statement was made in connection with his conversation about the conveyance of his property in Kansas for the establishment of an orphans' home and industrial school.

He connected his conversation with the subject of religion, saying, "It is a part of my religion that when a man dies, who leaves no dependents, he should, prior to his death, devote his property to the establishment or endowment of institutions for the benefit of humanity, or that it should go to the state for the endowment of such institutions, and that it should not be left to assist in creating large estates." This tenet of his religion he faithfully observed in the final distribution of his estate.

As already stated, he had devoted part of his estate in France to the establishment and endowment of an industrial school upon his own domain. He had, by warranty deed, conveyed his property in Kansas in trust for the establishment of a home and industrial school for orphans; and in his will, written with his own hand, in October, 1892, after bequests to a few near relatives and faithful servants, he gave the residue of his estate to the improvement of the schools of Audenge, France, and the further endowment of the industrial school he had before established. Surely the man who lived to make men better, and who devoted his entire estate to providing the means for the better qualifying of children of his native and adopted country for the exalted duties of citizenship, is entitled to the high regard of true men everywhere. His fidelity to detail is illustrated by the provisions of his will conveying the residue of his estate for schools, as shown by the following extract:

"The sum available, after taking out the various legacies enumerated, with the exception of the balance of residue of which I will hereafter fix a limit, which will remain for my residuary legatee, and after the payment of all the taxes of the concession on the legacies, expenses of delivery of the legacies, and expenses of the liquidation of my succession—this available sum, I say, shall be placed to the benefit of the commune of Audenge, and which I bequeath it by special title, for the revenue to be appropriated to the development of the public institution of the two sexes in the same commune of Audenge, and for a part in that of Lanton, in order to assure freedom for school supplies.

"In the commune of Audenge there shall be added to the present salaries of each titular instructor or instructress a sum that will raise to 300 francs his annual salary, and for the assistance of supplies the annual salary shall be raised also to 1500 francs, in order to assure the supply of suitable teachers.

"There shall be an assistant or aide for each group of thirty scholars. I desire there shall be conducted a system of mixed sexes, if the law permits it.

"There shall be given gratuitously to each child, rich or poor, a good dinner at noon. There shall be distributed gratuitously clothing, shoes and hats to those of the children who shall not be properly supplied with them by their parents. There shall continue to be given gratuitously school supplies in the commune of Audenge and Lanton, but only in the community of Lanton shall there continue to be an indemnity of eighty francs per school; then there shall be paid, if the sum will permit it, the gratuitous instruction, in a professional and superior school, of one child of each sex, each year, who shall have shown himself worthy by his aptitude and conduct; who shall be chosen by the vote of the children of his own class.

"The maternal school of Audenge shall be maintained and supported as it has been up to the present time. The school building and school furniture and

covered porches and furniture of the playgrounds and plantations which serve for the agricultural education of the children shall be improved.

"The disbursements shall be retained by the mayor of the commune of Audenge, under the control of the notary and a justice of the peace of the canton, who shall be entitled to an annual remuneration for their trouble and services.

"If the revenue proceeding from my bequests to the commune of Audenge exceeds the demands created by my precedent directions, there shall be established a free omnibus service, covering the route between Audenge and Fracture, for carrying the children to school during the months of October, November, December, January, February, and March.

"Finally, if there remains a surplus of revenue after having satisfied the above-mentioned charges, it shall be left to accumulate until it shall be possible to create in the commune of Audenge a primary school for both sexes."

The details were all finally understood and agreed upon. Also, it was agreed that George W. Jones,* a past grand master of the Odd Fellows, of Mound City, Kan., and Charles L. Robbins,† of Ottawa, should be invited to places on the board of trustees. A draft was made of a deed of trust, also of a charter. These were left with Mr. Boissiere for further study and approval. Some two weeks afterward the writer received these papers by mail, with some changes made by interlineation, with instructions to prepare copies in duplicate, which was done, and upon May 11, 1892, all of the persons agreed upon as trustees met at Mr. Boissiere's residence, at Silkville, where the entire subject was again carefully gone over, the deed executed and delivered, and the charter executed.

The charter of the de Boissiere Orphans' Home and Industrial School Association of Kansas was filed in the office of the secretary of state of Kansas May 12, 1892. By the deed, 3156 acres of land were conveyed to the persons named, in trust for an orphans' home and industrial school for orphans of deceased Odd Fellows of the state of Kansas.

The grand master and trustees made full reports to the next session of the grand lodge, held at Fort Scott, October 11 to 13, 1892. These reports were referred to a special committee of seven past grand masters, who presented the following report, which, after full discussion, was unanimously and enthusiastically adopted:

"*To the Grand Lodge of Kansas, I. O. O. F.*: We, your special committee appointed to consider the report of the trustees of the de Boissiere Odd Fellows' Orphans' Home and Industrial School Association, and other matters connected therewith, have considered the same, and are much impressed with the great value of the gift of this generous and benevolent man. We have very diligently inquired into all the particulars concerning the steps taken to secure the gift from Mr. de Boissiere, and cannot refrain from praising the diligence and good judgment which have secured this praiseworthy result. The most profound gratitude of the order is due to the philanthropic gentleman who has made it possible for the Odd Fellows of Kansas to carry out the pledges which they have made, each to the other, to care for, clothe and educate the orphans of deceased members. We therefore recommend the adoption of the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That the grand lodge of Kansas hereby accepts the gift of Mr. de Boissiere, under the terms expressed in the deed of trust.

*GEORGE W. JONES was born in Madison county, Indiana, September 6, 1849. He was educated and taught schools in his native county. In 1871 he came to Kansas, locating near Fort Scott. In 1875 he became principal of the public schools at Mound City, in which position he remained until 1879. He served four years as superintendent of public instruction for Linn county, and afterwards as assistant state superintendent.

†CHARLES L. ROBBINS was born in La Grange, Lorain county, Ohio, June 22, 1833. He came to Kansas in 1856, locating in Franklin county, where he engaged in business at Ottawa and has resided ever since. At various times he held the office of sheriff, county commissioner, and assessor.

"Resolved, That we recommend the said orphans' home and industrial school to the favorable consideration of the Odd Fellows of the state, and hope that they will contribute as liberally as their means will permit to liquidate the claim assumed by the trustees against the property, so that it may at once be made ready for the reception of children.

"Fraternally submitted,

A. P. RIDDLE,	W. A. CORMANY,
FRANK H. BETTON,	D. B. LONG,
J. S. CODDING,	WM. MATHEWSON,
E. S. BERTRAM,	<i>Committee."</i>

In accordance with the recommendation in this report, liberal contributions were made by lodges and members of the order, aggregating the sum of \$12,571.50.

At the next meeting of the grand lodge, held at Topeka, October 11 and 12, 1893, the trustees presented a detailed report of what they had done, which report was referred to a special committee, consisting of A. P. Riddle, W. A. Cormany, L. G. Parker, and J. G. Wood, who made a report recommending that proper steps be taken to enact such financial legislation as will carry out the pledge made at Fort Scott in 1892. They further recommended a per capita tax of \$1.50 upon the order in the state, in order to comply with the conditions, which was adopted.

Certain members had opposed the home movement from an early period of its history. These incited others to opposition to the tax levied, with the result that Reno Lodge No. 99, of Hutchinson, brought an injunction suit in the district court of Shawnee county to restrain the officers of the grand lodge from collecting the tax. Upon trial an injunction was refused. The lodge appealed to the supreme court, and the supreme court affirmed the judgment of the district court.

While the case was pending in the supreme court, the enemies of the home movement incited a large number of lodges to join in an appeal to the sovereign grand lodge, which appeal was presented before that body at its session held at Chattanooga, Tenn., September, 1894, and was referred to the committee on judiciary. This committee was composed of able lawyers, several of whom had reputation as jurists.

At the session of the sovereign grand lodge held September 21, 1894, Representative R. E. Wright, of Pennsylvania, from the committee on judiciary, made a report upon this appeal, which report was considered and unanimously adopted, declaring the per capita tax to be lawful.

The decisions of the courts and of the sovereign grand lodge sustaining the deed as vesting the equitable title in the orphans of deceased Odd Fellows failed to satisfy the opposition, and so the grand lodge, at its session held in Wichita, October 9 to 11, 1894, passed resolutions severing its connection with and withdrawing further support from the home.

Certain lawyers concluded that by this action of the grand lodge a reversion of the title to the property to the heirs of Mr. Boissiere was caused. Mr. Boissiere had died January 12, 1894, at his home in France, and these lawyers at once commenced a search for his heirs, with the result that a sister, Madame Corrine Martinelli, who was a widow, eighty-six years of age, was found residing in Bordeaux, France. But Madame Martinelli was so thoroughly satisfied with the disposition that her brother had made of his estate in Kansas that she gave no attention to the letters of the lawyers for eighteen months.

In October, 1896, Troutman & Stone, of Topeka, brought a suit in ejectment on her behalf, against the trustees, in the district court of Franklin county. But at the beginning of the suit Madam Martinelli's attorneys did not know her

name, and so commenced the suit in the name of *veuve* (the widow) Martinelli. A few months later James A. Troutman went to France and procured a quit-claim deed from Madam Martinelli, for which, on the trial of the case in the district court, he testified that he paid 25,000 francs (less than \$5000).

Troutman & Stone then had themselves substituted as plaintiffs in the suit, in place of Madam Martinelli, since which time they have prosecuted the case in their own names.

The case came to trial before the Hon. Samuel A. Riggs, judge of the district court, at Ottawa, during the September term, 1898. The judgment of the court was reserved until September 18, 1899, when Judge Riggs filed an opinion and judgment in favor of the defendant trustees. From this judgment the plaintiffs appealed to the supreme court, where (June, 1902) it is still pending.

THE KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

An address delivered by GEO. W. MARTIN, Secretary State Historical Society, before the Kansas State Editorial Association at Manhattan, February 4, 1902,

THE Kansas State Editorial Association met at Manhattan April 7 and 8, 1875.

John A. Anderson made an address of welcome, and D. R. Anthony, president of the association, responded. George A. Crawford delivered the annual address. At the close of the session the party started on an excursion to Galveston, Tex. A roll-call to-day would show a large majority absent, several of them living in other states, but the greater number have turned their checks in to St. Peter. A look backward shows many startling changes in the population of Kansas. We have had many glorious men and women in this state—the newspaper ranks have been full of them. Let us hope that the hindsight of the next generation may speak as well for this generation. At all events we have marched on, and the Manhattan of to-day gives no evidence of the raw pioneer hamlet it was in the days of the association's first meeting here.

We have but little appreciation of present things. And so those who attended the meeting of the editors in this city in April, 1875, doubtless gave hardly a passing thought to the resolution appointing a committee to organize a State Historical Society. Your return after twenty-six years to this beautiful city affords an opportunity to make report to a body of newspaper men of the progress of a newspaper enterprise. But three of the newspaper men intimately or officially engaged in the conception and launching of the most interesting thing the state possesses still live, while the enormous expansion and changes in the newspaper business incident to the march of time have not been followed by a corresponding knowledge or appreciation of the value of the work of the pioneer editors of Kansas. There are two departments of state of never-ceasing value. The State Board of Agriculture, because agriculture is the first element in all we do; and the State Historical Society, in whose archives all men and all interests end. The Agricultural Board cares for the beef steer and his sister, the horse useful, the luscious porker, and the helpful hen, while the Historical Society rounds up the women and the men of the state, who were given dominion.

In no section of the country have the newspapers been of greater service in advancing the material welfare of every element than in Kansas, and this was more marked in the earlier period than it is now. It is not stating it too strongly to say that the state of Kansas is a newspaper product. In the years 1854-'57 the great newspapers of the nation placed their smartest men in the unbroken wilderness known as the territory of Kansas, and our local press was early placed on a high

plane. Our county newspapers are to-day away above the average of those of any other state in the Union. In their connection with the stirring events leading up to the great civil war, our newspaper forefathers attracted world-wide attention, and their discussions made a marked impression in those turbulent times. Appreciating the connection of Kansas with the unparalleled accomplishments of those days, while the actors principally were alive, the newspaper men early provided for the duty of historic collection, organizing the Kansas State Historical Society after a manner a little better and broader than any other similar task in the country.

At a meeting of the state editorial association held at Manhattan April 8, 1875, Hon. D. W. Wilder offered a resolution providing for the organization of a State Historical Society, and F. P. Baker, D. R. Anthony, John A. Martin, Sol. Miller and Geo. A. Crawford, were appointed to carry it out. R. B. Taylor, M. W. Reynolds, S. S. Prouty and T. D. Thacher were also active. The committee met and organized December 13, 1875. F. P. Baker, D. R. Anthony and D. W. Wilder are the only ones of those active spirits still with us. Historical work in many sections depends upon individual effort, sustained by funds gathered through contribution by those sufficiently interested, which is at all times precarious and imperfect. But the fathers of Kansas deemed it the duty of the state to do this work. The society was organized on non-partizan lines, independent of changing administrations, subject to the control of those who had a taste for the work, with a single purpose of gathering the record and results of all classes, elements, associations, and sympathies.

The first appropriation was \$1000, by the legislature of 1877. This policy has been affirmed by each succeeding legislature, until now the Society is one of the most important departments of state, with six salaried employees and an annual expense of \$6640, besides printing. This Society began in a small hole under the stairway, and now it occupies 9000 square feet in the capitol building. It started with the most meager conveniences; during the past year the executive council, under authority of the legislature, provided about \$12,000 worth of steel shelving, lock boxes, card-cases, and plate glass show-cases, and \$1000 worth of woodwork, of the latest and most elegant patterns. For twenty-four years the Society had but one secretary, so that I am not talking of myself when I say that it has not only performed a marvelous work in the way of historic collection, but it has branched out into the most complete reference library on all sociological questions west of Chicago, with but one exception. The collection started with a few books donated by Samuel A. Kingman, D. W. Wilder, and James M. Harvey, while to day it includes 23,794 books, 70,008 pamphlets, 25,319 volumes of newspapers and magazines, 23,508 manuscripts, 6477 relics, 5354 pictures, 5001 atlases, maps, and charts. Its estimated value, based on figures used by the Nebraska society, is in the neighborhood of \$200,000.

The editorial fathers of the Kansas State Historical Society were among the first to preserve newspaper files for historical purposes with completeness. This idea is now quite general throughout the country. At the late meeting of the Association of State Librarians much attention was given to the subject of newspaper files. All the New England states are now engaged in gathering for preservation files of local newspapers. Pennsylvania began in 1889 the duty of collecting newspapers, and now preserves from 600 to 700 volumes per year, from the 68 counties of that commonwealth. The librarian of New Hampshire says that state is gathering 100 weekly papers and 15 dailies, all local, besides a number of papers from the larger cities of the country. The librarian of Congress speaks enthusiastically of the duty of preserving newspaper files, but says he is

unable to do it for the country at large because of the extent of the work. The national library, however, secures and binds three or four papers from each of the foreign countries, and in 1871 it instituted the practice of taking two leading papers from each state in the union, representing the two political parties, for binding and filing. The librarians from Indiana and Ohio report a general interest and effort along this line in their states. There are many complete newspaper files in the state of Ohio in the hands of individuals—one continuously published since 1793, in the hands of private parties, who deem the file so valuable that the state cannot gain possession. In Ohio a law requires copies of official papers in each county to be bound and kept in the county-seat.

A very animated discussion was indulged in by these state librarians as to the value of newspaper files to the historian and student. It was asserted that the advertising columns of the New York *Herald* of to-day more truly represent the people of that great city than does Irving's famous history picture the primitive inhabitants of the island before the days of the revolution. The local columns of our county papers picture to the discerning mind the sentiment, manners, prejudices, customs and peculiarities of each neighborhood and community in a light that would be otherwise lost to the world. There is a saying among lawyers that you should beware of the man with a diary. He is the most formidable witness who has written down facts and happenings at the time of their occurrence, with a total disregard to the consequences in the future. No jury will disregard his evidence, though a score of witnesses swear to the contrary from honest recollection. L. D. Carver, state librarian of Maine, in a recent paper before the National Librarians' Association, says: "So it is that the newspaper of to-day records the daily acts of the neighborhood, a state, or an empire: acts which may rise up to glorify a people long after their bones have crumbled to dust and their national existence ceased; acts that stand out on the printed page to meet the eye of the critic, the historian, and the student of history; hence an unassailable witness to our honor or shame in all time to come. To the end that our life with its hopes and fears, with its faith and courage, with its successes and failures, may be fully understood and appreciated, and fully described by those who come after us, let us labor unceasingly to preserve the fullest and best records a people can transmit to their successors—a file of the newspapers of our own day and generation."

I am inclined to complain of a lack of appreciation of the value of newspaper files kept by the state upon the part of many Kansas newspaper men. It is safe to say that not over one-third of those in the business take proper care of their own files, and in many cases when a newspaper changes hands the newcomer is compelled to seek the rooms of the Historical Society to learn something of his predecessor and of the community of which he has become a part. Many newspaper men sneer at the amount of chaff in these files, and before entering upon this work myself I worried much because of the space they might some day require. It is noticeable that there is no wheat without chaff. I once asked a distinguished lawyer how much chaff there is in a law-book, and he replied, "All but about ten pages." He qualified this by the statement that what is chaff to one is wheat to another, depending upon the peculiarities of the case an attorney had in hand. So that the faithful newspaper man ought not to disparage any single portion of his own work. Kansas newspaper files are of inestimable value and absolutely indispensable. This generation will not cease to keep them, and I venture to say the next never will.

The Society now has 24,000 bound volumes, and they grow at the rate of 900 volumes per year, including those outside of the state. Of the patrons of

the Society, during 1900, 2162 persons called for and used 8370 volumes of newspaper files, which is a greater per cent. of demand than of any other line of publications. During the year 1901, with three months not counted because of the task of the removal, 2752 patrons called for 4481 volumes of newspaper files. Our newspaper files are complete from 1876 down. There are bound files from the following counties, preceding 1870: Bourbon, Chase, Coffey, Franklin, Geary, Johnson, Lyon, Marshall, Morris, Osage, Pottawatomie, and Washington. There are forty-six volumes preceding the civil war, confined to counties as follows: Atchison 6, Chase 1, Coffey 1, Doniphan 4, Douglas 14, Leavenworth 7, Riley 2, Shawnee 9, and Wyandotte 3. We have fifteen volumes of Missouri papers during the '50's.

The Society has manuscripts affecting the ante-territorial period of marvelous interest, which are carefully bound. The Rev. Isaac McCoy agitated, in the '20's and '30's, the removal of all the Indians from the "contaminating influence of civilization" to the prairies west of the Mississippi. He kept a very complete diary and correspondence, and was active and successful in that work. The Society has 2625 of his manuscripts, from 1808 to the '50's, handsomely bound in thirty-eight volumes. Rev. Jotham Meeker was a missionary who came among the Indians in Kansas in 1832. We have three large volumes of a manuscript daily journal kept by him from September 10, 1832, to January 4, 1855, covering his life in the territory among the Indians during that time. We have the manuscript journals and other manuscripts of the Rev. Robert Simmerwell, Rev. John G. Pratt and Rev. S. M. Irvin during the period of their missionary work in Kansas, from 1824 to the time of settlement, in 1854. We have thirty-one volumes of the original records of Gen. William Clark, superintendent of Indian affairs at St. Louis from 1813 to 1855, and books of the Missouri Fur Company for the same period. We have one large volume of the personal letters of John Brown concerning his actions in Kansas and at Harper's Ferry. This collection is largely augmented by contributions of original papers from Eli Thayer, Thaddeus Hyatt, Mary L. Stearns, John Sherman, Horace Greeley, Victor Hugo, Fred Law Olmstead and others outside the state interested in the territorial struggle.

The Twentieth Kansas regiment, United States volunteers, has added some interesting manuscripts in the Spanish and Filipino languages, from the records at Caloccan, in the Philippine islands.

Within the past three months, and a few weeks prior to her death, Mrs. Stearns sent the Society a large number of letters written by Kansans to her husband during the years 1857 to 1861. These letters pertain to public questions, and afford interesting light on how the state was started on a certain course.

The State Historical Society has had some distinguished friends other than newspaper men. Its first president was Samuel A. Kingman, who was succeeded by Geo. A. Crawford, John A. Martin, Chas. Robinson, T. Dwight Thacher, Floyd P. Baker, Daniel R. Anthony, Daniel W. Wilder, Edward Russell, William A. Phillips, Cyrus K. Holliday, James S. Emery, Thomas A. Osborn, P. G. Lowe, V. J. Lane, Solon O. Thacher, E. N. Morrill, Harrison Kelley, John Speer, Eugene F. Ware, John G. Haskell, John Francis, and William H. Smith. There might have been a Kansas without these men. Henry Ward Beecher, John C. Fremont, John Greenleaf Whittier, Amos A. Lawrence, Galusha A. Grow, Gerritt Smith, Richard J. Hinton, Susan B. Anthony, Lucy Larcom, Noah Brooks, Richard Realf, Robert G. Ingersoll, and others of the world's great men and women have aided this newspaper enterprise.

The bronze tablet placed in the wall of the historical room in the state-house

by the State Editorial Association to the memory of F. G. Adams is a beauty, and an inspiring tribute to the man whose persistence made this Kansas collection of newspaper files the most complete in any country.

What of the character of the work done by this child of the early newspaper men of the state? John A. Halderman writes from Washington: "The Kansas State Historical Society and its collection enjoys an honored name in the East as well as at home." A. R. Greene, a much-traveled man, of rare historical instinct, says that in all parts this Society stands among the first in the land. Richard J. Hinton says: "The Kansas State Historical Society grows in the opinion of American scholars. It is a magnificent illustration of your civic and social energy. Kansas should be proud indeed of her historical collection, and her sturdy and able newspaper men—those who founded and those who sustain, nurse and always make the Historical Society a first care. It is the child of the Kansas newspaper; it will be forever the ally of its free press." Colonel Hinton further says that the collection this Society has created is one of the best assets the state possesses, outside its people, its great school system, its public spirit and enterprise, its commanding continental position, and its mighty fields of industry. From correspondence, publications and gentlemen of distinction who have called, I am enabled to state that this Society and its work, accomplished before my time, stand very high in literary, historic and library circles throughout the country. Also, a careful reading of the papers before the National Association of State Librarians, by men proficient in this line of duty, shows that our collection is fully up with plans and sentiments, and ahead of many of the other historical or state libraries in the country in the matter of public documents, manuscripts of historical interest, and collections of individual biographies. An examination of a catalog covering a four years' growth of one of the largest state libraries shows that the Society has more periodicals covering a greater variety of popular subjects for students.

I quote from the secretary's report made to the annual meeting January 21, 1902:

"I think the collections gathered by this Society most remarkable in completeness and in quality, with a minimum of what critics, who have never seen it and who have no idea of its use, call trash. Considering the years it covers, and the activity of the people whose doings have made it, the breadth of the foundation on which it was started, the fact that it is the only institution of the kind, and that it does all this work, whereas in some states several organizations cover the same field, this collection is none too large. Of course there is trash in it; there is trash everywhere. If the Society had always been as well located as it is to-day, the quantity of its material would have been larger, with the result of lowering the per cent. of trash. The question of trash has existed since the world began. Trash abounds in all collections and in all books, and, if unnecessary, it is at least harmless. It is not near as annoying to the investigator as the thing he wants and cannot find. It is maintained and perpetuated because, after all, what is trash is a matter of personal judgment. Everybody who gives any thought to the subject of trash runs up against the same stump. We are told that there is two-thirds trash and one-third useful, but the objector adds, Who will pick out the one-third?—and there you are.

"After hearing this talk, and observing what men and women call for, their different desires, and the singular and important uses they have for what I fail to see anything in, it is my judgment that if a committee of the legislature, or a committee of citizens, were to attempt to cull out of this collection, or any other collection of books and papers, what is called trash, they would soon ex-

plode in a row, or be subjects for the insane asylum. The national government keeps everything, and aims to keep them forever. Great business institutions are careful about the preservation of all papers used in their transactions representing money or property. Ninety individuals out of a hundred are as loath to destroy an old paper of their own as they are to stick their hands in the fire. So I conclude that the judgment of wise men in all ages, and of men of to-day who have an instinct in this line of work, that a proper collection of historical material must embrace everything, is the safest course. The importance of keeping old papers is emphasized here every week and every day.

"The collection will also continue to grow and need more room from year to year. There is no doubt of this, because the world is moving faster, and the state of Kansas will surely keep in the front and in sight of the flag. The state will continue to do business; it will grind out books, pamphlets, and papers, and the people, in their various avocations and organizations, will continue to keep the flies off, conceiving, discussing, stirring, and accomplishing, as the years roll on. Here, within the collection of this Society, all efforts close up. Here we have the results, whether of success or failure. The Society was organized for this purpose, and with every session of the legislature its work has been heartily indorsed. As far as as it is possible for it to reach, from the man of most prominence and fame down to the humblest, the biography of the citizen is secured, and histories of men in all lines of usefulness are here preserved. The average annual increase henceforth may not be as great, because, in addition to current work in the past, many back years had to be brought up. But that this library will continue to grow, and its contents to become more valuable and interesting with age, is as sure as that this people will continue active and earnest.

"Indeed, when we consider the stupendous figures which stand for the development of Kansas since the beginning — and this is the greater history and not the political scraps and battles which waste and do not build — it strikes me that this collection is quite modest in its proportions. From starvation and beggary in 1861, with four years of the destructiveness of war before work began, we have reached a grand total of \$348,292,384 of agricultural and live-stock products for the year 1901. Manufacturing establishments in 1861 numbered 344, paying \$880,346 in wages; while in 1901 we had 7830 manufactures, paying wages to the amount of \$19,573,375. We have \$66,827,362 invested in manufactures, and they produced in 1900 \$172,129,398 in manufactured articles. We have 10,193 miles of railroad, and during the year 1901 one single line received 4500 new freight-cars and seventy-five new locomotives, at the rate of two a day, with an order out at end of year for 120 more locomotives. And about all the complaints before the board of railroad commissioners is because the companies cannot get the cars fast enough to haul our products out of the state. In 1863 the state had 564 school-teachers, who drew salaries to the amount of \$24,845. Now we have 13,000 teachers, drawing salaries aggregating \$5,000,000 annually. We have \$8,702,680 in our permanent school fund, and in public schools, academies, denominational schools and universities we have invested \$20,336,158. The legislature of 1861 expended \$46,735.29, while the legislature of 1901 appropriated \$5,371,754.58. The supreme court has just issued its sixty-second volume of reports, besides ten volumes for the appellate courts, and we now have seven judges busy all the time. The constitution started the state with ten state officers, and some of them scarcely needed a desk; in fact, one desk would have sufficed for all of them. To-day there are eighteen additional officers, boards, and commissions, and these twenty-eight officers, with a horde of clerks and employees, are all busy, occupying a \$2,500,000 building, with nine acres of floor space, and it is

pretty near full. Who then dreamed of a mineral development for Kansas? And yet the output of mineral in 1900 was \$14,193,946. In a score of other lines of business development the figures are as startling. It is really questionable, in view of such wonderful results, and the political scrapping for which we have been famous, whether the Society has gathered too much trash and no trash, or whether it has not been negligent and overlooked something.

"The feature of this collection which raises the greatest question is the extent and care of the newspaper files. These files are of great value, and their bulk seems quite large. But here again the question of discrimination is as impossible of solution, short of saving none or all. Kansas was a leader in this style of historical collection, and now that much older states are vigorously engaged in doing the same, it is not likely that Kansas will, at the present at least, call a halt. These files are now all on shelves, with room for three years' growth. Nearly half of them are in a waste place over the south corridor of the building. The same waste place exists at the north end of the building, fourth floor, which will provide room for newspaper files for twelve years to come. So that there need be no worry about the newspaper files for fifteen years yet. We have ceased binding foreign papers, excepting four or five of a national character, and during the year many contributions of this character were rejected. Each year facts are obtained from these newspaper files, to be found nowhere else, of sufficient importance to more than repay to the individual property-holder and the public the cost of their keeping."

The following very significant lines of verse are from the pen of Miss Lucy D. Kingman, of Topeka, an enthusiastic and active friend of the Society:

Rubbish here, some think they find;
 Worlds were chaos, without mind.
 Thought will turn this dross to gold
 And a wealth of truth unfold.
 Mingled threads of light and shade,
 Hope with tragedy inlaid,
 Faith that even mountains moved
 And our truest manhood proved.

From these records, old and musty,
 From these weapons, worn and rusty,
 From these pictures on the walls,
 Grows a story that enthalls;
 From these papers, tier on tier,
 From these trophies gathered here,
 From these heroes gazing down,
 From our statesmen of renown,
 Will rise an epic great and grand—
 A pæan to our glorious land,
 A song of Kansas fair and free,
 A hymn to love and liberty.
 Footprints on the sands of time,
 Leading in from many a clime,
 Blazing paths to heights of fame,
 Where we our progress may proclaim.

In Missouri much historical work has been accomplished by a society in St. Louis. That great state, however, is far behind Kansas in this respect. But the legislature last winter gave to the State University, at Columbia, \$4500 per year, with which to work along the lines of the society established by the founders of the newspaper press of Kansas. The professor of history at Columbia lately spent a day in the rooms at Topeka, investigating methods and results, and he returned home greatly pleased with what he had learned. This work has

been provided for by the legislature of Oklahoma, and the managers are patterning after the Kansas State Historical Society. Illinois, Oregon, Washington and Nevada people have made inquiries concerning our methods and sources of support, and will move toward getting state support.

The wisdom of the editorial fathers in organizing the State Historical Society upon the plan they did, and immediately applying to the legislature for aid, has been affirmed not only in the constant support it has received from successive legislatures since, but in the greatness of its work, its standing among similar institutions in the country, and that associations for like services are in many states moving along the line of state support to-day. Daniel W. Wilder, who first moved for the organization of the Kansas Historical Society, made an address at its recent quarter-century celebration, in which he called attention to the extent and care with which the United States government gathered, published and distributed documents from which accurate history is written. In 1889 Congress created the American Historical Association. The act was approved by Grover Cleveland. And since then all parties have unanimously joined in government- and state-supported historical work. Mr. Wilder states the principle thus: The nation and the state owe to the people the duty of supporting reputable and efficient historical societies. A state-supported society, must necessarily be—as the Kansas State Historical Society surely is—of the people, by the people, for the people.

According to Prof. J. Franklin Jameson, of Brown University, twelve countries in Europe give for historical purposes more than one million dollars a year. The Wisconsin society has lately been placed in a building which cost about \$600,000, and Mr. Wilder thinks that in the fifty years of its existence the state has expended one million dollars in its support. The state of Kansas has expended upon the Society and the work started by you, from 1877 to 1903, inclusive, \$128,660, not counting printing or office furnishings from time to time. As said elsewhere, the collection, the property of the state, the Historical Society being only trustee for the state, is worth fully \$200,000. Societies supported by private endowment are feeble and inefficient, or, if strong, they become exclusive, and finally partake of the nature of a club. There has never been the slightest symptom of partizan interference with the Kansas State Historical Society.

I have preferred to tell you what has been done rather than to tell you how to do it. I represent the State Historical Society. It is my duty to advance its interests, or at least attempt to do so. The Historical Society is the child of the newspapers. You are writing history every day, and it is only reasonable that the state should care for it. Rather than stop your files, my prediction is that the state will some day erect a great building for them. The fellows who founded this Society—and they were not older when they did so than you are now—are passing away. You must fill their places. Every newspaper editor or publisher in the state is a member of the State Historical Society by virtue of his publication. Record events truthfully. Be particular about dates and proper names. There is nothing that can beat a printed page. One of the amusements I have is to hear an old man talk from memory of events forty years old, and then pull a newspaper file on him. Memory is most treacherous. History, just as interesting as any, is made each day, and the newspapers record it daily and weekly. They not only state the facts, but give impressions. If you will stop to think, you will agree with the statement that a reminiscence article in the newspaper is about the first read, and that all read it. Indulge in biography until the last man and lots of the women in your county are written up. We have over 100 bound volumes of newspaper clippings of this character, and clippings enough to

fill fifty volumes more, and you have no idea how valuable this is and how it is called for.

The possibilities of this child of the editorial fraternity are infinite. The purpose is not alone to preserve cold facts, simply to lock them up in pigeonholes and vaults. The duty of the Historical Society is educational—to inculcate local and state pride, love of home, and love of country; to cherish the sacrifices and successes of the people.

Kansas is full of remarkable men and women, and they have many very interesting private collections of books, papers, and curios. People should talk to their children about preserving papers. We know of the destruction of valuable documents by children who have no appreciation of such things. In another ten years the Grand Army will have expired, practically, by the eternal limit, and their collection, being all historic, will probably fall to this Society. The Kansas battle-flags in the office of the adjutant-general should be a portion of this collection, where hundreds daily may see and be inspired. The men who figured in territorial days are rapidly passing away and soon the last one will be gone, but the spirit of their lives can be left among us in the books, writings and mementoes their various activities had brought together.

At several periods in its existence the Society had a desperate struggle, but patriotism and state pride prevailed, until to-day the utmost liberality exists toward it. In the progress of the construction of the capitol building, the property in the custody of the Society has been piled around and stacked up without regard to its use by anybody, subject to an unavoidable lack of space. The executive council has fitted it up in royal style. Years of accumulated binding has been given the Society. Aside from the abstract idea of history, the Society's collection is recognized as the state's business and official record. The task placed upon the executive council was a serious one, because they were called upon to do something that had been neglected for twenty-five years—the length of time this Society has been gathering the results of forty-eight years of the greatest activity by our own people, embracing the most exciting events in the onward march of civilization.

The State Historical Society was created by the editors to fill a want, and, like the brook, it can say:

“And men may come and men may go,
But I live on forever, ever;
I live on forever.”

ADDENDA.

In foot-note, page 447, George C. Boher should read George C. Baker.

Page 499, "Patriotism in the Methodist Church," seventh line, should read, "Bishops Harris and Walden"—meaning John M. Walden.

Page 132, foot-note, fifth line, second paragraph, should read June 15, 1857, instead of June 5, 1867—election of delegates to the Lecompton constitutional convention.

Due credit was not given on page 475 of this volume to Mrs. Nannette R. Calver, of Hagerstown, Md., for the use of a list of 132 Kansas town names incorporated in the list there published. This list she gave the Society some years ago, with the expectation that it should be completed and printed by the Society. Our list embraces about 350 names, those of incorporated towns, as printed in the census of 1900. The Society will be glad to secure additions to this list, and will file them for future publication.

May 30, 1902, was the forty-eighth anniversary of the signing of the bill creating the territory of Kansas and repealing the Missouri compromise. It passed the house May 22 and the senate May 24. Wilder's Annals gives the vote in detail, by which it appears that two at least of the members of the house voting on the bill to organize Kansas and Nebraska as territories are still living; one of them, Galusha A. Grow, now a member of Congress. The other is the well-known broker, Russell Sage. Sage voted with Grow against the bill.

The act repealing the slave code of Kansas was passed, over the veto of Governor Medary, February 20, 1860. On February 11 the minority of the territorial council committee declared that the slave property in the territory had a value of from \$250,000 to \$500,000. On December 31, 1860, Judge Pettit, chief justice of the territory, in the case of *Halcy v. Foard*, declared unconstitutional the act abolishing slavery in Kansas. Slavery appears to have existed in Kansas during the whole of its territorial existence. D. W. WILDER.

On Friday, May 16, 1902, the corner-stone of a monument to commemorate the exploration of Coronado was placed with ceremonies in Logan grove, Geary county, by Union Lodge, A. F. and A. M. Some investigators assume that Quivira, searched for by Coronado, lies along the south side of the Kansas and Smoky Hill rivers from Mill creek west to McPherson. Logan grove is as fine a body of natural timber as there is in the state, and is the property of Capt. Robert Henderson, to whose enthusiasm and patriotism the monument is due. It will be completed August 12, 1902, with proper ceremonies. (See page 364.)

Atchison *Globe*, June, 1902, says: "Perrin Kay, chief engineer of the boat, has been on the river since the '50's, and is an interesting character. He ran through the Indian channel, above Doniphan, where so many boats were sunk in the days of river traffic. The channel was the cut-off of a big curve known as

Smith's bend. The government record shows that four boats went down in that locality, as follows: *Pontiac*, April 10, 1852; *Delaware*, 1857; *Sully*, 1869; *Viola Belle*, 1871. The *Pontiac* was an emigrant boat. It has been covered by the shifting of the river. Kay says he saw her shaft sticking up in 1859. 'She lays over there under that wheat-field,' he said to the reporter, pointing to the Kansas shore. It may be that it is on the land in controversy in the Steinweiden-McBride accretion case, now pending in the district court. It is hard to realize that Doniphan, once on the Missouri river, is now separated from it by nearly three miles of bottom land, much of which is in wheat this year."

Horace Kephart, librarian of the Mercantile library, St. Louis, and student of nature, says: "Capt. Joseph Fechto, of 5603 Virginia avenue, told me that when he was running on the Missouri his steamer was held back a few days because buffalo crossing the river were so thick he could not run his steamer through them. The buffalo lived as far east as West Virginia. There were swarms of them on the Illinois prairies in 1800 and much later. They were early known as the black cattle of Illinois." "The Plains of the Great West," by Richard Irving Dodge, lieutenant-colonel U. S. A., tells the story of the buffalo and their destruction. Here is an extract: "In the autumn of 1868, when crossing the plains on the Kansas Pacific road, for a distance of upwards of 120 miles, between Ellsworth and Sheridan, we passed through an almost unbroken herd of buffalo. The plains were blackened with them, and more than once the train had to stop to allow an unusually large herd to pass. A few years afterward, when traveling over the same line of road, it was a rare sight to see a few herds of twenty to thirty buffalo. I have myself counted 112 carcasses inside a radius of 200 yards, all of which were killed by one man from the same spot, and in less than three-quarters of an hour."

Edward Everett Hale, noted author and minister, of Roxbury, Mass., is the sole survivor of the New England Emigrant Aid Company. He was born in Boston April 3, 1822. Among his numerous writings is a book entitled "Kansas and Nebraska," issued in August, 1854. He is also the author of "The Man Without a Country." In the preface to his Kansas book we find: "It will not be long, I suppose, before historical societies and antiquarian institutes in Kansas and Nebraska will be collecting materials far more abundant for their history and geography. I shall watch such collections with great interest, as well as with the pride of being the first collector in the field. Working with the disadvantages of a first collector, I have simply tried to make this book accurate as far as it goes. In that view I have held to the spelling of Kansas, of most of the travelers and of the Indian department, in preference to Kansas, the more fashionable spelling of a few weeks past. There is no doubt that the "z" best expresses the sound, that it has been almost universally used till lately, and that it is still used by those most familiar with the tribe and the river, which have, time immemorial, borne this name. Kansas, too, will soon be a state. Its name will then, at best, too much resemble the name of Arkansas, which was, in fact, derived from it. To keep them by one letter more apart is to gain something."

N. S. Gilbert, of Chicago, who in the latter '50's owned a farm on the Smoky Hill, opposite Junction City, writes the Historical Society: "I think Robert Henderson is right about the 'Gus Linn' not going above Junction City. It ran its nose into the chute at the mill (Brown's mill), and after discharging freight, swung around to my side, took on wood and went on down the river. It had an order on me from Bob Wilson to furnish the 'Linn' all the wood it

wanted and send the bill to him." George S. Park, of Parkville, Mo., made a trip up the Kansas river on the steamer "Excel"—no date given—and published as an appendix to Hale's "Kansas and Nebraska." We quote: "The 'Excel' made a short trip up the Smoky Hill. Lieutenant Sargent, from the fort, accompanied us. We had an exciting time. The constant announcement from the man who heaved the lead was, 'No bottom.' The river was full and the current strong, but we had great difficulty in getting round the short bends. The waters of the Smoky Hill are quite brackish, and when the boilers of the 'Excel' are filled from the river there is a slight incrustation of salt deposited. The difficulty of navigating the Smoky Hill with a stern-wheel steamer of such length as the 'Excel' prevented Captain Baker venturing so far as he otherwise would. A shorter, side-wheel steamer, of very light draft, adapted to the navigation of these interior rivers, will soon be put on the trade."

Mr. W. E. Richey, of Harveyville, Wabaunsee county, during the last twelve months has made explorations on the Smoky Hill, the Arkansas and other streams, and also in western Kansas, in search of further evidences of Coronado's line of march. Mr. Richey has seen another Spanish sword found in Greeley county, almost due west of the spot where was found the sword bearing the name of Capt. Juan Gallego, one of Coronado's officers. The sword found in Greeley county was almost buried in the ground, only the point projecting above. It has the exact description of the rapiers made in Coronado's time, and Mr. Richey feels confident that it is one of the swords left by Coronado's explorers on their return. It is double-edged. This style was used for cutting armor. After armor was done away with, about the year 1600, swords with a single edge became common. Mr. Richey's researches have brought out the fact that on the Verdigris river have been found rough flint Indian implements similar to those found in the vicinity of Junction City. Mr. Richey says these facts confirm his belief that the Quivira of Coronado cannot be located by Indian relics, because they can be found in so many localities. Hon. Eugene F. Ware, who has given much attention to this subject, has informed Mr. Richey that some of the so-called Harahey flint implements were used by the Indians as far south as Florida. Mr. Richey is fully convinced that the only way to identify Coronado's route is by the landmarks, the distances between them, and the natural features, all of which were described by the Spanish explorers, and also by the relics found which prove to have been of Coronado's time. About two years ago Mr. Richey's views on the subject were strongly complimented by the bureau of ethnology, at Washington, and have been confirmed by all his researches since. The results of his researches are given in this volume, in connection with Mr. Madden's "Wardens of the Marches."

The following letter was received too late to be used in connection with the article on "Early Life of Quantrill in Kansas," pages 212-229:

MOUND CITY, KAN., March 31, 1902.

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

DEAR SIR—My friend Col. Ed. R. Smith has just shown me your letter to him of recent date, in reference to the claim recently put forth, that the Quantrill raid on Lawrence was provoked and to some extent justified by the treatment given Quantrill by certain Lawrence people a few years before the war began. When Quantrill, under the name of Hart, was sick at the Whitney House, in Lawrence, kept by Mr. Skinner, I worked in one of the Lawrence printing-offices, boarded at Skinner's, but never formed more than a speaking

acquaintance with him. It was my understanding, gathered, I think, mostly from others than himself, that he had come in from the West, where he claimed to have been robbed or swindled by his partner in trading with the Indians. He had no money, and was kept and nursed through several weeks of sickness by the Skinner family without recompense. He claimed to be from Ohio, and a free-state man, which I doubted at the time, from the class of men he associated with when convalescent. Though Quantrill never paid Mr. Skinner for keeping him through his sickness, he did protect the Whitney House and the Skinner family from molestation on the day of the raid.* As to the story of him being employed to haul certain Lawrence men to southern Kansas, and that these men robbed him of his wagon, mules and harness, I am quite sure there can be no truth in it. He had no team nor money when at Lawrence; never returned to Lawrence after he left Skinner's, when able to travel, until the day of his raid. My acquaintance with the men accused by him convinces me they were incapable of such a thing. It is also claimed that the raid was in retaliation for outrages committed in western Missouri by "red legs," from Lawrence, and for this claim there is at least a slight foundation in fact, but no justification. There is no question but a band of freebooters, under lead of Bloom Swain, plundered and burnt in Missouri, regardless of whether their victims were Union or rebel, and this caused a very bitter feeling against Lawrence, though the people of Lawrence were not at all to blame and not many of these men lived in Lawrence. Sincerely yours,

W. H. T. WAKEFIELD.

William Bostwick Parsons was born at Burlington, Vt., December 31, 1833. He was a brilliant student, and mastered Latin and Greek at the age of thirteen, and engaged in teaching these languages in Spaulding's school, at Barre, Vt. He entered Dartmouth College at the age of eighteen, and graduated at that institution in 1856, having been interrupted in his college course. In January, 1856, while teaching in Massachusetts, he met Dr. Calvin Cutter, of Warren, in that state, who was "enlisting men to carry aid to suffering and bleeding Kansas." "Having just had a slight unpleasantness with the faculty of Dartmouth College, in which they came out decidedly ahead, I was ready for anything that promised adventure and excitement; and appropriating to myself his hint about 'men of brains and spirit,' I promptly told him I would go." At Springfield, Mass., Mr. Parsons joined the party of David Starr Hoyt, and reached Kansas in March, 1856, having had some adventure by the way. He early settled at Burlington, Coffey county, and engaged in the practice of law. His Fourth of July oration, in 1857, was the first delivered in that town. He served as county attorney in 1860-'61, and again in 1875-'76. Mr. Parsons enlisted as a private in company C, Second Kansas cavalry, December 3, 1861, was promoted sergeant December 19, 1861, and battalion adjutant March 26, 1862. He was transferred to the Ninth regiment, Kansas cavalry, June 17, 1862. He was afterwards appointed to a place in the paymaster's department, where he served until the close of the war. He at one time acted as adjutant for General McClellan, on the Potomac. After the war he resumed the practice of law at Burlington. His health failing, he went to Colorado and engaged in mining enterprises. In 1882 he removed to Chicago, and died there January 31, 1885. His pamphlet, published

* Jas. M. Winchell, in a letter to the New York *Tribune*, dated Leavenworth, August 23, 1863, says: "Quantrill, whom we espied in front of the City hotel (formerly Whitney House), between us and the river, was sent for, and speedily rode up. He said to us briefly: 'One man, Stone (landlord of the City hotel), was kind to me years ago when I lived here, and I have promised to protect him and his family and house. All of you go over to the City hotel and go into it and stay in it, and you will be safe. But don't attempt to go into the street.'"

at Cincinnati in 1859, entitled "New Gold Mines of Western Kansas," is among the collections of the Historical Society. The *Kansas Magazine* for 1872 contains three articles from his pen: "David Starr Hoyt," "Sacs and Foxes," and "Pike's Peak Fourteen Years Ago." Mr. Parsons was married to Miss Julia W. Kinzie, at Burlington, November 12, 1861. There were born to them Robert Wilkins, William Guy and Frank Kinzie Parsons. Mrs. Parsons survives her husband, and occupies a responsible position in the Chicago post-office, which she has held for twenty-eight years.

The body of Gen. Henry Leavenworth was removed from Delhi, N. Y., and reinterred in the national cemetery at Fort Leavenworth May 30, 1902. The ceremony of reinterment was witnessed by thousands. The grand marshal of the day was Col. C. C. Carr, commander at Fort Riley, Kan., and his aide was Capt. George Cameron, adjutant Fourth cavalry. The parade started at Leavenworth and disbanded at the cemetery. It contained numerous bands, 2000 old soldiers from the national soldiers' home at Leavenworth, and about 800 officers and men from Fort Leavenworth.

Gen. John C. Bates, commanding the department of the Missouri, presided over the exercises at the cemetery. The oration was delivered by State Senator F. Dumont Smith. Gen. Wilder S. Metcalf, who succeeded General Funston in command of the Twentieth Kansas regiment, read Lincoln's Gettysburg address. A prayer was offered by Bishop Millspaugh, of Topeka, and a chorus of 200 sang patriotic airs.

Relatives of General Leavenworth who attended the exercises were Mrs. William Dunn, of Chicago; Miss Ingersoll, of Tacoma, Wash.; Miss Mary L. Smith, of Eureka, Kan.; and Mrs. Farnsworth and Mrs. Martin, of Chicago.

Gen. Henry Leavenworth established the "Cantonment Leavenworth" in May, 1827. He was one of the first regimental commanders upon whom devolved the duty of adapting European methods of drill and discipline to the needs of the United States service. He was in charge of the government interests in the Missouri valley in the early '20's. He was born in New Haven, Conn., in the closing year of the revolutionary war, 1783. While a boy he removed to Delaware county, New York, with his parents. He obtained the best education possible from the public schools of that county, and then took up the study of law in the office of General Root, of Delhi.

On the call for volunteers for the war of 1812, he raised a company in Delaware county, and was elected its captain. His company was assigned to the Ninth infantry, and entered active service in the brigade commanded by Gen. Winfield Scott. Captain Leavenworth won special notice in the campaigns in northern New York the first year, and was promoted to the rank of major. He was breveted a lieutenant-colonel for gallantry in the battle of Chippewa, and won special mention at Lundy's Lane. General Leavenworth explored almost the entire Northwest, and founded Fort Snelling, Minn.

The plan to establish schools of instruction for the soldiers of the American army originated with General Leavenworth, in 1825. The first school was built by him at Jefferson Barracks, which he also founded.

Colonel Leavenworth was assigned to the command of the Southwestern frontier in 1832, while he was still stationed at Fort Leavenworth. He made several trips over the plains and was assigned to the task of subduing the hostile Pawnee Indians. During the campaign Colonel Leavenworth was taken sick with fever, and, after an illness of two days, died in a hospital wagon at Cross Timbers, near the falls of the Washita river, in the Indian Territory, in July, 1834. Mrs. Leav-

enworth, who was with him, had the body wrapped in spices, and with four children started with the remains for New York. The funeral party, escorted by Indians, moved from Cross Timbers to St. Louis; thence down the river to the Gulf, and by gulf and ocean to New York; thence to Catskill, where the dragoons met it and conveyed it to Delhi. For distinguished service in the Pawnee and other campaigns Colonel Leavenworth was promoted to brigadier general July 25, 1834, four days before his death, but the fact of his last promotion was not known by him when he died.

Several references having been made in this volume to the first Fourth of July celebration, the following is quoted from "Kansas; its Interior and Exterior Life." Concerning July 4, 1855, Doctor (afterwards Governor) Charles Robinson being the orator, the author says:

"The morning of the Fourth came in cloudy, yet pleasant. Word had been sent to the people on the Wakarusa, and many were expected. Invitations also were sent to the Delaware and Shawnee Indians to mingle in our festivities. From the elevated position of our house we saw the people gathering from all quarters. Several teams, of oxen as well as horses, the roughness of the vehicles being hidden under garlands of green leaves and flowers, came in from the Wakarusa. A beautiful flag was presented by a Massachusetts lady to the military companies of Lawrence, in an appropriate speech, in behalf of the ladies of Lawrence. After its acceptance, the procession formed upon Massachusetts street, and was escorted by the military to a fine grove about a mile from town. Here, in one of nature's grand old forests, seats had been provided and a platform raised for the orators and other speakers, for the singers and musical instruments. The number present was variously estimated from 1500 to 2000. It was a motley gathering. There were many people with Eastern dress and manner, and settlers from Missouri, and other far Western states, no less distinctly marked by theirs. The Delawares and Shawnees added no little to the interest of the occasion. After the reading of the declaration of independence, whose embodied truths seemed to have gained new vitality, new force, since we last listened to it, came the oration. It was, for the most part, a gathering together of the opinions of Southern men upon the vexed question of slavery. There were confessions as to the relative value of free and slave labor by some of their best-educated men. There was a most perfect condemnation of the whole system from their own mouths. Then the question of our own position in regard to the encroachments of a neighboring state was touched upon, with the firm determination to assert our rights, and maintain them. There were speeches, songs, and sentiments. We received friendly words of welcome from the chiefs of the Delawares and Shawnees. They were glad to see us coming, not with the hatchet and sounds of war, but bringing with us the sweet fruits of peace and civilization. A long day was quickly passed—the first Fourth of July in Kansas celebrated by its white settlers. In the evening, a party of about 100 was gathered, to strengthen yet more the bonds of social feeling, in our largest hall, which serves the purpose of church, schoolroom, and hall for all political and social meetings. We had refreshments of cakes and ice-creams, and our house full, as usual, at night."

The following is the conclusion of Doctor Robinson's oration:

"Fellow citizens, in conclusion, it is for us to choose for ourselves and for those who shall come after us what institutions shall bless or curse our beautiful Kansas. Shall we have freedom for all the people, and consequent prosperity, or slavery for a part, with the blight and mildew inseparable from it? Choose

ye this day which you will serve, slavery or freedom, and then be true to your choice. If slavery is best for Kansas, then choose it: but if liberty, then choose that. Let every man stand in his place and acquit himself like a man who knows his rights, and, knowing, dares maintain them. Let us repudiate all laws enacted by foreign legislative bodies, or dictated by Judge Lynch, over the way. Tyrants are tyrants, and tyranny is tyranny, whether under the garb of law, or in opposition to it. So thought and so acted our ancestors; and so let us think and act. We are not alone in this contest. The entire nation is agitated upon the question of our rights; the spirit of '76 is breathing upon some; the handwriting upon the wall is being discerned by others; while the remainder the gods are evidently preparing for destruction. Every pulsation in Kansas vibrates to the remotest artery of the body politic; and I seem to hear the millions of freemen, and the millions of bondmen, in our own land, the millions of the oppressed in other lands, the patriots and philanthropists of all countries, the spirits of the revolutionary heroes, and the voice of God, all saying to the people of Kansas, 'Do your duty!'

The arrangements for the celebration were published in the *Herald of Freedom* June 30, 1855. Prayer was offered by Rev. T. S. Snyder, followed by music. The declaration of independence was read by Carmi W. Babcock. Doctor Robinson followed. His speech was published in the *Herald of Freedom* and the *Kansas Tribune*, and a copy placed in the corner-stone of the Unitarian church, and afterwards returned to Mrs. Sara T. D. Robinson when the old church was torn down.

In making up the index of this volume, three different officers bearing the same name were found connected with Fort Dodge and Dodge City. On page 477, Fort Dodge is said to have been named for Col. Henry Dodge. Andreas's history, which is probably the authority for this statement, page 1560, says: "Col. Henry Dodge, of the United States army, left Fort Leavenworth May 29, 1835, on an expedition to the Rocky Mountains. He followed the west bank of the Missouri nearly to the mouth of the Platte, and followed that river to its source. He then went south to the head waters of the Arkansas, and returning through its valley, located a fort on the north side of the Arkansas, some four miles below where Dodge City is now located." A brief outline of the expedition of Colonel Dodge, above referred to, is given in *Pacific Railroad Surveys*, vol. 11, page 36. His official report of this expedition was published by the government in 1856, but, not having access to it, the above statement cannot be verified. On page 49 of this volume, it is stated that Gen. Grenville M. Dodge, United States volunteer in the war of the rebellion, located Fort Dodge in 1864, the authority being "Circular No. 4, U. S. Surgeon General's office, 1870." On page 75, Col. Richard I. Dodge, commanding at Fort Dodge at the time, is given as a member of the first Dodge City town company, in 1872.

The following letter, now a part of the files of the Kansas State Historical Society, was recently found among some old papers in Junction City:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., February 5, 1864.

"Hon. S. N. Wood: SIR—You have my thanks for introducing a bill to change the name of *Davis* county. I hope you may be successful. I have not forgotten your efforts in the first legislature to bring this about. You asked me for a name in place of 'Davis,' and I gave you 'Webster,' and, at your instance, it was incorporated into a bill for the change of names of several counties, which passed the senate. It also passed the house, but, upon the urgent opposition of Mr. [Robert] Reynolds, of Davis county, to the measure, the vote was reconsidered, on motion of the gentleman from Auburn, who had voted in the affirma-

tive. You will remember that the *capitol* and *university* questions were then pending, and will understand why some gentlemen could be persuaded to vote for the reconsideration of the bill. In these days of progress, one may be well satisfied 'for waiting for the change,' if *Lincoln* shall be substituted for either of the above. It will show your detestation of the odious traitor, and, at the same time, a proper recognition of the righteousness of our cause in this great contest, and a just tribute of your admiration of *Abraham Lincoln*—whom the legislature, with such unanimity, have voted to continue at the head of the nation. *Lincoln* has become the name for freedom and union, as that of Davis becomes the name for *slavery, treason, and disunion*. The proslavery party, who intended Kansas should be a slave state, named the counties after their champions, the chief of whom—then secretary of war—drove the inhabitants of Pawnee, the first capitol of the territory, mercilessly from their homes in the most inclement season of the year, that the interests of slavery might be subserved, and this very act of tyranny and outrage was committed within the borders of a county now bearing his infamous name. There is no better time than now to show abhorrence to the rebel leader and his cause. No loyal man can fail to have an interest in the matter who has any pride in his country or in the history of Kansas. I remain, Very truly yours, &c., F. N. BLAKE."

F. N. Blake settled in Geary (then Davis) county in 1857. September 10 of that year he organized the town of Kansas Falls, five or six miles west of Junction City, on what is now the Murphy farm, and served as postmaster. In October, 1857, he became one of the Junction City Town Company. In April, 1859, he and E. S. Stover started the first Sunday-school in Junction City. March 9, 1858, he was elected a member of the Leavenworth constitutional convention. He was a member of the first state legislature. In 1860-'61 he represented the Kansas Relief Committee at Chicago. He served for several years as United States consul at Hamilton, Canada. The State Historical Society has no further information concerning him.

E company, fourth line, page 162, should be A company.

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MAIL BAG HINTS.

Times June 19, 1901
A Premature "Wake" for Albert Pike.

o The New York Times Saturday Review:
 Pray permit me to correct an error in THE NEW YORK TIMES SATURDAY REVIEW of June 15. The scarce book about Albert Pike, issued for private circulation in Washington in 1859, was entitled "The Life Wake of the Fine Arkansas Gentleman Who Died Before His Time," not "The Life Work," &c., as you had it. A copy is in my possession. Rumor said that Pike had died out in Arkansas or elsewhere remote and a party of his old friends in Washington planned a "wake," a supper at which each should speak or read something in tribute to the dead. A vacant chair was to be at the table for Pike. Pike, knowing not that he was supposed to be dead and gone, landed unannounced in Washington on the very day of the "wake" and the first man he met was John P. Coyle, the editor. Coyle promptly seized upon Pike, pushed him into a cab, and made him prisoner for the day at his (Coyle's) house. Then, when the company assembled at night for the "wake," Coyle produced a sensation by leading in the supposed dead man and placing him in the vacant chair. Pike had the unusual privilege of hearing all the nice things that had been inspired by his rumored departure. The book is an account of the incident and a record of the speeches and readings. I never heard that Pike wrote "Dixie," as you imply. I believe that Dan Emmett, the minstrel, is the accredited author of this song.

GEORGE TAGGART.

New York, June 19, 1901.

"AMATEUR," The Majestic, New York City: "Please give me a list of Pike's writings. I have his first book, and would like to know the names of the others."

"Prose Sketches and Poems Written in the Western Country," Boston, 1834. "Reports of Cases Argued and Determined in the Supreme Court of Arkansas," Little Rock, 1840-45, five volumes; "The Arkansas Form Book," Little Rock, 1845; "Nagae," Philadelphia, 1854 (privately printed and scarce.) "Kansas State Rights," Washington, 1857; "The Life Work of the Fine Arkansas Gentleman Who Died Before His Time," Washington, 1859, (very scarce); "State or Province? Bond or Free? Addressed particularly to the People of Arkansas," Washington, 1869; "Morals and Dogma of Freemasonry," 1870; "Poems," 1873, (another edition, 1881). Albert Pike, lawyer, was born in Boston in 1809, and died in Washington in 1891. In 1831 he made Western explorations. Later he edited the Arkansas Advocate. He was an officer in the Mexican War, and afterward as a Confederate General led Indians to battle in the civil war. His nobly planned classical "Hymns to the Gods," first published in Blackwood's Magazine in 1840, were included in Nagae." Gen. Pike to be at the head of Freemasonry in America. No edition of his poems seems in print now. It is not generally known that he was the author of "Dixie."

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KANSAS DISPUTED TERRITORY.

How Lieut. Pike Persuaded the Indians to Supplant the Spanish Flag with the American.

From The Kansas City (Mo.) Journal.

A correspondent writes to The Journal, saying: "How was it that the Pawnee Indians were made by Spain to hoist the Spanish flag two years after the cession of Louisiana to the United States? In your account of the Fourth of July exercises to be held in commemoration of the first flag raising by Lieut. Zebulon M. Pike, you did not explain this."

At the time of Pike's exploit at the Pawnee village in Republic County there was no dispute by Spain of the title of the United States to Louisiana, but there was a dispute as to the boundaries of this territory, and Kansas was in the debated zone. New Spain, or Mexico, claimed all of the lands lying south of the Platte River, while the United States fixed the boundary line at the Rio Grande. In 1806, when informed of Pike's expedition, the Spaniards, some 500 strong and led by Malgares, set out from Santa Fé with the double purpose of intercepting Pike and enforcing Spanish sovereignty over the Kansas Indians. Later, when Pike strayed over into New Mexico, he became the prisoner of Malgares, though the relations between the men were cordial and intimate.

Pike and Malgares missed each other on the plains of Kansas. Malgares arrived at the Pawnee village some three weeks ahead of the Americans, and he impressed upon the Indians the belief that they were subjects of Spain. Pike, in his diary, quaintly says:

"The Spaniards had left several of their flags in this village, one of which was unfurled at the chief's door the day of the grand council, and amongst the various demands and charges I made, was that the said flag should be delivered to me, and one of the United States flags raised and hoisted in its place. This probably was carrying the pride of nations a little too far, as there had lately been so large a force of Spanish cavalry at the village, which had made a great impression on the minds of the young men, as to their power, consequence, &c., which my appearance with twenty infantry was by no means calculated to remove. After the chiefs had replied to various parts of my discourse, they were silent as to the flag, I again repeated the demand for the flag, adding the

impossible for the Nation to have two fathers; that they must either be the children of the Spaniards, or acknowledge their American father. After a silence of some time, an old man arose, went to the door, and took down the Spanish flag and brought it and laid it at my feet, and then received the American flag and elevated it on the staff which had lately borne the flag of his Catholic majesty. This gave great satisfaction to the Osage and Kansas, both of whom avowed themselves to be under the American protection. Perceiving that every face in the council was clouded with sorrow, as if some great national calamity was about to befall them, I took up the contested colors and told them that as they had now shown themselves to be dutiful children in acknowledging their great American father, I had no desire to embarrass them with the Spaniards, and was the wish of the Americans that their red brothers should remain peaceful around their own fires, and not entangle themselves in any disputes between white people, and that for fear the Spaniards might return there in force again, gave them back their flag; but with the junction that it should never be hoisted during our stay. At this, there was a great shout of applause, and the charge was particularly attended to."

But with all the shouting and applause the Indians did not grow very friendly with their American visitors. The chiefs strongly urged Pike to turn back and not to attempt any further exploration of the country. At last a council served formal notice upon the little band of Americans that if they attempted to go on they would be stopped by force of arms. "My reply," says Pike, "was that I had been sent out by the great father to explore the Western territory, to visit all his red children, to make peace between them, and turn them from shedding blood; that he had seen how I had caused the pipe of peace together, and take each other by the hand like brothers; that as yet my road had been smooth with a clear sky overhead. I had not seen any blood in our paths. But he must know that the young warriors of his great American father were not women to be turned back by words; that I should therefore proceed, and if he thought proper to stop me he might attempt it, but we were men, well armed, and would sell our lives at a dear rate to his nation; that we knew our great father would send other young warriors there to gather up our bones and revenge our death on his people, when our spirits would rejoice in hearing our exploits sung in the war songs of our chiefs."

And it is recounted by another historian that "thereupon the Indians cringed from the Americans like buffalo from lances, and the expedition was suffered to go on," though this scarcely tells the whole tale. The truth is that Pike so badly "buffaloed" these Indians that they fetched him fresh ponies and outfitted him in other ways for his long journey across the plains.

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