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THE  
Kansas Historical  
Quarterly

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THE  
HISTORY OF THE  
CITY OF BOSTON  
FROM 1630 TO 1880

BY  
JOHN B. HENNING

1880

1880

1880

1880

# Contents of Volume I

## Number 1 — November, 1931

	PAGE
PIONEER PRINTING OF KANSAS.....	<i>Douglas C. McMurtrie</i> , 3
FREIGHTING: A BIG BUSINESS ON THE SANTA FE TRAIL..	<i>Walker D. Wyman</i> , 17
THE FIRST DAY'S BATTLE AT HICKORY POINT: From the Diary and Reminiscences of Samuel James Reader.....	<i>Edited by George A. Root</i> , 28
THE MILITARY POST AS A FACTOR IN THE FRONTIER DEFENSE OF KANSAS, 1865-1869 .....	<i>Marvin H. Garfield</i> , 50
WAS GOVERNOR JOHN A. MARTIN A PROHIBITIONIST?.....	<i>James C. Malin</i> , 63
NOTES ON HISTORICAL LITERATURE OF THE RANGE CATTLE INDUSTRY,	<i>James C. Malin</i> , 74
KANSAS HISTORY AS PUBLISHED IN THE STATE PRESS.....	77

## Number 2 — February, 1932

	PAGE
THE PRATT COLLECTION OF MANUSCRIPTS.....	<i>Esther Clark Hill</i> , 83
SOME BACKGROUND OF EARLY BAPTIST MISSIONS IN KANSAS: Based on Letters in the Pratt Collection of Manuscripts and Documents,	<i>Esther Clark Hill</i> , 89
SURVEYING THE SOUTHERN BOUNDARY LINE OF KANSAS: From the Private Journal of Col. Joseph E. Johnston.....	<i>Edited by Nyle H. Miller</i> , 104
DEFENSE OF THE KANSAS FRONTIER, 1864-1865.....	<i>Marvin H. Garfield</i> , 140
NO-KO-AHT'S TALK: A Kickapoo Chief's Account of a Tribal Journey from Kansas to Mexico and Return in the Sixties,	<i>Edited by George A. Root</i> , 153
NOTES ON THE LITERATURE OF POPULISM.....	<i>James C. Malin</i> , 160
THE ANNUAL MEETING (1931): Containing a Summary of the President's Address; Report of the Executive Committee; Report of the Secretary; Revised Charter, Constitution and By-laws...	<i>Kirke Mechem</i> , 165
RECENT ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY.....	<i>Compiled by Helen M. McFarland</i> , 176
KANSAS HISTORY AS PUBLISHED IN THE STATE PRESS.....	184
KANSAS HISTORICAL NOTES .....	190

## Number 3— May, 1932

	PAGE
EXTRACTS FROM DIARY OF CAPTAIN LAMBERT BOWMAN WOLF, <i>Edited by George A. Root,</i>	195
GENERAL BLUNT'S ACCOUNT OF HIS CIVIL WAR EXPERIENCES, <i>James G. Blunt,</i>	211
UNITED STATES SURVEYORS MASSACRED BY INDIANS (Lone Tree, Meade County, 1874) ..... <i>Mrs. Frank C. Montgomery,</i>	266
SOME PHASES OF THE INDUSTRIAL HISTORY OF PITTSBURG, KANSAS, <i>Fred N. Howell,</i>	273
Book Review—Nichols: <i>Franklin Pierce: Young Hickory of the Granite Hills</i> ..... <i>James C. Malin,</i>	295
KANSAS HISTORY AS PUBLISHED IN THE STATE PRESS.....	298
KANSAS HISTORICAL NOTES .....	304

## Number 4— August, 1932

	PAGE
EARLY KANSAS IMPEACHMENTS..... <i>Cortez A. M. Ewing,</i>	307
DEFENSE OF THE KANSAS FRONTIER, 1866-1867..... <i>Marvin H. Garfield,</i>	326
SOME FAMOUS KANSAS FRONTIER SCOUTS..... <i>Paul I. Wellman,</i>	345
THE LEAVENWORTH BOARD OF TRADE, 1882-1892..... <i>Lela Barnes,</i>	360
A HISTORY OF KANSAS CHILD-LABOR LEGISLATION.... <i>Domenico Gagliardo,</i>	379
KANSAS HISTORY AS PUBLISHED IN THE STATE PRESS.....	402
KANSAS HISTORICAL NOTES .....	410

## Number 5— November, 1932

	PAGE
THE MILITARY PHASE OF SANTA FE FREIGHTING, 1846-1865 <i>Walker D. Wyman,</i>	415
THE EMIGRANT AID COMPANY IN KANSAS..... <i>Samuel A. Johnson,</i>	429
DIARY OF SAMUEL A. KINGMAN AT INDIAN TREATY IN 1865.....	442
DEFENSE OF THE KANSAS FRONTIER, 1868-1869..... <i>Marvin H. Garfield,</i>	451
KANSAS HISTORY AS PUBLISHED IN THE STATE PRESS.....	474
KANSAS HISTORICAL NOTES .....	481
INDEX TO VOLUME I .....	483

THE  
Kansas Historical  
Quarterly



Volume 1

Number 1

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## The Quarterly

For some years many members have felt that quarterly publication of the historical material printed in the biennial *Collections* would be of advantage to the Society. This of course was not criticism of the content of the *Collections*, since their popularity has always testified to their worth, but it was believed that the unwieldiness of the volumes and the infrequency of their appearance set a regrettable limit to their use and value. The *Kansas Historical Quarterly* was authorized by the directors in the hope of gaining a wider range of usefulness for this type of publication. Every effort will be made to secure articles that are historically sound as well as interesting in style and subject. It is planned to make frequent use of the Society's vast collection of original manuscripts and documents. Over the two-year period the *Quarterly* will publish approximately as much material as did the biennial *Collections*. It is printed in larger type and on better paper. Each volume will be indexed. An arrangement whereby members may exchange unbound numbers for bound volumes will be announced later.—THE EDITOR.



# Pioneer Printing of Kansas

DOUGLAS C. McMURTRIE

BY AN act of congress of May 26, 1830, the United States government, as if in the belief that its domain embraced land enough for all its people to grow in, magnanimously set aside an indefinite area, some six hundred miles from north to south and two hundred miles in width, as Indian territory. To this region, which lay west of the territory of Arkansas and of the ten-year-old state of Missouri, extending northward to the Platte and Missouri rivers, all Indians from the eastern portion of the country were to be removed as rapidly as the government could persuade them to cede their ancestral lands and take other lands, far to the west, in exchange.

The plan of the government seems to have been to make over these various Indian groups, once they had been transplanted to their new homes, into self-supporting communities. To this end, provision was made for teachers and missionaries to accompany them, and for agricultural tools and supplies, paid for out of funds held in trust for the Indians by the paternal government, to be distributed under the benevolent direction of agents appointed from Washington. The teachers were to teach the Indians their letters and the rudiments of civilized deportment. Farmers and artisans employed by the government were to teach them to plow, sow, and reap, and such elementary industrial arts as blacksmithing. Missionaries were to persuade them to give up the evil ways of barbarism and become Christians. Meanwhile, the evacuated Indian lands east of the Mississippi could be distributed to land-hungry pioneers.

There is abundant record of how that grandiose plan, in its execution, fell somewhat short of expectations. And there would be no place for even a mention of it here except for the fact that one of the missionaries who accompanied a certain band of Indians into the far west had started life as a printer and in his new career combined printing with preaching.

Jotham Meeker was the name of this printer-missionary. He had been born in or near Cincinnati, Ohio, November 8, 1804. His birth-place had been settled in the wilderness only some dozen years before, and he first saw the light a little over a year after the Louisiana Purchase had brought into the United States the far-distant terri-

tory in which he was to spend most of his active life. In the days of his youth, Meeker was trained as a printer at Cincinnati.<sup>1</sup>

In the summer of 1825, when he was in his twenty-first year, Meeker decided to become a missionary teacher, and just after his twenty-first birthday he arrived at the Carey Mission Station, in the wilds of Michigan, among the Pottawatomies on the Saint Joseph river. Here he was about one hundred miles from Fort Wayne, the mission's nearest outpost of civilization. About two years later he was superintendent of the newly established Thomas Station, among the Ottawas, on the Grand river. Here he received his license to preach the gospel, under the authorization of the Baptist congregation at Carey. After nearly five years of mission work, Meeker married Eleanor Richardson, a fellow worker at the Thomas Station, and with a wife and mother to support went back to Cincinnati to work as a printer. But in 1832 he and his wife were back in the missionary field, this time among the Chippewas, at Sault Ste. Marie.

The Pottawatomies, Ottawas, and Chippewas all spoke closely related languages, in the use of which young Meeker had become fluent. At Sault Ste. Marie he first began his experiments in devising for the Indian languages an orthography which might be written or printed with the ordinary characters of our alphabet. He recorded in his journal that after a few hours' instruction he had succeeded in teaching two young Indian boys to read. But before he could carry his experiments further he was transferred to a new location in the Indian territory. It was now arranged that Meeker should take with him a printing outfit. He went to Cincinnati to procure the equipment, which cost, press, type and everything else, \$550, and set out for the West.

Just west of the Missouri boundary, and just "over the line" of the city limits of the present Kansas City (Missouri), Meeker set up the first press in what is now the state of Kansas, in February, 1834. On the first day of March he set the first types in the new territory, and on the eighth of that month he made the first press impression. These details of printing chronology are accurately known from the precise entries in Meeker's own journal, which sets forth his life and

1. The two printing concerns principally identified with Cincinnati at what was probably the time of Meeker's apprenticeship were Looker, Reynolds & Co. (later Looker, Palmer & Reynolds, and Looker & Reynolds), and Morgan, Lodge & Co. (later Morgan & Lodge, and Morgan, Lodge & Fisher). There were six or seven other master printers at work at Cincinnati for a year or two at a time during the same period, but the probability is that the young apprentice served his time in the plant of one of the two larger and more firmly established firms.



doings in brief but comprehensive form from his twenty-eighth birthday, in 1832, until within ten days of his death in 1855.<sup>2</sup>

The press which Meeker operated was at first set up at the Baptist Shawanoe (Shawnee) Mission. Here, until May of 1837, Meeker produced about ninety pieces of printed matter.<sup>3</sup> Most of the output of the press was in the form of small books containing hymns, selections from the Scriptures, and other works of a religious nature, translated into various Indian languages by Meeker and by other missionaries. The orthography was that which Meeker had devised, whereby the letters of the alphabet were assigned, sometimes rather arbitrarily, to the task of representing sounds found in the Indian speech. The system seems to have been quite successful with those Indians who would permit themselves to be taught.<sup>4</sup>

In the summer of 1837, Meeker established himself as a missionary and teacher among the band of Ottawas, from Michigan, who had been given lands near the present city of Ottawa, Kansas. The press remained at Shawanoe, in charge for a time of Rev. John G. Pratt, also a Baptist missionary, who must be recorded as the second printer in Kansas.<sup>5</sup> In the summer of 1846, the press, still in charge of Pratt, was removed to Stockbridge, an outpost of the Shawanoe Mission which had been opened in 1843 at a site a short distance north of the Kansas river, near the Missouri. Pratt is known to have produced eighteen pieces of printing at Shawanoe and four at Stockbridge. But this printer did not keep a diary as Meeker did, and it may be that there were some other products of his press of which there is now no record.

Meeker returned three times from Ottawa to Shawanoe to see to the printing of books prepared by himself for his Ottawas, or to help Pratt—in 1838, in 1840, and again in 1845. Finally, in 1849, Pratt having discontinued the use of the press entirely, Meeker transported the dismantled equipment to Ottawa and there occasionally did

2. The original of Jotham Meeker's journal is in the possession of the Kansas State Historical Society, at Topeka. Copious extracts from it, especially as the record concerns Meeker's activities as a printer, will be found in *Jotham Meeker, Pioneer Printer of Kansas*, pp. 45-126.

3. See *Jotham Meeker, Pioneer Printer of Kansas*, pp. 34-35.

4. *Op. cit.*, pp. 25-30. In Meeker's orthography the functions of the letters differed according to the language. Thus in the Shawnee texts the letter *b* represented the sound of *th* in "thin," but in Delaware it was used for the sound of *u* in "tube"; in Pottawatomic and Ottawa, the letter *r* represented the sound of *e* in "met," but in Delaware it stood for *a* in "fate." These arbitrary differences in the use of letters seriously impaired the general usefulness of the system.

5. This statement is not strictly accurate. Before Pratt had come to Shawanoe, Meeker's journal had recorded the temporary employment of Thomas E. Birch as a journeyman in the summer of 1835; during November, 1835, Meeker employed a "Mr. Day," and in April, 1837, a "Mr. Quisibury." But these representatives of the printing craft are shadowy figures, existing for us only momentarily in the pages of Meeker's journal.

some printing. About ten pieces of printing are listed from the press at Ottawa up to the time of Meeker's death in January, 1855.

Notable among the products of the Meeker press was a little four-page or sometimes two-page paper in the Shawnee language. To this paper may be granted the distinction of being the first printing in the form of a newspaper in what is now Kansas. In the Meeker orthography its name was printed *Siwinoe Kesibwi*, pronounced, according to contemporary spellings, *Shauwaunowe Kesauthwan*, meaning in English *Shawnee Sun*. This publication began with a fairly regular monthly issue, but in its later years it seems to have been an occasional affair, published whenever Johnston Lykins, its Baptist missionary editor, had time for it. Contributions written by some of the Indans themselves appeared now and then in its columns. Its first issue was printed by Meeker on March 1, 1835, and it was continued until about 1844. Meeker mentions the printing of it from time to time in his journal up to the fourteenth issue, in April, 1837. The only existing copy of it is one dated November, 1841, printed at Shawanoe Mission by John G. Pratt, who was then the printer at that station. It has only recently been discovered in private ownership in Kansas City, Kansas.<sup>6</sup>

The activities of this pioneer Kansas press covered in all a period of twenty-one years, during which time it had operated at three localities—Shawanoe, 1834-1846, Stockbridge, 1846-1848, and Ottawa, 1849—*ca.* 1854. Of these, Stockbridge and Ottawa were the third and fourth printing points in what is now Kansas. For the second point at which printing was done in that area, we must turn to another Indian mission, in the northeastern corner of the present state.

Here, a mile or so east and north of the present town of Highland, was a Presbyterian mission among the Ioway and Sac Indians. This mission had been established in 1835, and in 1837 there had come to it two young men from Pittsburgh, Samuel M. Irvin and William Hamilton. Already in 1835, and again in 1837, Presbyterian missionaries had engaged the services of Jotham Meeker, at Shawanoe, to print for them two or three small books in the language of the Ioways.<sup>7</sup> But Irvin and Hamilton wished to do their own printing.

6. Jotham Meeker records in his journal that on December 12, 1836, he had bound up two sets of the eleven issues of the *Sun* which had appeared up to that time. And in October, 1839, Johnston Lykins transmitted copies for 1835, 1836, and 1837, to the Department of Indian Affairs, at Washington, with other material from the Baptist Mission Press. But all these have disappeared. The one copy now extant was reproduced in the *Kansas City (Kansas) Sun* of February 18, 1898, and only recently came to light again, in March, 1930, after the publication of *Jotham Meeker* with the statement (p. 33) that it could not be located.

7. *Jotham Meeker*, pp. 145-146 (nos. 37 and 38), p. 150 (no. 54).



In April, 1843, therefore, the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions sent them a small printing equipment, at a total cost of about \$250.<sup>8</sup> With this outfit, the two missionaries set themselves to the task of learning how to print.

For neither Hamilton nor Irvin had had any previous experience with printing. Not only that, but they had first to devise a syllabary for the sounds of the Ioway language and also to translate the texts which they desired to print—all this, of course, in addition to their other missionary labors. Yet one of the first fruits of their labors was a book of 101 pages. The pages were small—about  $3\frac{3}{4}$  by  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches—but the production of the book was nevertheless an achievement under the circumstances. The title was *An Elementary Book of the Ioway Language*, and the imprint was “Iowa and Sac Mission Press, Indian Territory, 1843.”<sup>9</sup>

Even in 1848, when they had had the press for five years, the two self-taught printers thought it necessary to insert in their 156-page *Ioway Grammar* an apology for their craftsmanship. “Any defect, which may appear in the mechanical execution of this work,” they said, “will be accounted for, when it is remembered that the little press at the station, on which it has been done, is provided with only two kinds of type, and that our experience in the art has been acquired entirely in the Indian country, and without any instructor.”

The known output of this Presbyterian mission press was quite small; only nine titles from it have been recorded. But it deserves mention as the second press to operate in Kansas.

Since Meeker first set up his press at Shawanoe in 1834, many changes had come over the Indian territory before the death of that pioneer in 1855. The pressure of population threatened the far-spreading prairie lands set apart for the Indians, and the country was becoming distracted with the question of slavery. The result was that on May 30, 1854, President Pierce signed the Kansas-Nebraska bill. This meant that the Indians had to readjust themselves once more to an invasion of their lands by the whites, and that the new territories of Kansas and Nebraska were to settle for themselves, on drafting their state constitutions, whether or not they should permit slavery. The rush of settlement began at once. And with the settlers came newspapers, and bitter political campaigns.

An interesting little thread of connection between the old Indian

8. *A Forgotten Pioneer Press of Kansas*, p. 14.

9. *Op. cit.*, p. 16.

territory and the new territory of Kansas is found in Jotham Meeker's journal. On September 5, 1854, he wrote: "A Mr. Miller staid with us last night—he came to try to buy our printing establishment to commence his *Kansas Free State*, but the press being too small he does not buy."<sup>10</sup> And on November 7 of the same year the entry was: "Write a letter to Messrs. G. W. Brown & Co., and subscribe for their *Herald of Freedom*, published at Wakarusa, K. T." The following January, Meeker passed from the earthly scene and left the printing field to the Millers and the Browns of the new order of things.

The new order of things was in sharp contrast with the relatively peaceful days of scattered Indian reservations. The newcomers to Kansas were partisans, whether of slavery or free soil, and came determined to predominate in the voting which should determine the status of Kansas as slave or free. There is no proper occasion here to mention the bitter and tragic conflicts that arose, other than to say that the spirit of them gave a characteristic brand to the early newspaper press of Kansas, and attracted to local journalism, which would have been normally inconspicuous under other circumstances, the attention not only of the nation, but of the world.

The forerunner of the long line of Kansas newspapers was the *Kansas Weekly Herald*, which began publication at Leavenworth on September 15, 1854. Its printer and publisher was William H. Adams, a Kentuckian by birth, who happened to be publishing the *Platte Argus* at Weston, Missouri, when the Kansas excitement started. He also happened to be the son-in-law of George W. Gist, who organized a company to create a townsite not far from the government's military outpost at Fort Leavenworth. The fact that the new town was to be laid out on lands that still belonged to the Delaware Indians does not seem to have been considered by the promoters. Even before there was a town, there was a newspaper. Adams set the type for his first issue in the open air, under an elm tree. Some visitors to this interesting scene described "four tents, all on one street, a barrel of water or whisky under a tree, and a pot, on a pole over a fire. Under a tree a type-sticker had his case before him and was at work on the first number of the new paper, and within a frame, without a board on side or roof, was the editor's desk and sanctum."<sup>11</sup> When these same visitors returned a little later

10. *Jotham Meeker*, p. 125, and pp. 41-42.

11. Boynton and Mason, *A Journey Through Kansas, with Sketches of Nebraska* (Cincinnati, 1855), pp. 23-24.



from a short journey into Kansas, the editor had removed his office from under the elm tree to "the corner of Broadway and the levee," where, with the exception of Fort Leavenworth, there was probably not another house on either side for forty miles.

Adams was a mild-mannered person, a printer rather than an editor, and his paper at first was colorless enough, although representing the proslavery cause. For the first six issues Adams was in partnership with William J. Osborn. Then General Lucien J. Eastin became a partner in the publishing enterprise in place of Osborn, and under the firm of Eastin & Adams the *Kansas Weekly Herald* began to emit editorial fire.

Leavenworth was the fifth site of printing in Kansas, although the first under territorial conditions. The second location of a press in the new territory was at Kickapoo, about seven miles from Leavenworth. Here A. B. Hazzard and a man named Sexton started the second proslavery paper, the *Kansas Pioneer*, in November of 1854. This press seems to have had the distinction of printing the earliest known official document connected with the territorial history of Kansas. This was a broadside list of the officers and members of both houses of the legislative assembly, which convened at a place called Pawnee on July 2, 1855, and a few days later moved to the Shawnee Manual Labor School, a Methodist establishment not far from the Baptist mission where Meeker had first labored. John T. Brady, of the Manual Labor School, was chosen as public printer by the assembly, but such printing as he did not send to Saint Louis seems to have been executed at Kickapoo.

Hazzard in all probability was also the printer of the opinion of Samuel D. Lecompte, chief justice, concurred in by Rush Elmore, associate justice, of the territorial supreme court, concerning the validity of the acts of the legislative assembly. This is a pamphlet of nine printed pages, with the imprint "Shawnee M. L. S.: J. T. Brady, 1855." The New York Public Library has a copy of each of these rarities.

At first, the proslavery party had everything its own way. It could find plenty of sympathizers just across the border in Missouri, while the free-state adherents had to make long journeys to reach Kansas. The legislative assembly of July, 1855, known to history as the "Bogus Legislature," had been chosen largely with the help of bands of determined Missourians who had moved into Kansas for the purpose. The free-state settlers ignored its enactments and in

the following winter organized their own "government" at Topeka, much to the embarrassment of the authorities at Washington. And in a very short time the first free-state newspapers appeared. The first of these, and the third newspaper in territorial Kansas, was the *Herald of Freedom*, established at Lawrence by George Washington Brown on January 3, 1855. This was the paper for which Jotham Meeker had entered his subscription two months before its first appearance.

There were three entries in the race to become the first free-state paper in Kansas. These were Brown's *Herald of Freedom*, the *Kansas Free State*, by Josiah Miller and Robert G. Elliott, and the *Kansas Tribune*, by John Speer. All three had independently fixed on the new settlement at Lawrence as their goal, and Brown's paper won by a lead of only about one week. Brown was the editor and publisher of the *Courier* at Conneautville, Pennsylvania. As early as March, 1854, he published in the *Courier* an announcement of his intention to go to Kansas and start a newspaper. A little later he procured the backing of the newly organized Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company, which widely advertised the proposed new paper at Lawrence, where the company's first settlement was to be made. The prospectus of the *Herald of Freedom* was published in the *Courier* in July, 1854, and on September 21 Brown printed at Conneautville the first number, with the date line "Wakarusa, Kansas Territory, October 21, 1854." Twenty-one thousand copies of this issue were widely circulated. Soon after its issue, Brown started west with a party of about three hundred prospective settlers, including a printing crew of seven persons. In his outfit Brown had a newly purchased press.

Difficulties of transportation delayed the arrival of Brown's party until December. In the meantime, the name of the proposed settlement had been changed from Wakarusa to Lawrence. With the aid of the Emigrant Aid Company's sawmill, a building for the newspaper plant was completed about the first of January, 1855. The first issue of the *Herald of Freedom* at Lawrence appeared on January 3, although it was dated January 6.<sup>12</sup>

Josiah Miller had decided upon establishing a newspaper in Kan-

12. Contemporary evidence abundantly establishes the priority of the *Herald of Freedom* over the other two papers at Lawrence, in spite of claims to the contrary. The evidence is conclusively set forth in Flint's *Journalism in Territorial Kansas*, pp. 49-54. I am much indebted to this searching and exhaustive essay for many details of early Kansas newspaper history. Much of Flint's account of the events at Lawrence in January, 1855, is based on personal interviews with Robert Elliott and with William Miller, a brother of Josiah Miller, in the summer and fall of 1915.



sas at about the same time that Brown did. He had already visited the region in April, 1854, and when the Kansas-Nebraska bill was passed he formed a partnership with Robert Gaston Elliott, then a school teacher in Tennessee, and returned to Kansas, deciding upon Wyandott as the place in which to locate. Elliott was to procure materials and follow, but was delayed by difficulties of transportation. We have seen how Miller, in the hope of hurrying matters, had visited Jotham Meeker, but finding his press too small did not buy it. Elliott finally arrived, with a press bought in Cincinnati and type and paper procured in Saint Louis, but the partners could not get a suitable location at Wyandott and so moved on to Lawrence. Refused assistance there by the Emigrant Aid Company because of its arrangement with Brown, Miller and Elliott had some difficulty in getting a building, but finally were able to begin installing their equipment in an unfinished shack which had been intended as a dwelling. Neither Elliott nor Miller were printers, so we must assume that somewhere they had procured technical assistants. When they started work on their initial issue of the *Free State*, Brown with his well-equipped establishment was on the ground, and also John Speer.

Speer, editor and publisher of the *New Era* at Medina, Ohio, first came to Kansas in the summer of 1854. Because his was to be a free-state paper, he was coldly received at Tecumseh, near Leecompton, where he first planned to settle. He then went to Lawrence and prepared part of the copy for his projected *Kansas Pioneer*, expecting to get the printing done at the plant of the *Enterprise* in Kansas City, Missouri. But that establishment also refused to help a free-state publication, and so did the *Herald*, at Leavenworth. Speer returned to Ohio, therefore, and issued his first number there, dating it October 15, 1854. With his foreman, Charles Garrett, he then set out again for Kansas, hoping to get out his second issue before any other free-state paper should appear.

It was a season of low water, and Speer, like his competitors, was delayed by difficulties of transportation. His load of equipment was put on shore near Boonville, Missouri, in November or December, and Speer and Garrett set out for Lawrence in light marching order, with "two composing sticks and a change of clothing." Meanwhile the proslavery *Kansas Pioneer* has made its appearance at Kickapoo, so Speer changed the name of his projected paper to *Kansas Tribune*.

At Lawrence, in order to comply with the terms of his prospectus,

Speer tried to arrange with Brown to get out the first issue of the *Tribune* for him, offering a partnership when his equipment should arrive. Brown refused, so Speer threw in his lot with Miller and Elliott. The *Tribune* was to use the matter set up for the *Free State*, with a change of heading and with a few columns of new material. With all their efforts, however, the *Free State-Tribune* combination, with type enough for only one side of the sheet to be printed at a time, was defeated in the race with Brown and his seven printers and big equipment. The first *Free State* was dated January 3, but was not actually on the streets of the crude settlement at Lawrence until a week later.

Following Leavenworth and Kickapoo, Lawrence was the third printing point in territorial Kansas. Atchison was the fourth, with the establishment of the *Squatter Sovereign*, a violently proslavery paper, by John H. Stringfellow and Robert S. Kelley, on February 3, 1855. Fifth was Topeka, where E. C. K. Garvey established the *Kansas Freeman* on July 5, 1855. Fort Scott may have been the sixth, but the record of the *Southern Kansan* is not clear whether it began in August, 1855, or in August, 1856. The press, brought from Boonville, Missouri, seems to have been actually on the ground, however, in 1855.<sup>13</sup>

Topeka was the site of the free-state "government" set up in opposition to the "bogus legislature" at Shawnee. This Topeka government, however, evidently refrained from putting itself on record by printing anything, although there was a press at Topeka as early as February, 1855. The first printed record of free-state politics, other than newspapers, seems to have been the proceedings of the territorial convention held at Big Springs on September 5 and 6, 1855. These proceedings were printed in a 16-page pamphlet by the *Herald of Freedom* office at Lawrence. The so-called "Topeka Constitution" was written in 1855, but it was not printed until 1857, when it appeared in 16-page format from the office of the *Lawrence Republican*, a paper established on May 28 of that year.

Although the proslavery partisans made the first start in Kansas territorial printing, they were soon outnumbered by the free-state printing establishments. Because the advocates of the "peculiar institution" could not migrate and settle in Kansas without the risk of losing their slave property if the new state should vote itself free, they were at a disadvantage in point of numbers against the free-

13. *Kansas Annual Register*, 1864, p. 138; Flint, pp. 600-601.



state settlers, who brought no embarrassing "property" with them. But in spite of the disparity in numbers, the struggle between the two factions lacked nothing in bitterness and violence, with both sides at fault for deeds of cruelty and ruthlessness, until after the close of the Civil War. Newspapers and printing plants suffered from violence as well as individuals and other forms of property.

The first newspaper to suffer from violence was the *Leavenworth Territorial Register*, established July 7, 1855, by Mark W. Delahay and A. M. Sevier. Delahay was a delegate to the Topeka constitutional convention in the fall of that year, and while he was away a party of Missourians, not liking his political attitude, crossed the Missouri river on the ice and on December 22 ransacked the *Register* office. The press was dropped through a hole in the ice, and the type was distributed in the street. Five months later, following an indictment charging them with constructive treason in denying the legality of the territorial authorities, the plants of the *Free State* and of the *Herald of Freedom* were destroyed by violence on May 21, 1856. John Speer's *Kansas Tribune* escaped by having been removed to Topeka a short time before. *The Tribune* and E. C. K. Garvey's *Kansas Freeman*, both at Topeka, were for a time the only free-state papers left in Kansas.

New printing points in 1856 were Doniphan, where Thomas J. Key planted the proslavery *Constitutionalist* on May 3, and Leecompton, where the *Union*, also proslavery, was established on the same date by A. W. Jones and C. A. Faris. Printing materials were also assembled at Osawatomie by Oscar V. Dayton and Alexander Gardner, of New York, in the spring of 1856. But during the disturbances of that year the materials were hidden, and the projected *Osawatomie Times* did not appear. But in 1857 the tide definitely turned. Newspapers started in at least fifteen new locations, and only two of these were of the proslavery faith. In the order of their appearance they were as follows:<sup>14</sup>

Quindaro *Chindowan*: May 13, by J. M. Walden and Edmund Babb.

Lawrence *Republican*: May 28, by Norman Allen and T. Dwight Thacher.

Wyandott City *Register*: May, by M. W. Delahay.

White Cloud *Kansas Chief*: June 4, by Solomon Miller.

Emporia *Kansas News*: June 6, by Preston B. Plumb.

Centropolis *Kansas Leader*: June 13, by William Austin and Elias Beardsley.

Prairie City *Freeman's Champion*: June 25, by S. S. Prouty.

14. This list is compiled from the "Roll Call of Newspapers in Territorial Kansas," Flint, pp. 595 ff.

*Atchison Kansas Zeitung*: June, by Charles F. Kob.

*Geary City Era*: June, by E. H. Grand and Earle Marble.

*Elwood Advertiser*: July, by John S. Fairman.

*Tecumseh Note Book*: July, by S. G. Reid (proslavery).

*Sumner Gazette*: Sept. 12, by J. P. and D. D. Cone.

*Wyandott Citizen*: Sept. 19, by Ephraim Abbott (revival of the *Wyandott Register*).

*Ottumwa Journal*: September, by Jonathan Lyman; removed in October to Burlington, where it became the

*Burlington Free Press*.

*Delaware Kansas Free State*: revival in the fall of 1857, by R. G. Elliott, of the *Free State* destroyed at Lawrence in May, 1856.

*Marysville Palmetto Kansan*: November, by J. E. Clardy (proslavery).

*Osawatomie Southern Kansas Herald*: November, by Charles E. Griffith.

Some of the products of the early Kansas press deserve mention, as they may be said to be comprised among the *incunabula* of territorial Kansas. Some of the printing done by A. B. Hazzard at Kickapoo for the proslavery, or "bogus," legislature has already been mentioned. In all probability, Hazzard also printed the four-page pamphlet containing the drastic act to punish offenses against slave property passed by that legislature August 14, 1855. Other publications of that session—the journals of the council and of the house of representatives, and the volume of more than a thousand pages containing the statutes passed—were printed in St. Louis, although they bear the imprint of John T. Brady, public printer, at the Shawnee Manual Labor School.

Eastin & Adams, of Leavenworth, printed at their *Herald* office the proceedings of the Kansas Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons in an adjourned meeting at Leavenworth in July, 1856. In 1857 there appeared two addresses to the people of the United States from the two opposing parties in Kansas. The Democratic Territorial Convention, held at Lecompton on January 12, 1857, had its address printed in Leavenworth at the office of the *Leavenworth Weekly Journal*, a proslavery paper established about June 1, 1856, by S. S. Goode in partnership with a Major Wilkes of South Carolina. The Free State convention met at Topeka on March 10, 1857, and its address was also issued with a Leavenworth imprint, though it is not known which office in that town had the hardihood to print it.

The journals and the laws of the second session of the territorial legislature, held at Lecompton in January, 1857, were issued at Lecompton by R. H. Bennett, successor to John T. Brady as public

printer and probably associated with the office of the Lecompton *Union*, a proslavery paper established at the new temporary capital in May, 1856. In 1857 the imprint of Eastin & Adams, of the Leavenworth *Herald*, again appeared on the proceedings of another meeting of the Masonic grand lodge that assembled in Leavenworth in October. In that year the Leavenworth *Journal* office printed *A Historical Sketch and Review of the Business of the City of Leavenworth*—the city being then about three years old.

The laws of the third and fourth sessions of the territorial legislative assembly have the imprint of S. W. Driggs & Co., at Lecompton in 1858. Driggs had established there, in July, 1857, the *National Democrat*, still another organ of the proslavery party. But in 1859 and thereafter the imprints of printers identified with the free-state sentiment come more and more to the fore. The proceedings of the Wyandott constitutional convention of July, 1859, were printed at Wyandott (now a part of Kansas City, Kansas) by S. D. Macdonald, "Printer to the Convention." This printer about a year before, in August, 1858, had begun publication of the *Wyandott Commercial Gazette*. It was under the so-called Wyandott constitution, also printed at Wyandott in 1859, that Kansas eventually was admitted to the Union in 1861. The journals of the legislature of 1859 have the imprint of J. K. Goodin, at Lawrence, and the laws of that session were printed at the "Herald of Freedom Steam Press," the imprint showing that G. W. Brown's paper had been quite successfully revived after the destruction of its plant in 1856.

In the period before 1860, the press in what is now Kansas got no farther west than Junction City, which point was reached in June, 1858, when B. H. Keyser began his *Sentinel* there, with George W. Kingsbury as printer. A line drawn from Marysville at the north, southward through Junction City to Cottonwood Falls, and thence southeast to Fort Scott, will delimit the area in which the early press of Kansas operated. It is noteworthy that no fewer than eight enterprising printers set up their presses in the small area of the present Doniphan county, all but one of these being free-state advocates arriving in the years 1857-1859. This area, in the extreme northeastern corner of the territory, was probably more accessible to the free-state invasion than locations that could be reached only by quite extended journeying through hostile Missouri.

This chapter on the press in Kansas may well close by taking leave of the old press first brought there by Jotham Meeker. After



Meeker's death, the press became the property of George W. Brown, of the Lawrence *Herald of Freedom*. From Brown it passed to S. S. Prouty, who used it in connection with his *Freeman's Champion*, at Prairie City in 1857, and with his *Neosho Valley Register* at Burlington in 1859. Prouty sold it to S. Weaver, who used it at Leocompton. Thence it went to Cottonwood Falls and from there on south to Cowley county, where it was used at Winfield. It is also said to have been at Liberal, in Seward county. Next it passed into Oklahoma and into a period of obscurity and neglect. In the summer of 1929 parts of an old wooden press were found in a cellar in Guymon, Oklahoma, and tentatively identified as belonging to the ancient Meeker press. Whether this actually is the press of Meeker is doubtful, as all accounts describe the original press as an iron press of the Seth Adams make. At last accounts the old press found in Oklahoma was the property of Mr. Giles Miller, editor of the *Panhandle Herald*, at Guymon.<sup>15</sup>

15. The story of the wanderings of this old press was told by S. S. Prouty in the Winfield *Courier* of August 27, 1870, quoted by Flint, p. 613, as "the most probable account," and repeated in Martin's *Hand Book of the Kansas Publishing House* (Topeka, 1875), pp. 34-35. It was carried further by Mr. J. T. Crawford, general secretary of the Kansas State Baptist Association, in an article in the *Kansas City Star* of October 15, 1929. According to Prouty, twenty stars on its original frame indicated that it had been made in 1817, before Illinois became the twenty-first state in 1818.

# Freighting: A Big Business on the Santa Fe Trail

WALKER WYMAN

"Kearny's baggage train started a new era in plains freighting. . . . It became a matter of business, running smoothly along familiar channels. . . . Between the Mexican and the Civil Wars was its new period of life. . . ." <sup>1</sup>

IN THE fifties overland freighting became a great business, employing a vast outlay of capital and great numbers of men and animals. Like a tide it rose through that decade, reaching its flood in the sixties. Then came the Kansas Pacific railroad, stretching westward from Kansas City. Overland freighting with ox teams receded as the railroad advanced. With this ebb tide went the big business of freighting.

During the last half of the decade of the forties, Independence, Missouri, became the best market west of St. Louis for cattle, mules, and wagons. Overland freighting gradually fell into fewer hands. St. Louis, Philadelphia, and other eastern cities continued to be purchasing places for goods. As the years of the fifties came, steamers ascended the Missouri beyond Independence to Westport, Kansas City, Ft. Leavenworth, and Atchison with goods destined for the New Mexican trade. From these towns caravans of prairie schooners pulled by ox and mule teams made the monotonous journey across the plains on a trail which became a wide, hard-beaten road.

Before the fifties cargoes of calico, groceries, and leather goods were exchanged for specie, furs, and mules. Much of the goods went to Chihuahua, Mexico, some five hundred miles south of Santa Fé. A high *ad valorem* tax on goods entering Mexico as well as the flourishing market in the territory of New Mexico in which no duties were charged after 1852, discouraged the Chihuahua trade. The development of gold fields in the territories of Arizona and New Mexico, the flow of Americans to these areas, and the rapid Americanization of the natives created demands for a diversified supply of goods. There was an "uncommonly large demand" for calicoes, bleached domestics, and small white hosiery. A contemporary, in giving a survey of the trade, commented upon the diminutive char-

1. Frederick Logan Paxson, *The Last American Frontier* (N. Y., 1910), p. 67.

acter of the Mexican women's feet which made small sizes necessary.<sup>2</sup> Dealers of shoes also had to meet this requirement. But flour, whisky, hardware, and ammunition—packed in boxes, sacks, and barrels—formed the bulk of the freight. By 1860, reported this writer, a greater part of the specie had been drained from New Mexico by the demands of commerce, and mules had long since ceased to be of any importance as an article of exchange.<sup>3</sup> After about 1858 enormous quantities of wool began to flow to Missouri in wagon trains many of which had heretofore returned empty.<sup>4</sup> Goat and sheep skins were additional articles of import. In the year of 1859 nearly 30,000 skins were imported into Missouri, selling at twenty-five cents each. Dry hides, some tallow, and a few furs continued to come. Total imports in 1859 were valued at \$500,000.<sup>5</sup>

Until 1850 Independence was the principal outfitting place. In the first few months in 1849 traders were arriving from New Mexico. The frozen snow and jagged ice along the trail lacerated the feet of some of the mules. One train had been snowbound for three days. For five days the men had existed on nothing but "an ear or two of corn." These instances were rare merely because the overland trains were few until June. At that time an observer said that there was a Mexican invasion. "These swarthy teamsters . . .," he said, "were having a great life in breaking 'mulos'. Many who had never seen a mule professed to understand 'all about them'—, and it is quite amusing to see these gentlemen undertake the taming of these animals." Good mules were scarce after May, and cholera was bad. Traders hurried out of town. Adjutant Hart, with the purpose of settling in Chihuahua, took machinery with him. Carriages for Mexican senators were dragged through the streets along with the caravans. The *Expositor* mused: "How they [the carriages] will delight the belles of Mexico."<sup>6</sup>

The extent of trade in 1849 is difficult to explain. Many merchants were reported to have failed in Santa Fé during the winter of 1848. The whole country, according to one merchant, was completely glutted and every town overstocked with goods. He believed there were sufficient supplies for several years to come. This

2. This excellent article, "The Great Overland Trade with New Mexico," appeared in the *Missouri Republican* (date not given) and was quoted in the *Topeka State Record*, October 16, 1860. Author unknown.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Kansas City Star*, April 5, 1908, found in volume 1 of *Trails Clippings* (Kansas State Historical Society), p. 187.

5. *Topeka State Record*, October 16, 1860, quoting *Missouri Republican*.

6. *Missouri Republican*, June 3, 1849; *St. Louis Weekly Reveille*, June 22, 1849.



condition was unchanged after the arrival of the caravan in the summer of that year. William Messervy, a merchant of Santa Fé, warned "introducers of new goods" that they were bound to lose money. Calico sold in New Mexico for the cost price in St. Louis. The high duties levied on goods imported into Chihuahua, ranging from sixty per cent to thirty-three and one-third per cent, made freighting for that market hazardous as a profit-making enterprise. It was alleged that merchants lost approximately eight cents on every yard of cloth imported from Missouri.<sup>7</sup>

The plains Indians caused no great trouble during the summer although a band of them camped on the Arkansas during most of the freighting season. The government gave them \$1,000 worth of presents which, perhaps, kept them in a friendly mood. Hard weather conditions were the most distracting elements with which freighters had to contend. James Browne, enroute to Santa Fé in the fall, experienced a three-day snowstorm in the middle of November. A newspaper reported that the weather "was so intensely cold as to freeze all the oxen attached to the train, leaving the wagons standing in the jornada . . . [the Cimarron desert south of the Arkansas in the present state of Kansas]." A few men went for aid while ten or fifteen stayed with the goods all winter. In March, 1850, they were seen by a passing trader. Two wagons had been burned for fuel in the struggle for life during the winter.<sup>8</sup>

The greatest tragedy of the year was the murder of J. M. White, his family, and a few of his employees. In the latter part of the freighting season he started to Santa Fé with thirteen wagons. Various reports say that when some of his mules became exhausted, he cached a part of his goods, and pushed ahead. About 150 miles from Santa Fé, in the area where the Apache and Comanche had attacked many trains and were to attack many more, the bodies, with the exception of Mrs. White and her youngest child, were found in a mutilated condition. Merchants of Santa Fé were sufficiently aroused to offer \$1,000 reward for the recovery of Mrs. White. The troops later found her, but not before her life had been taken.<sup>9</sup>

The following year, 1850, passed without great change. Trade was brisk, without doubt. A fatal disease, "dry murrain," caused from drinking unwholesome water, left many oxen along the trail to

7. *Missouri Republican*, February 16, August 25, and September 8, 1849.

8. *Missouri Commonwealth*, quoted in the *Weekly Reveille*, January 21, 1850.

9. For various reports see *Weekly Reveille*, December 9, 1849; February 11 and May 6, 1850.

die. The *Missouri Republican* believed that nearly all trains had lost animals. The dry season threw many wagons out of service. It may have been local pride that caused the *Republican* to remark that "of all the wagons taken to and from Santa Fé this year, those only that were manufactured in this city [St. Louis], by Mr. J. Murphy, have withstood all the injurious effects of the heat."<sup>10</sup> The Arkansas river was believed to have been the lowest it had ever been in that particular season. The Indians south of the Arkansas were extremely hostile. One train of Browne's was attacked and ten teamsters killed. Others were robbed and pillaged. One journalist spoke of the "imbecility of our government [which] excites the pity of our own people and the contempt of our poor Indians."<sup>11</sup> Ft. Mann and an encampment on the upper Arkansas gave some protection to the Trail north of the Arkansas.

The removal of the army depot in 1851, from Santa Fé to Fort Union, caused the report that business was dull in Santa Fé. When one hundred and twenty-nine wagons had arrived it was believed that there were enough goods to last two years. A few traders went on south to Chihuahua. The postmaster of Santa Fé, one Mr. McKnight, said that 549 wagons constituted the total trade for the year. These wagons were in trains ranging from seven to forty.<sup>12</sup>

Since the days of the Kearny military government, merchants of Santa Fé had paid a license for transacting business. Much of the time an *ad valorem* tax on imports had been paid in spite of great protest. In 1852 the latter restriction was removed, thereby permitting free trade for practically the first time since overland commerce began in 1822.<sup>13</sup> Trade with Mexico decreased because of the high duties levied at Paso del Norte (El Paso). The failure of crops along the Rio Grande prostrated trade in that region until 1854.

Independence continued to share the overland trade with Westport in the early fifties.<sup>14</sup> The *Republican* testified in 1851 that a "great many wagons still depart from Independence, particularly the trains for New Mexico, but the town is not advancing. . . ." <sup>15</sup>

10. *Missouri Republican*, September 28, 1850.

11. *Independent*, June 16, 1850, quoted in *Missouri Republican*, June 23, 1850.

12. For this account and other reports which seem to vary somewhat see the *Missouri Republican*, September 8, August 18, September 28, and July 8, 1850.

13. H. H. Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico* (San Francisco, 1890), 644; *Senate Executive Documents*, 34th Congress, 2d session, vol. VIII, part 4, p. 536, ser. No. 831.

14. A clipping from the *Kansas City Journal*, May 22, 1905 (given in *Trails Clippings*, vol. I, p. 70, Kansas State Historical Society), quoting the *Annals of the City of Kansas and of Great Plains of the West*, says that in 1847 it was conceded that Kansas City fairly divided the trade with Independence, and since 1850 the former had exclusive benefit of all business "save a few wagons which were owned in Independence."

15. *Missouri Republican*, August 11, 1851.



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

The heyday of this river town was over. Westport Landing, a good dock a few miles west of Independence, became a popular shipping point. A settlement grew up around the landing. Kansas City, located south of the Kansas (or Kaw) river, grew up as an auxiliary to Westport. As late as 1859 a correspondent wrote that "nearly all" the trade came first to Westport and was from thence distributed."<sup>16</sup>

The treaty of Fort Atkinson was signed with the Comanche, Kiowa, and Apache in 1853. Good behavior, the inviolability of the plains traffic, and the right to establish military posts and railroad depots was pledged in exchange for an annual payment of \$18,000 for ten years in "strips of red calico, red blankets, red beads, copper kettles, butcher knives, and hatchets [but no guns]." But "irresponsible Indians and evil white men soon violated every pledge made."<sup>17</sup>

Smallpox and Indians made freighting hazardous in 1854. Insolent Indians accosted many trains begging for whisky and tobacco. They were inveterate thieves, and this often led to casualties, but some traders formed bands to oppose them effectively. In some cases the Indians were quite as eager to trade. One old freighter believed that bright silks attracted them as strongly as scalps.

The year of 1855 was one of the wettest seasons in the memory of the oldest inhabitants. Business was poor, and money was scarce. Kansas was in a state of turmoil. In 1856 the passion aroused over the status of Kansas territory played havoc with the Santa Fé freighting. Trade on the Missouri river was reported dead. Some of the steamers went elsewhere since "passengers were few . . . and freights comparatively unknown." Westport merchants complained that they had no business. There was no demand for horses, cattle, or wagons. By the latter part of April only Mexican trains had departed for Santa Fé. A special correspondent of the New York *Tribune* wrote that the warehouse of Russell, Majors & Wadell in Leavenworth, was a reselling shop for rifles, stores, and agricultural implements which had been stolen from free-state immigrants.<sup>18</sup> Abolitionists attacked trains starting from Kansas City or

16. *Ibid.*, July 18, 1859. Given in a letter written from Westport, July 15, 1859.

17. An account of the activities of Thomas Fitzpatrick in negotiating this treaty is given in LeRoy R. Hafen and W. J. Ghent, *Broken Hand, The Life Story of Thomas Fitzpatrick, Chief of the Mountain Men* (Denver, 1931), pp. 250-255; also, see *Wichita Beacon*, March 11, 1928, quoted in *Trails Clippings*, vol. II, p. 198.

18. New York *Tribune*, July 17, 1856.

Westport, the two cities presumed to be proslavery in sentiment.<sup>19</sup> Colonel S. L. McKinney lost about sixty cattle and ten wagons, including the contents, to a band under a Captain Cutter.<sup>20</sup> According to the *Evening News*, the men were well treated and upon release were given a wagon and six oxen.<sup>21</sup>

A dry season and begging Indians caused difficulties of a nature slightly less dangerous than the Abolitionists. Many wagons had to turn off the trail for miles to find grass for the oxen. The *Republican* (August 26, 1856) believed that there was "scarcely a wagon train . . . but which . . . has to pay tribute for the sake of passing through [the Indian country] without . . . being killed." This paper stated that each train had been compelled to give \$200 or \$300 worth of goods as bribes to the Indians.

The *Kansas Weekly Herald* (Leavenworth, Kansas), proudly stated on August 8, 1857, that the Santa Fé trade was not "pining" away, but instead the trail was one great bustle for nearly 800 miles, "almost lined with wagons, stock, and horsemen." Indians above the Arkansas were harassing beggars, demanding "ox," "shug," and "tobac" as frequently as ever before. Some traders, to show a complete lack of suspicion, did not arm their trains.<sup>22</sup> Kansas troops were recalled from the frontier posts. When a great number of Indians surrounded J. C. Hall and his train, demanding "ox," he pointed to Fort Larned in the distance. They showed their insolence, according to Hall, by replying "Fort! Dam! Forty men." One of them stayed for a meal with the train, and was a guest of eight different messes without serious injury to himself.<sup>23</sup>

The character of the trade changed in 1857.<sup>24</sup> Machinery for gold mines, such as crushing machines, was sent from the States. In that year the first American caravan loaded with wool arrived in Missouri. The previous year Mexicans had tried that business on a limited scale. Wool was a resource undiscovered until this year. Beck and Giddings, New Mexican ranchers, had driven 1,100 sheep overland in 1853 to make the first attempt to improve the sheep of

19. *History of Jackson County, Missouri* (St. Louis, 1881), p. 432; *New York Tribune*, September 16, 1856; also, Wallace Law in *Kansas City Journal*, March 10, 1905, given in *Trails Clippings*, p. 61.

20. *Kansas Weekly Herald*, September 13, 1856.

21. *New York Tribune*, September 16, 1856.

22. J. C. Hall in *Kansas Magazine*, vol. V, p. 54.

23. *Ibid.*

24. This statement is based upon information taken from the *Kansas Tribune*, April 6, 1857; *Missouri Republican*, March 28, 1857; *History of Jackson County, Missouri*, p. 434; and Charles P. Deatherage, *Early History of Greater Kansas City* (Kansas City, 1927), I, p. 468.



the territory. Great herds had been driven to Chihuahua, and some to California, to be marketed for the carcasses. Now this source of wealth could be utilized, and empty wagons could be filled in returning from New Mexico. The importation of wool rose to unparalleled volume. Sheep, in being driven from the mountain valleys to the haciendas of the proprietors in the spring, lost much wool on the prickly bushes and branches through which they passed. The *Kansas City Journal* believed that one large herd often lost from 1,000 to 2,000 pounds in a single drive. Shearing was unknown, but peons, eager to earn an extra penny, armed themselves with sacks and picked the wool as if it were cotton, and sold it for a trifling sum to freighters. Some of the proprietors offered the fleeces to the freighters if they would shear the sheep. The *Journal* estimated that fleeces could be sheared for two cents per pound, freighted to Kansas City for three or four cents per pound, and shipped to St. Louis for less than one cent. Thus it argued that the wool business gave indication of a profitable future.<sup>25</sup>

S. M. Hayes & Company, located on the trail at Council Grove, Kansas, kept a registry of those engaged in the Santa Fé trade. In 1858 they recorded 2,440 men, 1,827 wagons, 429 horses, 15,714 oxen, 5,316 mules, 67 carriages, and 9,608 tons of goods. They estimated the total capital invested at \$2,627,300. If wagons were included the astounding sum of \$3,500,000 was spent in this trade in that year, or enough, they said, to build 350 miles of railroad at \$10,000 per mile. The cash record of this firm showed receipts in gold and silver for \$1,600 in one day of that busy season. Proud citizens believed that " 'C. G.' has a future that no other town off the Missouri river can ever hope to have in Kansas." <sup>26</sup>

An old pioneer remembered some years later that on a certain day in May, 1858, the entire quarter section of land at Lone Elm, Kansas, was covered with wagons. The wagons commenced to pull out at twelve o'clock at night and the last train did not pass him before four o'clock in the afternoon.<sup>27</sup> These wagons distributed goods in Chihuahua and the territories of New Mexico, Arizona, and Colorado.<sup>28</sup> The legislature of New Mexico raised the license fee re-

25. This resumé of the wool trade was taken from the *Missouri Republican*, December 17, 1858, quoted from the *Kansas City Journal*.

26. These statistics are pasted in front of the copy of John Maloy's *History of Morris County, Kansas, 1820 to 1880*, which is in the Kansas State Historical Society.

27. *Kansas Historical Collections*, XI, p. 457, "The Santa Fé Trail in Johnson County, Kansas." A Mr. Ainsworth gave an address at the dedication of the Trail marker at Lone Elm, Kansas, November 9, 1906.

28. A correspondent of the *Missouri Republican* (October 21, 1858), made this statement in a letter from Santa Fé, September 22, 1858.

quired for merchants, which was the only source of revenue, hoping to liquidate a debt of nearly \$10,000 in a year or so! But this did not materially discourage traffic on the trail, nor did the abolitionists who surrounded wagon trains that fall.<sup>29</sup>

Before the grass in 1858 was at any height, Westport bustled with business. The Westport *Border Star* proudly wrote that the "Mexican trains and traders are arriving daily with gold, silver, furs, pelts, wool. At Bernard & Co's we see a pile of silver rocks . . . At the same place a piece of pure gold (from Mexican mines, not from Pike's Peak) as large as an apple dumpling. . . ." <sup>30</sup> The streets were crowded with wagon trains. "Sometimes it was difficult to tread one's way across the streets on account of the blockade of wagons, mules, cattle, bales, boxes, etc.," wrote a correspondent of the *Republican*.<sup>31</sup> Among the exports he noticed a "patent reaper, and mower, a steam engine and boiler, together with all the machinery necessary for a new flouring mill at Albuquerque." By July 15 the streets were again quiet, "the merchant trains having all departed, and the last hunter, peon, and greaser have left. . . ." <sup>32</sup>

The trade in 1859, believed one contemporary writer, had risen to \$10,000,000 annually. Between March 1 and July 31, the *Missouri Republican*, perhaps quoting S. M. Hayes & Company, reported that 2,300 men, 1,970 wagons, 840 horses, 4,000 mules, 15,000 oxen, 73 carriages, and over 1,900 tons of freight left for New Mexico. These figures were exclusive of gold seekers who "were too numerous to count." <sup>33</sup>

The Civil War affected the trade to some extent. Trade from Kansas City and Westport practically ceased, according to W. R. Bernard, a merchant of Westport. Cities farther north on the river became safer starting places. The suspected slavery sentiment of Kansas City brought upon wagon trains starting from there the wrath of Kansas abolitionists. Wallace Law, a contemporary, said that trains starting from Ft. Leavenworth were never molested.<sup>34</sup>

29. The *Missouri Republican*, September 8, 1858 (quoting the *Independent*, September 3), states that after the proslavery party had decided to cease activities for awhile the Abolitionists, "driven to extremity by hunger," surrounded returning Santa Fé trains. William McKinney's train of twenty wagons, oxen, and provisions were taken while "Bent's and one or two others" close in the rear may have shared the same. One of the outward bound trains was afraid to leave.

The *Missouri Republican*, September 1, 1858 (quoting the *Kansas City Enterprise*) says the drivers of McKinney's train were released since most were from northern states.

30. Quoted in *Missouri Republican*, June 1, 1859.

31. *Missouri Republican*, June 8, 1859.

32. *Ibid.*, July 18, 1859.

33. *Ibid.*, August 15, 1859.

34. *Kansas City Journal*, March 10, 1905, given in *Trails Clippings*, p. 61.

The *State Record* (Topeka) reported the largest return train of the season: Thirty-seven wagons extending for over a mile, bringing 50,000 pounds of wool from New Mexico. S. M. Hayes and Company gave the total of the season: 2,984 men, 2,170 wagons, 464 horses, 5,933 mules, 17,836 oxen, 76 carriages, and 80,000 tons of freight.<sup>35</sup>

The wool crop of 1860 was unprecedented. One firm in Tecolati, New Mexico, had contracted for 150,000 fleeces. Shearing sheep had become quite common. Provisions were scarce in Santa Fé—flour sold for \$14 per hundred pounds, and other articles sold in proportion. Indian hostilities continued in spite of the great hordes of men and beasts which poured across the continent. The race of Governor William Gilpin of Colorado, with a force of infantry and cavalry, aided in driving the Confederates out of northern New Mexico before the arrival of the annual caravan. R. L. Duffus says that the Cimarron route, or the short cut across the headwaters of the Cimarron river was abandoned entirely during the war because of the fear of Confederates and the ever present Apache.<sup>36</sup> S. M. Hayes & Company reported that business was paralyzed during the last of the year, but the Mexican teamsters going eastward the following spring had been "thick as locusts."<sup>37</sup>

In 1862 the Council Grove *Press* reported that more than 3,000 wagons, 618 horses, 20,812 oxen, 6,406 mules, 96 carriages, and 3,720 men made their way over the old trail to the Southwest. The business had grown to amazing proportions, for now over 10,000 tons of freight valued at \$40,000,000 constituted the cargo.<sup>38</sup>

It was "flush times" in Council Grove in 1864. S. M. Simcox of that village registered the traffic of the season: 3,000 wagons, 618 horses, 20,812 oxen, 8,046 mules, 98 carriages, 3,012 men and 15,000 tons of merchandise.<sup>39</sup>

The *Kansas Tribune* (Lawrence) complained of a great amount of pillaging and robbery on the trail in that year. "Bushwhackers and

35. Topeka *State Record*, September 29, 1860.

36. Robert L. Duffus, *The Santa Fe Trail* (London, New York, and Toronto, 1930), p. 247.

37. "Innumerable small trains" had passed through Council Grove in the latter part of 1860, exclusive of the Pike's Peak immigration, which, according to S. M. Hayes, "would outfit here had we the goods to outfit them." See the Council Grove *Press*, July 28, 1860, and the Topeka *State Record*, July 28, 1860. The report of the eastbound traffic is given in Council Grove *Press*, April 27, 1861.

38. Council Grove *Press*, June 15, 1863.

39. These figures given by John Maloy in his *History of Morris County, Kansas, 1820 to 1880*.



thieves have joined themselves in trains in disguise, palming themselves off as belonging to these trains, for the purpose of spying out a good show for stealing. Then they saunter back in small squads and commit their depredations." <sup>40</sup> Colonel Milton Moore, who had been a Santa Fé freighter in his youth, said that after the commencement of the Indian war on the upper Arkansas in 1864, caravans were not permitted to proceed west of Fort Larned unless they were in groups of one hundred men or more. <sup>41</sup>

The plains Indians were on the warpath in 1865. H. W. Jones says that they attacked every train that crossed the plains. His train proceeded through the Indian country in two columns side by side. When they started from Fort Larned 1,000 wagons made up the enormous train. An escort of troops accompanied them from Fort Dodge to Bent's Fort, but did not prevent Indian attacks. C. H. Whittington wrote to the *Emporia News* that the following had crossed the Osage bridge at 142 creek between May 12 and July 12, 1865: 1,188 wagons, 2,692 men, 736 horses, 2,904 mules, 15,855 oxen, 56 carriages, and 10,489,200 pounds of freight. <sup>42</sup>

On February 28, 1866, Fort Riley and Fort Larned were designated by the military department of Missouri as the rendezvous for trains for New Mexico. Trains were compelled to organize for defense, arm themselves properly, and submit to the regulations laid down by the captain of the train, before they would be permitted to enter the Indian country. No train consisting of less than twenty wagons and thirty armed men was allowed to leave the forts. <sup>43</sup>

Colonel J. F. Meline toured the plains with a troop of cavalry in 1866. His journal records that he passed great numbers of ox teams. For the season he estimated that between 5,000 and 6,000 would pass over the trail. "The trains are remarkable," he wrote, "each wagon team consisting of ten yokes of fine oxen, selected and arranged not only for drawing but for pictorial effect, in sets of twenty, either all black, all white, all spotted or otherwise marked uniformly."

In that eventful year the Kansas Pacific railroad pushed westward. Where ox teams were once counted by the thousands, regretfully said the Junction City *Union* (August, 1867), "the shriek of

40. *Kansas Tribune*, March 24, 1864.

41. *Kansas City Journal-Post*, September 6, 1925.

42. John Maloy, *op. cit.*

43. Raymond Welty in his *Western Army Frontier, 1860-1870* (Doctor's Thesis, University of Iowa, 1924), appendix IV, pp. 392-397, gives General Pope's military order No. 27, issued from the Headquarters of the Department of Missouri, St. Louis, Missouri, February 22, 1866. His reference is *Senate Executive Document*, No. 2, 40th Congress, 1st session, pp. 2-4, ser. No. 1308.



the iron horse has silenced the lowing of the panting ox and the old trail looks desolate." Hordes of cattle began to pour from the ranges of Texas to be shipped eastward over the Kansas Pacific. Trade continued from the end of the rails. In 1873 Las Animas, Colorado, was the "Kansas City" of a decade before. The old and the new were in a death conflict. Destiny settled down on the Old Trail. The ox team made way for the iron horse, and with the ox team went a big business. In the decade of 1860-1870, the number of oxen decreased forty-one per cent in the United States. This industry of supplying the traders with cattle had enriched the country adjacent to the Missouri. Before the Mexican War, and hence before the rise of the big business of freighting, the people of New Mexico could buy but a few articles for consumption. Sugar and coffee to them were practically unknown. Calico had sold for fifty cents per yard, which was more than most women could earn in a week. A cloth of hairy wool had been used but "even this could not conceal the grace that had survived the wreck of so many noble gifts." Indians gave way to white men as had the Mexicans. The commissioner of Indian affairs said that it was of no regret that so much of the United States had been wrested from the original inhabitants and "made the happy abode of an enlightened and Christian people." The Indian and the "bullwhacker," soldiers of a receding and an advancing frontier, were but the workers at a "vast roaring loom on which was woven the fabric of modern America."

# The First Day's Battle at Hickory Point

From the Diary and Reminiscences of Samuel James Reader

Edited by GEORGE A. ROOT

## I. INTRODUCTION.

SAMUEL JAMES READER was born in the village of Greenfield, now Coal Center, Pennsylvania, January 25, 1836. He was the son of Francis Reader and Catherine James. His mother died when he was four months old, leaving him and his sister Eliza, aged two years, in the care of their aunt, Miss Eliza James. In 1841 they removed to La Harpe, a frontier town in western Illinois, where in 1843 Miss James married James M. Cole. Mr. Reader attended school in La Harpe until he was sixteen. For a time he worked on a farm and later in a stone quarry near Hillsgrove, sixteen miles from La Harpe.

On May 10, 1855, the family started for Kansas Territory in a covered wagon. By the middle of June they were located on the farm near Indianola, north of Topeka, where Mr. Reader resided until his death. On December 17, 1867, he was married at La Harpe, Illinois, to Miss Elizabeth Smith. They had three children, a daughter who died at sixteen, a second daughter Elizabeth, who still lives, and a son who died in infancy. Mrs. Reader died March 30, 1898. After her death Mr. Reader spent most of the winter months with his daughter in Topeka. He died September 15, 1914.

Samuel Reader's unique contribution to Kansas history was a diary which he began when he was thirteen years old and in which he wrote every day to the end of his life. Despite his meager schooling he constantly improved an active and observant mind by reading and study. He taught himself the Pittman shorthand system and acquired a reading knowledge of French. In some places his diary is a strange mixture of shorthand, French and abbreviated English. It is illustrated throughout with marginal and full-page sketches, many in water colors. During his later years he wrote his "Reminiscences," based upon the diary. The volumes of the diary and a copy of the reminiscences are among the prized possessions in the manuscript collections of the Kansas State Historical Society, to which they were given by his daughter, Miss Elizabeth Reader, who now lives in San Diego, California.

Mr. Reader observed and experienced much of the Kansas Territorial conflict. He was a free-state sympathizer. The community centering at Indianola was largely proslavery. Mr. Reader was by nature a pacifist and for the most part avoided the clashes that often stirred the neighborhood. He became, however, a member of the Second Kansas State Militia and participated in the first day's fight at Hickory Point. During the Civil War, in 1864 when the Price Raid threatened Kansas, he joined the Topeka contingent that was thrown into the defense. He was captured in the Battle of the Big Blue, but later escaped while being taken as a prisoner to Texas. This ended his military service, for after recovering from the effects of this experience he returned to the farm.

The battle of Hickory Point occurred on September 13 and 14, 1856, and was one of the many collisions between the free-state and proslavery forces. Gov. John W. Geary had just arrived in the territory, and had issued his proclamation ordering all armed forces to disband. Gen. James H. Lane was at or near Topeka and did not hear of the order to disperse. With a small party of men he was about to start out towards Holton when he was met by messengers from the neighborhood of Osawkie, who informed him that proslavery men were committing outrages in the vicinity, that Grasshopper Falls was burned, and that it was their intention to burn other free-state towns and drive the citizens from the country. Lane marched to Osawkie at once, where his force was recruited from the free-state settlers near there. Learning that a large party of proslavery men was at Hickory Point, Lane marched his men to that place. The proslavery men were under command of Capt. H. A. Lowe, and included about forty South Carolinians.

Hickory Point consisted of a few buildings on the Ft. Leavenworth-Ft. Riley military road and the Atchison-Topeka stage road. Its location was five and one-half miles north of the present Oskaloosa and about twenty-eight miles northeast of Topeka.

## II. ENTRIES FROM THE DIARY: SEPTEMBER 8 TO 20, 1856.

[In the following extract from the diary the words which were written in shorthand are indicated by small capitals, stars appearing where shorthand characters were undecipherable; the words which were written in French are italicized. An explanation of some of the abbreviations and names follows: Jenner, Dr. Thomas Jenner; Fouts, J. W. Fouts; Captain Whipple, alias of Aaron D. Stevens; C., James M. Cole; Mc, Robert McNown; E, Eugene Cole; Cole and Doc, James M. Cole and Dr. M. A. Campdoras; Milne, David Milne;



Young, George L. Young; Kemp, Kemp Ferguson; T-a, Topeka; La, nickname for Eliza Reader; B. R's, Border Ruffians; Pepper box, Allen revolver, 7-shot, commonly dubbed a "pepper box"; I-a, Indianola; Peter, Peter Fiederling; H. P., Hickory Point; Mrs. F. & Kemp, Mrs. Ferguson and Kemp Ferguson; Col. Harvey, Col. James A. Harvey.]

September, 1856.

Monday. 8 Cloudy. KANSAS MUST BE FREE. 70° I no go to war. God for me. I to Jenner's. Dr. bad wounds. Sore. Went to Drs. *maison*. T. Jenner got me a little nitric acid. I to the spring at Fouts. Saw Stevens, Moffat, Capt. Whipple and Dennis. Came home C. to Mcs trial P. M. I to CLAIM. fenced my stack. E put acid *dans son den*. It didnt smoke like a tar kiln, as old Alley said it would. I beat hens. [COLE AND DOC HOME.] . . . . . Milne and Mc here. He on bail. A DRUNKEN TIME. Cohee jumped into creek the morn WE WERE there. He has moved to Topeka.

Tues 9 Warm COOL agreeably. MOWING GRASS. I TO MY CLAIM. GOT A FEW STONE PUT SOME PLUMS TO DRY. CAME HOME. P. M. MADE MY AX HANDLE. COLE MOWING. MILNE HERE PUT UP HIS HORSES AND WENT ON FOR COLE TO TOWN TOPEKA BOYS WENT BY. COLE HOME THEY PLUNDERED YOUNG(?) . . . OF \$1200. LEFT MILNE's because Mrs. M. said they were free STATE. Osawkie WAS PLUNDERED *hier*. Wells went on Kemp's horse TO GET Fulton's *au riviere*, but lost his own. COLE TO GO OVER TOMORROW FOR THEM. THER. WAS 92° TODAY.

Mercredi 10 *Clair; le soir passe. Chaud*. Ther. 75° I took team drew all my rails &c. 4 load and the stones. Got wood. Came home. Sprinkly, cleared. C. and Kemp to T-a. Len and Johnny left INDIANOLA. Good. P. M. C home. Got horse. A boy took it of Holls. Farnsworth I GUESS. C. to town. I to my claim. Got plums. Warm. Milne here at night. Dr. better. La milked Kaw cow.

Thurs. 11. I put plums to dry. C. to town to head WELL bucket. THER. *etats* 47°. Warm, clear. TOWN quiet. FIRE (?) TODAY. P. M. mowed. Jenner here. His horse gone. I to claim, cut a board tree with new ax. Home. Another gang IN TOWN. Plundered Fulton. C. saved Milne. Got *un chapeau*. Buck sick. Mrs. Milne here. Fulton has taken his horse.

Frid. 12. Clear. Kittens play. C. and I mowed. Jenner and others here. Went to river, for horse; met Co. Shook hands with Lane. Home. P. M. Hot. Mowed. Milne here. B.Rs TO BE at

Calhoun. C to T-a. I to town. Paper. C. *et* Penfield here. T-a boys to go to Lane. I to Papans. Helped THEM cross 30 of them. Came on in wagons.

Sat 13. Got to O[zawkie] after sun up. Gen. Lane there. Ate at houses\* Started to H. P. [Hickory Point.] Fisher let me ride old grey horse. 11. Got to H. P. They will fight. Fired some. We retreated to O. 3 of our horses and 1 man wounded. Several B.Rs killed; horses &c. Ate watermelons. 8 or 9 started home for fear of U. S., the Gov. &c. I will buy a pepper box \$6. Got home late. Sleepy and tired but full of glory.

(\*Captain Bainter I guess. Yes.)

Sund 14 Read Ate melons. Young Kemp and others to Ta for help to get horses of Fulton &c. P. M. I wrote got nuts. Kemp Furgeson here. 12 men from I-a. I sick at night. VOMITED. THER. 92. hot windy

Mond 15 Feel better. Windy COOL & agreeable. I read. P. M. Fulton's going to Ia [Indianola]. Got corn. C. to town. I there. Got socks 30 caps 10. DUG UP MY MONEY [and] TOOK OUT \$20. WARM . . . Peter here. He wants to fight. Wells drunk. THER 92.

TUESDAY 16 CLEAR. WARM. WROTE. . . . last NIGHT. SOON BE WINTER. AWFUL. WE DREW ONE load of hay. WINDY. I put a BETTER LOCK ON MY pistol; fired 2 TIMES Shoots well. P. M. THER 92 Hot. McN. here. Will turn out to fight. Got nuts.

WEDNESDAY, 17 Clear. Warm. WINDY. I TO MY CLAIM. CUT A HOLE IN MY HOUSE FOR CHIMNEY. BRUNO WANTS TO CUT HAY. Came home. P. M. I made some chimney. A hard N. W. rain. Fisher and a fellow were here; left his gun. Col. Harvey and Lawrence boys drove out B. Rs. from H. P. last Sund. Cold. N.

Jeudi 18. Warm. I made chimney all day. Went to Young's. Paper. A letter to E. FROM S. ONE TO ME FROM *pere*. Gov. troops at T-a taking us boys.

Frid 19. We drew 2 loads hay. Warm. My glass gone, I think. Bon p—n pie. P. M. Drew other load; all in. GOES TO Johnsons. . . . Dr. quite sick. Got nuts.

Sat. 20. I to claim. MAKE CHIMNEY UP to plates. *Chiens avec moi*. Buck cross. C. drew stone from Kemps, and melons. P. M. I with C. for stone. Got nuts. Mrs. F. & Kemp came with us. I took them to ferry to get Nell [mare]. Fine stone from Kemp's.

## III. REMINISCENCES.

On September 12 Mr. Cole<sup>1</sup> and I were mowing grass south of Indianola. At 10 a. m. Thomas Jenner<sup>2</sup> and others came to us and reported that his (Jenner's) horse had been "pressed" into military service in the "free-state army," by his having been mistaken for a proslavery horse. Our assistance was asked in recovering the animal. We dropped our scythes and all started for Topeka.

When we reached the Kaw river we saw a body of mounted men who had just crossed at Papan's ferry.<sup>3</sup> They were all armed and equipped and evidently on the warpath.

"There is Lane!" cried my uncle, pointing to a man riding a cream-colored or "clay-bank" horse. When we met, my uncle, who was well acquainted with the general, explained to him our neighbor's trouble in regard to his horse. In the meantime I was looking at the redoubtable chief with great curiosity.

He was a medium-sized, dark-complexioned man, rather thin of face, clean-shaven jaw and chin, and wore a short, black mustache. His eyes seemed dark (what could be seen of them through their half-closed lids), giving them a rather searching expression. The nose was a little irregular in outline; the chin firm and shapely. On the whole he was a harsh-featured, severe-looking man. There was nothing about him to indicate his rank. His wool hat was gray and coarse. He wore a dark-blue flannel overshirt, and his side arms were a Colt's revolver and a large butcher knife.

As we were about to separate Mr. Cole said: "General, this is my nephew, Reader."

General Lane gave me a penetrating glance as he leaned from his

1. Joseph M. Cole, uncle of Samuel J. Reader.

2. Dr. Jacob F. Jenner was born in the Kingdom of Wurtemberg, Germany, January 16, 1828. He came to America with his parents in 1838, settling in Vandenburg county, Indiana. After completing his school studies he took up the study of medicine at a medical college at St. Louis, Mo., where he was graduated. He came to Kansas in 1855, settling near Topeka or Indianola, and took part in some of the early struggles in the territory. In 1857 he married Mary J. Bradshaw. They were parents of five children. Dr. Jenner moved to Grantville and later to St. Marys.

3. Papan's ferry was located at the west end of a large island in the Kansas river at Topeka, west of the Kansas avenue bridge of later days, the south terminal being at the foot of Western avenue. Giles' *Thirty Years in Topeka*, 1886, pages 16 and 17, says: "The first ferry that is known to have been established on the Kansas river, however, was that by Joseph and Ahean Papan, in 1842, at the precise site of Topeka. At that time the south bank of the river was four or five hundred feet farther to the north than at present, and the Papan's dwelling house was near the bank. During the great flood of 1844 their house was carried away, as well as their ferry boats, and when the waters subsided they found the site of their home to have become an island, a portion of which still remains above the bridge. It was several years before the Papan's reestablished themselves, but their ferry was popular and remunerative." [Within the past forty or fifty years, this island has again become part of the land on the south side of the river.] . . . "the military road from Leavenworth to Santa Fé lay across that stream via Papan's ferry, to the west of Burnett's mound, crossed the Wakarusa near the site of Auburn, and bore away to the southwest."



saddle with the murmured words, "I'm happy to make your acquaintance," or something of the kind, and our hands clasped for the first and only time. I felt it an honor to have shaken hands with Jim Lane. Seeing him for the first time, I perhaps involuntarily invested him with heroic attributes. He was immensely popular with the "free-state boys"; they made themselves hoarse hurraing for him, and I might have done so myself, had I been of an excitable temperament.

I also saw Whipple. He was Colonel Whipple<sup>4</sup> now, and he carried a bugle on which he sounded a call. Then came the command, "Second regiment, fall in!" The men mounted, and the gallant band with Lane at its head took the road toward Fort Leavenworth. Many of my former comrades were in the regiment and I was pressing invited to go along. But I could not; they were all mounted men and I had no horse. So I regretfully returned home to the humdrum of ordinary life.

In the afternoon we began mowing grass again, when David Milne<sup>5</sup> came to us in haste and reported that a band of border ruffians were marching on Calhoun, our county seat. This, if true, would be a serious matter. My uncle threw down his scythe and started for Topeka as soon as possible, while I returned to the house to await events.

Our neighborhood was badly stirred up. Only three days before

4. Captain Charles Whipple, whose real name was Aaron Dwight Stevens, was born at Lisbon, Conn., March 15, 1831. He was a son of Capt. Aaron Stevens, of Norwich, Conn. He resided in the vicinity of his birth until about 1845, when he left for Boston where he joined a company of volunteers for the war then beginning with Mexico. He served through the Mexican campaign, and on coming out was honorably discharged. On returning home, he remained there until 1851, when he enlisted as a bugler in a United States Dragoon regiment, commanded by Col. E. V. Sumner, being drafted to the west at once. He served in western Kansas and Nebraska, and in Wyoming, Colorado and New Mexico. In 1855, when his regiment was returning to Fort Leavenworth, Stevens thoroughly chastised a major who had harshly disciplined a member of the company, and for this attack Stevens was marched across the plains with a ball and chain attached to his ankles. On reaching Fort Leavenworth he was courtmartialled and sentenced to be shot. On application to the President this sentence was commuted to three years hard labor, with ball and chain attached to the ankle. He served the government in this way till early in January, 1856, when he deserted and concealed himself among Delaware Indians on the Kaw river. He remained with them about two months, then appeared in Topeka, where he at once identified himself with the free-state cause, assuming his mother's name and being known as "Charles Whipple." He filed on a preëmption claim in Shawnee county. During the spring of 1856, Whipple organized several mounted companies which were formed into the Second Regiment of Free-state volunteers. Later he joined John Brown's command, and during the fight at Harper's Ferry, was dangerously wounded while bearing a flag of truce. He recovered from this, and on March 16, 1860, was hung for his participation in the Harper's Ferry affair.

5. David Milne, a Scotchman, who located at Indianola and built a small half-log shanty in 1854, which he operated for a time as the Milne Hotel. This early hotel later became the Clinton Hotel.

a party of free-state men visited Indianola<sup>6</sup> and took from the most rabid proslavery citizens their arms and military stores, together with sundry articles claimed to be contraband of war. The whisky was emptied into the street. I had no hand in it, and whether the act was justifiable or not is not for me to say. It was called a reprisal. Osawkie<sup>7</sup> had taken a dose of the same kind of medicine only the day before (on the 8th). But it was claimed that our ruthless enemies did far worse; besides plundering they added "fire and sword," and numberless outrages on free-state men.

Toward night my uncle returned, and his first words were: "Sam, there is going to be a battle to-morrow—do you want to go with the Topeka boys?"

Boy like, I was only too eager to be off, but I met with strong opposition on the part of the women of the family. My sister was determined I should not go, and when all arguments failed she hid my gun. But I searched until I found it, and soon had my blanket, powderhorn and ammunition pouch gathered together.

General Lane had sent Guilford Dudley<sup>8</sup> back for reinforcements with orders to join him at Osawkie by sunrise next morning. The journey was to be made in wagons, and the party would not leave Topeka until some time after dark. I started on foot for the ferry and reached it in less than an hour. No one was there; I wrapped my blanket around me and sat down on a log to wait. Hours seemed to pass, and no sign of Dudley or his party. The moon

6. Indianola was laid out in November, 1854, by John F. Baker, Hayden F. McMeekin and George H. Perrin. It was situated at the crossing of Soldier Creek, a mile and a half from Papan's ferry, on the road from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Riley. The land for the townsite was purchased from Louis Vieux, a Pottawatomie-French half-breed, who operated a ferry at this point. The first public sale of town lots was on June 27, 1855. A good frame hotel, the Clinton House, and other buildings were erected, and during the next year or two the town attained quite a degree of prosperity. During the '60s the town was gradually overshadowed by its neighbor, Topeka, and began declining and later disappeared. The last remaining structure on this once flourishing village, that of the old hotel, was used in later years as a barn.

7. Osawkie is the oldest town in Jefferson county. The first settlement was made in the spring of 1854 by W. F. and G. M. Dyer, who erected a store and started a trading ranch on the old military freight road. The Dyers were soon joined by Wm. H. and O. B. Tebbbs, and later by R. McCauslin and Morris S. Knight. Early in 1855 a town was laid out by these parties, and when the county was organized, became the county seat. A large hotel was erected at a cost of many thousands of dollars, and for a time the town grew rapidly. In 1858 the county seat was removed to Oskaloosa. Osawkie, which had been on the decline for several months, now entirely collapsed and was deserted by nearly all its residents. Soon after the removal of the county seat the large hotel was burned down. In later years, after the surrounding country was settled, the town became a quiet little country village.

8. Guilford Dudley was born at Bath, N. Y., in 1835. He came to Kansas in 1855, settling for a time at Lawrence, then locating at Topeka, where he engaged in the real-estate business and also opened a hotel. During the territorial troubles he enrolled himself with the free-state forces and took an active part. In 1859 he was clerk of the territorial legislature, city clerk in 1861, and in 1862 was appointed adjutant general of Kansas. In 1869 he started a bank, with which he was connected for more than thirty years. He was a farmer and for years was a breeder of fine stock. He was also president of the Crosby Roller Milling Co., of Topeka, of which he was principal owner. He was married at Topeka, June 5, 1867, to Samantha V. Otis. He died at Topeka April 14, 1905.



climbed high and I had almost lost hope when I heard a rumble of wheels coming up the river from the direction of Topeka. It stopped at the landing opposite.

"Bring over the boat!" shouted a voice.

The ferryman's house was near at hand, but I found it impossible to arouse him to a sense of his duty; he only grunted. I returned to the landing and reported.

"Bring the skiff, and we'll man the boat ourselves!" they called. I crossed to them in the skiff, not without great difficulty, as I knew nothing of the management of a boat. Sometimes I was pulling upstream, sometimes down, and I finally reached shore a long way below the landing.

Four or five men returned with me, and we manned the old flat-boat. It was attached to a rope stretched across the river, and we used poles to propel it. In about an hour we had the whole party on the north bank of the river. It consisted of about thirty men and three or four wagons, which were in charge of Quartermaster Chas. A. Sexton.<sup>9</sup> I went to him and asked for transportation which I considered I had fully earned. He answered briefly, "Climb into one of those wagons."

He and Dudley were horseback, as were also, I think, several other men; the rest of us rode in the wagons. We left the river after midnight. Osawkie lay eighteen miles northeast from our starting point. The roads were good and dry and the night was warm and still. At break of day we were on the open prairie a few miles from our destination.

"We would have been crossing the Kaw river about this time if it hadn't been for you," said Dudley, as he rode alongside the wagon in which I sat.

Guilford Dudley was then a beardless youth, younger than myself, and a typical free-state soldier; ardent in his enthusiasm for our cause, and having a gayety that dispensed cheerfulness on all sides. Charley Sexton was a different type of soldier; cool, sedate and taciturn, he might well have been compared to one of Oliver Cromwell's "Ironside Puritans." Between these two extremes, we had with us men smarting under intolerable wrongs visited upon

9. Charles A. Sexton was one of the pioneers of Shawnee county, and took an active part in the affairs of the early days. A Topeka city directory of 1868 lists him as engaged in the book and stationery business. During the latter 70's he was proprietor of a "racket" store. Rades' directory of 1880 lists him as a minister, pastor of the Wesleyan Methodist church; and for 1883-'84 as proprietor of a Faith Cure establishment, and publisher of *Good Tidings*. In 1887-'88 he was operating a broom factory. Later he was engaged in a small job printing establishment. His death is said to have occurred some years since.



them by the proslavery faction, others actuated by a restless love of adventure, and, I fear, a very few, by mercenary motives. In the same wagon with me was a man who had been captured at Indianola a few weeks before, on the charge of not having a clear title to the horse he rode. He claimed to be innocent, and he may have been. I did not see him, but was told that some of the proslavery men in town proposed hanging him on general principles. However, cooler heads prevailed and he was taken to Osawkie and put at hard labor in a blacksmith's shop. Here he remained until the 8th of September, when he was released during the raid. Whether he had had any previous political sentiments or not, he now developed into a zealous free-state man, but I could see that the men generally stood aloof from him. During the night he must have gathered from what I said that I was from Indianola, and at the first light of dawn he scanned my face with great curiosity; probably to see if I were not one of his former would-be executioners.

The sun had risen as we reached the high ground west of the Grasshopper [now the Delaware], and the little town of Osawkie could be seen nestling on its banks. Guilford Dudley pointed toward it and cried out, "O—saw—kee! Oh, how we sacked it!"

General Lane and his command were waiting for us, and we were sent to different free-state houses for breakfast. Boyd and I got a very good one at Captain Bainter's.<sup>10</sup> While we were eating the captain came in and hastily buckled on his revolver and bowie knife. His wife looked anxious and distressed, but seemed resigned to the situation.

It was not long before we were on our way to Hickory Point, which was some fifteen miles nearly due east of Osawkie on the military road. The cavalry was in advance, the infantry in wagons next, and perhaps a baggage wagon or two in the rear. We had a number of recruits from the surrounding neighborhood, and it was estimated that we had about a hundred and fifty men all told; some said more, some said less.

When we had gone about half the distance a man named Fisher whom I knew very well, rode up and proposed that I should take

10. Captain Ephraim Bainter was one of the pioneers of Jefferson county, and took a prominent part in the territorial troubles of 1856. He was with Whipple's men at the sack-ing of Osawkie and with Lane at Hickory Point the day before the battle. He was captured later with other free-state men and was taken to Leocompton, where he was tried and sentenced to six years in the penitentiary. He got out on a furlough and that fall was elected free-state sheriff of Jefferson county. During the period of the Civil War he is said to have been a jayhawker, and eventually got in trouble with the federal government on that account. His later life was uneventful and he was a respected citizen. His death occurred late in April, 1891, and he was buried at Osawkie on the 30th of that month.

his horse and he take my place in the wagon as a mutual rest. I consented, and the exchange was made. The horse was a large gray with a remarkably prominent spine and a general lack of flesh. Fisher assured me that the noble beast had carried General Lane from the "States" into Kansas; that some of the boys had presented the general with the clay-bank he was then riding, and the gray had become the common property of the regiment.

There was an old quilt strapped to his back but no saddle. I soon found it impossible to make him go faster than a very slow trot. His walk was uncomfortable; his trot was agony, and my feet soon felt as if two flatirons were suspended from them. Some of the boys bantered me; advising that I lose no time in "pressing" a saddle as soon as "we met the enemy and they were ours." I had made a bad bargain, but was obliged to make the best of it.

About one mile from Hickory Point we stopped at a farmhouse for water. The man who lived there was "all right on the goose," or at least a sympathizer of the proslavery party. After I had taken a drink of water from a barrel standing in the yard, I noticed a lot of our men standing at the door of the cabin. I joined them, and looking in, saw General Lane slowly pacing to and fro across the room. Colonel Whipple and some others of our party were seated near the door. Lane had just about finished telling some tale of atrocity said to have been committed by the border ruffians. His listener was a young lady seated near the door of an inner room, where other members of the family could be seen. Then to show the other side of the picture, the general told her what chivalrous, kindly, nice boys *we* were in comparison, but still the lady seemed incredulous. She happened to mention that she was a school teacher, when Lane promptly offered to assist her in finding a school.

"What is your name?" she asked. Lane glanced inquiringly at Whipple.

"Tell her! Tell her!" laughed the colonel, in his boisterous, hearty way. General Lane turned to the young woman, and said very quietly and impressively:

"My name is *Lane*."

"What?" she asked. "You are James H. Lane?" Lane bowed. "Well," she continued after a slight pause, "as I am not personally acquainted with General Lane you must excuse me for doubting



your identity." There was a general laugh. Whipple fairly shouted, and Lane looked very sheepish.

Just then some one in the yard called out:

"What are we waiting here for?—let's be going." It certainly did not seem judicious from a military point of view to stop and chat with the neighbors on the eve of a battle.

Some people living in the neighborhood had told us by this time that the Kickapoo Rangers,<sup>11</sup> some fifty strong, were at Hickory Point. (A man named Boydson [Nathaniel Boydston?] who was one of them, has since told me their number was eighty-five.) We were soon on the road again and toward midday reached the brow of the hill overlooking Hickory Point from the west.

It could not be called a town, as it consisted only of a double log house, of very respectable size for those days, a log blacksmith's shop and a few sheds and outbuildings. They were on the north side of the road nearly at the bottom of the hill, and just west of a small stream of water which had a general course from south to north. A few stunted trees and bushes fringed its banks south of the road, while to the north of the house quite a cluster of trees could be seen. The shop was west of the house and on somewhat higher ground. About 100 yards further up the hill was a slight elevation or "bench," which partly hid the buildings from our station at the top. We could see nearly all of the shop, but only the roof and upper part of the house. A man named Charly Har[d]t<sup>12</sup> lived there in 1855; afterwards a Mr. Lowe owned or occupied it.

From where we stood we had a magnificent view of the surrounding country. We could see the military road after it crossed the stream, winding its way up the opposite slope and appearing on the crests of successive ridges until lost in the distance to the east.

11. Hall and Hand's *History of Leavenworth County, Kansas*, page 320 says: "The term 'Kickapoo Rangers' was a name quite early applied to the northern division of the territorial militia of the Territory of Kansas. They numbered all the way from two to three hundred men. The majority of these men were of proslavery inclination and their officers were all pro-slavery leaders. A great many of the ruffian acts of territorial days were committed by parties of these men under the guidance and direction of their radical leaders. David R. Atchison, at one time senator from Missouri, was a leader and advisor among them and urged them on to commit many of their atrocities." In Blackmar's *History of Kansas* we find the following account of a speech made by Atchison, the occasion being immediately after the entering of Lawrence by this body May 21, 1856: "Boys, this day I am a Kickapoo Ranger. This day we have entered Lawrence with 'Southern Rights' inscribed on our banner, and not one abolitionist dared to fire a gun. And now, boys, we will go in again with our highly honorable Jones, and test the strength of that Free State hotel and teach the Emigrant Aid Company that Kansas shall be ours. Boys, ladies should, and I hope will, be respected by every gentleman. But, when a woman takes upon herself the garb of a soldier by carrying a Sharp's rifle, she is no longer worthy of respect. Trample her under your feet as you would a snake. If one man or women dare stand before you, blow them to hell with a chunk of cold lead."

12. Charles Hardt settled at Hickory Point in June, 1854, on the government road from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Riley, and started a trading house. Hardt's house was designated as a voting place in the election of March 30, 1855. In June, 1856, Capt. H. A. Lowe became owner of Hickory Point, and was in possession at the time of the battle.



General Lane soon made his dispositions for attack. The cavalry were formed to the south of the road. They crossed the stream and occupied an elevation about four hundred yards southeast of Hickory Point. I think Captain Mitchell was in command of this party.

As my steed seemed hardly in fighting trim I tied him to one of the wagons and fell in with the infantry that was just being formed in line across and to the left of the road. Our formation was one rank and we had at least fifty men. We were commanded by Captain Creitz,<sup>13</sup> who was a stranger to me. He worked pretty hard in getting his men properly placed and "dressed up," for some of our new recruits were very "raw." "No crowding," was frequently added to the military commands. At last we were in some kind of shape, and stood at "order arms."

We had all sorts of guns; perhaps not more than one-third of our force had Sharp's rifles. Kickapoo Stevens was armed with a Hall's breech-loading rifle, and there were a good many condemned United States rifles and muskets. The rest of us were armed with sporting rifles and shotguns.

We were now all ready for the work before us. The sensations and emotions of soldiers waiting for the signal that may possibly mean death, are as various, perhaps, as the temperaments of the men themselves. For myself I felt almost as if it were a dream, and this feeling of unreality benumbed a latent dread of possible wounds and death. While a sense of duty and a natural curiosity to participate in actual battle; pride and the fear of ridicule and disgrace, all contributed in keeping me at my post.

General Lane was in the saddle less than thirty yards from where I stood, and by his side was the sturdy Whipple and other officers. There was a short consultation, then a horseman left the group carrying a white handkerchief tied to a ramrod. He galloped down the hill waving his flag as he went. We saw two or three men on foot coming to meet him from the direction of the shop. They walked deliberately, and met our messenger near the rising ground. The conference was very brief, and when he returned I heard him say to the general: "The leader of the gang read your summons and returned it with these words, 'Take this dirty paper back to ——

13. Captain William F. Creitz, was one of the pioneers of Calhoun (now Jackson) county, arriving there in 1856. He took an active part in the territorial troubles in that section. He erected the first house on the townsite of Holton.

———' (I think the name given was Colonel Harvey),<sup>14</sup> 'and tell him we will fight him and all the hireling cutthroats and assassins he can bring against us.' "

I heard afterwards that Lane simply demanded unconditional surrender, stating that resistance would be useless against our force, which he claimed to be 1,500. Evidently he had not signed the paper; why, I never learned.

I heard the bearer of the flag say to a comrade: "I was glad enough to leave those fellows. The leader was a bullet-headed, vicious looking ruffian, and I didn't think myself safe even under the flag of truce."

"Look!" cried some one, "there goes one of their men now." Some five hundred yards to our left we saw a man on foot with a gun on his shoulder, walking briskly in the direction of Hickory Point. A young man named Shepherd left the cavalry line and dashed past out front to engage the Ranger in single combat.

The attention of the entire command was enlisted. With silent, thrilling interest we watched every movement of the actors in this possible tragedy. We could almost imagine ourselves back in the days of chivalry, as Shepherd, like a gallant knight, urged his horse to its utmost speed across the slope, and rapidly neared his man.

The footman saw his pursuer, and changing the direction of his course a little to the north, ran with great swiftness toward the trees and bushes on the creek. He had too much of a start to be cut off,

14. James A. Harvey arrived in Kansas in August, 1856, at the head of a company of seventy-six emigrants fitted out in Chicago in June of that year. A written statement of Harvey's, found in the Hyatt manuscripts in the Historical Society, gives his age as twenty-nine, and married. Johnson's *History of Anderson County, Kansas*, states that he was a soldier in the Mexican War. While at Iowa Point, on his way into the Territory, he was elected captain of his company. He and his party arrived at Topeka on August 13, twenty-six of his men having dropped out by the way. Troubles having broken out afresh in the Territory, Harvey and his men were actively engaged in fighting from the time of their arrival. On reaching Lawrence, Harvey was requested to remain and assist in its protection, and was made colonel of the Third Free-state Regiment. He took part in the siege and capture of Fort Titus, Douglas county, August 16, following. Early in September he took part in an expedition against Easton, Leavenworth county. On September 11, 1856, he surprised and captured a proslavery camp on Slough creek, near present Oskaloosa. Two days later his company had a fight with proslavery forces under Lowe and Robertson, at Hickory Point, the battle taking place on an upper branch of Little Slough creek, in the southeast corner of section 32, township 8, range 19, six miles due north of Oskaloosa, the proslavery forces surrendering after a six hours fight. After the battle, and while his men were in the vicinity, they were surrounded by United States troops under Col. P. St. George Cooke, arrested and disarmed, and marched to Leecompton, where they were held prisoners for some time. On being liberated, Harvey and his men made their way to Lawrence where they arrived penniless and stranded in dead of winter. Thaddeus Hyatt, president of the National Kansas Committee, seeking relief for these unemployed men, formed a colony and led them to Anderson county where a town called Hyattville was started, Mr. Harvey being one of the trustees of the new venture. Mr. Hyatt provided tools, agricultural implements and subsistence for the colonists who at once set to work erecting buildings, but were obliged to live in tents for the most part of that winter. This was the first settlement in Anderson county. Mr. Harvey lived on a claim at this place, and died there during the year 1858. Hyattville began declining during the gold rush to Pike's Peak in 1859, and a few years later had disappeared. The sword of Colonel Titus, captured during the taking of his fort, and a South Carolina flag, captured during the Slough Creek fight, are in the museum of the State Historical Society.



but Shepherd succeeded in getting within less than one hundred yards of the Ranger. He then suddenly reined up his horse, quickly dismounted and took deliberate aim at the fugitive. As the man saw Shepherd about to fire, he stooped as he ran, so as to almost resemble a four-footed beast. I could not help mentally wishing he would not be hit—it looked cold-blooded and cruel. The white puff of smoke came, the report of the rifle followed—but the human target ran on! If hurt the man was not disabled, and in a few moments he disappeared from view.

"Well!" exclaimed one of the men, "that's the first time I ever saw a man chased and shot at, like a wolf."

But the spectacle was not ended. We saw Shepherd insert a fresh cartridge in his breech-loader, swing himself into the saddle, and ride rapidly in the direction of the rising ground near the shop. When he reached it and was in full view of the enemy, he suddenly checked his horse, took a rapid aim and fired. As he wheeled around and put spurs to his horse, a scattering volley came from the buildings. Shepherd swayed in his saddle from side to side, while his horse galloped zigzag back and forth across the road as he ran in our direction.

"There—he's shot!" cried one.

"Yes, he's falling from his horse," said another. "He'll keep his seat!" "He'll come out all right!" was heard from all sides, as the rider straightened himself up and urged his horse up the hill. As he neared us, Colonel Whipple rode forward and met him. They were both laughing when they reached our position. Shepherd was unhurt; his pretense of being wounded was a ruse to induce the Rangers to cease firing. There was a reckless daring in the whole performance that was captivating, and the praise of Shepherd's gallantry was heard on all sides. General Lane himself was hardly more popular for the hour.

Captain Creitz stepped to our front. "Attention, *Company!*" All eyes were directed toward him. "Right shoulder—shift arms." He glanced along our motley line, then with a sweep of the arm in the direction of our foe, he shouted the single word: "March!"

The line moved forward down the slope, Creitz in advance. His coat was thrown aside, his vest was open in front, and he wore but a single suspender. He was intending us to assault those log buildings, but we had advanced less than fifty paces when the order was given to halt; I think by Lane himself. Creitz looked disappointed. Just



then an elderly man rushed up to him and exclaimed: "Captain, we can't take those houses with the number of men we have—it will be little better than murder to try; I live here and know how strongly the houses are built." The man's face was twitching with excitement as he spoke. Creitz answered not a word.

General Lane and his staff rode up near our right flank. "Try them with your Sharp's rifles!" he called out. Creitz cautioned us to fire with no other guns. This left me out of the game entirely.

The man who had been released at Osawkie stood second from me to the right. He stepped out in front, dropped on one knee, took careful aim and fired. But the ball fell short; we could see where it struck the ground by the rising dust. Two men who stood at my left now walked out some two or three paces in front. One rested his rifle over the other's shoulder and fired, and again the ball fell short of the mark. Some one remarked that "Sharp's rifles were not what they were cracked up to be." A man near General Lane dismounted and came over to us. He was likely an expert marksman. A carbine was put in his hands. He fired offhand; this time no dust was seen, and we knew the bullet had reached the mark or passed beyond.

In the meantime a cracking fire extended along our entire infantry line. Some of the balls struck the ground, but the shooting seemed better than at first. I think there was little or no firing from the cavalry line. Now and then we could see a puff of smoke from our flanking party on the other side of the stream and hear the distant sound of the shots.

At last the enemy was awakened. I was looking at the shop when I saw a tiny, circular cloud of white smoke appear; then in the road some thirty paces in front of our line a sudden dash of dust was seen, followed by a fearfully wicked whiz, that came buzzing over our heads like a monster hornet. Our line recoiled a few paces for ten or fifteen feet on either side of the diabolical sound. I was not in the slightest danger, as the glancing bullet sped some dozen feet to my right, but I must acknowledge taking several backward steps. At the stern command of our captain we all dressed up into line again, and there was no more dodging.

The enemy's fire was very deliberate, but their shooting seemed better than our own. None of us were hit, however. Their bullets generally passed over our heads with a clean-cut "zip," that was far

less unpleasant than the nerve-shaking whiz of the introductory one. We were learning to "face the music."

I wanted to take a shot myself. I either saw or fancied I saw some of our men firing with muskets, and I had noticed some spare arms in the wagon where I had tied my horse. Without considering what a breach of discipline I would be committing, I left the line and went back to the wagons. Among the arms was an old United States musket which I eagerly seized upon.

"That gun won't go off," explained a man who appeared to be in charge of the wagon. "Your own gun will serve you better." I returned to my place at the front; not the slightest notice was taken of my absence or return.

The rangers had now ceased firing altogether. They were either sparing of their ammunition or took this course to challenge us to advance. On our side we were wasting good powder and lead against the log walls that concealed our foe. Our own fire soon slackened and then died out completely. It was a regular deadlock; what next?

A small group of men were collected about General Lane. "We can drive them out, but we should lose too many men," he said. "We must wait another day and get artillery."

Preparations were now made for the infantry to withdraw. Considering our military experience it was done with considerable grace and precision. Captain Creitz faced us to the right. We were in Indian file, and at the word "March!" we stepped out marching by the right flank toward the south. Hardly had we gone a dozen paces when the command, "File right!" turned our file-leader sharply at right angles to the west. Some twenty paces were covered, when the same command was repeated, and the head of the file turned to the north. About the same distance was traversed when the command, "File left!" turned our file-leader to the west, and in a moment more were were out of sight of the enemy behind the ridge.

We broke ranks when we reached the wagons, and most of the men got in and started for Osawkie, where, I understood, we were to go into camp for the night. The season was dry, and I think there was no water for the horses nearer than the Grasshopper.

In the meantime our flanking party, that was posted across the creek, returned and joined the main body of cavalry on the ridge. Charley Lenhart was with them and may have been in command. The mounted men remained in nearly their original position over-

looking Hickory Point, and acting as a rear guard to cover our retreat.

Fisher was gone and I found that the gray horse was committed to my care again. After adjusting the quilt over his bony structure as well as I could, I climbed on. I was hardly seated when I heard a rifle shot from the cavalry line on the ridge. There was a small group of mounted men to the left and rear of it, and I joined them. The only one whom I knew was Dr. Geo. A. Cutler,<sup>15</sup> a very youthful looking man but no doubt a good surgeon. The buildings were hidden from our position by the crest of the hill in front of us.

There came another shot from the line; then another and still another. Then a brisk scattering fire that increased to quite a hot engagement. There was no sparing of ammunition now, and soon a thin veil of smoke gave the farther end of the line quite a hazy appearance. Most of the men fired from their horses, especially such as had Sharp's rifles, but some dismounted on account of their horses being restive, or for greater ease in loading. Some of the horses were held just behind the line. I could hear the sound of shots from the direction of Hickory Point, accompanied at intervals by fierce yells. A young fellow near me remarked:

"Our men must be hitting them the way they holler." It was not that; it was the embryo Southern war cry or "Rebel yell," afterwards heard on so many battlefields. Our line fought in silence so far as cheering was concerned.

The scene was in the highest degree inspiring. It was a battle.

15. Dr. George A. Cutler was born in Nashville, Tenn., December 25, 1832. He was a graduate of the University Medical College of New York City, in 1853, and shortly afterwards moved to Gentry county, Missouri, and commenced practicing medicine. Upon the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill he moved to Kansas, settling at Doniphan, which was then being laid out. He took an active part in the free-state struggles. In the spring of 1855 he was selected as the free-state candidate for the territorial legislature, being opposed by Dr. John H. Stringfellow. At the election Cutler received every free-state vote, and Governor Reeder sent him a certificate of election. He was next elected a member of the constitutional convention which met at Topeka, October 22, 1855. Being a member of the Topeka Town Company, at the close of the convention he decided to make Topeka his home. He was elected auditor under the Topeka movement, and reelected again in 1857. In the spring of 1859 he, with others, started a new town at the junction of the Cottonwood and Neosho, in what was then Breckenridge county. He was elected to the first free-state legislature from the counties of Osage, Breckenridge and Coffey. He was appointed by President Lincoln as United States Indian agent to the Creeks. He helped organize the Indian regiments for the Union service. He later resigned from the Indian service and removed to Sherman, Texas, and founded the *Sherman Patriot*. He later founded the *Red River Journal* and the *Dallas Daily Commercial*. He was the originator of the Texas Press Association, and was one of its founders, and its president in 1873. Dr. Cutler was in every battle (with possibly two or three exceptions) fought on Kansas soil. He was married at Topeka, in February, 1857, to Miss Hattie A. Tuttle, of that place, who died in the spring of 1878. He married later Miss Fannie J. Dougherty, by whom he had three children. Dr. Cutler later removed to Gueda Springs, Sumner county, where in the early 80's he conducted a drug store, practiced his profession, and was postmaster. He later removed to California, where he was living about 1890.



But a rear view cannot compare with what may be seen in front. I was just kicking up my old *Rozinante* intending to ride up to the left of the firing party, and at least see what the enemy looked like, when I saw a man leave the line and ride toward us at full speed. Blood was trickling down his face, and I saw that the outer angle of one of his eyebrows was shot away. The ball had apparently glanced from the bone but had cut the skin and flesh completely from it. He rode up to Doctor Cutler and demanded his attention. The doctor tied a bandage over the hurt so as to leave one eye uncovered. The man was either naturally gruff or the pain of his wound made him crabbed, for he gave me a very short answer when I addressed a question to him, coupled with an ugly expletive. But he had true grit, for instead of remaining in the rear, he remounted and dashed back in the midst of the fray.

Immediately after another man joined us from the front; he was not hurt. He looked to be well up in years, and was probably one of our recruits from the neighborhood. As he rode up he exclaimed vehemently.

"I'll swear, if a dozen bullets didn't come within a foot of my head!" and added as if in excuse, as he called our attention to the gun he carried, "I couldn't do a particle of good out there, so I thought I'd better leave."

This made me think that I myself would be out of place if I rode out on the ridge; my own company was gone, and my presence would be utterly useless as my rifle had a range of only 150 yards. For a brief space I halted between two opinions, and when I at last determined to ride forward I found it was too late—the firing had slackened and died out. It had lasted but a few moments.

The rear guard fell back from the crest of the hill and came into the road. There seemed to be no hurry, and of course no pursuit was now apprehended. I gathered from what was said that the Rangers had left their cover and fought us until our fire drove them back to the shelter of the buildings. It was supposed that their loss amounted to half a dozen or more in killed and wounded. There was no one killed on our side and the man I had seen was the only one wounded. (He was an Irishman, judging from his brogue.) Three horses were hurt, one of them fatally.

We soon resumed our backward march. It was very hot for the time of year—for several days the thermometer had been over ninety degrees in the shade. There had been no water on the field,

and I was suffering fearfully with thirst. We made a short halt at the Evans house, but I got no water there. But I succeeded in getting Fisher on the old war horse and took my place in the wagon, to my great relief and comfort.

When we were within a few miles of Osawkie our wagon stopped at a settler's cabin for water. General Lane was there, talking to a very fine looking old lady who was at the door. He had evidently been telling her about our skirmish, for as we drove up I heard her inquire how many men the enemy had lost in the affair.

"Six or seven," replied the general promptly. "None of our men were killed, and we had only one wounded; here he comes," added Lane, as the Irishman and several companions rode up and halted near by.

"The poor fellow!" exclaimed the lady. "Oh, sir, won't you come and have some bread and butter?—The general is going to have some."

But the wounded hero answered curtly, "No, mum." He then said something to a comrade in a low voice. The other produced a flask filled with some kind of amber-colored liquid. The Irishman took off his bandage, poured some of the contents in the hollow of his hand, bent down his head and applied it to his wound. After thoroughly rubbing it in, he put the flask to his lips and allowed quite a quantity of the remedy to run down his throat. Was it the popular cure for snake-bite? It looked like it.

We reached Osawkie rather late in the afternoon, and went into camp west of the Grasshopper.<sup>16</sup> We were close to the town and on the north side of the main road. A little further north of us was an enclosure on a hillside. Fisher came to me and reported that there were "lots of watermelons up there," and added that the proprietor was a good free-state man and was willing we should help ourselves. The patch contained four or five melons less by the time we were through with it. Many thanks to the "good free-state man," for we were nearly famished. A good supper of slapjacks and bacon still further revived us, and we were soon in the best of spirits. As a matter of course our conversation was principally "war talk." We fully discussed the incidents of the day and the probabilities of success of our intended attack in the morning.

General Lane had his headquarters in a house just east of our camp and close to the road. It was here that I first saw Charley

16. Now called Delaware river.

Lenhart<sup>17</sup> to know who he was, and it came about in this way. Lenhart was leaning against the side of the house smoking a cigar when a young man the boys nicknamed "Brick" came around the corner, much exhilarated by stimulants. He was complaining bitterly that some one had accused him of having shown the "white feather."

"Charley Lenhart!" he cried, "you know I didn't act the coward in the fight to-day." Lenhart assured him that he certainly had not, but "Brick" was not satisfied with his words of approval.

"I'm a brick molder of Topeka," he went on excitedly, "and I'll whip any man in the regiment who says I'm a coward. Why, I can whip the whole ——— regiment, if you only come down to the reality of the thing!"

At the name "Lenhart," I took a good look at the possessor of that renowned cognomen. Instead of a dark, fierce-eyed frontiersman, I saw a slender young man with an indolent, inoffensive manner that I could hardly reconcile with his reputation as a daring, reckless, fighting man.

Brick went to Captain Mitchell and different ones in camp, all the time loudly and profanely declaring his ability to whip the entire regiment if the reality could be tested.

"Put that man under arrest!" cried Lane in thundering tones, as he suddenly appeared on the scene. "What, is the whole camp to be kept in an uproar by one man?"

As he was seized, Brick once more cried out, "I could whip the whole ——— regiment!" He was pulled down on his back and held by two stout men, but still he raised his head and shouted, "If you only come down to the reality of the thing!"

Night came and I was looking for a suitable place to spread my blanket, when a rumor crept in among us that to-morrow's battle was "off." Governor Geary was "up and doing," the terrible United States dragoons were to take the field, and we would have two enemies to fight instead of one. We still felt a respect for the soldiers of our country, even when they appeared in the guise of active enemies and oppressors. We were already denounced by the pro-

17. Charley Lenhart came to Kansas in the spring of 1855, from Iowa. He was then eighteen or nineteen years old. He began work on the *Herald of Freedom* as a printer. He was in the Wakarusa war in the fall of 1855, and took an active part in free-state activities later. In 1856 he allied himself with the Lane and Brown factions. From this time on very little is known about him. He was of a reckless, adventurous nature, ardently free-state, and ready to fight for the cause at any time. It was reported that he was shot under the walls of the prison at Charleston, Va., where he was reconnoitering with a view of effecting the escape of Captain John Brown.



slavery administration as traitors and outlaws, and an armed conflict with the federal troops would have proved our utter ruin.

(I was told long afterwards that Governor Geary sent word to Lane on this Saturday evening, requesting him to disband his men, as our presence as an armed force embarrassed him in the discharge of his official duties.)

Lane immediately sent a messenger to Colonel Harvey at Lawrence, countermanding the order for a field gun and reinforcements; sent the infantry back to Topeka, and started himself for Nebraska with the mounted men the same night. We were in the wagons ready to start about eight or nine o'clock in the evening. The general came out to us and gave us a few words at parting. He ended by saying, "I'll give you a chance at them some other time." It is unnecessary to say that this promise was never fulfilled. It was the last time I ever saw Whipple and Mitchell and many of my comrades, for I never bore arms in the free-state cause again.

With our backs a second time to the foe, we pursued our dreary, sleepy way back to Topeka. Save for the dull rumble of the wheels and the driver's voice urging on his team, a cheerless silence prevailed. Several times we were halted and formed in line to repel some fancied attack. They were all groundless alarms, but they served to awaken us for the time being. It was almost impossible to keep my eyes open, and several times I narrowly escaped falling from the wagon.

I reached home about two or three o'clock the next morning, and a few moments afterwards was lost in the oblivion of sleep, deep and dreamless. It was needed, for in little less than thirty hours I had been transported a distance of seventy miles and had witnessed that most exciting of all human events, an armed conflict.

*Sunday, Sept. 14, 1856.* The day was far advanced when I awoke. It was warm and clear, with some breeze. On this day was fought what I have generally called, "The second day's battle of Hickory Point." Colonel Harvey attacked the Rangers with musketry and artillery, but failed<sup>18</sup> to dislodge them. After some loss on both sides he withdrew, and nearly all of his command were afterwards captured by the United States troops.

This is a matter of history and is well known, but I have yet to learn that any written account whatever exists of our own attack on the day before, and it is for this reason that I have written out these

18. Error. The Rangers were forced to surrender after a six hours' fight.

additional details. It has been my aim to state nothing but the facts that came under my own personal observation. It may contain some errors, for the memory is often a little treacherous after a lapse of forty years. My diary of 1856 is not voluminous, but it gives all the dates and main incidents, and can be relied upon as correct so far as it goes.

As a private soldier I knew nothing of the plans and motives of our leaders. They were brave men and may have been able, but they certainly proved to be unfortunate. General Lane's friends called him a clear-headed, heroic champion of our cause; his enemies the reverse. He was and still is, a puzzle. Perhaps there was no one who came in personal contact with him who was not swayed more or less by his subtle influence. Some of that influence lingers with me still, and there is a secret pleasure in the knowledge that I was one of "Jim Lane's boys."

But to a cool, dispassionate judgment this Hickory Point affair yields him little credit. It was a series of abortive attempts culminating in an unfortunate blunder that left Colonel Harvey to fight and suffer defeat alone. On the other hand, had Lane disregarded Governor Geary's request and gained a victory at Hickory Point, would our cause have been advanced? The nation was seething, and a successful battle might have acted like a spark to a powder magazine, and precipitated our Civil War four years too soon. Most likely all was ordered for the best. For it was ballots and not bullets that finally freed Kansas from the threatened curse of African slavery.

JANUARY 25, 1896.

## The Military Post as a Factor in the Frontier Defense of Kansas, 1865-1869

MARVIN H. GARFIELD

THE name "fort" is perhaps a misnomer when applied to the military posts of the western frontier during the sixties. No huge, grim structure of defense which usually is associated with the name fort was ever erected on the western border. Nor did the western fort usually possess a stockade or blockhouse for defensive purposes. Officers' quarters, soldiers' barracks, stables, military storehouses and headquarters buildings, grouped around a trim parade ground, constituted the frontier fort. While no doubt a disappointment to many of its critics the military post of the Middle West admirably fulfilled the purposes for which it was constructed, *i. e.*, the keeping open of lines of travel and communication and the protection of outlying settlements.

Forts were located without any definite prearranged plan. A military necessity for a post at a certain point determined that the post should be there established.<sup>1</sup> During the Civil War and in the period immediately following, increased Indian activity on the plains caused an expansion in the total number of frontier posts. In 1860 there were seventy-three army posts on the frontier, four located in Kansas. These forts had an average garrison of 180 men. By 1864 the number of forts had increased to 101. Kansas, in the meantime, had had its quota raised to five. In 1867 the American frontier possessed 116 posts with an average of 212 men per post. This was the high mark in frontier garrisons. By 1870 the number of posts had decreased to 111 with an average garrison of 205 men.<sup>2</sup>

Army forts were of two types: The permanent fort, and the temporary outpost or camp. The former was built as a definite protection to some route of travel or communication and was in service for years, whereas the latter usually was operated for only a few weeks or months as military needs determined.

The first military post in Kansas, Cantonment Martin, was established in 1818 when Kansas was nothing but an unknown portion of the Louisiana Territory. The cantonment, or military camp, came

1. Raymond L. Welty, "The Army Fort of the Frontier," *North Dakota Historical Quarterly*, v. II, No. 3, p. 155.

2. *Ibid.*, 156-157.



into existence as a base of supplies for Major Stephen H. Long's engineering expedition of 1819-'20. It was located on Cow Island in the Missouri river within the bounds of the present Atchison county, Kansas.

Major Long and his explorers reached Cantonment Martin, August 18, 1819, on the *Western Engineer*, the first steamboat to go up the Missouri river. Before leaving Cow Island for his famous scientific journey into the Rocky Mountains, Major Long held a peace pow-wow with thirteen Osages and 161 Kansas Indians. The Kansas or Kaws as they were later called, admitted depredations against the soldiers but promised to be peaceful in the future. White Plume, ancestor of Vice President Charles Curtis, was one of the Kaw chiefs who signed the agreement.

Cantonment Martin was occupied until Long's expedition returned in October, 1820. The camp was then abandoned until 1826 when it was temporarily occupied by the First United States Infantry and called Camp Croghan. No buildings remained on the island in 1832 due to numerous destructive floods of the Missouri. The island was not occupied again until the Civil War. On June 3, 1861, members of the First Kansas Volunteers used it as a base of operations against the Confederate town of Iatan, which lay opposite on the Missouri side of the river.<sup>3</sup>

Nearly all the permanent military establishments within the state of Kansas were built to serve as guardians of the great highways to Colorado and New Mexico. The Santa Fe trail was defended by three of these: Forts Zarah, Larned, and Dodge; while Forts Riley,

3. Authority for the statements concerning Cantonment Martin comes from the following sources:

- Andreas, A. T., *History of Kansas*, pp. 53, 54, 59.
- Rensburg, George J., *Atchison County Clippings*, v. 1, pp. 3, 15, 23, 48, 69, 70, 92, 192.
- Adams, F. G., "The Kansas Indians," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 1, pp. 280-285, 287, 289, 297-299, 301.
- McCoy, John C., "Survey of Kansas Indian Lands," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 4, p. 303.
- Rensburg, George J., "Isle au Vache," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 8, pp. 436-442.
- Chappell, Phil E., "A History of the Missouri River," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 9, pp. 277, 278, 309, 312.
- Adams, Zu, and Root, George A., *Historic Locations in Kansas*, with map, *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 9, pp. 565, 576.
- Montgomery, Mrs. Frank C., and Root, George A., compilers, "Indian Treaties and Councils Affecting Kansas," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 16, p. 748.
- Morrison, T. F., "The Osage Treaty of 1865," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 17, p. 699.
- Napton, William B., "The Pioneer Soldiers of Missouri, Kansas and Iowa. History of Cantonment Martin and Council Bluffs," unpublished manuscript in Kansas Historical Society.
- Thwaites, Reuben G., ed., *Early Western Travels, Maximilian*, v. 22, pp. 255, 256.
- Long, Major Stephen H., *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains, Performed in the Years 1819 and '20*, Compiled by Edwin James, v. 1, pp. 110-113, 136, 137, 141; v. 2, p. 321, 324, 325. Apx. pt. 1, pp. 14, 15; pt. 2, p. xlii.

Harker, Hays and Wallace stood guard over the Smoky Hill route to Denver. Fort Leavenworth, father of all the Kansas military posts, stood at the head of both these famous trails, in addition to being connected with the Platte trail to California and Oregon. Of the major forts, Fort Scott alone remained aloof from the busy thoroughfares to the West.

Kansas was defended during the sixties by two types of forts; the U. S. army posts of both classes, garrisoned by army regulars, and the local defensive fort which sprang up to meet some sectional emergency and was usually garrisoned by state militia, although sometimes merely by local settlers. A map of Kansas in 1868 indicated eight United States army posts within the boundaries of Kansas.<sup>4</sup> A ninth, Fort Wallace, was also in service although not shown on the map. The following United States army posts were denoted: Fort Leavenworth in Leavenworth county, Fort Scott in Bourbon county, Fort Riley in Riley county [now in Geary county], Fort Ellsworth (Harker) in Ellsworth county, Fort Zarah in Barton county, Fort Larned in Pawnee county, Fort Hays in Ellis county and Downers Station in Trego county. The last was a temporary outpost; the first seven were permanent structures.

To give a clear notion of the extent of frontier defense in pioneer Kansas it is necessary to do more than merely name the United States army posts. To do justice to the subject not only must each of these major military defenses be located and a brief history of each given, but mention must be made of the more important temporary camps or stations of the regular army as well as the local fortresses of the settlers. It would also be illogical to overlook those army posts located adjacent to but outside of Kansas. These materially aided in the state's defense. The following study, therefore, will concern itself with each class of fortifications in the order named: (1) Permanent United States army forts in Kansas; (2) temporary United States army camps or stations in Kansas; (3) local defensive forts in Kansas; (4) permanent United States army forts adjacent to, but outside of Kansas.

Fort Leavenworth was the first permanent United States army fort established in Kansas. It was founded by Colonel Henry Leavenworth in 1827. From that date until well in the 70's this fort on the Missouri served as the chief unit in the system of frontier defense. In the fifties and sixties it was the general depot from which

4. *Daily Kansas State Record* (Topeka), June 19, 1868.



supplies were sent to all the United States military posts, camps and forts in the Great West.<sup>5</sup> Here the military commanders of the department of Missouri, of which Kansas was a part, made their headquarters. With only a few exceptions Leavenworth remained the department headquarters. When necessity demanded the department commander shifted headquarters to the other forts within his department. For example, General Sheridan moved his headquarters to Fort Hays in 1868 and later to Camp Supply in Indian Territory. During the winter of 1869-'70 General Schofield was forced to shift his headquarters to St. Louis in order to make room at the post for the Seventh Cavalry, which had been on the plains the previous year.<sup>6</sup> The importance of Fort Leavenworth is demonstrated by the fact that General Sterling Price made it one of the objectives in his famous raid of 1864.

Fort Scott was established four miles west of the Missouri line in east central Kansas in 1842. Because of its location it never was a factor in the frontier defense of the state against the Indians in the sixties; although for a short time in 1865 garrisons stationed in the town patrolled the eastern border of the state as a protection against possible bushwhacker invasion from Missouri.<sup>7</sup>

Fort Riley was established in 1853 on the north bank of the Kansas river at the junction of the Smoky Hill and Republican forks. Since it was closer to the area of Indian troubles it soon became the point of departure for most of the mounted expeditions against the hostile tribes.<sup>8</sup> During the great Indian wars of the sixties, however, the forts farther to the west and south became the starting points for expeditions against the Indians. Fort Riley's chief function during that period became one of organizing and drilling troops and as headquarters for military supplies. Here the famous Seventh Cavalry was organized in the fall of 1866. The fort held a unique position in the military organization of the nation, being listed in army records as an independent post.<sup>9</sup>

5. Elvid Hunt, *History of Fort Leavenworth 1827-1927* (Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, The General Service School's Press, 1926), 97. Hereafter cited as Hunt, *History of Fort Leavenworth*.

6. *Ibid.*, 97.

7. Telegram from General Robert B. Mitchell to Governor Samuel J. Crawford, May 12, 1865, Correspondence of Kansas Governors, Crawford (Telegrams), 6, Archives, Kansas State Historical Society. Hereafter cited C. K. G., Crawford, (Telegrams). [The various forms of this series of correspondence will hereafter be cited C. K. G.] Mitchell, commander at Fort Leavenworth, stated that Colonel Blair of Fort Scott was under orders to look after the eastern border of Kansas as far north as the Kaw river.

8. Hunt, *History of Fort Leavenworth*, p. 93.

9. Report of the Secretary of War, 1868, 40th Cong. 2d sess., *House Ex. Docs.*, v. II, No. 1, part 1, p. 39.



Of the guardians of the Santa Fe trail in Kansas during the sixties, Fort Larned was the oldest and most important. Established in 1859 as the "Camp on Pawnee Fork," its history dates back further than that of either Forts Dodge or Zarah. On February 1, 1860, the place was rechristened Camp Alert, and later in the year received its permanent name, Fort Larned. The fort was located on the bank of the Pawnee Fork about eight miles west of its junction with the Arkansas river near the present town of Larned. Fort Larned's principal usefulness was as a headquarters for military forces detailed to guard traffic along the trail. It also served as an Indian agency and gathering place for the plains tribes. When a rumor reached Kansas in 1872 that General Pope proposed to discontinue Fort Larned as a military post Governor Harvey protested vigorously, stating that the people of south-central Kansas, and especially the workmen engaged in constructing the Santa Fé railroad, needed the fort as a protection against the Indians.<sup>10</sup> Accordingly the fort was not abandoned until 1878.

Fort Zarah, located on Walnut creek about one mile from its confluence with the Arkansas, was established by General S. R. Curtis in 1864 and named in honor of his son.<sup>11</sup> Fort Zarah aided materially in the guarding of the Santa Fe trail, escorts being constantly employed to accompany trains west to Smoky Crossing between Zarah and Larned and east for twenty-five miles toward Council Grove.<sup>12</sup> The post was abandoned in December, 1869.<sup>13</sup>

Fort Dodge, the most westerly of the big forts along the trail in Kansas, was established in 1864 by Major General Grenville M. Dodge. The post was near the intersection of the dry and wet routes of the Santa Fe trail. It lay between the two points where the Indians most frequently crossed the Arkansas—the Cimarron Crossing, twenty-five miles west, and Mulberry Creek Crossing, fifteen miles east. It attained its greatest importance during the latter part of 1868 when it was used for a time by General Sheridan

10. Letter of Governor James M. Harvey to General John Pope, February 2, 1872, C. K. G., Harvey (Letter press books), v. I, pp. 101-102.

11. Landmarks, Barton County (a typewritten collection of notes and manuscripts dealing with the historical landmarks of Kansas, compiled by the library of the Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka). Hereafter cited as Landmarks with or without the county name following.

12. W. F. Pride, *The History of Fort Riley* (n. p., n. pub., c. 1926), p. 148.

13. List of military forts, arsenals, camps, and barracks, T. H. S. Hamersly, *Complete Army and Navy Register* (New York, T. H. S. Hamersly, publisher, 1888), 162. Hereafter cited as Hamersly.

as headquarters for his famous winter campaign against the Indians in Indian Territory and Texas.<sup>14</sup>

That the locality near Fort Dodge was of strategic importance in guarding the trail is evidenced by the fact that several other forts preceded it in the region. The earliest of these was Fort Mann, established in 1845 near the Cimarron Crossing and abandoned in 1850.<sup>15</sup> While Fort Mann was in its prime another post called Fort Mackay was located farther to the east. The exact date of its establishment and abandonment are unknown. In 1850 Fort Atkinson was established, and was abandoned in 1854.<sup>16</sup> It was near the site of Fort Atkinson that Fort Dodge was later established.

In 1864 and 1865 a chain of forts extended along the Smoky Hill valley through which ran the Butterfield Overland Dispatch from Leavenworth and Atchison to Denver. Forts Harker, Wallace and Hays were built in the order named to guard this short cut to Denver which passed through the most Indian-infested region in Kansas.

Fort Harker, originally Fort Ellsworth, was built in 1864 near the present town of Ellsworth, thirty-six miles from Salina. It was located on the Smoky Hill river at the crossing of the old Santa Fé stage road.<sup>17</sup> A brief description of it is given by the traveler, Bell, who refers to it as a "well-built, three-company post, with spacious storehouses filled with munitions of war, but like all these military establishments, carrying out in no particular the term fort."<sup>18</sup>

During its active career of nine years Fort Harker proved to be a bulwark of defense against the hostile Indians. It was one of the strongest, if not the strongest, of the western Kansas forts and effectively protected the town of Salina from Indian incursions.<sup>19</sup> When General Pope, commander of the department of the Missouri, was considering the abandonment of Fort Harker in 1871, the Kansas legislature, on February 16, passed a joint resolution of protest to

14. G. D. Bradley, "Famous Landmarks Along the Trail," *Santa Fe Employees Magazine*, v. VI, No. 11, pp. 41-42.

15. Letter of May 2, 1924, from Joseph R. Wilson to William E. Connelley, secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society, Landmarks.

16. *Ibid.*

17. Hamersly, p. 136. With the construction of the Union Pacific, Eastern Division, through the Kaw and Smoky Hill valleys in 1866 and 1867, much of the Santa Fe traffic shifted north to the railroad. Travelers to Santa Fe took the railroad to "End of Track," where the stage made connections. From there they went by way of the Fort Harker-Fort Larned military trail to its junction with the Santa Fé Trail at the latter place.

18. William A. Bell, *New Tracks in North America* (Second Edition, London, Chapman & Hall; New York, Scribner, Welford & Co., 1870), pp. 27-28.

19. The *Republican Journal* (Salina), January 31, 1902, refers to Fort Harker as the strongest post on the plains in 1868. Perhaps local pride entered into the statement.



the government. The legislature gave as reasons, first that Fort Harker was essential to the defense of the north-central Kansas frontier, and second, that it would be a great financial loss, since the buildings cost the United States \$1,000,000 and would sell under the hammer for about \$25,000.<sup>20</sup> The government finally abandoned the fort in 1873.

Forts Hays and Wallace came into existence at approximately the same time, Wallace being constructed in September while Hays was established in October of 1865.

Fort Hays was known as Fort Fletcher until November 11, 1866. It was located on the line of the proposed Kansas Pacific railroad, near the site of the present city of Hays. Like all the forts on the Kansas Pacific line, Hays contributed much toward protecting construction camps along the road and keeping open the Smoky Hill route. In the Indian wars of 1867 it was headquarters for General Hancock during part of his campaign. Again in 1868 General Sheridan made Fort Hays the headquarters for his campaign.<sup>21</sup> This honor must be shared with Fort Dodge and Camp Supply, however. The famous Seventh Cavalry, under Colonel George A. Custer, was quartered at Hays from 1867 to 1870, and the Nineteenth Kansas Cavalry was mustered out there in the spring of 1869.<sup>22</sup> The fort was abandoned by the government in 1889.

Fort Wallace was first called Camp Pond Creek. It was located near the western boundary of Kansas on Pond creek, a tributary to the Smoky Hill. Wallace was the last and most western military post of any permanency in Kansas. From 1865 to 1878 it bore the brunt of the contest with the Indian tribes.<sup>23</sup> Its functions were similar to those of Forts Hays and Harker with the exception that the latter were larger and were more often selected as headquarters for large expeditions against the Indians. That Fort Wallace was unusually active in frontier protection cannot be doubted however. There is little evidence to refute the following statement concerning the importance of the fort:

"It is very evident after checking up the assignments of troops and engagements between the Indians and the military in Kansas, that the small garrisons at Fort Wallace participated in more actual engagements with the Indians and were sent to the relief of more scout and escort parties than the soldiers from

20. *Senate Miscellaneous Documents*, p. 76, 41st Con., 2d sess.

21. J. H. Beach, "Fort Hays," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. XI, p. 571.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 574.

23. Mrs. Frank C. Montgomery, "Fort Wallace and Its Relation to the Frontier," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. XVII, p. 189, Hereafter cited as Mrs. Montgomery, Fort Wallace.



any other post in Kansas. Other posts were bases of supplies and regimental headquarters where large forces were mobilized for Indian campaigns. But none defended a larger territory on the western frontier of Kansas. . . ." <sup>24</sup>

Garrisons at Fort Wallace were usually low during the Indian wars of 1866-'69, since troops were constantly acting as escorts for railroad surveyors and laborers, stage coaches, wagon trains, and for government officials and quartermasters trains.<sup>25</sup>

Notwithstanding the fact that these forts comprised the backbone of the frontier defense in Kansas they were ably assisted by smaller outposts and camps of a temporary nature. Among those graced with the dignity of the term "fort" were the posts of Aubrey, Downer, Monument, Ogallah, Kirwin and Lookout. Of the camps the most prominent was Camp Beecher.

Fort Aubrey was built to aid in the defense of the Santa Fé Trail during the Indian war of 1865. Its location was sixteen miles west of Choteau's island on the Arkansas river and approximately one hundred miles west of Fort Dodge by the wagon road and fifty miles east of Fort Lyon, Colorado. The site of the fort is four miles east of the present town of Syracuse, Kansas. Fort Aubrey was established by Companies D and F of the Forty-eighth Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry in September, 1865.<sup>26</sup> The fort was abandoned April 15, 1866, during a lull in Indian activities along the Old Trail.

Fort Downer, an outpost on the Smoky Hill route to the Colorado gold fields, was located about fifty miles west of Fort Hays in Trego county. It was established as a stage station in 1865 and was a military post in 1867-'68.<sup>27</sup> The place was abandoned May 28, 1868. The post was used by General Custer as a base for Indian operations in Trego County in 1867. An eating station of the Butterfield Overland Dispatch, located at this point, was burned in 1867 by hostiles.<sup>28</sup>

Fort Monument or Fort Pyramid was another outpost which was short lived. It was established in 1865 and abandoned in 1868. The post was constructed in Gove county on the route of the Kansas Pacific railroad between Forts Hays and Wallace near some

24. *Ibid.*, p. 203.

25. *Ibid.*

26. Landmarks.

27. H. Harlan, Trego County Clippings, p. 76. (A series of unbound newspaper clippings in the library of the Kansas State Historical Society); Landmarks, Trego County. The first of these references gives 1865 as the date for the founding of Fort Downer, while the second says 1867; Hamersly states that the fort was established May 30, 1867, p. 131, List of Forts; see, also, *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. IX, p. 578.

28. Landmarks, Trego County.

monument-shaped rocks which gave the station its name. Although originally merely a station on the Butterfield Overland Dispatch it was soon found necessary to station troops there as a protection to the stage road. General Dodge in 1865 placed soldiers at this point simultaneous with the garrisoning of Big Creek, Pond Creek, and other B. O. D. Stations.<sup>29</sup>

Trego county boasted of another defense besides Fort Downer. Camp Ogallah, on the Kansas Pacific railroad about one mile west of Wakeeney, came into existence in 1867 or 1868. It protected the railroad builders during a most hectic period of Indian depredations.<sup>30</sup> According to one pioneer version the camp's name was taken from the expression "O Golly"! A better explanation is that early settlers corrupted or mispronounced the name of the famous Ogallala band of Dakota Indians and applied it to the fort.<sup>31</sup>

Camp Beecher, located in June, 1868, at the junction of the Little Arkansas and Big Arkansas rivers, was a new unit in the defensive chain of forts in Kansas. It was built following the great Indian scare of 1868 when the Cheyennes raided the east central portion of the state. The primary purpose of Camp Beecher was as headquarters for a border cavalry patrol which extended northward to Marion Center.<sup>32</sup> During the Sheridan winter campaign of 1868-'69 against the Indians, Camp Beecher was used as a supply station by the Nineteenth Kansas Cavalry. The camp was abandoned in October, 1869. Even as early as 1868 the camp site was referred to as Wichita.<sup>33</sup>

Somewhat different from that of other forts in Kansas is the history of Fort Kirwin. Built to meet the necessity of frontier defense, it failed to meet that need and consequently was abandoned. The fort was established in 1865 by Colonel Kirwin and a company of Tennessee volunteers who were sent to protect the Kansas frontier. The site chosen was near the confluence of Bow Creek with the North Solomon river in what is now Phillips county. Colonel John Kirwin, its builder, finding the country swarming

29. Mrs. Frank C. Montgomery, Fort Wallace, 198.

30. Ogallah should not be called a fort. It was never more than a railroad construction camp, although used for defense against Indians by construction gangs. *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. XVII, p. 228.

31. Trego County Clippings, 78.

32. *Daily Kansas State Record* (Topeka), June 12, 1868.

33. *Daily Kansas State Record* (Topeka), June 12, 1868. A news item reprinted from the *Kansas Daily Tribune* (Lawrence) mentions that "A company of United States infantry and eighty-four volunteers are stationed at Wichita at present and will probably remain there during the winter."

with the hostile Indians, judiciously decided to vacate. There were no settlers needing protection within one hundred miles of the fort.<sup>34</sup>

Another of the lesser fortifications was Fort Lookout, in Republican county. Situated upon a high bluff commanding the Republican river valley, it guarded the military road from Fort Riley to Fort Kearney, Nebraska. Unlike the large military posts, it was constructed in the form of a blockhouse. This sturdy two-story log structure performed regular duty before 1868, when it was abandoned by the regular army. State militia used the building during the Indian war of 1868. Following their withdrawal the old fort was used as a rendezvous for settlers of the White Rock and Republican valleys during the Indian scares of the early 70's.<sup>35</sup>

Pioneer Kansas was well supplied with local fortifications to which the settlers could fly for refuge during the numerous Indian raids and scares of the 60's. Included in this group were Fort Montgomery at Eureka, Fort Brooks in Cloud county, Fort Solomon in Ottawa county, Fort Camp Jewell on the site of present Jewell City, and two forts, names unknown, located in Mitchell and Republican counties respectively.

At the beginning of the Civil War citizens of the Eureka neighborhood constructed Fort Montgomery as a fort for home guards. When they disbanded at the close of the war the fort was occupied by a detachment of the Fifteenth Kansas Cavalry.<sup>36</sup> During the Indian scares of 1864-1869 it was used as a rallying place for settlers of Greenwood county.

Enterprising militia of Shirley county, later Cloud county, constructed Fort Brooks in August or September, 1864. Situated on the left bank of the Republican river the log blockhouse was headquarters for the local militia engaged in frontier defense.<sup>37</sup>

Fort Solomon in Ottawa county was a true frontier block house. Built early in 1864 as a defense against the Indians, it was the only shelter for the majority of the people of Ottawa county from the summer of 1864 to the spring of 1865. It consisted of log houses, arranged in the form of a square and enclosed with palisades. For-

34. Z. T. Walrond, *Annals of Osborne County, Kansas 1870-1879* (a bound volume of clippings in the library of the Kansas State Historical Society), p. 21.

35. Kansas State Historical Society, *Twenty-fifth Biennial Report, 1925-1926*, pp. 74-75.

36. Greenwood County Clippings, I, 15.

37. Clay Center Times, January 12, 1922.



tunately for the settlers they were never forced to undergo a siege by Indians.<sup>38</sup>

Home guards of Jewell county were responsible for the construction of a sod fort in 1870 as a protection against the Indian raids, while Republic county in 1869 and Mitchell county in 1867 each constructed an Indian defense. In May, 1869, nearly all the settlers on Salt and Reily creeks, in the Republican river region, left their claims and took refuge in a log fort in Belleville township until a small body of militia was sent to their aid.<sup>39</sup> The Mitchell county fort was built by settlers in 1867 during the period of great Indian activity in northwestern Kansas. Indian scares during that year greatly retarded immigration into the county.<sup>40</sup>

In harmony with the home-guard movement during the Civil War, the state capital built a wooden stockade at the intersection of Sixth and Kansas avenues. Although intended as a place of refuge against guerrillas, it was never forced to defend Topeka from invaders. Christened with the enlightening title of Fort Simple, its existence was never complex from its birth in 1863 to its final destruction by Topekans after the Civil War.

Kansas was not entirely defended by forts within her own boundaries. Since the plains Indian roamed unwittingly over state boundary lines it frequently happened that Indian depredations were broken up by soldiers stationed in the forts of the adjacent territories of Nebraska and Colorado.

Of these frontier watch dogs, Fort Kearney, Nebraska, was the most prominent. Located on the Platte river in southern Nebraska its jurisdiction often extended into northern Kansas.<sup>41</sup> From the time of its founding in 1848 this fort on the Platte trail was the headquarters for nearly all the military operations in Nebraska.<sup>42</sup>

Forts Cottonwood and Sedgwick also defended the Platte trail and contributed to the defense of Kansas. The former, located at Cottonwood Springs, one hundred miles west of Fort Kearney, on the south bank of the Platte, proved of valuable assistance in keeping

38. Landmarks, Ottawa County.

39. Landmarks, Republic County.

40. Letter from a settler in Ottawa County, Kansas, to Governor Samuel J. Crawford, September 23, 1867, C. K. G., Crawford (Incoming Letters).

41. Telegram from Adjutant General John P. Sherburne of Fort Leavenworth to Governor Samuel J. Crawford, July 20, 1866, C. K. G., Crawford (Telegrams), 28. Sherburne informed the Governor that one company of cavalry from Fort Kearney and Fort McPherson was scouting in the region of the Little Blue river.

42. Frank A. Root and William E. Connelley, *The Overland Stage to California* (Topeka, Kansas, published by the authors, 1901), p. 242. Hereafter cited as Root and Connelley, *The Overland Stage*.

overland traffic going during the Indian raids of 1864.<sup>43</sup> Two years later the fort's name was changed to McPherson. During the grand trek to the western mining country, Cottonwood Springs was an important supply depot for the miners.<sup>44</sup>

Farther west on the Platte trail, near Julesburg, Colorado, was a sod fort named Fort Sedgwick. It, too, was an important point since it was a depot of government supplies for a region extending fully one hundred and fifty miles along the South Platte.<sup>45</sup>

South of Fort Sedgwick, on the Arkansas river, stood Fort Lyon. It was situated on the Santa Fé Trail about one hundred and fifty miles west of Fort Dodge. Known first as Bent's New Fort, from the time of its building in 1853 until 1859 when it was leased to the government, it later adopted the title of Fort Wise and finally, in 1861, Fort Lyon.<sup>46</sup> When it became necessary to relocate the fort in 1867, it was renamed New Fort Lyon. In 1890, by act of congress, the fort was abandoned. The site of New Fort Lyon is near the present town of Las Animas, Colorado. Although principally engaged in protecting commerce and travel on the Santa Fé Trail, the troops of Fort Lyon participated in numerous Indian campaigns, chiefly that of Sheridan into Indian Territory in 1868-'69.

Particularly fitting is the observation of a prominent traveler of the period concerning the military forts of the frontier.

"Along the main lines of travel throughout the whole western country, at distances from sixty to three hundred miles apart, the United States government are obliged to maintain a great number of these little military establishments. . . . In many instances not a white man lives in the intervening country, and yet without them overland travel would be impossible."<sup>47</sup>

A brief explanation of the military organization of the Middle West following the Civil War will help to an understanding of references to posts and commanders.

The United States was divided into military divisions commanded by major generals of the army. The Middle West belonged to the military division of the Missouri, which was organized in 1865 by the War Department to include the states of Kansas, Missouri, Iowa, Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Illinois and the terri-

43. *Ibid.*, p. 498.

44. Julius Sterling Morton, *Illustrated History of Nebraska* (In two volumes, Lincoln, Jacob North & Co., 1905, 1906), v. II, p. 168.

45. Root and Connelley, *The Overland Stage*, p. 342.

46. For an interesting and colorful history of Bent's Fort see George Bird Grinnell, "Bent's Old Fort and Its Builders," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. XV, pp. 28-88.

47. W. A. Bell, *New Tracks in North America*, p. 28.

tories of Nebraska, Dakota, and Montana. Headquarters of the division was variously located at St. Louis, Chicago, Omaha and Fort Leavenworth. The division was subdivided at the time of its organization into four geographical departments of the Dakota, the Platte, the Missouri, and the Arkansas.

The third of these, the department of the Missouri, maintained permanent headquarters at Fort Leavenworth. This department was subdivided into four districts: The District of Kansas with headquarters also at Fort Leavenworth; the district of the Upper Arkansas whose headquarters was Fort Harker; the district of New Mexico, headquarters at Santa Fé; and the district of the Indian Territory, with headquarters at Fort Gibson.<sup>48</sup> Of these districts in the department of the Missouri, the district of the Upper Arkansas was of the most interest to Kansans. Within its limits were Forts Dodge, Larned, Zarah, Wallace, Hays, Harker and Lyons. Downer's Station, Monument Station and "End-of-Track," Union Pacific, Eastern Division, were also included.<sup>49</sup>

From 1865 to 1869 the military division of the Missouri was commanded by Generals Pope, Sherman, and Sheridan in the order named. Department commanders changed even more frequently. The department of the Missouri during this period was in charge of Generals Dodge in 1865-'66, Hancock in 1866-'67, Sheridan in 1868-'69 and Schofield in 1869. Prior to the organization of the military division of the Missouri, the state of Kansas made up three districts of the department of Kansas under the command of General S. R. Curtis.<sup>50</sup>

In addition to the national military organization each state had its geographical departments for militia organization. Under a legislative act of February 13, 1865, Kansas was divided into four brigade districts with a brigadier general of militia in command of each district. The entire militia was then under the supervision of a major general commanding. General W. F. Cloud, of Leavenworth City, acted in the capacity of state commander from 1865-'67, when he was succeeded by General Harrison Kelley.

48. Report of the Secretary of War, 1868, 40th Cong., 2d sess., p. 39. *House Ex. Docs.*, v. II, No. 1, part 1.

49. *Ibid.*, p. 40.

50. *Kansas Daily Tribune* (Lawrence), March 4, 1864.



## Was Governor John A. Martin a Prohibitionist?

JAMES C. MALIN

THE adoption of the policy of prohibition of the liquor traffic by constitutional amendment in 1880 brought little but embarrassment to many Kansas politicians. When it became clear that popular sentiment supported strongly the new departure, those who wished political preferment at the hands of the voters found that they must conform, outwardly at least, on this highly explosive matter.

John A. Martin, editor of the *Atchison Champion* since 1858, was opposed to prohibition and spoke out vigorously during the campaigns for adoption of the prohibition amendment and for the enactment of the enforcement legislation. He had been deprived of the nomination for governor in 1878 by a peculiar combination of circumstances not associated with the liquor question. At that time temperance, as distinguished from prohibition, was an important factor in politics and Martin gave it his full endorsement. During the next four years the radical position on the liquor question developed within the St. John wing of the Republican party and dominated party councils. During the same period the Democratic party offered itself as the champion of the liquor interests as well as of the "practical" temperance people. The defeat of Governor St. John in 1882 by an antiprohibition Democrat, George W. Glick, meant the downfall of the radical faction in the Republican party, although it did not mean the overthrow of prohibition. A Republican legislature was chosen which refused to resubmit the prohibition amendment. But Martin had one political ambition—to become governor of Kansas. Politically speaking, it was his turn in 1884, except that he was not understood to have followed the trend of opinion in the state on the subject of liquor. Could he be nominated, and if nominated, could he be elected as an antiprohibitionist? An ambitious, practical politician could have adjusted himself easily to the necessities of the situation, but could a man of John A. Martin's convictions? Shortly before the meeting of the nominating conventions, however, he indorsed prohibition. Was his change sincere, and if so, what caused him to reverse his position? Was it a shift for the sake of political expediency dictated by a long-standing personal ambi-

tion which could not be gratified otherwise under the changed conditions? The liquor faction chose to accept the second view, and likewise many of the radical prohibitionists believed him insincere. The latter prepared to join the Prohibition party if Martin was nominated by the Republicans.

The selection of Martin to lead the Republican party in 1884 placed upon him the responsibility of rehabilitating a demoralized party and reconciling factional conflicts which had developed as a result of the attempt of the radical St. John prohibitionists to dominate the party. The line of argument used during the campaign of 1884 to explain his position on the prohibitory amendment, and to reconcile differences among Republicans who were at odds on the question, emphasized the practical considerations involved and appealed to reason. The single aim of Republicans should be to insure a Republican victory, and with this as the goal of the campaign he argued that the amendment had been adopted by a majority of the voters, and that it had been upheld by the court as legal in all its aspects, therefore it was the duty of all good citizens to conform to the expressed will of the majority. So far as his personal position was concerned it is best expressed in his speech at Washington, Kansas, October 24, 1884:

"I want to be fairly, explicitly understood. If I am elected governor, when in the presence of Almighty God and the sovereign people of Kansas, I raise my hand to take the oath of office, I shall not do so with falsehood on my lips and perjury in my heart. I will not equivocate. I will do my duty, under the constitution and laws I have sworn to see faithfully executed. I make no apology to any person under the shining stars for holding this faith. . . . Alike as a citizen and as a public officer I shall at all times maintain and uphold these ideas of private and public duty, because the whole fabric of our American system of government rests upon them."<sup>1</sup>

As governor his first message to the state legislature January 13, 1885, restated his position invoking the authority of the expressed will of the people and asked for legislation to provide certain adjustments in detail of the enforcement law to make it less obnoxious and, as he hoped, more effective. Even at this time the general public was not wholly convinced of his sincerity on the liquor question, although there were few who doubted his personal integrity. Ex-Governor Charles Robinson, a vehement opponent of prohibition, a man who had spent most of his life in Kansas politics and who passed

1. "The Republican Party," John A. Martin, *Address*. Collected by D. W. Wilder. (Topeka, privately printed, 1888), pp. 50-63, at 60, 61.

judgment on public men in the light of that experience, wrote to Martin cynically on January 15:

"Today's mail brings your inaugural & message, both of which I have read with deep interest & gratification. The recommendations are excellent & your navigation of the *fluids* is worthy of a Columbus. You have dodged both Scylla and Charybdis with consummate skill & I shall now watch the nautical maneuvers of the legislature with brother Anthony as pilot with great interest."<sup>2</sup>

The opponents of prohibition found little comfort, however, in the action taken by the governor and the legislature during this session. The public was not fully informed regarding the background of prohibition legislation enacted but Martin explained it privately to a correspondent.

"Concerning the prohibition law of 1885, to which you refer, every section of it was drawn up, and the law was presented to the Legislature, by the officers and Executive Committee of the State Temperance Union, the recognized organization of the prohibitionists of the State. If it has any faults, neither the Legislature nor the Governor is responsible for them. The Legislature has never hesitated a moment in passing all laws regarded by the prohibitionists themselves as essential to the enforcement of the prohibitive amendment."<sup>3</sup>

He pointed out in this letter, as he often did in writing on the subject, that prohibition was not in danger in Kansas from its enemies, only from its fanatical friends. The philosophy of moderation on which he based his own course is epitomized in another letter:

"Marlborough said that it was patience that conquered everything. He is a very stupid man who, when everything is drifting in the direction of his own ideas, turns the current by his own intemperate zeal."<sup>4</sup>

At the end of this article four letters are printed. These have been selected from Martin's confidential letterbooks because they seem to answer as fully as seems possible the question which is put by the title of this paper. In the light of the evidence the reader may frame his answer to his own satisfaction. The first of these letters was written to Sol Miller and was occasioned by two editorials which appeared in Miller's weekly newspaper, *The Kansas Chief* for November 19 and December 3, 1885. Under the title of "Done Monkeying" Miller declared that he intended to remain

2. Correspondence of Kansas Governors, Martin (personal). Hereafter cited as C. K. G., Martin (personal).

3. Martin to Judge James A. Ray, Manhattan, Kansas, July 13, 1886. C. K. G., Martin, (Letterpress books, personal), vol. VII, p. 294.

4. Martin to J. R. Detwiler, Erie, Kansas, December 4, 1885, *ibid.*, vol. V, pp. 51-55, at 53.



straight Republican henceforth regardless of candidates except in cases where a candidate was notoriously dishonest. He analyzed the last three campaigns and concluded that the Democratic party was not sincere, not even in prohibition. Whenever prohibition itself was an issue he would vote against it, but where candidates were to be voted on he would vote Republican. If Kansas was to have prohibition, however, he preferred to have it "under Republican rule," rather than to use it to break up the Republican party. After awaiting reactions to the first editorial he wrote the second "The Returns All In" in which he renewed his pledge.

"We are honestly opposed to political prohibition, and were willing to go half way to meet members of any other party in united opposition to it. But we were not willing to go all the way over. This was the only thing that would satisfy the Democratic party."

While Martin was influenced by several factors in the situation the general argument which pervaded the letter to Miller might be stated as the necessity for eliminating the evil influence of liquor from politics. More particularly this argument centered around two points. First, he had come to the conclusion that the basic aim of the liquor interests was complete freedom from regulation, and that they would join any faction or party which held out a hope of bringing about a relaxation of control. As soon as this was realized they would desert freely their allies and join any other party who would assist in carrying a step further the removal of liquor restrictions. This process would stop only when they had gained their goal. Martin came to see clearly that it was not prohibition that liquor was fighting, it was regulation of any kind. When the issue was stated thus, his course became clear. Second, the liquor interests were using the prohibition question to break the ranks of the Republican party. To the full-fledged Republican of Martin's type such an act was little less serious than disloyalty to the nation.

The second of the letters in the series was written for the purpose of setting forth the political situation in the state with relation to the prohibition issue. His conclusion emphasized the contention that the liquor interests were definitely allied with the Democratic party, that they were in the minority, and that therefore the Republican party had nothing to gain by a backward step on the prohibition question.

The third letter was written to Judge David Martin of Atchison, November 10, 1886. By this time Governor Martin had dropped

all arguments in justification of prohibition. He was now speaking with all the ardor of a confirmed prohibitionist in expressing the one ambition for his term of office—the real enforcement of prohibition. The purpose of the letter was to secure the assistance of the judge in framing the proposed “metropolitan police law” which would enable the governor to enforce fully the liquor laws in cities of the first and second classes, when the local authorities did not perform their duties. The bill of Senator R. N. Allen, of Chanute, was the foundation of the proposed system, and Judge Martin formulated such changes as he considered necessary to make it effective. These changes were incorporated into the bill which was introduced by Allen January 12, 1887. It had a stormy legislative history but finally a substitute was accepted and signed by Governor Martin March 1, to become effective the following day.

The fourth of the letters was written in answer to an appeal for assistance in the prohibition campaign then in progress in Texas. It is similar in many respects to letters written to leaders in other states where prohibition was a pending issue. In a sense it completes the cycle in Governor Martin’s expressions on the subject. When Kansas was voting on prohibition in 1880 he was writing in the interest of the opposition. In 1887 he was defending prohibition in Kansas and throwing his influence into the balance in support of it in several other states.

#### LETTER No. I.

*Personal.*

DECEMBER 4, 1885.

MY DEAR MILLER—I have read your article of two weeks ago, and that published in the *Chief* this week, with very great pleasure. I have never doubted, however, that sooner or later you would reach the conclusions you now have. I never doubted because I knew that, like myself, you were a Republican born and bred, and could not possibly become a Democrat.

I got my fill of the antiprohibition-Democrat business in the spring of 1883. You probably remember that the Republicans carried Atchison in the spring of 1881, electing Sam King as mayor, and a Republican council. The previous administration had been extravagant and reckless, and went out of office leaving a floating debt of \$16,000, and nothing to show for the large expenditures made. King was an antiprohibition Republican. He took charge of the city government just before the prohibition law went into effect. For two



years he protected the saloon keepers; had ordinances passed favoring them; and used all of the power of the city government to prevent prosecutions against them. He, however, demanded of them two things: First, that they should close these places on Sunday; and second, that they should not sell liquor to habitual drunkards or minors. And these rules he enforced.

From a business point of view, he made an unusually good mayor. He had, before the end of six months, paid off the floating debt; he made many improvements; and at the close of his term he went out leaving \$40,000 in the treasury. The Republicans renominated him, by acclamation, and nearly every business man in the city supported him.

The previous fall Mayor King and hundreds of other Republicans in Atchison supported Glick. In the spring of 1883, when the Republicans nominated King, a confessed good officer, an antiprohibitionist who had protected the saloons for nearly two years, the Democrats put a candidate in the field against him, and every saloon keeper in the city, with possibly three exceptions, voted for and bitterly opposed King. Why? Simply because he had insisted that they should close on Sunday, and should not sell to minors and habitual drunkards.

This election satisfied me concerning three things: First, that the saloon keepers as a rule, were a lot of shameless ingrates, who were not only opposed to prohibition but to any and all restraints on their dirty business; second, that they were wedded to the Democratic party; and third, that the Democratic party was, in the prohibition business as in everything else, selfish and insincere.

I served notice on the saloons, immediately after that election, that I was against them from that time on. I made up my mind, then, that they were, no matter what we might say or do, against the Republican party, and that Republicans whether they wished to or not would be compelled to fight them. Everything I have seen since that time has only confirmed and strengthened my convictions.

I am against the saloons, first, because they are naturally and inevitably against the Republican party; and second, because no decent man can afford to defend or endorse the saloon business. In Kansas we have got to down the saloons, or they will down the Republican party. A saloon keeper with his white apron on behind his bar is a powerful political factor; when he is sent to jail for thirty days for selling whisky, he has no more political influence than a horse thief.



I am not, I think you know, a "crank" on any subject. Certainly I am not on prohibition. But I am, as you are, a born Republican, and I am against everything that assails the Republican party whether it be the prohibition "cranks" of the St. John variety at one extreme of the line, or the whisky "cranks" at the other extreme.

I didn't mean, when I started, to write so long a letter. I only wanted to express my gratification that you have written the articles you have, and to congratulate you on the position you have taken.

Yours very truly,

Hon. Sol Miller, Troy, Kan.

JNO. A. MARTIN.<sup>5</sup>

## LETTER No. II.

*Personal.*

AUGUST 14, 1885.

*J. B. Lawrence, Esq.:*

MY DEAR SIR—I write to express my sincere appreciation of the kindly and generous articles published in the *Journal*, concerning my official action and utterances! I only hope that I may, in all that I do, deserve the good words you have said concerning me.

My term of office has, thus far, had crowded into it an unusual number of difficult and delicate questions. The legislature had hardly adjourned before the Missouri Pacific "strike" occurred, and this was followed by the pleuropneumonia trouble, the Texas cattle difficulty, the Indian scare, and a dozen or more serious local complications, all presenting phases of danger or annoyance. So I have kept unusually busy and it is a source of gratification to be assured that I have made few mistakes.

The position of the governor, in this state, is now one of extreme delicacy and difficulty. There is danger, in the prohibition question, on every side, as I suppose you know: *First*, prohibition is the constitutional and statute law of the state. Whether right or not, an executive officer must recognize the law. *Second*, more than one-half of the Republican voters of the state are advocates of, and firm believers in prohibition, and any backward step, by the party organization, on this question, would alienate their sympathy and support. Probably one-fourth of the Republican voters care little whether prohibition is or is not enforced, while the remaining one-fourth is opposed to prohibition. *Third*, the fanatical prohibitionists—the St. John faction, who want a third party organization, and who are not Republicans—are actively working to alienate more Republicans

5. *Ibid.*, vol. V, pp. 61-67.

who believe in prohibition from their allegiance to their party; while the fanatical antiprohibitionists are, on the other hand, as actively at work endeavoring to alienate those Republicans who do not believe in prohibition. *Fourth*, the Republican party of Kansas, has lost, permanently, the support of the liquor interests. These interests are identified with the Democratic party, and cannot be brought back.

I believe this is a fair statement of the situation in Kansas, and you will easily understand how difficult it is, with all these conflicting ideas and sentiments, to preserve harmony in the party ranks, and keep the organization united. To take any backward step would alienate the support of fully one-half of the Republican voters, and it would not bring back those who, on account of prohibition, have already left the party.

On the other hand, it is equally important to avoid radical or extreme measures, which might eliminate those Republicans who are indifferent on the question of prohibition.

The "cranks" at each extreme of the line are equally annoying and unreasonable. The prohibition "crank" is always insisting that something unusual and absurd shall be done, while the anti-prohibitionist "crank" is always demanding that the party shall do something which would be equally unwise and unpolitic.

It may fairly be said that the "fool friends" of prohibition are its most dangerous enemies, while the "fool enemies" of prohibition are its most efficient helpers. The "fool friends" of the cause nominated St. John for a third term and adopted a platform which alienated the support of the moderate people, thus incurring a Democratic victory; the "fool enemies" of prohibition whip ministers, deny the rights of free speech, interrupt the orderly proceedings of public meetings, and insist that the saloon business is as honorable and reputable as any other business, thus intensifying and promoting the public sentiment against the liquor traffic.

Pardon this long letter. But I want to give the *Journal* my impression of the condition of affairs in this state, so that you may understand the situation. Of course, this letter is not for publication. It is personal and private.

Please accept for yourself and your associates on the *Journal* my grateful thanks for the constant kindness you have shown me.

Yours truly, JNO. A. MARTIN.<sup>6</sup>

6. *Ibid.*, vol III, pp. 45-47.

## LETTER No. III.

*Personal.*

NOVEMBER 10, 1886.

MY DEAR JUDGE—Among the many letters of congratulations I have received since the election, none were more highly esteemed and more gratifying to me than was yours. Public office is attended with many embarrassments and annoyances, but it has its compensations, and not the least among these are assurances of confidence and regard expressed by citizens of such high character and great judgment as yourself.

The late canvass was a very arduous and embarrassing one. All the forces of the opposition were massed against me and in every section of the state there was a definite understanding that every one was to be traded off for votes for Moonlight. Under such circumstances, the majority I received was in the highest degree satisfactory.

I have one ambition which I wish to realize during my term of office, and that is that on the expiration I may be able to surrender the office to my successor, and say to him that there is not an open saloon within the limits of the state of Kansas. You probably fully understand, however, that while the constitution of the state says that the governor shall see that the laws are faithfully executed, the laws at present upon the statute book really confer upon him very little authority to enforce its directions. More than ten years ago Governor Osborne called the attention of the legislature to the embarrassing fact, in a special message, but nothing was done at that time to correct this defect, nor has anything been done since. Under our laws, their enforcement largely rests with the local officers of the several counties and cities, and, although the constitution distinctly imposes upon the governor the duty of seeing that the laws are enforced, our lawmakers have failed to provide the machinery by which this duty may be discharged.

I fully realize that it is dangerous to confer upon any executive officer arbitrary powers which might, if in the hands of a tyrannical or bad man, be abused. But surely some provision should be made by law for giving the governor power to see that the local officers are not the tools and creatures of unlawful combinations, or are not the willing abettors of lawbreakers. It has been suggested that in our cities a metropolitan police should be established. There are some objections to any system of this character. It is, however,



notorious that the city governments, in many of the cities of the first and second classes, are in entire sympathy with the liquor interests, and really encourage and assist them in avoiding the penalties of the law. This is true, also, of some of the county officers of several of the counties of the state. Now can you suggest a remedy for this, or could you find time to draw up a law that would confer upon the governor sufficient authority to carry out what the constitution enjoins upon him, avoiding, at the same time, the conferring of extraordinary or arbitrary powers? I am sure you will realize how difficult and embarrassing the situation is, especially to the incumbent of this office. I am anxious to perform the duties which the constitution imposes upon me, and yet I lack all the essential power to see that the laws are faithfully executed. Surely something ought to be done by the lawmakers to supply this defect in our laws. But I am not lawyer enough to suggest the proper remedy. If you can do so, I will be under many obligations, and I feel confident that your experience and knowledge of the laws, and of their existing defects, may enable you to suggest the proper remedies.

Accept my sincere thanks for your kind congratulations and the assurance that I cordially appreciate your good wishes.

Very sincerely yours, JOHN A. MARTIN.<sup>7</sup>

To Judge David Martin, Atchison, Kansas.

LETTER No. IV.

JUNE 15. 1887.

*Judge J. Mellhany, Baird, Texas.*

MY DEAR SIR—I acknowledge the receipt of your letter of June 13th. If the opponents of temperance reform in Texas deny the authenticity of a printed message to the legislature, it seems to me that it would be useless to endeavor to convince them of the authenticity of a written letter. I gave, in my last message to the legislature of Kansas, my candid and honest opinions concerning the results of the prohibition law in this state. I was not, originally, in favor of the prohibition amendment. In fact, I voted against it when it was submitted to the people for approval or rejection. But a personal and official observation of the effects of prohibition, during the past six years, has thoroughly convinced me that, in so far

7. *Ibid.*, vol. VIII, pp. 388-390.

as Kansas is concerned, our prohibition law has abolished fully nine-tenths of all the drinking and drunkenness in the state; has added very largely to the general prosperity and happiness of the people; has abolished the always pernicious influence of the saloon in politics; and has made the people of Kansas the soberest people in this country.

I do not claim, and never have claimed, that our prohibition laws have entirely abolished drinking and drunkenness. To expect that a vice, existing for centuries under the protection of the law, can be wholly abolished in a few brief years, would be absurd. But we have wholly obliterated the saloon in Kansas, and with it have abolished unnumbered evils that are inseparable from the saloon. The open doors of the saloon no longer tempt the youth of our state to dissipation, and to the forming, through social influences, of habits which, in the end, make drunkards of them. We have steadily and thoroughly reduced, almost to a minimum, the evils of the drinking habit. And I feel confident that the next generation in Kansas, if the present laws are sustained and enforced, will be a soberer and purer generation than the present.

If this expression of my views will be of any interest and service to the cause of temperance in Texas, you are at liberty to use it as you please.

Yours very respectfully,

JNO. A. MARTIN.<sup>8</sup>

8. *Ibid.*, vol. X, pp. 154-155.

## Notes on Historical Literature of the Range Cattle Industry

JAMES C. MALIN

THE traveler who views the wheat fields of western Kansas in 1931 can see little sign that this region, within the span of a generation, was once dominated as completely by cattle as it now is by wheat. The plains region is a large country and its industries seem to partake naturally of the magnitude of their geographical setting.

The contemporary Kansan, surfeited with wheat, may look back to the day of the cattlemen with a sense of escape from an unpleasant situation into a romantic past. But the economic system of that day suffered also from depressions and surpluses accompanied by disastrous failures, and the social system was agitated by its liquor question and crime wave—even its equivalent of the Wickersham commission. While these economic and social accidents may have left some scars, time has a way of easing painful memories.

For the most part the cattlemen did not acquire a talent for writing that was in any way comparable with their skill in handling steers. The industry during the open range era was never stabilized. The period was less than twenty-five years in duration. Under the circumstances it was impossible to accumulate a relatively large store of standardized information. In consequence there are few contemporary accounts that are comprehensive in scope, or that possess a high quality of content or form. One classic work was produced, however, within the Kansas region—Joseph G. McCoy, *Historic Sketches of the Cattle Trade of the West and the Southwest* (Kansas City, Mo., 1874). A second contemporary work of importance was printed as a United States government publication in 1885—Joseph G. Nimmo, *The Range and Ranch Cattle Traffic*. These books are now long out of print and are difficult to obtain, outside of large libraries. Toward the close of the range period the appeal of the subject to eastern readers created a substantial demand for magazine articles dealing with the various phases of the cattle business. In this class of literature Kansas readers will be interested particularly in C. M. Harger's "Cattle Trails of the Prairies," in *Scribner's* magazine (June, 1892).

It is only in recent years, and more particularly since the World War, that historians have undertaken systematic collection of his-



torical materials in this field, and on this foundation, promoted historical research and writing. In reviewing a few selected titles from the product of such investigations it is in keeping with the subject matter to begin at the south and work north as the cattle did.

In the brush country of south Texas the first scene is laid and the story is told by J. Frank Dobie, of the University of Texas, in *A Vaquero of the Brush Country* (Dallas, Texas, The Southwest Press, 1929). The book is based on the recollections of a prominent cattleman, but is supplemented by substantial research and is written in a masterly style. Chronologically this book is among the more recent publications in the field, but historically it properly antedates all the others and is the first to deal with that region from which most of the cattle drives originated. It is true to the local color, even to the cover, which is in simulation of a section cut out of the back of a huge rattlesnake skin.

Contrasting with the brush country of south Texas and the period of beginnings, the next book deals with the high-plains country of the Texas Panhandle where ranching was developed near the end of the open-range period. This story is related by J. E. Haley in *The XIT Ranch of Texas* (Chicago, Trustees Capitol Reservation Lands, 1929). The story of this enterprise illustrates effectively how the range herds were built up into high-grade Hereford and Angus cattle, superior to much of the stock produced on the farms of the corn belt during the eighteen nineties. This angle of the cattle business recalls also one of the major reasons why the latter regions came to depend on the range for feeders instead of producing them as formerly on middle western farms.

A book which gives an overview of most of the industry is that of E. E. Dale, *The Range Cattle Industry* (Norman, Oklahoma, University of Oklahoma Press, 1930). Professor Dale has spent many years studying cattle, especially in the Oklahoma area. The book is therefore a mature piece of work. It epitomizes the results of his own research, and reflects the contributions made by special studies of others. While there is little in it that is essentially new, nevertheless it possesses distinction in the concise but comprehensive quality of the presentation.

The northwest high plains region, which Dale omits, is treated in a remarkably able volume by E. S. Osgood, *The Day of the Cattleman, a Study of the Northern Range, 1845-1890* (Minneapolis, The University of Minnesota Press, 1929). In this work

the manuscript records of the cattlemen's associations are used extensively and, it might properly be said, for the first time in any extended study of the Northwest.

Closely related to the studies in the economic history of the industry come two recent and able works on that all but legendary person, the Cowboy. P. A. Rollins in a book, *The Cowboy* (New York, Scribner's, 1922), stripped him of most of the clap-trap of the wild-west story and movie, describing in more sober terms the men who handled range cattle. More recently the subject has been dealt with from a somewhat different angle in an uneven but brilliant volume by E. Douglas Branch called *The Cowboy and His Interpreters* (New York, Appleton, 1926).

Possibly the reader has already discerned a gap in the record of the cattle industry as it would be treated by the books mentioned. The omission is not intentional, but one of necessity. No inclusive story of cattle in the Kansas region proper has yet been written. Books of varied quality are available which deal with certain phases of Kansas live-stock history, but for the most part the basic research must yet be done. Such work on the subject as is known to be under way has made only what might be called substantial beginnings.

## Kansas History as Published in the State Press

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Kansas newspapers publish many historical articles. In this and succeeding issues we wish to mention editors and authors who are helping to preserve the record of the past. Space does not permit us to reprint the articles, but complete files of Kansas newspapers are maintained by the Society, where they may always be consulted. This list is necessarily very incomplete; the editor will welcome notices and copies of articles so that recognition may be given.

The 104-page seventieth anniversary edition of the *Marshall County News*, Marysville, appearing February 27, was an outstanding weekly Kansas newspaper achievement. The edition was filled with historical news of the county and city.

"Stories of a Kansan" (46 chapters), by Bernard James Sheridan, was published in *The Western Spirit*, Paola, during 1930 and 1931.

The *Chapman Advertiser* conducted a series of pioneer articles, commencing February 5, on eastern Dickinson county.

"A History of Burlingame" was the title of a series of articles by Frank M. Stahl which started in *The Enterprise-Chronicle*, Burlingame, March 26.

The May 1 edition of *The Yates Center News* announced that it was celebrating its fifty-fourth anniversary and printed a brief history of the city.

"Women in Butler County History" was the theme of the 36-page woman's pictorial edition published by *The El Dorado Times*, April 29.

The issues of April 30 and May 7 of *The Garden City News* contained many historical articles on the Finnup pioneer day celebration held in Garden City, May 8. The *Garden City Daily Telegram* also published a special edition.

Residents of Sherman county who have lived in the county forty years or more were listed in the May 6 edition of *The Goodland News-Republic*, a dedicatory issue for the corner-stone laying of the new courthouse.

An "Early History of Sedgwick," by Francis Doty, was published in the May 14 issue of *The Sedgwick Pantagraph*.

*The Democratic Messenger*, Eureka, published a 24-page historical and industrial edition, July 16.



Horton of the "gay nineties" was recalled in a 12-page edition of *The Horton Headlight-Commercial* appearing July 27.

The Hays *Daily News* of June 20 published a 14-page special announcing the official dedication of the Fort Hays Frontier Park, June 22 and 23.

Pony express riders brought five letters to Marysville August 17 and delivered them at the speakers' stand at the dedication of the Pony Express marker. Both *The Advocate-Democrat* and the *Marshall County News* carried historical matter pertaining to this famous western service and the latter newspaper published a lengthy article by John G. Ellenbecker.

The "Final Indian Scare in 1885" in the counties of Kingman and Barber, was the title of an article by Ed M. Moore in the weekly edition of *The Hutchinson News*, August 7. Mr. Moore also conducts a "History of Reno County" as a regular feature in the daily *News*.

The *Marion Review* of September 15 and *The Marion Record* of September 17, issued special pioneer editions announcing the annual Marion County Old Settlers' picnic which was held Friday, September 18.

The "History of Kingman," by Mary Alice Livingston, was a feature of the September 18 issue of *The Kingman Leader-Courier*.

The Fiftieth Anniversary of *The Clifton News* was observed with a 16-page historical edition, September 17. It was compiled by Edna L. Rossman, the editor.

A 43-page pamphlet, *The Story of Old Ft. Hays by Eye Witnesses*, including the widow of Buffalo Bill, Mrs. Geo. A. Custer, Mrs. Josephine Middlekauff, C. J. Bascom, and others, was published under the auspices of the Fort Hays Frontier Park Committee. "Some Ancient History," by Mrs. Frank C. Montgomery, was a part of this collection.

*Reminiscences of Geo. Throckmorton* reprinted from the *Daily Republican*, Burlington, appeared as a pamphlet early in 1931.

Famous Indian battles of the West have been pictured through the pen of Paul I. Wellman, magazine editor of *The Wichita Eagle* during the last several years.

A personal history of the development period of northwestern Kansas entitled *Prairies and Pioneers*, by J. S. Bird, was published by McWhirter-Ammons Press, Hays. This attractive fifty-six page pamphlet is in its second edition.

A history of the Donner Party, one of the caravans which traversed Marshall county on the Oregon Trail in 1846, was written by Wm. E. Smith, of Wamego, for The *Advocate-Democrat*, Marysville, in the June 11, 18 and 25 issues.

The Major Robert H. Chilton monument in Chilton Park, Dodge City, was unveiled May 28. The Dodge City *Daily Globe* and The Dodge City *Journal* carried historical articles in connection with the dedication.

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GEORGE A. ROOT, curator of archives, Kansas State Historical Society, has been an employee of the Society since March, 1891. His father, Frank A. Root, was an express messenger on the Holladay Overland Stage Line, a pioneer Kansas editor, and co-author of *The Overland Stage to California*.

JAMES C. MALIN, associate editor of the *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, is associate professor of History at the University of Kansas. He is author of *United States After the World War*, and other books.

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## The Pratt Collection

ESTHER CLARK HILL

THE Pratt collection of manuscripts and documents takes its name from that of John G. Pratt, a young missionary-printer who came to the old Shawnee Baptist Mission from Reading, Mass., in 1837, to take the place of Jotham Meeker, who was going farther south in the Indian Territory to found the Ottawa Baptist Mission on the Marais des Cygnes (Osage) river.\* These two young men operated the first printing press in Kansas, and there is much mention (and some samples) of their workmanship among the Pratt papers.

The collection, which had lain for years in the attic garret of the old Delaware Mission house (since torn down), was given to the Kansas State Historical Society in 1907 by Rosamond Pratt Burt, a daughter of John G. Pratt. The original mission building was of walnut logs, with hewed edges, and stood, in 1837 (the year of its founding by Ira D. Blanchard and his wife, Mary Walton Blanchard, Baptist missionaries), on the present site of Edwardsville, Wyandotte county, Kansas, at the Grinter crossing of the Kaw river, on the old military road between Fort Leavenworth and Fort Scott. The flood of 1844 broke up the school, and in 1848 John G. Pratt removed the log building to higher ground, putting it up again in its first form, and for fifty years it served as the middle part of the Pratt homestead.

It was from this old mission-homestead that the Pratt collection was removed by George A. Root, a member of the staff of the Kansas State Historical Society. The Society had had some correspondence with Mrs. Burt on the subject. Mr. Root's diary in 1907 records:

"Nov. 5. Called on Mrs. Rosamond Burt, daughter of Rev. John G. Pratt, the Delaware missionary. She gave me several papers to add to the Pratt collection, one being Rev. Pratt's last sermon, and another a photo of him. Mrs. Burt asked me to go down to the old mission at Piper, Wyandotte county, and tell Mrs. Pratt [her sister-in-law, widow of E. H. Pratt, who was living in the old Pratt mission-home] that she was anxious that her father's old papers should be added to the Historical Society collection. . . .

\* See the next article, *Some Background of Early Baptist Missions in Kansas*, in this issue.



Reached the Pratt home about 7:30; found Mrs. Pratt absent, but a daughter of one of the Journeycakes in charge. She was also looking after the four Pratt children. She got me a supper, saying that I was expected. Mrs. Pratt got back about 9:30, and we had a pleasant chat for an hour or more.

"Nov. 6. Raw and chilly. Good frost. Put in entire day ransacking the attic, third floor, hunting up boxes, papers and manuscripts. Packed a number of curios, a communion set (pewter) globes for studying geography in school room, a cuspidor used by Rev. Pratt and his Indian callers, etc. . . .

"Nov. 7. Finished packing the last of the things I had boxes for this morning. . . . In the afternoon I got a relative of Mrs. Pratt to drive to the depot, where we went with the load of Indian things I brought back with me. There was an Indian-made bookcase, cherry lumber and glass front, which was in the collection. Ran out of nails and had to take the last of the collection to the depot loose, where the station agent, a young girl, kindly offered to procure string and wire and bind them for shipment."

There are, it is estimated, 10,000 papers in all; handwritten and printed, with not a typed line in the lot. There are letters, land grants, allotments, deeds, contracts, government papers and a variety of miscellany, covering a period of more than sixty years, the bulk of them lying between 1837 and 1870. John G. Pratt was not only a missionary-printer, but teacher, preacher, United States Indian agent, and physician extraordinary to the Indians, in the course of his western life.

Taking it as a whole, the collection falls logically into the following divisions of Pratt's varied activities:

From 1837 to 1844 he was missionary-printer at the Shawnee Baptist Mission in Johnson county.

From 1844 to 1848 he was in charge of the Stockbridge Mission, near Fort Leavenworth. (This was abandoned in the latter year.)

From 1848 to 1864 he was in charge of the Delaware Baptist Mission in Wyandotte county (from which the collection was taken).

From 1864 to 1868 he was United States Indian agent at the old Delaware agency, with headquarters at Leavenworth. He was the last of the Delaware agents, as the tribe removed to the Indian Territory (now Oklahoma) in 1868.

Other Indian agents and individuals are represented to a lesser extent in the collection, which is broken and in many instances illegible from stains and the wear and tear of the manuscript. The government papers are for the most part intact, and the series fairly in order.

The letters for the first few years are altogether personal; even those from officers of the missionary board in Boston, under whose auspices the Pratts had taken the Indian post, were often pleasantly chatty of mutual acquaintances and interests. What, after all, were these two adventurous young missionaries but babes in the dark woods along the shores of the sullen Missouri river, alone save for other missionary company hardly older than themselves?

The families of both John G. Pratt and Olivia Pratt are well represented in this correspondence. The letters are extremely religious in tone, and those of friends and acquaintances not the less so. Even the younger children of the Evans family caught the solemnity of the elders, and the letters that passed between the young Pratts before their marriage are not only models of propriety, but deeply serious in contemplating their coming separation from home and kindred, and the spiritual importance of the western undertaking. Their very youth made the step the more momentous, for all their high courage. And their inexperience in the wild new country and the perils that may befall them there is never for an instant out of mind with those in the east, who had sent them forth with blessings and prayers and not a few tears.

The reports of the missionary-printer from the beginning of his long correspondence with the secretary of the missionary society in Boston, Dr. L. Bolles, are almost painfully detailed as to the expenditures of the slender funds placed in his hands, and his recital of the hardships and privations of the Indian wilderness. The last penny is faithfully accounted for; the calculations of how much more will be actually needed for bare comforts are stated with an apologetic hesitation.

Practically all the letters of those first years, both from the board and the families and friends, as well as the western Pratts themselves, are written on the old-fashioned, unruled foolscap, once white but now yellowed with age and much handling. There are one or two daintily penned missives on a faded pink paper, from the young ladies of the female seminary which Olivia Pratt had so lately left, but even their cheerful color does not relieve the awful solemnity of their religious tone.

There being no envelopes used in this country until about 1845, the letters are addressed in the middle of the back, or fourth, page. In many instances they were sent by persons traveling west, or tucked in the "missionary barrels" and boxes that were sent from the missionary rooms in Boston to the several stations under their supervision in the Indian Territory of that day. Lists of the articles sent always accompanied the container, and were usually a part of the letters. Homely and useful items, all of them—clothing for the children, which were beginning to arrive in the missionary families, as well as for their elders; bedding and household necessities of the plainest character.

With the removal of the Pratts from the Shawnee Mission to that of the Stockbridge Indians (still under authority from the Boston board) the letters are infrequent from the families and friends, but increase in volume from the mission board as the scope of the work in the west widens. The bookkeeping is somewhat involved and irregular, as the business accounts are almost invariably included with letters, and often on the same page with personal matter. But John G. Pratt remains faithful to detail and conscientious in the smallest expenditure, to the very end of his dealings with his Boston superiors.

In the beginning the salary for the double office of printer and missionary had been \$300 annually; on Pratt's taking charge of the Stockbridge Mission, in 1844, this was increased to \$400, and by 1859, according to the letters, he was receiving \$500 a year.

From 1844 to 1848 there is an appreciable increase in the accountancy contained in the letters, both to and from the board. At times the soul of the conscientious young missionary was sorely tried by the demands made upon him from headquarters. There seems to have been one kind of accounting done there and another at the mission. More than once he writhes, in his letters, at what he deems injustice done him by those to whom he is humanly accountable. Once, indeed, he and Mrs. Pratt gave up the Shawnee Mission and went back to Massachusetts. But that was for barely a year, and in 1841 they had returned to their first charge.

After the abandonment of the Stockbridge Mission, and the reopening of the Delaware Mission, the letters of various Indian agents begin to increase in this collection. Also those of a certain shrewd commission merchant in St. Louis, R. H. Stone, whose business correspondence is mixed with much dry humor and a bit of Baptist piety. His bills of lading, however, of which there are many



as the letters drop into the 1850's, are scrupulously drawn up, and his accounting with his missionary customers is rigidly correct, in figure and in detail.

It is not until 1864 that John G. Pratt was made United States Indian agent for the Delawares and took up his office in Leavenworth. In the following four years the government papers of the collection swell in volume, running into the thousands, of printed form and more or less filled in. These usually follow a series, and considering the length of time the papers have lain in the old walnut log building's attic, it is remarkable that they have retained as much of their physical integrity as they have; and there are few missing numbers in any given series. Treaties, land allotments, reports of Agent John G. Pratt to the government, letters to and from politicians in Washington and elsewhere—these form the mass of the papers of his four-year term. That his relations with his charges were almost invariably cordial is richly in evidence all through the collection, both in letters—some from the Indians themselves—and in contracts and treaties made with them.

With his entrance into government service Pratt seems to have left behind him the pressing cares of the missionary and the factional differences that grew up with the new territory. The last years of the letters are devoted to government business: with officials and commissioners of the Indian Department in Washington, superintendents in St. Louis, St. Joseph, Atchison and elsewhere, and with other agents at different stations. There is not, in the official correspondence, a very clear distinction between agents and subagents, and the seat of the superintendency shifts often. In the latter years, too, there was some desultory communication with army men; sometimes Indian guides were wanted; in one instance the Pratts, for all their kindly character, needed the protection of the army from an unfriendly Stockbridge Indian, one Konk-a-pot, whose viciousness aroused the commandant at Fort Leavenworth to a most spirited letter to the Pratts.

After the retirement of John G. Pratt from his duties to the government, in 1868, the letters dwindle down to personal and real-estate matters until the time of his death in 1900. The letters of the last of the century are negligible in quantity and in historical value.

The miscellanies of the collection include some irregular church records of the Delaware and Stockbridge church, beginning in 1841 and ending abruptly in 1848, about the time of Ira D. Blanchard's abrupt dismissal from the church and the withdrawal of his ordination.

There are also many fragments to which there are no supporting papers that might add a valuable chapter to the history of this section of those days. Painfully scrawled Indian letters; others purporting to come from the Indians but written in the intelligible and by the intelligent hand of the white man—usually some Indian agent. Many of these leave a speculative interest with the reader as to how much of the first American's demands on the government and the Great White Father (as he is addressed) originated with themselves, and how often they were prompted by the cupidity of the white men.

Two letters, in a class by themselves, are in the year 1855, from a Mrs. C. P. Chapman; one addressed to Commissioner George W. Manypenny, of Washington, and the other to the local Delaware agent, B. F. Robinson. They outline a most ingenuous plan for an Indian school along communistic lines, which is rather startling at that date in the United States and in that particular section. The fact that the proposed school was to be nonsectarian is indicated in so many words, and the inference left that it was to be more cultural than religious, with only women in charge of the boys and girls proposed to be taken, and a single man-of-all-work.

# Some Background of Early Baptist Missions in Kansas

Based on Letters in the Pratt Collection  
of Manuscripts and Documents

ESTHER CLARK HILL

A PACKAGE of letters, some of them nearly a century old, that have lain in the vault of the Kansas Historical Society for almost twenty-five years, are an integral part of the foundation of the Baptist church in Kansas, if not its very corner stone. These letters belong to what is known as the Pratt collection, and those of the first decade (1837-1847) are mostly from the families and friends of the two young missionaries, John Gill Pratt and his wife, Olivia Evans Pratt.<sup>1</sup> All are of a deeply religious nature, but there is in the letters of Amos Evans, father of Mrs. Pratt, and Elizabeth Pratt, mother of John Gill Pratt, a keen note of parental solicitude that in places rises to real anguish in their contemplation of the perils and privations of the far-distant new country which seemed to have swallowed up their children.

At the time these letters were written the Indian missions were still in the pioneer stage in the United States. They had only a bare foothold in the Indian country to which the eastern tribes were being removed under the authority of the act of May 26, 1830. This location, selected by Isaac McCoy and two other commissioners for such tribes, lay west of Missouri and Arkansas, and between the Platte and Red rivers. Of emigrant tribes, the Shawnees had been the first to come, settling south of the Kaw river, just over the western Missouri boundary, directly after the treaty with the Kansas and Osages in 1825. The Delawares followed them, locating in the fork of the Kaw and Missouri rivers some five years later; and the Sac and Fox tribe, about the same time, took up land

1. John Gill Pratt was born September 9, 1814, at Hingham, Mass., and after a period in Wakefield Academy, Reading, he graduated from Andover Seminary 1836, completing the entire course, including the theological. On March 29, 1837, he married Olivia Evans, of South Reading, and they almost immediately started for the Indian Territory, where Pratt was to succeed Jotham Meeker as missionary-printer at Shawnee Baptist Mission. In 1844 he left that point to take charge of the Stockbridge Baptist Mission, which was abandoned in 1848, Pratt going directly to the Delaware Baptist Mission. He was made United States Indian agent to the Delawares in 1864, serving until 1868, when the tribe removed into the Indian Territory (now Oklahoma). Mrs. Pratt was closely associated with all his missionary work, and after his death, April 23, 1900, she survived him only two years.



north of the Delawares. The Kickapoos came in 1832 and held their ground between the Delawares and the Sac and Fox. And the Pottawatomies, coming in 1837, were the new settlers in what is now Miami and Linn counties (removing in 1846 to the lands northwest that have shrunken to their present holdings in Jackson county). This was the distribution of the more important tribes, up to about 1840, in what is now northeastern Kansas.

It was in 1817 that Isaac McCoy, at his own request, had been appointed the first Baptist missionary to the Indians.<sup>2</sup> His first charge was among the Miamis in Indiana, and later the Carey and Thomas stations among the Pottawatomies in Michigan. During his missionary years he had drawn to himself a group of younger men who, under his direction, were to lay the groundwork of the Baptist missions in the Missouri valley. The Shawanoe Baptist Mission, opened July 7, 1831, was in charge of Johnston Lykins.<sup>3</sup> It was a log structure and stood about five miles west of the Shawanoe Methodist Mission (built about the same time) in Johnson county, and an almost equal distance from the Shawanoe Quaker Mission, established in 1834, a mile southeast of Merriam, Kan.

In 1837 Ira D. Blanchard founded the Delaware Baptist Mission, where the town of Edwardsville (on the interurban line between Kansas City and Lawrence), in Wyandotte county, now stands.<sup>4</sup> (This mission building was swept away in the flood of 1844 and was rebuilt in 1848, by John G. Pratt, on higher ground.) Jotham Mee-

2. Isaac McCoy, government surveyor, missionary, preacher, was born June 13, 1784, in Fayette county, Pennsylvania. He married Christianna Polke, October 6, 1803, and she was ever after that associated with his missionary life. After his first years as missionary to the Miamis and other tribes in Indiana, he entered the service in Michigan at the Carey and Thomas stations, leaving them to establish missions in the newly opened Indian Territory in the Missouri valley, after the passage of the act of May 26, 1830. It was McCoy's idea to give the Indians a permanent home in the territory, with a seat of government, and eventually ask for admission of the territory as a state. He was known as "the Apostle Paul of the Baptist denomination to the Indians of Kansas Territory" and his work among them continued until the last four years of his life, which were spent in editing a Baptist magazine at Louisville, Ky., where he died, June 21, 1846.

3. Johnston Lykins was born April 15, 1800, in Franklin county, Virginia, and his association with Isaac McCoy began when he was 19, as teacher among the Weas and Kickapoos on the Wabash river. He followed McCoy into Michigan and married Delilah McCoy, February 27, 1827. She lived but a few years. Lykins founded the Shawanoe Baptist Mission, in the Indian Territory, in 1831, and later did much translating of the Indian language. He was associated with Jotham Meeker in the publication of the first newspaper in Kansas, in the Indian language, the *Shawanoe Sun*, which lasted from 1836 until 1842. Lykins was one of the founders of Kansas City, Kan., building its first "mansion" and being its first full-term mayor. He was a practicing physician at the time of his death in Kansas City, Mo., August 15, 1876.

4. Ira D. Blanchard first entered missionary work as a teacher under Isaac McCoy, in the Indian Territory in 1833. In 1835 he married Mary Walton, a missionary teacher, and they founded the Delaware Baptist Mission, at Grinter's crossing of the Kaw river, in 1837. He did a valuable work on the Indian alphabet and syllabary, and in his translation of the *Harmony of the Gospel*, the original compilation of Rev. Zeisberger, of the Moravian mission farther south. The Blanchards left the missionary field in January, 1848, and retired to a farm in Iowa.

ker,<sup>5</sup> who had been a convert to missions under the preaching of Robert Simerwell<sup>6</sup> in the East, had arrived with him from Michigan at the Shawanoe Mission in 1833. Meeker was leaving that station in 1837 to found a similar one among the Ottawas on the Marais des Cygnes (Osage) river, south, where the town of Ottawa now stands. But he stayed at the Shawanoe Mission, along with another Baptist missionary, David B. Rollin (who seems to have been but a transient there), long enough to welcome the young Pratts and induct them into the work they had undertaken.<sup>7</sup>

They had decided on this step only after much agonizing heart-searching and prayer, as is evidenced by their mutual letters. A sense of solemnest responsibility to God and man attended them. In a letter from Reading, Mass., dated October 5, 1836, Olivia Evans writes to young John G. Pratt at Andover Seminary (the same state):

"In regard to the state of my own mind, since I concluded to go with you to the far west, I think I can say I have enjoyed great peace."

And on December 21, 1836, from the Charlestown Female Seminary, a letter from her expresses the wish that—

"that western valley become indeed the cultivated garden of the Lord. And shall we be the unworthy instruments of bearing these glad tidings to them? I feel it to be a glorious privilege to labour for God. I know that if we would labour among the Indians we must forego the enjoyment of friends and home, and deny ourselves—take up the cross daily."

No responsive letter from the sober young student at Andover Seminary appears in the collection; but her own to him, January 20, 1837, bears witness that he shared her exaltation:

5. Jotham Meeker, missionary-printer, was born November 8, 1804, in Hamilton county, Ohio, and received his training as printer in Cincinnati. In the summer of 1825 he came under the influence of Robert Simerwell, a Baptist missionary to the Indians in Michigan, who was touring the East, and the two were associated at the Carey and Thomas stations in Michigan until 1833, when they both came to the Indian Territory. In September, 1830, Jotham Meeker married Eleanor Richardson, a missionary teacher, in Cincinnati, and the two immediately took up work at the Shawanoe Baptist Mission, leaving it in 1837 in charge of the Pratts. In 1832 he began a daily entry in his remarkable journal, which has survived him, and kept it up until a week before his death at Ottawa, Kan., January 12, 1855. Mrs. Meeker, whose life was devoted with his to the cause of missions, survived him until March 15, 1856. His system of "writing Indian" opened a new world to those in his charge, and he did much patient translating for them.

6. Robert Simerwell's association with missions, under Isaac McCoy, began in 1824, when Simerwell came to the Carey station, in Michigan. On March 17, 1825, he married Fannie Goodridge, a missionary teacher there. Simerwell was a practical blacksmith and farmer, and turned his hand cheerfully to these duties in the missionary field. He spent some time in the early 1830's at the Shawanoe Baptist Mission, but later devoted his time wholly to the Potawatamies, beginning at the mission five miles west of Topeka, in 1848. This is said to have been the equivalent of a modern training school. It is claimed the youngest daughter of the Simerwells was the first white girl born in Kansas. The family has several descendants in Shawnee county.

7. David B. Rollin and his wife were workers among the Creek Indians in 1834, and following some disturbances in that nation they came to the McCoy home in Westport, November 4, 1836. They spent some time at Shawanoe Mission, being there on the arrival of the Pratts in 1837. Rollin was then in failing health and left missionary work in 1839, dying at the home of his wife's father in Michigan, April 11, the same year.



"I rejoice in those feelings of devotion to [the] cause of God, which you express. I think much of our usefulness as well as happiness depends upon the state of feeling with which we enter upon this great work, and how very important [it is] that we should be entirely consecrated to the service of God. O how unworthy am I to engage in such a glorious work. How weak and insufficient am I in and of myself; but God is my helper."

In the meantime John G. Pratt had received a letter from Jotham Meeker, which he mentions in writing to Olivia Evans, January 31, 1837:

"He speaks of the resolution of the board to release him from his present field of labor on *our* arrival, with much feeling. 'We thanked God and took courage.' . . . We [the Pratts] are . . . confidently expected soon. . . . With all my courage the work looks big with importance, and full of momentous consequences. I feel sensibly we shall both of us need divine assistance in every step of this great undertaking. Sometimes temptations strong and trying may fall in our way. On account of them shall we abandon the cause? . . . I hope you remember me at the throne of grace, where alone our mutual hope of success is centered."

The letter concludes unemotionally, "Yours in truth."

Before Olivia answers this serious communication she has received a letter dated December 11, 1836, from Mary Walton Blanchard, wife of Ira D. Blanchard, both in charge of the Delaware Baptist Mission, which is particularly illuminative of the missionary situation at that time:

"I have just received an intimation . . . that it is possible that I may have you for a neighbor in the spring. I do not know as more cheering intelligence could be received than that there is a sure prospect of a printer for Shawennoe, not even that of a much-needed laborer at this [the Delaware] station, for it does seem altogether wrong that brother Meeker, after having spent six years of hard labor in acquiring a knowledge of the Ottawa language, should be kept from them [the Ottawa Indians] by work that another could just as well perform while there is probably no man upon earth that can, without spending *much* time in conquering an unwritten language, fill his place among a people with whom he can converse and over whom he has gained an influence. . . .

"I presume that you are expecting that it is at a distance from the abodes of civilized beings, that you must be deprived of all the conveniences and many of the comforts of life; but it is not so; it is but four miles to West Port, to which place steamboats commenced running last summer. When I came here, it was a dense harsh thicket with only two buildings on the site of the town, one of which was a P. O. I do not know the number of inhabitants it contains but there are at least four dry goods and grocery stores, any of which for a draft on the board are willing to put their goods at 30 per cent advance on their cost, which brings them to about St. Louis retail prices. The rooms that Mr. M[eeke]r occupies are a large one below and a small one (which was fitted up for the press but not being large enough for two to work in, it has



been moved to the schoolhouse) and a half-story chamber with a small fireplace. I mention these things more to gratify your mother than yourself, for I hope that no such consideration would move you in your purpose, but perhaps you would like to know what things you cannot obtain here. Among these are beds and cabinet furniture, except at an enormous price. We have all procured ours at Cincinnati, but iron and crockery ware are plenty almost all kinds of clothing will be more easily obtained than to take more than a present supply as I know by experience that trunks are a great care in traveling; one thing however is very scarce woolen yarn I know not what I should have done had not our Ohio friends supplied us, but the settlers, most of whom are from the South, are beginning to find that our winters are too cold for cotton or silk stockings, and are trying to raise sheep; our Indians talk of trying it, but wolves are too plenty, it will not however be so bad with you as it is here. We are 16 miles from Shawnee and the Kaw is  $\frac{1}{4}$  mile wide between us, and the ferriage for a single person 50 cents and for a wagon 2 dollars yet we are far better situated as to obtaining supplies than I had expected to be. I should think this the most healthy place I ever was acquainted with, this is a great thing for without health we cannot do much. There has been no regular school either here or among the Shawwenoes since I have been here but our's is to be commenced very soon. It seems as though little had been done here but what can one family do alone? Yet *something* has been accomplished; many have learned to read their own language and nearly half of the gospels' is ready for the press and the rest of it in a state of forwardness. . . . I feel anxious to see an English school commenced here; but I hardly see how it is to be kept up; it will be impossible for Sylvia or I to be much in school as you know that my health is not very good and I have a babe, and we shall have to cook dinners for all the children and ought to board at least three orphans children of deceased members of the church, who will otherwise be left without instruction as the relatives live at so great a distance that they cannot come daily; nor would it be satisfactory to the Indians at present for a female to teach as many who design to attend are young men. If Mr. B[lanckard] is confined to a school, who shall finish the translation of the gospel? Who shall visit from family to family as he *has* done? he will it is true have some time left for to devote to these subjects, but each seem to demand all his time. Oh, that some one of the hundreds of young men who have professed to give themselves to the Lord might feel it duty and be permitted to labor for the poor Delawares. If they are needed *more* in other places how great indeed must be the want of labourers! . . . I have an opportunity to send to the office this morning and think of nothing but shoes, which you perhaps would think of, I thought I took a good supply but now *have reason* to regret I did not take more, there are plenty to be had, but I will not say of what quality."

Under date of February 8, 1837, Olivia comments happily upon the letter:

"It is indeed gratifying to hear from one so near the field of our future labors."

And in a very feminine "P. S." she writes:

"The young ladies of the seminary . . . frequently say 'O, I wish I was going with you.' Yes, say[s] one yesterday, 'My soul exults for your happy fate thus to give all to Christ. Go. I would not wrest the privilege from you. And though Nature frowns and foes surround, yet it will be sweet to suffer for Christ.'"

From Reading, March 2, 1837, Olivia writes to John Pratt, still at Andover Seminary. For all its high courage and resolution there is an undercurrent of youthful heartache at the prospect of leaving her familiar surroundings:

"Having bid adieu to the loved ones at Charlestown I have returned to my *own dear* home. I felt that the dear friends in C. were bound to my heart by the strong ties of affection, but I knew not how strong till the hour of separation arrived. If the ties of nature are stronger than those of friendship, I know not how painful it will be to rend them. I will not however, be over-anxious about the parting hour. . . . Since my return, friends and home seem so dear that the wish to always stay with them has *sometimes* half intruded itself into my mind. But six hundred millions of precious souls are perishing . . . and shall I hesitate to leave friends and home, however dear, if I can in any way be instrumental to leading any to the knowledge of the truth? . . . The glory of God and the salvation of these poor perishing souls is infinitely more important than my own personal feelings . . . Christ . . . is entitled to my all, and He shall have it. . . . I cannot contemplate this great work upon which we are so *soon* to enter without emotions of deep concern and intense anxiety; its responsibilities cause me to tremble . . . it is arduous enough to task to the uttermost the noblest energies of man. . . . I have been told that it is indeed impracticable to go among those cruel and revengeful Indians who thirst for the blood of the white man—that it is an insalubrious clime that will surely deprive me of health and prevent my doing any good . . . that a mother's love is too dear to be sold for any other . . . 'yet none of these things move me, neither count I my life dear unto myself' . . . for this glorious object would I live, for this labor, and for this die."

A scant "P. S." only is devoted to personal matters: "He [father] will attend to the publishment of our intentions, if you desire it." (Probably the publishing of the old-time "banns.")

This is the last of the letters of the collection that passed between Olivia Evans and John G. Pratt. The diary of Jotham Meeker (May 11, 1837) speaks briefly of their advent at the Shawnee Mission: "Mr. and Mrs. Pratt arrive from Massachusetts."

The slip of a girl who, with the young printer-and-theological student had "left all for Christ," was yet to "learn to bear the disappointments and trials of life with patience," as she had written him, December 27, 1836, and to find among "the cruel and revengeful Indians" some of the warmest friends of her after life. She is



said to have been a most attractive young woman at the time of her marriage, red-cheeked, black-eyed and with her hair worn in ringlets, as was the fashion for many of the young women of that day.

A picture of her that has come down with the collection shows her as she became in her last years—the black eyes still sparkling, and with glints of the humor in them for which she is said to have been noted, though none of it appears in her letters. The hair that was worn in ringlets on her wedding day is softly white and parted in the middle, above a face that all the sorrows of the lean missionary years could not make less than lovely. For she had borne seven children, at the different missions, and four of them had died—little Ann, the first, and Johnny and Eddie, all in childhood; only Lucius, the second born, had lived to manhood. He married Nannie, the daughter of Charles Journeycake.

It was June 24, 1837, before John G. Pratt made an informal report to the society that had sent him west, as its missionary-printer. Under that date he writes to Dr. Lucius Bolles, corresponding secretary, describing a fairly uneventful journey, and then proceeds to affairs nearer at hand:

"We met with a very kind reception at the mission house from our friends, Messrs. Rollin, Meeker and their families. Though much disappointed at the appearance of things in this wilderness and benighted country, it is agreeably so. The location of the mission buildings is eligible; being a little removed from the immense Prairie, health must be retained much better than in the more marshy and timbered lands. I have found scarcely one object to meet the expectations I had previously formed, except the great moral destitution. We are located where the principles of the Gospel are much wanting; and it is truly painful to us to notice the stupidity of these 'sons of the forest,' in the reception of religious instruction. How was my heart pained the first Sabbath after we reached this place, to see so few attend religious exercises; four or five Indians, only, being present. Their inattention and disregard to the word preached was lamentable in the extreme. While in the room, instead of listening, they were diverting themselves with some object, which uniformly kept them engaged; and when that ceased to engage their curiosity, they would rise and walk out of doors a few minutes and then return; all their actions seemed to say—'We desire not a knowledge of his ways.' And though faithfully informed of the blessedness of religion, and the love of Christ, as manifested on the cross towards others; by actions they replied 'we will not have this man to reign over us.' We have previously felt for the condition of those without the Gospel, and destitute of its sanctifying influences, but when we now behold how degraded they are, and how unhappy in time and eternity they must be, we pity their case; we rejoice that God has directed our steps to this land of darkness, and pray that as those who love the blessed Saviour, we may shine as lights amid the surrounding midnight; that these poor souls wandering they know not where,



may be induced to embrace the same Saviour, and become heirs, also, of the kingdom of Heaven. We feel that there is here abundant opportunity to try the effect of example; and excellent situation to *live* religion and show by works that there is a reality in the doctrines we profess to believe and teach them.

"In many respects we are tried, but not discouraged, though so far from home and earthly friends, we feel to adhere the closer to our friend in heaven, who we find in truth 'sticketh closer than a brother.' Leaving, as we have done, at an early age the land that gave us birth, and the friends and other enjoyments we had ever been accustomed to hold dear, it may not seem strange to you that we often think, and speak of what we have left behind; it is hard to realize how great the distance is which separates us from *home*, but [we] feel happy in the reflection that we are no farther from heaven and our kind parent above. We never for a moment suffer ourselves to be carried away with reflections on our present condition in comparison with what it was in Massachusetts; though deprived of many enjoyments we then possessed, still Christ is ours, and in him all our wants are supplied, and every *needed* comfort is granted us from his liberal hand; so that while health and the prospect of usefulness are ours, we remain happy and content.

"Brother Meeker left on the 17th for the Ottawa settlement with his family; the man who moved them has just returned and says they arrived in health and spirits. The missionaries are generally in health except my wife, who has been feeble and billious ever since we arrived. We have had for several weeks past almost daily much rain, accompanied with heavy thunder; everything is so wet and decaying, fevers are much feared. Whenever the sun appears, it is so scorching as to be almost unendurable in the open air. My health has uniformly been good thus far.

"I have been so much engaged since my arrival in preparing to fill Bro. Meeker's place, it has kept me out of the printing office more than was desirable. There has for some time past, been much work in the office, so that a man employed by Mr. Meeker before my arrival, is still with me, assisting in printing Mr. McCoy's Register, which is nearly finished.

Yrs. JOHN G. PRATT."

This seems to be the letter proper; but there is some additional matter on the last page:

"We have found much difficulty in preparing to keep house since Mr. Meeker's departure, every article is exorbitantly high, both of furniture and food. So that of the money left after paying for our journey we have spent 50 dollars for the house. We have purchased but *few* articles with the above sum, as few as we could get along with, and have nearly exhausted our first half year's salary, still our want of necessary articles in the house is very great. Much is needed to be done both in the house and printing office, before the winter months set in, to make them comfortable. Mr. Meeker feeling unsettled as to his stay at Shawanoe, has neglected repairs; the buildings all being made of log and the space in between each log filled with nothing but mud, the mud has fallen out, leaving large cracks for the admission even of rabbits. We have already been thoroughly drenched while in bed at night several times, and it cannot be conducive to health, especially as slender as is

that of my wife. It should be fixed with lime mortar, and in regard to it I hope you will remark, before winter sets in. The following is the state of my money affairs with the Board:

Received for myself and wife before leaving Boston.....	\$115
Do. to defray expenses to this place.....	185
Do. of Mr. Smith in Cincinnati an addition of.....	50
	<hr/>
	\$350
Expense of the journey was .....	\$166
Paid for feathers at Louisville, Ky.....	29
For furniture and so forth at this place.....	50
	<hr/>
	\$245"

In an unsigned, undated letter, evidently written about the same time, and to Dr. Bolles, the young missionary speaks of the new field darkly, as "a land shadding with death."

"We are frequently compelled to lament that so little is or can be done for the religious advancement of these Indians. We sometimes think our usefulness might have been greater had we remained among friends at home, but we do not cherish such feelings; if God has sent us to this part of his vineyard and bid us occupy it, here we desire to remain until he in his wise providence shall make it plainly our duty to remove. We do not feel ourselves alone; Bro. Rollin and family are the kindest of friends; in their society and council we enjoy much. We look to them as our earthly guides in all matters of doubt, as those who have been over that part of the path of life which remains for us yet to travel.

"On the Sabbath, we as families, have resolved ourselves into a Bible class which we attend to after the public services are over. We feel happy in our situation, notwithstanding [we are] away from home and friends. The health of Mrs. Pratt has not been as good as formerly since our arrival; and so many persons frequently being with us considerably increases her labor. Many friends in Mass. have predicted we shall soon become unreconciled to our condition, because we were young, this has often been mentioned; but while Christ remains our hope; while we love him and his cause; while a field of usefulness remains open at this place we apprehend no disinclination to remain will be manifested by us."

There is an appealingly boyish anxiety in the "P. S.": "Will the magazine be sent to us?" Possibly this was some Baptist periodical.

A letter from the mother of John G. Pratt is a chronicle of the village happenings since the departure of the young missionaries, and voices a concern for their welfare:

"WOBBURN, [Mass.] July 31, 1837.

"MY DEAR SON—With deep feelings of emotion I now sit down to address an absent Child although Huge Mountains and deep valies separate us in person yet we have the privilege of communicating our thoughts on paper and convey them to each other but their is another and still greater—we can meet at a Throne of Grace and there ask those blessings wich will stand



in dayly need, in wich you share largely among your friends here. I cannot but rejoyce that you have been permitted to arive to your destined station without any accident after you left we heard of a great many Steamboat disasters wich caused me some anxiety but learning that most of them started on the Sabbath I was confident that you were not among them. . . . I will endeavor to give you an acount of the afares here as for myself I have a verry pleasant situation and find Woburn people friendly and inteligent . . . . Louisa is with me yet [a daughter] Harrison [possibly a son] is still in North Reading has had but little Business . . . . they have a son wich was born the 27 of May Olivia [Harrison's wife] got along verry comfortable for 2 weeks . . . . Harrison at her solicitation and without the consent of her Nurs prepared and gave her some Bacon wich distressed her verry much . . . . she went into fits and continued to have them for 24 hours . . . . and did not sleep all that time continually talking upon every subject except religion she would repeatedly say John [G. Pratt] is Married is he not well I did not go to his wedding at other times she would say I did not have any of his Cake. she has since been to W[oburn] and appears very much herself they have a fine little boy they think of nameing John Gill or John Harrison I suppose you will have no objection. . . . Wee attended meeting yesterday Saw George Evans [brother of Olivia Evans Pratt and a strong Abolitionist] he came to W[oburn] to attend an Antislavery Lecture by W[endell] Philps . . . . he said he had not received a letter from Olivia he said he suposed you had not got your lugage yet was one reason . . . . as neare as I can learn Olivia's mother did not break her heart about her [Olivia] leaving . . . . Brother Silas Richardson he called to see me the other day says that the Printing Business is very dull. Mr. Gould has dismissed most of his printers . . . . Mr. Clough has no painting . . . . he has ben to Boston to seek imployment but could find none . . . . Capn. West has failed and Esq. Funnall [?] Posted down to Martha's Vinyard to atach his property but it was all out of his power to find anything . . . . W. O. Johnson your late teacher and principal of the Lattin Academy is no more. . . . Caleb Shute has resigned the office in the Sabbath School Depository and ben out of Business for 3 months . . . . I do not know any one that does not Complain of the times Business of all kinds is stagnated Many that were rich have become poor and those that were poor have become distressed it verryly [is] serious times here in a Pecuniary point you are better off[] where you are . . . . I have ben thus particular because you wanted to know all the particulars now I want you in return to tell me all the particulars and wheather you have got cured of the dispepsia and how Olivia's health is I feel sometimes that you were to young to go so far to labour among the Indians wich are so savage and a climate so uncongenial? I then ask myself the question was it an uncalled for Sacrifice . . . . I have lived nearly 60 years in the pleasantest part of our Country, but have found it thus far but a vaste howling wilderness and a desart to the aspiring mind wich believes nothin true but Heaven

"Yesterday we attended the ordination of Mr. Hoper and there I saw your Father and Mother Evans from them I received a letter to read from Olivia to Emily Mr. E[ans] said . . . . he was verry anxious about you on



account of your leakey house he said he should see the board and have Something done . . .

"I will now give you some information concerning our ministering brethren. Mr. Sayer of South Reading has ben found guilty of kissing his maidservant . . . it took place some time since but of late the Editor of the Trumpit was applied to to publish it he desirous to know the fact aplyed to Sayer to know the truth of the story he acknowledged it but remarked that it was more disgraceful than wicked it was not published but the story is going the rounds amonh the Universalists the Church However has settled it with him and forgiven . . . Another case is that of Mr. Harris of Malden he has come out a Universalist and publickly acknowledged it before his Congregation and the consequence was that his people dismissed him he has got up quite a flowerishing high Scol in M[alden] has contracted for a valuable Apperatus for the use of it he has also applied to several young ladies to become his Wife but has hitherto ben unsuccessful . . . Amasa [Brown, her son-in-law] is here he thinks much of you and prays fervantly for you. Louisa [Brown's wife] says she often imagines herself where you are and looks in to see what you are doing your Aunt Otterman wishes to be remembered to you with her best wishes and kind regards she thinks much of you Aunt Shute and family visited me this summer they tender the same love give my best love to Olivia and tell her to rite me verry soon I hope you will be suported under your various hardships and tryals to this end you must look to God he a lone is able to give you strength eequal to your day to him I commend you  
ELIZABETH PRATT to John G. Pratt."

The faint warning of the struggle to come a quarter of a century later, in the reference to Wendell Phillips' antislavery lecture, deepens in tone in the letters from George Evans himself, several years later. But on the whole the New England correspondents were more concerned with the Indian perils to which their young family in the new territory were subjected. Elizabeth Pratt's letters, in their fidelity to homely detail, must have somewhat appeased the human hunger for home news; and for all their rather bleakly maternal note the "deep feelings of emotion" are there.

A calamitous strain runs through much of the eastern news, reflecting an economic depression similar to that of our own times. An undated letter with those of 1837, from Catherine Wellington, contains the intelligence that—

"L. Wyman of Woburn has faild and commenced bisness again at Hudson faild again and tryed to hang himself B. Brooks in company with Darius has taken the bankruptcy law and now they are looking him up, so you see we all have a share."

Another letter of this period, undated and signed only "M. L. L.," swings away from the religious line a bit in confessing:

"I suppose that some time hence I may leave the home of my youth and cast my lot with another, but do you keep this hint & not let any one know

that ever I gave it to you. that person is a relative although a distant one, a person that you never saw, my friends like him. there may be something to prevent on further acquaintance, but I hope my heavenly father will direct me."

There is a marginal note: "Burn this." O faithless Olivia!

Another letter from young Pratt to Dr. Bolles, September 22, 1837, complains of receiving no word from the Society to which he was responsible, and contains the news that Mrs. Pratt "has been very sick for some weeks past."

"The disease appears to have been brought on" he writes "by the change of climate and working beyond her strength. . . . The labor is too severe for her feeble constitution and help is not easily obtained 'in these ends of the earth.'"

Again the appealing postscript: "Can we have the magazine?"

Before Dr. Bolles has answered this, the third of John G. Pratt's letters to him, in the collection, comes one to his "Beloved Children" from Amos Evans, under date, Reading, October 23, 1837:

"We have heard some thing respecting the hostile appearance of the Osage Indians" the anxious father says. "We hope & pray that the Lord will preserve you from all harm & restore your health that you may labor for him. But we ask, if the Indians appear quarrelsome & have lost confidence in the whites & are not disposed to receive the truth from you or hear your words, does not prudence & duty require you to leave them? We know God *can* preserve us amid the greatest dangers, but can there be any confidence placed in the specious appearance of friendship of the Indians, when their jealousies are aroused against our people? . . . Dr. Bolles read your letter sent to us, & said that he did not believe it was required that you do so much for other missionaries, to labour excessively & destroy your health, or to continue there for any considerable time if it is evident you cannot enjoy health in that climate . . . We hope your house will be made comfortable should you be directed in the providence of God, & spared to labour there . . . Mr. Pratt's mother & brother have recently called on us . . . We all exchange letters which are sent from you . . .

"Business is dull with us, we think the labouring class of the community anticipate a harder winter than we have been wont to see. We live in an extravagant world, & at an extravagant age; and we must now learn by experience that we do not really need (as you have expressed it in your letter) so much as we have been in the habit of thinking. And now as to the little church, you requested me to write all about it. As to our outward circumstances the state of business is such that I think we shall not be able at present to pay the Debt on the M[eeting] house, the notes on those pews which were just sold are now due, & altho 20 per cent was paid at the sale yet some say they had rather give up their pews than to be compelled to pay the remainder at this time; for notwithstanding the scarcity of money & the want of employment every article of food bears a high price. Yet we are waiting for brighter prospects, & would not repine under these adverse providences, but pray that they may all work for our good. . . .



"I feel I am not half awake, & that I do not feel a hundredth part as I ought upon the subject [of religion.] I sometimes think I wish to feel so as to prevent my usual repose, that I may offer up my supplications with strong crying & tears to him who is able & willing to answer the prayer of faith. But Alas, it is too often otherwise with me."

On the same sheet, George Evans, Olivia's brother, wrote:

"In one of Olivia's letters she mentioned about Amos [another brother] and me thinking of the West . . . This emigrating is not what it is cracked up to be. I have seen a great many from there who do not give very favorable accounts of the country and the people."

It is in his short letter, too, that "little Rosetta," a younger sister, makes her first appearance:

"She says she should like to slip her hand into a large pan of red plums and I don't doubt it."

On November 20, 1837, Dr. Bolles, of Boston, writes the long-looked-for letter:

"MY DEAR BROTHER—We are concerned to hear of the sickness of your amiable companion & hope you will take measures without delay to afford her some relief. If no faithful assistant can be obtained for her for a time, she must decline *serving others* than her own family, as I perceive from her letters to the friends in Reading, she has accustomed herself to do. Strangers have no claim to crowd themselves on your hospitality, when your wife is actually too feeble to serve them, nor shd. you hesitate under such circumstances to excuse her, & request them to seek accommodations elsewhere. The *house* which you occupy must be made tight & comfortable, & we wish, if it has not been done, that you will take immediate measures to make it so, when this reaches you. You will exercise a sound discretion as to the amount of repairs, & see that they are obtained on the best terms & report the same to us. For the expense so incurred, presuming it will not be large, you will be at liberty to draw on our Treasurer."

It must have warmed the hearts and cheered the failing spirits of the youthful missionaries, so recently transplanted from New England soil, to know that the Society in Boston was really concerned for their earthly as well as their spiritual welfare. Anxiety over the health of Olivia Pratt spread through both families in the East, as well as to their friends, and occasioned much perplexity as to what Divine Providence expected of its young emissaries under the trying circumstances. That they were both homesick to the genuine impairment of their health, is apparent. The eastern contingent of the blood might advise and caution, as they assuredly did in their letters, but seldom was anything that might be construed as a command to return ever given. The New England Baptist did not trifle with the Higher Will, nor question it too rigidly. In spite of the



very natural forebodings of Olivia's mother and father, and the mother of John G. Pratt, there seems to have been a feeling among them all that the very finger of God was pointing to the west, and that His hand was overshadowing His bewildered children in "that Western Valley" where young, untried Olivia Evans (while still in the shelter of Charlestown Seminary) had expressed herself as willing to "labor" and if necessary, "to die."

But she lived to see much of it "the cultivated garden of the Lord" under the ministrations of John G. Pratt and herself, though not until they had both found in a welter of hardships and disappointments—and in times of stress when the Society in Boston seemingly had failed them—that "there is no discharge in that war."

"Our prayer is," Elizabeth Pratt once wrote to her much-trying son (Nov. 22, 1837), "that you may come out of the furnace as gold tried in the fire."

They could hardly have done that had it not been for the wholesome cheer of the home letters, burdened though they are, for the most part, with deep religious solemnity in contemplating the ultimate salvation, not only of the western savages but of themselves. The quaint expression, "indulging a hope," occurs in almost every letter, even in an undated and unsigned one: "Sarah Williams has lately spoke of a hope."

The friendly, heart-warming gossip of Elizabeth Pratt's letters is conscientiously toned down before their close. On November 22, 1837, she writes:

"Joseph Shute has returned and appears . . . much improved in his manners at least. I should think he had returned from an Academy instead of a man of Wars vessel. he bids fair to make a stidley man Ebens wife has become pios and James wife also I hope their Husbands will soon follow their example . . . I need tryals and the Lord knows how to try me."

There are but two letters from Catherine Evans, the mother of Olivia, one a scant half page to "Ever Remembered Olivia," under date April 16, 1838, after the arrival at Shawanoe Baptist Mission of little Ann Eliza Pratt, to whom brief reference is made: "Rosett says you must kiss Ann for she and Jonas."

But some years later, from the pen of the same young Rosett (February 13, 1841), we have an appealing picture of the mother:

"She says . . . I must write for her . . . She cannot tell you how much she wants to see you all. when she thinks of you for awhile the great big tears would roll down her cheeks . . . she hopes she shall see Ann before she grows so large she shall not know her she has got the little chair all painted up green ready for her when she comes."

From Catherine Evans herself, in the second letter (September 14, 1843):

"Do write very soon. I feel as if I could not wait one day longer. How I long to see them little children [Ann and Lucius] do kiss them for me. Tell Ann she cant tell how much I do want to see her and ask her if she thinks she shall ever see me again."

The sweet and shadowy figures of the two children, especially little Ann, run in and out of the letters; but sometime before 1848 she fades from the picture; but not until she had made one or two visits to the East with her parents, since on March 4, 1844, from Reading, Mary Evans, the sister of Olivia, writes:

"It seems but yesterday that I saw Ann in grandma's garden picking posies to carry to meeting."

There is nothing in the letters more poignant than the picture that simple sentence draws, unless it is of a contented little Ann sitting by the loving-hearted Catherine Evans, in the little green-painted chair.

It is to be regretted that there are so few letters in the collection from John G. Pratt himself, and none from Olivia Pratt after her marriage. There are scores of letters from the East; human, wholesome, intelligent, for all the depressing character of their somberly religious content. They are valuable as well for the faithful delineation of the sturdy life of New England in that period, from which so much of the actual life of Kansas was drawn; and which, in its hard idealism, was no doubt the mainspring of the fanatical puritanism of which Kansas stands accused at times. There is *prima facie* evidence that the letters did much to keep alive two valiant young souls who had chosen the Indian service as their portion until the hardy faith of the early Baptists, somewhat modified of its primitive sternness, had taken unmistakable root in the Missouri valley. The Baptist church in Kansas was founded on a rock, no less that of Israel because human hands in New England helped in the laying of it.

# Surveying the Southern Boundary Line of Kansas

From the Private Journal of Col. Joseph E. Johnston

Edited by NYLE H. MILLER

## I. INTRODUCTION.

ON March 25, 1856, nearly two years after Kansas was organized as a territory under provisions of the Kansas-Nebraska act, May 30, 1854, a bill was introduced in congress by John S. Phelps, representative from Missouri, to provide for the survey of the southern boundary line of the territory.<sup>1</sup> The boundaries of the territory after its organization were described as follows:

"Beginning at a point on the western boundary of the state of Missouri, where the thirty-seventh parallel of north latitude crosses the same (about thirty miles north of the southwest corner of Missouri, or 36° 30' parallel of north latitude); thence west on said parallel to the eastern boundary of New Mexico; thence north on said boundary to latitude thirty-eight; thence following said boundary westward to the east boundary of the territory of Utah, on the summit of the Rocky Mountains; thence northward on said summit to the fortieth parallel of latitude; thence east on said parallel to the western boundary of the state of Missouri; thence south with the western boundary of said state (being a meridian line passing through the middle of the mouth of the Kansas river) to the place of beginning."<sup>2</sup>

Until January, 1854, the parallel 36° 30' was the proposed southern boundary of the new territory. This was to enable the territorial government to control the Santa Fe trail.<sup>3</sup> The significance of the line 36° 30' in the Missouri compromise also might explain its use in tentative bills for territorial organization drawn up previous to that date; the proposed repeal of the Missouri compromise did away with this significance.<sup>4</sup> A map of Kansas and Nebraska, indorsed August 5, 1854, by George W. Manypenny, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, shows the thirty-seventh parallel as the dividing line between the Osage and Cherokee reservations.<sup>5</sup> This and similar mappings of the territory may have influenced Senator Stephen A.

1. *House Journal*, 34th Cong., 1st and 2d sess., part 1, s. n. 338, p. 719.

2. Martin, Geo. W., "The Boundary Lines of Kansas," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 11, p. 55. See, also, Kansas-Nebraska bill, 10 *U. S. Stat. L.*, pp. 283-284.

3. Hall, Willard P., February 10, 1853. *Congressional Globe*, 32d Cong., 2d sess., p. 560.

4. Gittinger, Roy, "Separation of Nebraska and Kansas From the Indian Territory," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, v. 1, p. 28.

5. The compiler erred. Corrected maps show the division 3 miles north of the thirty-seventh parallel.



Douglas to establish the thirty-seventh parallel in section nineteen of the Kansas-Nebraska bill as the southern boundary of Kansas.<sup>6</sup>

Indian tribes located within the limits or jurisdiction of the territory were expressly "excepted out of the boundaries," in the provisions of the act, and were in no way to become a part of the territory of Kansas until such tribes signified their assent to the President of the United States to be included within said territory.<sup>7</sup> A similar "exception" clause was contained in the act of January 29, 1861, admitting Kansas as a state.<sup>8</sup> Thus, the thirty-seventh parallel did not become the effective southern boundary of Kansas until the treaty of February 23, 1867, when the Quapaws, last of the tribes to conform, ceded all their right, title and claim to land in Kansas.<sup>9</sup> The Cherokee Nation, another principal Kansas land-owning tribe, relinquished its title by the treaty of July 19, 1866, ratified and confirmed by the act approved July 31, 1866.<sup>10</sup>

Surveying of the ultimate boundary line was not to be delayed until such Indian claims had been quieted, however, for the house referred the bill providing for the survey of the southern boundary of Kansas (34th Cong., 1st sess., H. R. 197) as introduced by Mr. Phelps, to its committee on territories. The bill was returned with an amendment in the nature of a substitute therefor which was passed by the house June 23, 1856.<sup>11</sup> Seven days later the senate concurred,<sup>12</sup> and the act as approved on July 8 became law:

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the President of the United States is hereby authorized and directed to cause the southern boundary line of the territory of Kansas, between the state of Missouri and the territory of New Mexico, to be surveyed and distinctly marked, and a plat of said survey shall be deposited in the office of the Secretary of the Interior, and another plat of said survey shall be deposited in the office of the secretary of the territory of Kansas."<sup>13</sup>

A supplementary act making an appropriation of \$35,400 for the work was approved August 18, 1856.<sup>14</sup>

The *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Leavenworth, on April 25, 1857, printed notices of military movements for the spring and summer. Among these was the announcement that Lieut.-Col. Joseph E.

6. 10 U. S. Stat. L., p. 283.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 284.

8. 12 U. S. Stat. L., p. 127.

9. 15 U. S. Stat. L., Treat. 3, p. 30.

10. 14 U. S. Stat. L., Treat. 8, pp. 120-121.

11. *House Journal*, 34th Cong., 1st and 2d sess., part 2, s. n. 839, p. 1100.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 1132.

13. 11 U. S. Stat. L., p. 27.

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 139-140.

Johnston,<sup>15</sup> First cavalry, with four companies of that regiment and two companies of the Sixth infantry, was to proceed early in May upon duty connected with the survey of the southern boundary of Kansas.

On May 2 the *Herald* reported that extremely cold weather assured but little grass for two or three weeks and the expedition might be delayed as a result. Colonel Johnston had been in St. Louis, April 25, on business relating to the survey. He was to return to Fort Leavenworth and conduct the troops to the starting point on the Missouri line at the thirty-seventh parallel, there to be met by J. H. Clarke and Hugh Campbell, astronomers, and J. E. Weyss, surveyor, with their party.

Colonel Johnston kept a day-by-day account of this survey, covering the period from May 16, when the expedition left Leavenworth, to October 29, 1857, when he encamped on Spring river below Cherokee county, Kansas, on his return. The journal was penciled in an account book, 8 x 14 inches, and is a part of the Johnston collection donated to the library of the College of William and Mary in Virginia by Hon. Robert M. Hughes, a nephew of Joseph Johnston. Through the courtesy of Dr. E. G. Swem, college librarian, the journal is here reproduced exactly as written except for the employment of punctuation marks and capitalization for clarity.

A plat of the survey, in seven sections, is a part of the Kansas State Historical Society's map collection. It was an 1878 accession from former-governor James M. Harvey and assisted materially in the preparation of notes for the journal. Presumably it is the copy provided the office of the secretary of the territory in compliance with the act of congress relative to the survey. The trail of the wagon train as it meandered about the thirty-seventh parallel to the New Mexican boundary line and as it returned through the confines of present-day Oklahoma is clearly shown.

The supply train which was due on the Santa Fe trail August 31, near the end of the line, was delayed, and part of the command was dispatched nearly 80 miles toward Fort Leavenworth to meet it.<sup>16</sup>

15. Joseph Eccleston Johnston was born at Cherry Grove, Va., February 3, 1807. He was graduated at West Point on July 1, 1829. Following the customary advancements for meritorious service, he attained the rank of lieutenant-colonel of the First cavalry March 3, 1855, and was in command of the surveying party sent to mark the southern boundary of Kansas in 1857. On June 28, 1860, he was made quartermaster general of the army with the rank of brigadier general, but resigned April 22, 1861, after Virginia seceded. He was then made major general of Virginia volunteers and later full general in the Confederate service. He died on March 21, 1891, in Washington, D. C.

16. Letter from the Secretary of War, house of representatives, 35th Cong., 1st sess., *Ex. Docs.*, No. 103.



A report from friendly Kiowas that a large band of Cheyennes was in the vicinity sent the troops scouring the countryside while the surveyors were completing their work, but the search was futile.

Final calculations on the line were made September 10. The corner stone was established on that date near the source of Willow creek, a small tributary of the Cimarron river. Total distance from the Missouri border was 462 miles, 1,001 feet.<sup>17</sup>

The homeward march was begun September 20. A copy of a letter from Colonel Johnston to the adjutant general, June 5, indicated that the party would return via Crawford's Seminary.<sup>18</sup> Receipt of a communication September 8 from John B. Floyd, Secretary of War, dated May 5, 1857, directed Colonel Johnston to ascertain the most practicable route for a railroad from the initial point of the boundary to the Rio Grande.<sup>19</sup> The tardy delivery of the message prohibited a thorough exploration of the terrain, but, obviously as a result of this order, Colonel Johnston split the caravan when it reached the juncture of Buffalo creek with the Cimarron river in order that the two divisions might examine more territory on their return. Captain Wood was instructed to lead the wagon train back to the Missouri line. Colonel Johnston, with a cavalry company, turned south to the bend of the Canadian river near the ninety-ninth meridian, before again resuming the northeasterly trek to the southeast corner of Kansas.

## II. ENTRIES FROM THE JOURNAL: MAY 16 TO OCTOBER 29, 1857.

May 16th. Left Fort Leavenworth about 11 o. c. A. M. with two companies 6th Infy (E & K—Capt. Garnett; Lieut. Smith & McLemore)<sup>20</sup> & two squadrons 1st cavalry, with two-fifths of six-months provision. Cavalry officers: Capts. Wood, De Saussure, &

17. Methvin, J. J., "The Fly Leaf," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, v. 6, pp. 348-349.

18. The letter, Johnston to Samuel Cooper, was copied on a flyleaf of the journal, now in possession of the College of William and Mary library. Crawford Seminary, a Quapaw mission school of the M. E. Church, South, was established in the Quapaw Nation, March 27, 1843, and was named for T. H. Crawford, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1832-1845. About April, 1848, it was moved to a new site about five miles north, near and east of the present Baxter Springs, close to the north line of the Quapaw lands. This new site was on the military road from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Gibson, about five miles west of the Missouri line, and was the most southern post office on the government mail route in the territory from 1848 to 1863. See Mrs. Frank C. Montgomery's list of "Dead Towns of Kansas," *Kansas State Historical Society*. (Not published.)

19. House of representatives, 35th Cong., 1st sess., *Ex. Docs.*, No. 103.

20. Infantry officers were: Capt. Richard Brooke Garnett, who became a brigadier general, C. S. A., and was killed July 3, 1863, at the battle of Gettysburg; Lieut. Benjamin Franklin Smith, who was made a brigadier general of volunteers in the Union army, and Lieut. Owen Kenan McLemore, who went into the Confederate army as a lieutenant colonel, and died from wounds, September 14, 1862. Heitman, Francis B., *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army*, v. 1.



Anderson; Lieuts. Bell, Otis, Thompson, Ingraham & Taylor.<sup>21</sup> 1,000 bushels of corn had been sent forward 200 miles by Capt. Beall.<sup>22</sup> Forage for 12 days accompanied the party. Three Delaware guides were employed: Jim Connor, Benjamin Love & George Washington (the last name probably selected by the bearer). The 1st encampment was on 9 Mile creek.

May 17th. Marched at 7 o. c. The Comy train which had started on the 15th & the two companies of Infy with their wagons were sent to the Delaware Crossing.<sup>23</sup> The rest of the party went to Tola's ferry. Companies F & K with the prairie guns, crossed. So did the Infantry at the lower ferry.

May 18th. Companies C & I crossed, the latter at the lower ferry, & joined the other four near the Baptist church on the California road,<sup>24</sup> where we waited for the Comy & forage wagons which came up about 9 A. M.

May 19th. The whole party encamped on Indian creek, where Dr. Wright joined it, about 13 miles from the ferries.

May 20th. Passed Little Santa Fee,<sup>25</sup> about 2 miles from Camp. 4 miles further a branch of the Big Blue. A mile further the Big Blue. Four M. further wood & water on the left. Four further crossed the head of Grand river.<sup>26</sup> Encamped 2½ M. further on a small branch, at the upper timber.

May 21st. March at 6h 45m. Crossed a small stream at 7h 45m & at noon reached Sugar creek<sup>27</sup> & encamped.

May 22d. Misled by the guides through West point Mo.<sup>28</sup> 5 M. from camp. A mile from it, passed into the valley of the Marais des Cygnes, crossing several of its small branches. Troublesome.

21. Captains of the cavalry were: Thomas John Wood, who remained in the Union army and retired with the rank of brigadier general; William Davie De Saussure, who joined the Confederate army as a colonel, and was killed July 2, 1863, at Gettysburg, and George Thomas Anderson, who became a Confederate brigadier general. Lieutenants of the cavalry were: David Bell, who died December 2, 1860; Elmer Otis, who became a colonel, U. S. A.; John A. Thompson, who followed the same flag to attain the rank of major; Edward Ingraham, who became a Confederate captain; and Joseph Hancock Taylor, who reached the rank of a colonel, U. S. A. *Ibid.*

22. Capt. William N. R. Beall joined the Confederate army and reached the rank of a brigadier general. *Ibid.*, p. 203.

23. Delaware crossing was at the mouth of Delaware creek, about seven miles west of the Missouri border on the Kansas river. The stream is now known as Mill creek, Wyandotte township, Wyandotte county.

24. The Baptist church was located about three miles west of the Missouri border, and about the same distance south of the Kansas river, on a trail leading from Westport, Mo., to California.

25. Little Santa Fee or New Santa Fe is near the state line in Jackson county, Missouri.

26. Grand river rises in northeastern Miami county and is a tributary of the Osage river.

27. Sugar creek has its source in the east central part of Miami county and flows south, emptying into the Marais des Cygnes river in Linn county.

28. West Point, Mo., was about three miles east of the old Fort Leavenworth-Fort Scott-Fort Gibson military road, a trail followed by the caravan for a considerable distance. The old town site was north of the present city of Merwin, Bates county, Missouri.

Crossed the stream (at the lower crossing) & encamped about a mile from the ford at noon, on a small tributary. Twenty-five Comy wagons remained on the N. side.

May 23d. A fatigue party deployed until 7h 30m in assisting the wagons which had encamped on the N. side, in crossing. Marched at 8h. Crossed in  $1\frac{1}{2}$  mile, a bold little stream.  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles further a creek in timber & a small tributary on the S. At 10 on summit of "divide." At 12 crossed (in timber) a branch of the Osage. In three miles the little Osage.<sup>29</sup> Encamped a mile from it, on a little branch.

May 24th. Marched at 7 A. M. At 8h 5' halted at a little prairie stream (or rather succession of pools) to water. In motion again at 8h 30'. Crossed the Marmaton<sup>30</sup> at 9h 50'. Fort Scott at 10h. Encamped at 11h 30' on a small creek which looks as if it might be dry in summer. Heavy rain in the afternoon & evening. Coal found in the bank of the creek.

May 25th. On account of rain of yesterday, started at 10. At eleven crossed a stream with wood on its banks. At 11h 40' crossed the big Dry Wood. Stream rising rapidly, so that only 3 or 4 of the Compy wagons were able to cross. Encamped on a bold stream 3 miles further, to "wait for the wagons."

May 26th. Moved at 9h 10'. Road parallel to the stream two miles. At four, about a thousand yards from it. At 11h watered at a prairie stream. A patch of timber a half M. below (east). In motion again at 11h 35'. At 1h halted to encamp on a creek in which the water lay in deep pools. No wood. Timber visible about two miles to S. W. Coal visible in the channel of the creek.

May 27th. Marched at 7h 10'. In a half hour opposite to the wood mentioned yesterday & about a mile from it. The wood of another creek almost parallel to the road from this point. At 8h 20' halted to water at such a creek as that at the last encampment. At 8h 45' in motion. At 10h 50' at Cow creek. At 12h 45' reached & encamped on a wet-weather stream with abundance of wood. Coal in its bed also. Rain before night.

May 28th. Waited until 9h 10' to let tents & the surface of the ground dry. At 10h 30' the party left the Mil. Road to avoid spring river. I followed that road. Crossed the river at the mouth of Shoal creek, at 11h 45'. At 1h 15' passed the Agency, once Crawford Seminary, & in an hour's ride up "five miles creek," reached Mr.

29. The Little Osage river, flowing eastward through northern Bourbon county.

30. Marmaton river.



Clark's Camp. Found his position established (in lat.) by satisfactory observations. Extreme difference between means of the results of each of three nights being 0" 18. Found the party encamped on a creek a half mile N. of Baxter's,<sup>31</sup> the 2d below the road. Coal abundant in the neighborhood. A strong Calybeate spring<sup>32</sup> at Baxter's (or rather two near each other), each rising in the vertex of an obtuse cone of red mud.

May 29th. Moved to the edge of the wood opps to the ford near Baxter's. Mr. Clark fixed his meridian, about 150 ft. W. of the Missouri line. Gave it to Mr. Weyssse on

May 30th. Mr. Weyssse commenced work on the line. Marked the initial point 5,770 ft. north of Mr. Clark's observation. The Missouri line is marked by blazing trees on a breadth of from ten to twenty feet, so that we had no mode of fixing the initial point accurately with reference to it.

May 31st. Mr. Weyssse commenced running & marking the Kansas line. The wood being thick & the ground broken, his progress was slow. About a mile & one monument.

June 1st. Moved the camp about a mile S. Mr. Clark established his observatory by it (N). Mr. Weyssse at work on the line. Mr. Kennerly<sup>33</sup> moved his camp to within about a mile of "the Agency" on five mile creek.

June 2d, 3d, 4th & 5th. Mr. Clark established another astronomical point<sup>34</sup> & Mr. Weyssse reached the prairie W. of Spring river & connected his work with it & measured 1½ miles beyond.

June 6th. Heavy rain in the morning. Mr. Clark moved his observatory to the W. side of the Neosho. Troops moved about 7½ miles to Tar creek,<sup>35</sup> to which the line was measured.

June 7th. The troops encamped on Russell's Ck<sup>36</sup> about 4 miles from the ford of the Neosho near Mr. Clark. Mr. Weyssse crossed Four Miles creek, on which Mr. Kennerly made his camp.

31. Home of A. Baxter, a squatter, and a Universalist missionary. His claim, lying along Spring river in Cherokee county on the military road, was a favorite camping place for travelers. Later, the townsite of Baxter Springs was located here. See *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 7, p. 245, and Allison, N. T., *History of Cherokee County*, pp. 35, 152. A correspondent of the *Missouri Democrat*, quoted in the *Lawrence Herald of Freedom*, June 27, wrote of the assembling party as follows: "The surveyors are already on the ground and prepared for running the southern boundary line; their duties to commence about first proximo, and continue during the season. Surveyors, commissioners, dragoons—more than one hundred wagons with their teamsters—a thousand horses and mules! Such are a few of the requirements for running the line of the state. . . ."

32. Chalybeate springs—impregnated with salts of iron.

33. Mr. Kennerly probably heads the wagon train.

34. Astronomical station was located about ½ mile south of Baxter Springs.

35. Camp was established one mile south of line on Tar creek, nearly midway between the Neosho and Spring rivers.

36. This stream runs nearly parallel to the line (in Oklahoma) and empties into the Neosho river 1½ miles from the boundary.



June 8th. The cavalry started at 10 A. M. for Camp Snow<sup>37</sup> twenty miles W. where we have 800 bushels of corn. Mr. Weyssse reached the Neosho too late, when it was rising rapidly and no longer fordable. Rained all night.

June 9th. River still rising. Another rain at night.

June 10th. Mr. Weyssse's surveying party crossed the river in a canoe. Ran the line about  $\frac{3}{4}$  mile in the bottom. On the 11th, reached Mr. Clark's station. On the 12th, Mr. C. gave the Meridian & the new tangent was established. The river falling, but not fordable.<sup>38</sup>

June 13th. Mr. Clark went to (started) the west side of the Verdigris. Neosho not fordable. Two fords above examined, near Roger's & Magee's. Said to be shallower than the lower one.

June 14th. McMaster employed to guide Mr. Kennerly to Magee's ford. Reached the camp so late that the wagon couldn't get nearer to the ford than a mile. Mr. Weyssse's party crossed in the canoe in the afternoon & worked two or three hours.

June 15th. Mr. Kennerly crossed the river during the forenoon (including cutting a road) & went about 7 miles. Encamped in the prairie on a rain-water stream. Capt. Garnett moved to the same ground. Mr. Weyssse made about 6 miles on the line, passing the 30th [mile]. The line marked this side of the Neosho, with a mound (conical) at the end of every mile; a stake in the center with the distance marked on its east face, & the letter K on the north. The mounds two feet high, except every sixth, which is four. The line to-day parallel to Russell's creek & from half to three quarters of a mile from it. The country gently undulating & soil rich black loam, limestone showing itself occasionally. Wood showing itself two or

37. On Snow Camp creek, which crosses the border four miles east of the Verdigris river.

38. A letter from the Neosho river, dated June 11, was published in the *Lawrence Herald of Freedom*, July 11. It was signed by "Camanche," a member of the expedition, and is herewith quoted in part: "This morning four companies of cavalry and one of infantry struck tents and, together with seventy-five wagons laden with supplies, took up their line of march westward across the prairie toward the Verdigris river, thirty miles distant, where they will again encamp until they shall be joined by those in the rear. The services of the military portion of the expedition being wholly unneeded at this early stage of the route, they are enabled to make more rapid progress than the scientific corps and those in immediate attendance thereon.

"Messrs. Clark and Campbell, who have charge of the astronomical calculations, are now encamped on the western bank of the river, near the mouth of Russell's creek, where they must, of course, remain until an observation can be had. Yesterday the surveyors struck the eastern shore, near the mouth of Fly creek, where they are detained by reason of high water, the Neosho having been swollen by recent heavy rains. Every twenty-four hours we are favored with one or more heavy storms of wind and rain accompanied by thunder and lightning; and at this writing, the Neosho is rising and rolling rapidly. At this point, owing to a sudden bend in the river, the line will run for a distance of three miles, directly through the heavily timbered bottom, which being now covered by water, is impassable; therefore a detention of several days must be endured. And here the great thoroughfare from the vast lead region and Grand Falls in S. W. Missouri, which has been greatly improved by the passage of this expedition along the route, crosses the Neosho, whence a good carriage road has been opened along the southern boundary to its western extremity. . . ."

three miles to the S. E. on the crest of a ridge beyond the creek. The wood of the creek terminates opposite to the camp. Heavy rain in the afternoon & night.

June 16th. Mr. Weyssse made near 7 miles stopping on the "divide" between 12 Miles creek & an affluent of the Verdigris, the latter running to the S. W. in a broad & beautiful valley, the Western side of which is abrupt; wood scattered through it. The surface of the country like that passed over yesterday. A 2d wood visible to the S. E. of that seen from the last camp. Found Mr. Kennerly & the two companies encamped on 12 Miles Ck near the road. The 37th mile passed.

June 17th. The ground more broken than yesterday. After crossing the valley mentioned yesterday, the line follows the "divide" between a branch of that valley & Su-ka-tunk [Turkey creek]. The camp was fixed by Capt. G. near (about a half mile above) Camp Snow. Parallel to this creek (the portion below Camp Snow) is another, some 3 miles to the N. W. The wood skirting it visible from its mouth to a point nearly N. of Camp Snow, from a hill W. of the latter. Its Osage name is Watunk a kashink (Pumpkin creek). The 44th mile was marked. The line passes near two miles S of Camp Snow. The soil passed over rich like that of yesterday. Mr. Clark observed dis: Z. D. of 10 prs. of stars.

June 18th. Capt. G. marched at 9 A. M. following Capt. Wood's road, it being ascertained from Joe Spaniard that the left-hand one, which is nearest to our course, terminates at the wood on this side of the Verdigris. 6 M. from camp crossed the Wa tunkakashink at a very bad ford, thence to the ford of the Verdigris, 3 M. The mouth of Nenetunk [Big Spring creek] is just above the ford. An Osage village of 27 huts, a half mile west of the ford.<sup>39</sup> The inhabitants buffalo hunting. Two miles to the S. is Niskeokaka (Salt creek) coming from the west; well wooded.<sup>40</sup> Found Capt. Wood encamped on the south side near its mouth. Mr. Clark, a mile to the S. W.; by his observations of the night before 19" north of the line. The most beautiful district of Kansas visible from a hill  $\frac{1}{4}$  M. S. of his observatory. Mr. Weyssse reached the wood skirting the river on the E. Mr. Clark observed Z. D. of 14 prs. of stars.

June 19th. Looked for a route westward, accompanied by Lt. Bell, who had ridden over the ground. Went to the crest of the

39. The Osage village was located in what is now the northwest part of the city of Coffeyville, Montgomery county.

40. Description fits that of present-day Onion creek.



dividing ridge this side of the Little Verdigris,<sup>41</sup> from which everywhere S. of the line the country appeared to be much more broken & wooded than that east of the Verdigris.

Mr. Weyssse crossed the river. The dis. to the E. bank: 52 miles, 1,400 ft.

Night cloudy. A little rain. No ast'l observations.

June 20th. Mr. Weyssse came up to Mr. Clark's camp at noon (about 5 M. back to the river). Night not favorable. 8 prs. of stars observed.

June 21st. The party (except Capt. Wood's company left to follow with Mr. Weyssse) moved at 9 A. M. Lt. determined & Medn fixed by 10. Mr. Weyssse's line [omission] ft. S. of astl pt., the route taken along the dividing ridge between the Piematunk & the Niskeokaka as far as the divide & between the Main & E. b. of Little Verdigris.<sup>42</sup> A large body of timber on the left. A magnificent view from the summit of the ridge, about 9 miles from the last camp. A wide valley on the west, that of the Little Verdigris enlarged by several intermediate tributaries. The country beyond wooded & broken. Encamped on the nearest branch, about 4 M. further.

June 22d. Marched at 10 A. M. preceded by a pioneer party of 20 under Lt. Thomson. In 5 miles reached the Little Verdigris. Pioneers employed some 2 hours in making a road across it. The ford S. of the line. Moved on a little S. of W. to avoid rugged hills. In 4 M. another creek (water stagnant) which employed the pioneers an hour. 5 M. further encamped on a creek, Cow-a-wha (horse head) having a very deep channel,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  M. N. of its mouth in a stream W. branch (largest) of the Little Verdigris, the valley of which seems to come from a little N. of W. An Osage trail apparently crossing the little Verdigris S. of our ford, was struck 2 M. from the latter & followed to camp. The country, especially to the N., very broken. A good deal of oak in the heights. Observations on B. U. M. & B. Librae showed our camp to be in Lat:  $37^{\circ} 58' 20''$ .

June 23d. After crossing the creek went about  $20^{\circ}$  N. of W. (the Osage trail bearing S. of W.) 2 M. to the top of a ridge from which the route entered & followed the valley of a small creek, which was crossed 3 M. further, then passed over a rugged ridge covered with

41. The Little Verdigris, as described here by Colonel Johnston, is now known as the Little or North Caney creek where it crosses the boundary.

42. Between the Verdigris river and Little or North Caney creek.



post oak 12 M. into the valley of a middle branch of the Little Verdigris some 2 M. above its junction with the S. one which seemed to come from the S. W. Both broad, well wooded & deep. Followed this valley a little N. of W. 7 M. & encamped. The channel of the stream very deep; the water accessible at very few points. Lat: as determined with the sextant by Mr. Clark,  $37^{\circ} 00' 12''$ . A large valley enters this one from the S. which has its course from the W., a mile above the junction.

June 24th. Mr. Thomson reported a ford a mile above & an easy route from it to and along the ridge between the vallies & made a road thro' the river bottom.<sup>43</sup> Capt. Anderson & Lt. Ingraham followed the ridge 15 miles, finding it nearly due west in its course, & a good route. Moved camp in the afternoon to its point, between the branch & main stream. Mr. Clark fixed his observatory; commenced operations.<sup>44</sup> The additional obser. made 25 and 26th were thought sufficient. The Meridian was marked.

June 27th. Moved  $1\frac{1}{2}$  mile up the creek, crossing it. Saw Mr. Weyssse in the afternoon, in the N. edge of the valley,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  miles below.

June 28th. Capt. Anderson, with Compy I & the pioneers, went forward to reconnoitre & make a road. Mr. Weyssse connected his line with the astronomical point; his tangent 1,531 feet N. of the pt fixed astronomically. Capt. Wood came into the camp with his company.

June 29th. Left Capt. De Saussure with compy F to escort Mr. Weyssse & moved with the other five on Capt. A's road. Found that he had left the "divide" after 4 or 5 miles, to enter & follow the creek on the north, two or three miles from the line.<sup>45</sup> The troops followed to his camp. I followed the dividing ridge about 12 Miles opposite to where I supposed his camp to be, then turned to the creek. Found the camp 3 M. below. Moved it up to where I had struck the creek. Our last camp was just with the timbered country. The march to-day was in prairie. The dividing ridge opposite is a plateau about 300 feet above this valley; the sides very abrupt & rocky. Limestone near the summit. The distance by the road to the last camp said to be 16 miles.

June 30th. Muster & inspection between 7 & 9 A. M. Moved up

43. The Big Caney crosses the boundary three times, in two miles, in central Chautauqua county, and caused the party considerable trouble.

44. The observatory was established in Oklahoma, one-quarter mile southwest of Elgin, Kan.

45. The troop train followed Rock creek, which flows east from Cowley county, emptying into the Big Caney above Hewins.

a branch about  $2\frac{1}{4}$  miles S. to the plateau & turned then due west. Soon found that the slopes on the left are those of the Arkansas. Encamped on the W. side of a small creek (Ne-is-ka-bi-ka-kha or Spring creek) after bridging it.<sup>46</sup> The slopes on this side of the dividing ridge are comparatively gentle. This valley broad & rich. A good deal of timber below (S. S. W.), apparently. Mr. Clark observed with his sextant & found our position to be  $\frac{1}{2}$  M. S. of the line.

July 1st. Marched at  $8\frac{1}{2}$  due west, after turning a branch which enters the Ck a little below the pt at which our camp had been. Four miles from camp crossed a little stream; clear, cool water, skirted with wood. 2 M. further a canon with a clear stream. 7 M. further, after crossing two gentle ridges & a broad valley, encamped on the W. side of a little creek lined with timber, in a very narrow valley,  $1\frac{1}{4}$  M. from its mouth in the Arkansas. The soil passed over to-day is much like that E. of the Verdigris. The grass knee high & very thick & fresh looking.

July 2d. Moved into the timbered bottom. The Infantry made a ferry boat, under Capt. Garnett's direction, of four of the metallic wagon beds. Crossed & encamped on the W. bank, the loads of more than half the wagons carried over in the boat. The wagons forded a half mile below. Mr. Ingraham sent up the valley of river, crossed a clear creek 3 miles above the ferry & a much larger one 9 M. further, both coming from the N. E.<sup>47</sup> The river valley here is about a half mile wide, very sandy. The surface irregular. Mr. Clark crossed immediately after the infantry. The course of the valley a little W. of S. from the mouth of the creek 3 M. above, to a point about 4 M. below.

July 3d. Mr. Taylor went down the river on the west side about 10 M. & made in the afternoon a sketch of it & its little tributaries. The 3 companies of cavalry crossed after the remainder of the comy wagons & encamped above the ferry. Mr. Clark fixed his observatory on a hill 1 M. N. of camp & about a half M. S. of the line. The neighbouring country resembles very much that E. of the Verdigris.

July 4th. National salute fired by "Taylor's Battery," the troops being under arms, at noon.<sup>48</sup> Capt. De Saussure arrived, with his

46. One of the streams now known as Beaver creek rising in southeastern Cowley county and flowing south into Oklahoma.

47. Lieutenant Ingraham crossed Grouse creek and Walnut river, in Cowley county.

48. The troops were encamped slightly over five miles east of Chilocco, Okla., on Independence day.



company about 3 o. c. P. M., reporting the surveyors have sent back a guard for their camp.

July 5th. Mr. Kennerly's wagons in sight at 8 A. M. A party detailed to assist him in crossing. Mr. Weyssse in sight at 10. Mr. W. triangulated across the river. Mr. Clark's observations very satisfactory. His observatory 2,601 ft. S. of 37°.

July 6th. Mr. Clark's obsv of last night excellent. Pioneers moved at 8½. Troops started under Capt. Wood at 10h A. M. The Meridian marked & 2,601 ft. measured northward on it. Mr. Weyssse unwell. Capt. Anderson & his company left to escort the surveyors. Instructed to lead the unmounted men every day with the party on the line. Found the camp on the Ni-hi-pa [Good-for-nothing creek], about 14 miles from the Arkansas. The road crossed the Bay-Chay-ne-ata<sup>49</sup> at about 7 miles. The dividing ridge between the Ck & river very broad & low. The grass on it thick & luxuriant. Soil, black loam. Limestone shows itself in the bluffs on the river. The Ck is marked by a line of trees about 8 M. The dividing ridge between the last Ck & this one is also low and broad with very gentle slopes. The top of it dry with poor thin grass; in the valley vegetation is fresh. Another branch of the Ck heading a mile E. is indicated by a strip of wood, like this one. They seem to join 1½ M. southward & probably flow into what Joe says the Osages call the Little Arkansas: the Red fork as Col. Boone calls it.<sup>50</sup>

July 7th. March at 9 A. M., an hour after the pioneers, crossing the Ck a little above the camp & a branch of it coming in from the W. ¼ M. further. After crossing a gentle ridge, another Ck 1½ M. from camp. Our route then crossed a plateau 5 or 6 miles wide, the soil of which seemed very dry & the grass thin. Another Ck, the wood of which commences ½ M. S. of the road; 7½ M. from camp. Then another low ridge & broad rich valley in which we crossed two branches of a Ck ½ M. apart,<sup>51</sup> the 2d 10 M. from

49. Bache-e-ne-o-ta or Whisky-drinking creek.

50. The "Little Arkansas" and "Red Fork" refer to the stream now known as the Salt Fork of the Arkansas river. Col. Nathan Boone, whom Colonel Johnston cites, made a circuitous trip from Fort Gibson (eastern Oklahoma) in 1843, along the Arkansas river, crossing into Kansas in Harper county and traveling as far north as McPherson and Barton counties before heading south again, touching at the Cimarron and Canadian rivers on his return. Nathan Boone was the youngest son of Daniel Boone, famous Kentucky pioneer. He moved with his family in 1796 into the present borders of Missouri, and grew into manhood there. At the outbreak of the War of 1812 President James Madison commissioned him captain of a company of Missouri volunteers. When Missouri was admitted to statehood under the provisions of the Missouri compromise of 1820 Nathan Boone was elected delegate to the state constitutional convention. Later, when the First regiment of United States Dragoons was organized, Boone quit politics and accepted a captaincy with that unit. After twenty years' service he retired, with the rank of lieutenant colonel, to a Missouri farm, where he died January 12, 1857. For a copy of Boone's journal and a map of the route traversed, see *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, v. 7, pp. 58-105.

51. Forks of Shoo Fly creek.



camp. From the table land just mentioned, a broad valley is visible 3 or 4 M. to the south, a line of timber in it indicating a considerable stream. The Cks crossed yesterday & to-day have not running water. A slight ridge in which (E. side) soft whitish limestone appears, separates this valley from that mentioned above. After riding in it across more than 3 M. came to a small river flowing from N. W., clear, with a sandy & deep channel.<sup>52</sup> It joins 3 or 4 M. E. S. E. another of nearly the same size, but less clear, flowing nearly from the west.<sup>53</sup> The grass in the low bottom land (the valley first mentioned is a 2d bottom) is in some places very luxuriant; in others, like much of that passed over to-day, thin & burnt. The country this side of the Arkansas seems to have [been] much frequented by buffalo until the last two or three weeks. The soil is easily washed; every little hollow has a deep gully. The channels of the creeks are very deep. The bank of this river wherever the stream strikes the side of the bottom, is perpendicular & 30 or 40 ft. high, of red clay. A spring of cool water found, as usual.

July 8th. Marched at 8½, 1½ hours after the pioneers. The route lay for 4 M. in the 2d bottom, then crossed the S. branch of the Ne-shu-che-sink & was carried so near its valley on the S. as to cross innumerable spurs & ravines.<sup>54</sup> The soil, red clay, apparently sterile. Limestone visible occasionally. Passed the red bluff seen ahead yesterday at 10½. Just opposite to it the Ck seemed to fork, one branch coming from the N.,<sup>55</sup> the other pa[ssing] a little N. of W. Encamped on the last timber of a S. branch of the latter 1½ M. from the main valley, & 14 from the last camp, ½ M. from our course. Wood within sight 4 or 5 M. to the S. when we turned off. Water very near, lying in pools which have been frequented by buffalo very lately. A party of 30 or 40 Osages of the band of Big head & Black Dog,<sup>56</sup> made us a visit while we were pitching tents, under Big Head & Shun-ma-lo. Gave them a little hard bread & sugar. They asked for more sugar, coffee & tobacco, & thought people who travel without a supply of the latter to give away, very improvident. They informed us that some of their people were hunting Comanches & that another party would set off in a few

52. Chikaskia river.

53. Bluff creek and Fall creek become one, before crossing the boundary line and join the Chikaskia four miles south of Hunnewell, Kan. (in Oklahoma), all emptying into the Salt Fork of the Arkansas river about 25 miles south.

54. This creek is now known as Bluff creek.

55. Fall creek.

56. A party of Osages under Black Dog met the Nathan Boone expedition in southern Pratt county on June 27, 1843. See Boone's journal, *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, v. 7, p. 88.

days, to join in the war. They had heard of no Comanches this year.

July 9th. Marched at 8h 10' due west, soon getting upon a plateau near 6 M. wide. 8 M. from camp crossed a small stream in a very slight valley. A mile further another with a single cottonwood in sight. The first on slaty limestone. The red clay was much washed by the rain. After crossing a broad ridge near 3 M. wide we came to a lower country with much fresher vegetation. That passed before is parched by the sun. Encamped after marching 18 M. on a ravine containing a few pools of muddy water.<sup>57</sup> Hot south wind all day.

July 10th. Marched at 8h 35', a range of sand hills on our left which our route gradually approached. Jim Conner says that "the salt" is beyond it. The end of it was passed 6 M. from camp. I turned to the left to see the country from the range of S. hills. The country from the last pt low & sandy. A creek crossed at 3 M. I overtook the party at another 3 M. further & turned it back to encamp on the first, opposite to "the salt." Said to be 5 or 6 M. to the south. Mr. Clark prepared to observe.<sup>58</sup> Rain soon after tents were pitched.

July 11th. A buffalo hunt; two bulls, two cows & three calves killed. Mr. Clark made obsns on 12 prs. of stars. A little rain in the morning.

July 12th. Started at 8h 45' to the salt plain<sup>59</sup> accompanied by the Hon. J. S. Phelps, his nephew Mr. Eno, Capt. Garnett & Lts. Otis & Thomson. Rode S. 8 miles to a range of sand hills on which there is a growth of low cottonwood. From the top of one of these hills the salt was seen 5 or 6 miles to the S. Continued on that course. A mile before reaching it, crossed a stream of fresh water in a broad shallow channel. The plain is about 4 miles in extent, formed probably by the filling up of a lake. It is a bed of sand in which the salt water coming from the river above is absorbed, appearing in occasional pools generally filled with crystallized salt. The higher parts are covered with a thin efflorescence, not clean enough for use. Found several broad & shallow dry channels entering the plain from the West & one small stream of salt water. The cavalry sent to encamp 4 M. further west for better grazing. Hot south wind.

57. Encampment was made in southern Spring township, Harper county.

58. Observatory set up one-half mile south of the line on Sandy creek, Alfalfa county, Oklahoma.

59. Salt plain visited on July 12 was in Alfalfa county, Oklahoma.



July 13th. Waiting for surveyors & astronomical point. Hot south wind.

July 14th. Hon. Mr. Phelps left camp with Mr. Eno to return home.<sup>60</sup> Compy I & Mr. Kennerly's party came into camp at 1 p. m. Mr. Weyssse in the evening. Hot, south wind.

July 15th. March 10 miles to a clear stream of sweet water in a broad channel shallow & sandy.<sup>61</sup> The valley nearly a mile wide. The sandy country ended about the middle of the march, the latter half of it over a dry hard soil and gentle undulating country. Mr. Weyssse's line brought up before sunset. The hot wind repeated.

July 16th. Mr. Weyssse desired not to move. Marched at 8h 30', 17½ miles over a plateau in which we crossed several ravines along which are scattered cottonwoods. The first, 5 M. from camp, is moist and sandy. The two last contain chains of pools of clear & slightly brackish water. Encamped on the W. side of the last. The plateau has been much frequented by buffalo. The soil very hard & dry, covered with very short buffalo grass. The south wind hotter & stronger than ever.

July 17th. March at 8h 40'. In 2 M. crossed a dividing ridge from which a broad valley is visible, on the farther side of which we could see abrupt hills of red clay. At 6 M. passed a Ck with pools of water & a little timber. At 8 M. reached the river of the salt plain, in a valley of ½ M. wide; sandy & sterile.<sup>62</sup> The channel 50 yds. in breadth. A bed of sand saturated with water. No stream. The grass in the valley thin; a little timber, principally elm & cottonwood. 1½ mile further encamped on a little Ck resembling the river in character. A high cliff of red clay over hanging the creek opposite the camp. The country passed over to-day a desert, like that of yesterday, & indeed the 3 previous days March. Cool water, but brackish (68°), obtained by digging 7 ft. in the "bottom."

July 18th. Marched at 8h 30', following for 12 M. the ridge dividing the valley of the river from that of the camp of last night.

60. Mr. J. S. Phelps, Missouri congressman, returned after reaching the present Harper-Barber county line. An article published in *The Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, August 15, reprinted in the *Kansas Tribune*, Topeka, September 5, 1857, and the *Lawrence Herald of Freedom*, September 12, said: "Maj. Phelps was in this city yesterday on his way to the East. He accompanied Col. Johns[t]on's expedition to survey and mark out the southern boundary of Kansas, for about 220 miles west of the Missouri boundary line. When he left, the expedition was making good progress, expecting to complete their work and return by the month of November. The command had met with no interruption whatever, and Col. Johns[t]on it is believed will make a very flattering report of the country over which he has passed and will have to pass hereafter. A well-marked road has been made by the number of wagons attached to this expedition and work done upon it at the crossing of streams and other difficult places. Hereafter there will be no difficulty in following this route to New Mexico and wood and water will be found in abundance."

61. Probably refers to the Medicine river.

62. Salt Fork of the Arkansas river.



The country, red clay, intersected in every direction by hollows and deep ravines worn by rain water. The course of the dividing ridge being too southerly, left it & after marching 3 M. further over its spurs, encamped in a little grove of elm & cottonwood, on a creek percolating in sand. A few cedars seen in the heads of ravines near the top of the dividing ridge.

July 19th. Marched at 8h 30', the country less dry, the hills less abrupt, & the ravines less decided. After marching 12 M. we halted on the ridge between the valley of the Cimarron & that of the Salt Plain river. George Washington pointed out, a little E. of S. what he took to be the mouth of the Cimarron.<sup>63</sup> Conner, when he came up, agreed with him. Turned to the left & encamped in a hollow with pools of fresh water & a line of cottonwoods in it. The top of the dividing ridge & those of the spurs near it are of pale yellow clay, having a thin covering of sandy soil. This yellow clay is shown in the ravines too, near the ridge. All the hollows near this ridge have lines of cottonwood & elm.

July 20th. Mr. Clark prepared to observe. Night cloudy. Thermometer at 4 P. M. 106°.

July 21st. Cavalry moved 1½ M. to the north, for better grass & water.

July 22d. Went with Company I (Capt. A. & Mr. I.) to find the junction of the Cimarron & Red fork. Morning rainy. Started at 10h. Jim Conner, guide. Course, a little E. of S. 3h & 40' to the edge of the channel of the Cimarron opposite to the point of the cliff between the two rivers. Just 20' in riding across it at a brisk walk. A good deal of small drift in the channel. Near the middle we came to a thin crust of salt which gradually increased in thickness; then shallow & apparently stagnant salt water in which the salt is not less than an inch thick. Near the S. W. shore for 15 or 20 yards, the water was 6 or 8 inches deep & the salt several inches in thickness. Conner pointed out a cove to the S. E. on the farther side of the Red Fork as the point where the salt is thickest & hardest. In riding to it across the bed of the Red fork, we crossed two streams of very strong salt water each 15 or 20 yards wide with smooth swift current, on a bed of crystallized salt 3 or 4 inches thick. About the point which Conner showed, the salt lay in broad sheets between the running water & S. shore not in water. Several

63. Buffalo creek, originating in Harper county, Oklahoma, joins the Cimarron river to form what Colonel Johnston, and other members of his party, designated the Red Fork of the Arkansas river. Now, the whole length of the river, until it unites with the Arkansas river at Keystone, Okla., retains the name of Cimarron.

holes cut in them showed a thickness of not less than 8 inches. At one of these holes there is a very small discharge of salt water. The nearest approach we could find to the salt springs mentioned in Capt. Boone's journal. The ridge separating the two valleys is, for a mile, very narrow. A heavy stratum of transparent gypsum near the middle of its height makes cliffs on both sides.<sup>64</sup> From the point, the Red fork is visible 10 or 12 miles below. Its course a little S. of E.; the salt disappeared in a mile or mile & a half. Beyond, the reddish sand between high bluffs made a shore like the Mississippi.

We crossed the Red fork a half mile above the Cimarron, finding no change in the quantities of water & salt. Encamped in the valley of a creek which has fine running water 10 or 12 miles off. Here, but two or three bitter pools. The grass destroyed by buffalo & grasshoppers.

July 23d. Moved up the Red fork. The appearance of salt & water diminished gradually & ceased [al]together about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  M. from the Cimarron. The valley from  $\frac{3}{4}$  to  $\frac{1}{2}$  M. wide. Quite green compared with the country we have been seeing for the last 100 M. A few hundred yards above the salt, I found a small pool of salt water. Some 3 miles further, abundant pools of fresh water were found in the channel. Between 5 & 6 miles from the fork, two little groves of wild China trees.<sup>65</sup> Cottonwood occurs after 7 M. From this point turned N. N. E. & reached the salt plain of the Cimarron in about 5 M. No salt, the water percolating through the sand strongly saline. 4 M. from the plain, in the valley in which our camp lies, Jim Conner found a very bold boiling spring of cold water, near which we encamped.

July 24th. Moved up the ridge west of the valley. 2 M. from camp saw the troops & train moving westward, Mr. Clark's astronomical tent visible at the same time. Compy turned N. W. to join. I reached camp at  $9\frac{1}{2}$ . Found the Pt satisfactorily determined. (39 Obsns.) The Meridian marked & Lat. computed so that Mr. Weyssse resumed his line westward about 12 M. I found

64. The above is a description of the salt marsh near Leafie, Okla., at the juncture of Buffalo creek with the Cimarron. John Bradbury in Thwaites' *Early Western Travels*, v. 5, pp. 192-193, says the "Grand Saline" is situated "between two forks of a small branch of the Arkansas, one of which washes its southern extremity; and the other, the principal one, runs nearly parallel, within a mile of its opposite side. It is a hard level plain, of reddish-colored sand, and of an irregular or mixed figure. Its greatest length is from northwest to southeast, and its circumference full thirty miles. . . . This plain is entirely covered in hot dry weather, from two to six inches deep, with a crust of beautiful clean white salt, of a quality rather superior to the imported blown salt; it bears a striking resemblance to a field of brilliant snow after a rain, with a light crust on its top. . . ." See, also, Nathan Boone's description in *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, v. 7, pp. 89-91.

65. A shade tree sometimes known as chinaberry, pride of India, bead tree, Indian or Persian lilac, etc.

Capt. Wood, with the Cavalry, encamped 3 or 4 M. W. Capt. Garnett with the Infantry and Mr. Kennerly's party, 2 M. further.

July 25th. Capt. De Saussure reported the death of private Brown of Compy F last night. He was buried this morning. Marched at 9½. Came to the edge of the salt plain, after passing through a slight range of such sand hills, on a small scale, as those of Cape Cod, 4 M. from camp. Our route crossed a sort of bog of this plain, bordered E. & N. by the sand hills, then a green low sandy ridge ½ M. wide, then the Cimarron (its channel waterless) 200 yds. wide. By digging a foot in the sand we found water very slightly brackish & near above, a pool of water nearly fresh. Above the line the valley turned almost westerly, the line itself gradually rising for 3 or 4 miles over very gentle spurs. The soil hard & dry. Buffalo grass short. 7 M. from the Cimarron we crossed a hollow having in it a few pools of water. 6 M. further, in the next hollow, we encamped on Pioneers Ck,<sup>66</sup> the Cimarron apparently 3 or 4 miles to the N. A violent storm at night.

July 26th. Didn't move until 10 on account of the rain of last night. The crest of the ridge dividing the valley of the last camp from the next one W., the Cimarron on the right, a branch seeming to join it from the N. W. The line nearing the river. At 6 M. crossed a creek of swift, dark red water, the deep channel 60 or 80 yards wide.<sup>67</sup> From the crest of the next hill saw the Cimarron on our course, the valley broad. A range of sand hills on each side, the northern one much the largest & covered (thinly) with scraggy cottonwoods. A stream of clear salt water at the edge of the valley, the first sand hills separating it from the river valley. The channel of the Cimarron 200 yards wide, water not visible; wet sand. Water about a foot below its surface, slightly brackish. The sand hills about 1½ M. apart. A pond of strong salt water in the flat N. of the channel. At 15 M. Mr. Thompson's route led into the sand hills on the right. Waited there 1½ hour for the wagons. They then appeared 3 M from [us]. Moved S. W. to the Cimarron 1¼ & encamped. The wagons came up at 5½. 7 M. of the day's march in deep mud or heavy sand generally. A little water running in the broad bed of the river. Thunder & heavy clouds in the west in the afternoon & evening. The pioneer party didn't come in. Jim Conner reported it 5 or 6 M. ahead.

66. Probably Snake creek, Cimarron township, Clark county.

67. The stream is now known as Redoubt creek. (Named for the redoubts built by the government for Indian protection in southern Clark county on the trail between Camp Supply and Fort Dodge.)



July 27th. Marched at 9½, guided by Ben Love, to where he had passed the night with Mr. Thompson. Found him 6 M. off, at the W. edge [of] the very broad valley of the Cimarron which terminates here, beginning 12 or 15 M. below. A mile further reached the top of a high ridge from which the valley of a large Ck<sup>68</sup> [was visible] & beyond it that of the Cimarron, could be seen crossing our course. Took the first to be that described by Jim Conner as rising near Fort Atkinson. The country broken. Deep gullies washed in the hillsides. Grass more abundant & green. 3 M more to Conner's branch, 15 yds. wide, running in a broad deep valley from the N. W. Destitute of wood, but very green. 4 more miles into the valley of the Cimarron & one along it to camp. The valley ¾ M. wide, without trees, but grass abundant & green.

Just before we marched the channel of the Cimarron, about 200 yds. wide at our camp, & until then showing very little water, contained a stream near two feet deep entirely across it. Here the river is about 30 yds. wide, running freely, probably from the late rains, as the water contains a great deal of pale mud.

July 28th. Private Charlton of Compy C died at 2 A. M. & was buried at 9 o. c. this morning. Marched 7 miles due west up the valley, after crossing the stream. The lower slopes of the hills on the S. side very sandy. Left the valley immediately after crossing a broad arroya with a few cottonwoods on its banks. Marched about 5 M. over abrupt ridges, having the river in view on the right. Then turned N. W. 2 M. & encamped in the valley, the appearance of which is unchanged.<sup>69</sup> After we had encamped Ben Love reported a good spring in an arroya which we had crossed, 1 M. from camp.

July 29th. Marched up the valley at 8½. 6 M. from camp crossed a very large dry creek. The lower slopes of the hills sandy. At 8 M. from the last camp left the valley. After crossing several spurs, reached in 3 M. more, a plateau. Several ponds of rain water. Grass poor, very, the country a sandy desert. Very little buffalo "sign." Encamped 2½ M. further on some little ponds about which we found better grass. Storm of wind & rain at night.

July 30th. Mr. Thompson with 18 men besides two of the Delawares, sent forward to examine the country for 25 M. on our route. Three wagons sent back 14 or 15 miles for wood. They returned at

68. Crooked creek.

69. A notation on the surveyors' maps near the place of this encampment reports "No wood along the line from this point till after crossing the Santa Fe road. Dist. about 105 miles."

4½, the corporal in charge reported that the party had met & talked with (in Mexican) two Indians calling themselves Kioways & that Capt. Garnett's party had encamped on the river 8 or 9 M. from us. A little after 6 o. c. 4 of Capt. G.'s men, mounted on mules, arrived. They were sent, they said, to report that "the Indians had driven in the surveying party, killed the ambulance driver & driven off its two mules."<sup>70</sup> Capt. De Saussure ordered with Jim Conner as guide, to go with his company to Capt. Garnett's camp to-night to take up the pursuit at daybreak. The messengers questioned could give account of but two Indians seen. Lieut. Ingraham was sent to ascertain the distance north to the Cimarron & its course. Reported the distance 7½ M., course N. N. W. The plateau extends to the river valley.

July 31st. Mr. Thompson returned with his party at 2 p. m. Had gone nearly 30 M. due west, finding the plateau unbroken, plenty of water from the recent rains, & grass; but no fuel. No signs of buffalo, or any other animals than antelopes.

August 1st. Capt. Garnett's party arrived about 10. Mr. Weyssé about 12. His account of the affair two days ago was, that two Indians joined his party from the front, shook hands with everybody. Gave them to understand partly in Mexican, partly in English, that they had talked with me & with Capt. G. & that they were going then to find a broken-down horse I had given them. They accompanied the party for some time, long enough to see who were armed, then took leave & went off to the rear. Soon re-joined, accompanying the party as before, watched their opportunity &, when the little wagon was hidden by a low ridge from the guard, shot the driver & drove off the vehicle at full speed, one riding on each side. The guard ran back, but when they reached the crest of the hill the Indians were at long gunshot. The soldiers, out of breath, fired without effect. After crossing the Cimarron, they cut the mules out of the harness, ransacked the wagon, cutting off some of the curtains, & drove off the two mules. They had thrown the driver, Le Clair, out, on stopping. He was probably dying, for when our men came out, his hand was grasping the single tree as if he had caught it in his fall & died instantly. Mr. W. corrected by the new astronomical determination & went on. We marched in the afternoon 4 miles to find better grazing & encamped near Capt. Garnett's party.

70. The skirmish occurred in the vicinity of the ranch kept by Geo. H. McCoy, thirty years later, at the most northern bend of the Cimarron in Meade county.



Jim Conner came up before dark, reporting that he had left Capt. De Saussure on the Cimarron 2 or 3 miles above our last camp on it, & that Capt. Wood had, when he left, just encamped a little above Capt. D. The trail of the Indians (2, each with a led mule) had been followed about 33 miles E. of N. They had, after riding 6 or 7 miles, mounted the mules; had evidently traveled all night & were on their way to the gathering of Indians in the vicinity of Fort Atkinson to receive their annual presents. Capt. D. after becoming satisfied on this point, turned back, according to instructions. Poor Le Clair was probably killed with a gun & ammunition just presented to the savage by the strange policy of the Indian Department.

August 2. Capt. De Saussure came into camp just as we were about to move a half mile to get near more abundant water. Encamped on a comparatively large pond close to Capt. Garnett's road. His party had just passed. Capt. Wood came up at 11¼. A shell fish like the king crab found in the pond, about 2 inches long. A storm passed from N. to S. a few miles west of us.

August 3d. Marched at 8h 40'. In 5 or 6 miles found the ground very heavy from the rain of last night. Passed a great many ponds of several acres each, the country more level & less sandy. The place of the Infantry camp of last night 12 M. from their previous one. Marched 8 M. further & encamped, 300 or 400 yds. S. of the road on 3 or 4 little pools of rain water.<sup>71</sup> Bois de vache abundant for the first time on this plateau.

August 4th. Marched 8h 40'. Appearance of the country unchanged for seven miles. Water abundant. Found Capt. G. just leaving camp at 6 M. The pools of water disappeared. Surface of the ground sand. This continued 15 M. In the next 3, the sand almost disappeared, the grass becoming fresher, even luxuriant. A good deal of what the Texans call Gramma grass.<sup>72</sup> Encamped at the end of 24 miles on a large pool of good water. Another still larger ½ M. to the south.

August 5th. Remained in camp to give horses & mules the benefit of the good grazing. Mr. Weyse made 10 miles on the line, passing the camp [at] 7.

August 6th. Remained in camp for the sake of horses & mules. Directed Mr. Bell, with company K, to prepare to move southward to-morrow morning to look for the N. fork of the Canadian.

71. Encampment was south and slightly west of Liberal, just across the boundary line in Oklahoma.

72. Grama grass, a creeping grass, belonging to the genus *Bouteloua*.



August 7th. Marched at 8½. Mr. Bell & his company taking the Delawares, set off on his expedition. We found the plateau very flat for 10 or 12 miles, then it seemed to take the form of a ridge, very flat, the crest on the right. 8 or 9 M. further crossed this crest & had the valley of the Cimarron in view. After crossing the spurs of the dividing ridge for 6 M. encamped without water. The ground for the last 2 or 3 M. very sandy. Grass fresh, but coarse. A refreshing shower at night.

August 8th. Left the Infantry & surveyors & marched at 8h 22', 10 M. due west, the ground sloping gently toward the Cimarron, the valley of which seemed to be about 5 M. from camp & 2½ from the 10 M. pt. Turned from this pt N. W. & encamped on the dry channel 15 or 20 ft. wide & 3 or 4 deep.<sup>73</sup> The Santa Fe road 150 yds. N. of camp & a pool of water in the channel 400 yds. above. The bottom of the valley ½ M. wide. The slopes of the hills gentle. Obtained abundant water by digging 1 or 2 feet in the channel. The route to-day through loose sand. Mr. Weyssse came into camp with his party a little after dark.

August 9th. Moved up the valley (by the Santa Fe road) 10 M., its character unchanged. Halted to fix an astronomical station. We had made so much southing that I thought we could not be north of the parallel. It turned out by Mr. Clark's observations, that we were 3' 43" S. of it.

August 10th. Marched down the valley at 8h 30' to place the observatory near the parallel, which was done by moving nearly 5 miles.<sup>74</sup> Met Capt. Garnett's party & also Mr. Weyssse's, just at the point. A teamster dangerously wounded with a butcher knife & picket maul by another. Mr. Clark observed at night, also, August 11th.

August 12th. Meridian marked & Mr. Weyssse placed on its intersection with the parallel, about noon. March at 0h 50' to the point at which the road leaves the Cimarron & encamped at 2h 40'.

August 13th, 14th & 15th. Remained at this point waiting for the Santa Fe mail party to inquire concerning the supplies to be sent to us from Fort Leavenworth, expected at the end of August. This mail party arrived about noon on the last of the above dates. Heard from Dr. Geisler, U. S. A. & Capt. [A. A.?] Gibson, Mil. Storekeeper, that they had not left F. L. on the 24th July.

73. The party encamped approximately four miles west of the present Kansas-Colorado boundary.

74. The observatory was set up nearly nine miles west of the southwest corner of Kansas.

Mr. Weyssse running the line westward under protection of the two Infantry companies.

August 16th. A party of New Mexican Indian traders coming up the Cimarron, arrived about 7½. Waited until 9 o. c. to order [at the order of?] the general, while the men were buying moccasins, &c. The course up the valley 287° 30' for 10 miles. At 7 M. passed Capt. Garnett's first camp; at 12 M. the 2d. At 10 M. crossed Aubrey's road,<sup>75</sup> above which the valley becomes narrow, the bluffs coming in close to it. These bluffs of sandstone. The valley very winding. Cottonwood in view everywhere above Aubrey's road. The soil very poor, grass scanty. At 15½ M. found the Cimarron a bold running brook. Encamped 1½ M. further. A Texan "wet" norther at night.

August 17th. North wind with rain, all day. Remained in camp.

August 18th. Marched at 10. Found Capt. Garnett's camp within four miles. Four miles further the valley widens very much. At this point met Lt. Bell & his company. He had come down Cedar creek, which joins the Cimarron 3 miles above & is the larger stream.<sup>76</sup> Encamped & rode up the Cimarron S. W. 3½ & W. 2. Then N. 4 M. to a branch of the C. on which is a large (comparatively) clump of cottonwoods & several deep pools of good water.

August 19th. Moved to the point last named. Mr. Ingraham, with 12 men, went up the creek, leaving camp at 7½, to examine its valley. Made at night, an unfavorable report.

August 20th. Moved up the Cimarron about 7 M. above Cedar Ck, then turned N. N. W. into a broad valley, & encamped 1½ M. from its mouth.<sup>77</sup> The ridge which divides it from the valley of the Cimarron twice as high as the hills east of it. The upper half of burnt sandstone. A scanty supply of water in a deep winding & muddy channel lined with young willows. The grass short & poor. The line crosses this valley about 3½ M. from its mouth. Capt. Garnett remained at the camp of yesterday. Mr. Weyssse's party came at night to our camp.

August 21st. Capt. Garnett's party came up. We encamped a mile further up the valley. Mr. Weyssse reported at night that but

75. Aubrey's road or trail was named after the famous freighter Col. F. X. Aubrey, who went over this short cut in a record-breaking ride from Santa Fe to Independence. It crossed the Cimarron river about 25 miles from the southwest corner of Kansas. See *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 7, p. 51.

76. Cedar creek rises south of the present town site of Mineral, Okla., and flows north into the Cimarron river.

77. Apparently Colonel Johnston's train turned up Carrizo creek, rising in Colorado, and encamped 1½ miles from its mouth in the Cimarron. The troops remained in this valley until the morning of August 26.

1½ M. remained to be run. Capt. Anderson & Mr. Ingraham spent the morning in looking for the best position for the final astronomical station & reported a good one within about 1½ M. of the end of the line. Rain at night.

August 22d. Moved camp ½ M. north for better grazing, the grass in the country everywhere too poor & thin to permit us to occupy any one point for several days. A N. E. storm at night.

August 23d. Storm continued & prevented another move.

August 24th. Moved at 2 P. M. 1 M. N. E. Remained in this place.

August 25th. Mr. Clark encamped about 6 M. W. of camp to establish his final observatory.<sup>78</sup>

August 26th. Moved about 3 M. W. into the valley in which Mr. Clark is encamped.

August 27th. Mr. Ingraham (with a party of 13, including a corporal, of company I) sent to Cedar Spring<sup>79</sup> to meet the upward Santa Fe mail to inquire concerning the train with our supplies. Moved camp 10 or 12 hundred yards up the valley for fresh grass.

August 28th. Moved camp a few hundred yards to place the horses on fresh grass at night. Mr. Clark had made observations on the 3d pairs of stars. Very satisfactory. Set up transit instrument & prepared to observe moon culminations.

August 29th & 30th. Moved each day far enough to put the horses on fresh grass at night. Same 31st. Muster.

Sept. 1st. Mr. Ingraham returned at 11 A. M. The mail had passed Cedar Spring on the night of Aug. 30th. Left our train at Council Grove on the morning of the 19th. The conductor of the mail was told, he said, by the wagonmaster, to say to Col. Johnston that "the train would reach Cedar Spring in 20 days." Moved a few hundred feet. Left that place Sept. 3d to approach the Santa Fe road, down the Cimarron. Marched 12 miles. Rain at night.

Sept. 4th. Continued the march down the valley. Somewhat less than 8 miles below, turned out of it to the north. Encamped on a rocky ravine, after marching 5 M. further. Night cold & rainy. N. E. wind.

Sept. 5th. Marched S. S. E. about 3 miles into the valley & encamped about 3 M. above Aubrey's road. N. E. wind continued.

78. Observatory was established on or near the Oklahoma-New Mexico boundary on the left bank of the Cimarron river.

79. Authorities and maps differ as to the location of Cedar Springs. Colonel Johnston does not include it on his map but, presumably, it was near the present town site of Garrett, Okla.



Weather of course cloudy with drizzling rain. Capt. Anderson set off with his company, before us, to go down to the road to watch for our supplies.

Sept. 6th. Moved a mile down the valley & encamped. At 12 o. c. at night received a note from Capt. A. He stated that a party or traders who had passed his camp during the day had just sent to inform him that a small party of Kioways reported a body of about 300 Cheyennes (on foot) passed on the road 22 or 23 miles below his (Capt. A's) camp. They further said that an ox-wagon train had crossed the Arkansas on the 4th. I supposed it to be ours.

Sept. 7th. Marched at 4 A. M. Breakfasted 13 miles from camp near the "upper crossing."<sup>80</sup> The Kioways came up. Knew of no Cheyennes. Had not been on the road. Had seen Cheyennes several days' journey to the E. between the Arkansas & Cimarron. Nevertheless, we moved on. Reached the trader's camp about 3 p. m., about 13 M. further. Encamped two miles below it. Informed by the chief of the party, Mr. Hickman of Westport, that the Cheyennes were reported to be about 10 miles off, on the 9-mile ridge.

Sept. 8th. Set off at 4 A. M. Searched the locality designated to no purpose. No other "sign" than a few pony tracks. Went on to the middle Cimarron spring.<sup>81</sup> Met one train there. Encamped & remained till the morning of (borrowed \$15 from Capt. Wood for 5 of Mr. Kennerly's men).

Sept. 9th. Returned. Met the mail party 3 or 4 M. below the mound marking the line. Advised Mr. Fields, the conductor, to wait for Mr. Wells & his train, regarding the road as unsafe for so small a party; but five. Encamped a little above the mound. Mr. Wells went on with his train to the neighborhood of the upper crossing.

Sept. 10th. Went to our old camp at the upper crossing. Left Capt. De Saussure . . . the unloading was [remainder of page torn off containing entries for September 11, 12 and 13].

Sept. 14th. Marched 7 or 8 miles to McNeiss creek,<sup>82</sup> 4 miles

80. The troops breakfasted at the trail's upward crossing of the Cimarron river.

81. The middle Cimarron spring was located in southwest Morton county, about seven miles north and six miles east of the southwest corner of Kansas. See Kansas Historical Society's *Eighteenth Biennial Report*, p. 122.

82. Ralph E. Twitchell in *Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, v. 2, p. 127, wrote: "McNees' creek was the site of one of the melancholy tragedies of the days of the old trail. Here McNees and Munroe, two traders from Franklin, Mo., on their way home from Santa Fe, in 1828, were killed by the Indians. This creek is now known by the name of Currumpaw; it flows into Beaver creek, thence into the North Fork of the Canadian." The trail crossed the creek 555 miles from Independence, Mo.

below the road. Went down the valley 4 miles for wood. Remained there for 1 day.

Sept. 15th. That the men might wash their clothes.

Sept. 16th. Marched to the Cottonwood<sup>83</sup> without touching the Santa Fe road, & encamped 1½ M. below the road.

Sept. 17th. Marched to the Rabbit Ear<sup>84</sup> & encamped on it 1½ miles below the point at which the road crosses it. The valley narrow, the south side abrupt & rocky, like the hills about the upper [remainder of this entry and that for September 18, torn off].

[Sept. 18th or 19th]—they asked as an addition to their escort, two skeleton companies of [omission]. Didn't feel authorized to comply.

Sept. 20th. Marched at 9h 40', parallel to the Rabbit Ear. The character of the valley changed very much 4 miles below camp. The valley widening & the south side sloping gently, water disappearing. 8 or 9 further it again contracts & is very narrow for some five miles. The channel lined with cliffs of sandstone, at the base of which are occasional pools of water. Below this it again widens. Is joined by McNeiss' Ck; the channel very wide & dry. Its valley sandy. Occasional cottonwoods. Found water & wood 25½ M. from the last camp. Halted for the night.

Sept. 21st. Marched at 9h 55', about E. leaving the valley to the left. The country like that over which the line runs before striking the Cimarron near the Santa Fe road. After marching nearly due east 11¾ M. struck Mr. Bell's trail & followed it into the valley, finding several large pools. Encamped. Distance 19¾ M.

Sept. 22d. Marched at 7 o. c., leaving the valley to the right. Course S. 76° 30' E. The plateau level, ground smooth & fine; grass short. 14¾ M. from the camp of last night encamped on a shallow pond of 50 or 60 acres.

Sept. 23d. Marched at 8h 20" due east. Country like that passed over yesterday, the grass short, but green & thick. 14¾ M. from last camp found a large pond (about 40 acres, shallow water) on the right, near our course. Course struck the Ck (N. F. of Canadian) 21 M. from last camp. A mile from Ck turned N. E. &

83. The Cottonwood, as referred to by Colonel Johnston, was a tributary of Rabbit Ear creek, rising in New Mexico and flowing southeast. Its entire length as shown on the surveyors' maps was not over 13 miles, and crossed the Santa Fe trail between McNeess' and Rabbit Ear creeks.

84. Rabbit Ear creek derived its name through its proximity to the Rabbit Ear mountains, so named by early travelers because of the peaks' fancied resemblance to a rabbit's ears. The stream flows eastward, joining the Currumpaw to form Beaver creek (N. F. of the Canadian).



reached the Ck  $23\frac{1}{3}$  M. from camp of last night.<sup>85</sup> The valley 600 or 800 yds. wide, water abundant; grazing very good. Some fuel, dry brushwood, picked up (drift).

Sept. 24th. Marched at 8h 30' N. 62 E. (first 2 M. E., the course above then commenced). At  $12\frac{3}{4}$  M. recrossed the Ck, a bold, running stream of excellent water.<sup>86</sup> The valley broad, sides sloping gently. Valley about equally divided between sand & soil, the latter partly covered with luxuriant grass. The course of the valley below the camp of last night being concave to the south, the march was on the chord of the arc. The plateau on the south of the valley is as level as that on the north & covered with short but abundant grass. No wood. Distance 14 M., 2,000 ft. Lat.  $36^{\circ} 42' 18''$ .

Sept. 25th. Marched down the valley at 8h 30'. First 5 M. on N. side of the stream which, where we crossed, is twice as large as at our camp of last night. Some two miles after crossing the stream a party of Indians met us, about 20 Kiowas headed by the principal chief. Their camp, they said, was a few miles down the valley. They accompanied our march, guiding us by what they said was a better route than that of the valley, along the hills on the S. Passed in sight of their camp of about 50 lodges, more than half of which had been dismantled, their owners having fled, probably at the news of our approach.<sup>87</sup> Few people or horses were visible about it. Encamped in the valley some two miles below. March 16 M., 2,920 ft. Had a conference with [omission in the MS.] in the afternoon in relation to the existing treaty. He professed to be most friendly to the whites, in which expressions the members of his party joined. He averred his determination to execute faithfully the terms of the treaty. Promised to have the two murderers of the man of the surveying party surrendered to us as soon as they could be discovered. The stream 12 or 15 feet wide & two deep, with a bold current. Distance marched, 16 M., 2,900 ft. Lat.  $36^{\circ} 42' 42''$ .

Sept. 26th. 30 or 40 Kiowas, a few women among them, spent the morning in camp trading buffalo robes, moccasins, & lariets. The spokesman of yesterday, who seemed to [be] the old chief's staff officer, was so grieved to see us going, that he thought nothing but whisky could revive his drooping spirits. Marched at 8h 30'.

85. Camp was established approximately nine miles east of Rice, Okla., on the North Fork of the Canadian.

86. The train crossed Lowe creek, Texas county, Oklahoma, at  $7\frac{3}{4}$  miles and recrossed it at  $12\frac{3}{4}$  miles.

87. The Kiowa camp was located about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles west of Hardesty, Okla. The troops passed to the south of the camp and spent the night of September 25 almost on the present town site of Hardesty.



The valley to the east seemed to make a long bend concave to the N. Our march was on the plateau, by the chord of the arc, the latter part of the march in heavy sand. The descent into the valley was thro' bare sand hills like those of the seashore, down which it was difficult to pull the wagons. The valley a mile wide, the stream much larger than at the last camp. The soil poor, much of it bare, in which a salty efflorescence is visible. A salt pond 300 yds. long between our camp & the stream. A little cottonwood among the sand hills. Distance marched, 18 M., 4,600 ft. Found afterwards that the salt pond is a copious spring discharging itself by a bold stream into the N. F. of Canadian. Lat.  $36^{\circ} 41' 55''$ .

Sept. 27th. About 20 mules missing this morning. Not found & brought back until 11 A. M., consequently we marched but 9 M., following the valley N. of the stream for about 4 M. then crossing it, & marching on the S. slope, a gentle one, the soil poor. Encamped on a little tributary from the S. Fresh water, *bois de vache* & gramma grass abundant. The N. side of the valley more abrupt, generally high bluffs of bare sand. Lat.  $36^{\circ} 45' 05''$ .

Sept. 28th. Marched at 8h 50', continuing to follow the slope on the S. side of the valley. The soil like that of yesterday, hard & poor, the grass short but green; water abundant. A stream in every 2 or 3 miles, two of them copious. All the banks of a very bright red clay. Distance to-day, 20 M., 1,800 ft. Lat.  $36^{\circ} 46'$ . Camp on Kiowa Ck, the valley broad (500 yds.), stream 25 ft. wide.<sup>88</sup> Visited by 3 begging Kiowas.

Sept. 29th. Marched at 8h 30'. Sent Jim Conner under escort of 8 men, including a corporal, to look on the N. side of the valley, for our route to the hd of the Red fork. The country like that of yesterday. A large bank of chalk, or something very like it, passed 2 or 3 miles E. of Kiowa Ck. After marching 18 M. & 2,000 ft., encamped on the N. side of the little river, a good running ck, crossed  $11\frac{1}{4}$  M. from Kiowa ck, the hills on the N. showing red banks instead of the bare sand banks seen on that side above. Ben Love gave [me] a lump of what seems to be red chalk picked up near Kiowa Ck. Lat.  $36^{\circ} 46' 15''$ .

Sept. 30th. Marched at 8h 30' leaving the valley & ascending the hill N. E., obliquely. After marching about 2 M. along the hill found a hollow in front running to the N. into a large valley we supposed to be that of the Red fork. After moving N. E. about 8 M. further,

88. Possibly one of the streams now known as Clear creek, emptying into the North Fork of the Canadian  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles east of Beaver, Okla. (Not the present Kiowa creek in Beaver county.)

recognized the valley of the Cimarron, the broad plain & sand hills in the neighborhood of the 2d "crossing." Turned back & encamped on a shallow pond  $13\frac{1}{4}$  M. from last camp.

Oct. 1st. Marched at 8h 30', as usual, moving due S.  $4\frac{1}{4}$  M. to a range of sand hills  $\frac{1}{2}$  M. from the Canadian. Turned then Eastwardly, & about 11 M. further struck the first branches of the N. branch of the Red fork & encamped.<sup>89</sup> We crossed no perceptible ridge between the valley of the Canadian & this one, but after turning eastward, until the first branches of the Red fork were met, the ascent was insensible. It seemed, until we looked down the valley of the Red fork, from the "divide," that we were still among the sand hills of the Canadian. For the last 4 or 5 M. the heights on the N. of the Red fork were visible; those on the south only when we had almost reached the summit. Level. The distance between these heights from N. to S. there, seemed to be 5 or 6 M. March to-day, 16 M. The heights all appear to be of red clay. In the gullies, at their bases, pale yellow clay appears.

Oct. 2d. Marched at 8h 30' in the general direction of the valley (E) or rather, basin, crossing the spurs running down from the S. Rain began to fall just before we started & continued all day. The broad valley dotted with herds of buffalo. Encamped in the bottom of the valley, immediately on the stream, the channel of which is here about 30 yds. wide. A small stream of clear & pure water in it. A great deal more percolating in the sand. Distance, 17.8 M.

Oct. 3d. Marched at 9h 30', having waited for tents to dry, taking a route along the S. slope as yesterday. Entered the valley about 2 M. above the mouth of the S. branch. Followed it to within  $2\frac{1}{2}$  M. of the Cimarron. Encamped on a small S. tributary. Distance, 13.7 M. The frequent crossings of the creek made the march a hard one. The appearance of salt gone. It was abundant opposite our camp in July, probably swept out by the recent flood, which seems to have been a very high one.

Oct. 4th. Moved a mile eastward, & encamped on a little stream in a wide valley coming from the south. Detailed a party of 75 cavalry under Capt. De Saussure (Lt. Thomson) to accompany me to the Canadian. Capt. Wood instructed to conduct the main party E. to the Arkansas; thence Mr. Weyssse connect the marking of the

89. Surveyors' maps show that the train had now reached tributaries of Buffalo creek, which empties into the Cimarron (or Red fork of the Arkansas as Colonel Johnston sometimes calls it) farther east.



line to the initial pt. Capt. W. to endeavour to strike the head of the S. W. branch of the Little Verdigris. Mr. Ingraham, after examination, reported that the large deposits of crystalized salt that we had seen in July had disappeared.

Oct. 5th. The two parties marched at 8h 40'.<sup>90</sup> Our course 35° (by Smalkalder) crossing a very rough country, the main hollows running to the N. E., but their sides cut up by deep gullies worn by rain water. At 5 M. crossed a clear stream 12 ft. wide in a sandy channel of 40 yds.; the valley narrow, between rocky bluffs. 8 M. further came to a broad valley, or rather cove, in the S. E. side of which we found a good stream, in a narrow hollow. Its bed sand. Lined with trees. Pine (short leaf) & cedar on the bluffs. Encamped. Distance about 15 M.

Oct. 6th. Marched at 8h 30', S. 35 E. 3 M. to the summit of the ridge between the N. F. of Canadian & the Salt [Cimarron] river. The dividing ridge crossing our course, we turned due south 15 M. to the N. F. of C. & encamped, the valley 1½ M. wide, Sandy, intersected by ranges of sand hills.<sup>91</sup> The channel of the river about 50 yds. wide, the stream 30 [feet wide] & 2 ft. deep, with a bold current. Course of the valley S. 39 E., the S. slope of the "divide" a sandy plain, dotted with sand hills, like that we ascended in passing from this valley to that of the Red fork. Cottonwood & Elm abundant; comparatively.

Oct. 7th. Marched at 8h 30' S. for 1½ M., crossing the river at the ½ M. Then turned S. 22 E. for 3 M. on a plain somewhat sandy, but sufficiently firm. Then struck & passed thro' a range of sand hills ½ m. across (running from W. to E.); on their S. side a bold & clear Ck 5 or 6 ft. wide, lined with wood of different kinds. S. 53½ E. the rest of the march, ascending very gradually for 7 M., a Ck running from the W. crossing our course at three miles. Remains of an Indian camp just above. 1½ further encamped on a

90. At the division of the party here at the junction of Buffalo creek with the Cimarron river, Captain Wood was directed to conduct the train in a northeasterly direction to the original starting point. The surveyors accompanying Captain Wood marked the camp sites of the train on their maps until the return trail converged with the outward one. On October 6 the party encamped about four miles southwest of Whitehorse, Woods county, Oklahoma; October 7, near Hopeton; October 8 and 9, near Daley, Alfalfa county; October 10, three miles southwest of Florence, Grant county; October 11, five miles west of Medford; October 12, north of Numa; and October 13, on Bluff creek, in northeastern Grant county, Oklahoma. On October 14 the expedition again entered Kansas southwest of Drury, Sumner county, between Bluff creek and the Chikaskia river. The return trail was lost here, but it is likely they followed the outward road back to the Missouri border. Colonel Johnston turned south, October 5, with seventy-five cavalymen, and does not again refer to Captain Wood's party in his journal. The government maps do not show his route from here, but it may be traced fairly accurately by a check of directions and distances in the journal.

91. Colonel Johnston's party encamped about midway between Sharon and Cedardale, Woodward county, Oklahoma.



branch of the last. The course of the N. F. of C. nearly parallel to the last course & about 3 M. distant.

Oct. 8th. Marched at 8h 30' S. 40 E. about 6 M. to the top of the dividing ridge whence the Canadian was visible 2 or 3 M. before us, coming from the S. W. & bending around to the S. E. Turned along the "divide" about 4 M. & encamped on the E. side of a little branch running into the Canadian which was about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  M. distant S.<sup>92</sup> The channel about as wide as that of the Arkansas where we crossed it (250 yds.). A bottom of nearly the same breadth, only 2 or 3 ft. higher, & the 2d bottom, some  $\frac{1}{2}$  M. wide, about 20 ft. higher, still. The N. F. seemed to be but 6 or 7 M. from the curve of the Canadian, the ridge between them 300 or 400 ft. above the Canadian. The valley of the N. F. not so low as the former.

Oct. 9th. Marched at 8h 45' N. 75 E. along the N. edge of a post-oak wood extending as far southward as we could see on both sides of the N. F. & into the valley of the Canadian. All the heads of the creeks emptying into the N. F. make gaps in the dividing ridge. About 8 M. from last camp we left the crest of the ridge & after crossing two arroyas crossed the N. F. 14 M. from camp of last night, & encamped on its bank a M. below.<sup>93</sup> Its course being nearly E.,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  M. below camp it turns strongly southward. The valley where we entered it very broad. The slopes gentle. Its appearance less barren than above.

Oct. 10th. Marched at 8h 45' in the direction taken yesterday. At 4 M. in the edge of a blackjack wood which proved to be 4 M. in breadth, its E. edge at the brow of the hill from which we looked down into a very broad valley running eastward, which we followed, & encamped on the Ck running thro' it at 3 P. M. 4 M. from Ne-ish-ke-koash-ke-pi (Rock Salt river).<sup>94</sup> A S. branch, apparently the largest, joined that [which] we had followed, just above the pt at which we encamped.

Oct. 11th. Marched at 8h 30'. At 9h 30 reached the river & crossed two channels divided by an island, the E. one the main. Ascended a gentle slope 15' (N. 75 E.), found a plateau covered with black-jack woods. Marched on this plateau 8 M., wood & prairie about equal. Encamped a M. E. of the last wood, on two little pools, at the head of a hollow running N. into a larger, 3 M. distant, apparently running E. Grass poor, having been consumed by buffalo.

92. Camp was situated west of Munice, Dewey county, Oklahoma.

93. The expedition encamped about three miles east of Fonda, Okla.

94. Colonel Johnston and party were now approaching the Cimarron river, southeast of Isabella, Major county, Oklahoma.

Oct. 12th. Marched at 8h 30' 115° (by Smalkalder). At 9h 45' crossed a clear Ck of brackish water flowing Southward (the hollow of last night's camp joins its valley), the branches of this Ck being troublesome. Worn deep in the red clay. At 2h 15' crossed a 2d clear Ck, but of fresh water.<sup>95</sup> The valley like the last, very broad. Buffalo numerous. 3 or 4 Osages chasing them, spoken with by Joe Spaniard. Said their camps & families are on the Little Arkansas. Encamped on the E. side of the Ck.

October 13th. Marched at 8h 30', 115°, 6 M. to the ridge separating the valley from one running northward, the channel in which was 9 M. from the last camp. The summit E. of it 3 M. further. A valley running E. visible from it, of which the one last crossed is a branch. A line of cottonwood marking the course of the stream winding thro' it, as far as the eye could reach. Numerous branches indicated also by cottonwood. Encamped on one of them at 3 p. m. Joe Spaniard gives as the Osage name of the creek, Wasaape oche (Black bear).<sup>96</sup> We crossed the Ck 2 M. above camp. The grass luxuriant.

Oct. 14. Marched at 8h 30' (115°) 5 M. to the crest of the dividing ridge. A very broad valley visible to the N. & a heavy line of timber. Opposite to us a large branch of the Ck on our right seemed to come in from W., the branch we had just left bending strongly S. to meet it. Our course for 13 M. crossed the S. branches of the valley, gradually approaching the timber marking the streams. Encamped on one of them, about 1½ M. from the main stream. The soil passed over to-day better than any seen W. of the Arkansas. The grass fresh & rank.

Oct. 15th. Marched at 8h 15' (115°), the Ck on our left receding. Our course still over the spurs from the ridge on the S. Appearance of the country unchanged. 12 M. brought us to the edge of the valley of the Arkansas, 1 M. from it, & 2 M. S. of the mouth of the Ck, which is near the head of an island (main channel on its E.) some 3 M. long.<sup>97</sup> At the lower end of the island the river turns to the N. E., the lesser channel first striking a rocky bluff. We moved S. about 2 M. & encamped on an Osage trail from the E. after crossing the two branches of a Ck, the mouth of which is just above

95. Probably Mulberry creek, south of Enid, Garfield county, Oklahoma.

96. The expedition encamped in midwestern Garfield county, on a tributary of Black Bear creek, the latter creek bearing the same name to-day.

97. The creek referred to here may be the present Red Rock creek emptying into the Arkansas river in western Pawnee county, Oklahoma. The camp site on the evening of October 15 was south of the mouth of the creek and west of the present town of Masham.



the bluff aforesaid. Where we struck the Arkansas, a high ridge covered with post oak, is parallel to it & E. The river runs from N. E. around the N. end of this ridge & in the same way turns to the N. E. around its S. E. end. A good deal of post oak on the hills S. W. of the river. Much more on those opposite. A quantity of sandstone.

Oct. 16. Marched E. on the Osage trail found yesterday, 14 M. to the point at which the party making it had crossed the river. Found it barely fordable. Crossed & encamped, the ground passed over being rough; our course being perpendicular to the ridges which run to the Arkansas.<sup>98</sup> A deep gully in every hollow. The valley of the A. broader than at the 37th parallel & the land better. More timber also.

Oct. 17th. Marched at 9 up the valley on the Osage trail about 1 M., then turned up a steep hill of 200 ft. high. A short detached ridge. From its summit turned to 115°. A great deal of wood (oak) on the right. Our course crossed ridges running almost due S., to the river, all day. Near the top of each hill & on each side, a ledge of rock was encountered. The soil good, & grass fresh & abundant. Encamped in the edge of an apparently extensive oak wood. Distance 14 M. Rain, with a cold strong S. wind, began about 1 o. c. & continued.

Oct. 18th. Rain continued. Marched at 12. Country very rugged & wooded. At 3 M. crossed a Ck in a deep valley which was followed about 2 M. The road required great labour. Encamped at 4 o. c., rain continuing.

Oct. 19th. Marched at 9h 30' over the ridges (rocky & wooded) between the branches of a deep stream, the valley of which could be seen running off to the S. E. near 20 M.<sup>99</sup> This valley is broad & beautiful. Prairie & woodland mixed. Its branches, which we crossed, have very rich soil. The rock, like that on the Verdigris, generally sandstone. Some limestone. Encamped in one of these branches at 3 o. c., the third. All the water crossed E. of the Arkansas seemed to flow into the same valley.

Oct. 20th. Marched at 9 o. c., crossing a ridge covered with post oak & blackjack. The valley E. of it broad & open in both directions (N. & S.). Crossed a small Ck following its valley on the N. E. side 2 or 3 M. 3 or 4 M. of high prairie succeeded. Then a

98. The camp was located across the Arkansas east from Ralston, Okla.

99. Bird creek, a stream rising in Osage county, Oklahoma, empties into the Verdigris river.



wooded & stony hollow & ridge. Then a broad valley (open) in which are two streams a mile apart, the first 30 or 40 ft. wide with a good current, the other, on which we encamped, small.

Oct. 21st. Rain. Moved (115°) at 11h 40', about 5 M. in rough prairie & one in a blackjack wood. The ground so heavy that we encamped at the end of these 6 M. on a little stream flowing S.

Oct. 22d. Marched at 10 (drizzle), 120°, about 6 M. thro' oak wood (P. O. & B. J.) over ridges running S. Detained near 2h making a practicable road down a steep & rocky hillside. A broad open valley at the foot of this hill. Encamped on a branch (W.) of the main stream, 2 M. from the foot of the hill. This main stream, the Little Verdigris, was but a quarter of a mile from our camp.<sup>100</sup> Lined with heavy timber 400 yds. wide, the low ground more than a mile in breadth, perhaps 1½ M. on an ave.

Oct. 23d. Employed all day in making a way & getting the wagons across the L. Verdigris. Encamped in the N. E. edge of the low ground, near a Cherokee road. A Mr. Keyes has a house 1½ W. of the camp, near the L. V. Trades with the Osages.

Oct. 24th. Marched at 10h 15' (124°), having been kept waiting for two wagonloads of corn. Ascended gently for a mile, then marched 4 M. on a level prairie, 3 M. crossing obliquely a valley running to the S. W., then 4 M. on a plateau, a step (upward) in the country about 3 M. to the N. running across to the valley of the Verdigris from that just left, parallel to our course. Then 12 M. brought us to the top of the descent into the valley of the Verdigris, very broad & open. The courses of the river & its tributaries marked by belts of wood. Encamped near the foot of the hill.

Oct. 25th. Marched at 9 o. c. E. 4 M., under the guidance of Joe Spaniard, to the first house of Coodey's settlement. 2 M. further E. S. E. struck the California road.<sup>101</sup> 5 M. from this point, reached the Verdigris at Coodey's.<sup>102</sup> Detained 2h repairing the road & encamped a Mile to the E.

Oct. 26th. Marched at 9h 20' in a heavy rain which continued until noon, for 5 M. followed a trail leading E. N. E. Then struck a road leading, Joe Spaniard said, to Hudson's on the Neosho just

100. The expedition was now nearing the Little Verdigris in southern Washington county, Oklahoma.

101. The California road mentioned by Colonel Johnston probably was the route which passed through Fayetteville, Ark., thence across the corner of the Indian Territory, entering Kansas in Chautauqua or Montgomery county. The trail joined the old Santa Fe trail in McPherson county. See *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 6, p. 90; v. 9, pp. 576-577; and "Early Trails Through Oklahoma," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, v. 8, pp. 110-111.

102. The expedition may have crossed the Verdigris at the present town site of Coody's Bluff, Nowata county, Oklahoma, although maps and references do not entirely coincide.

above its junction with Spring river.<sup>103</sup> A range of heights like that west of the Verdigris, parallel to the road on the left. Encamped on a creek running S. E. This road from the pt where we entered it to the brow of the hill,  $\frac{1}{2}$  M. above camp, runs thro' a high and almost level prairie; apparently the dividing ridge between the Verdigris & Neosho. Camp  $\frac{1}{2}$  M. from the road.

Oct. 27th. Marched at 8h 35' a little S. of E. in a very broad valley subdivided by low ridges separating several branches. At 9 M. opposite to a projection from the range of heights mentioned yesterday (timber hill). Course to the pt in the road opposite to the camp of last night  $272^{\circ}$  (n. 51 E.). At this pt the course of yesterday was resumed; the road had been bent around the wooded hill. The country passed over to-day generally better land; the ridges low, all of rich soil. Encamped on E. side of a Ck which, Joe Spaniard informed me, is the last this side of the Neosho.<sup>104</sup>

Oct. 28th. Marched at 8h 35' ( $114^{\circ}$ ) over a succession of low ridges separating hollows running S. E. into Grand river. In 10 M. struck the road leading down the Neosho from Blyth's, following it 2 M. (S. E.) came to the Emigrants' road to Texas at Hudson's.<sup>105</sup> Turning into that road ( $154^{\circ}$ ) we reached the Neosho in  $1\frac{1}{2}$  M., 2 M. above its junction with Spring river. Marched  $7\frac{1}{2}$  M. from the ford, the 1st 2 M.  $154^{\circ}$ , 2d  $148^{\circ}$ ,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  M.  $167^{\circ}$ . Encamped in the edge of the timber of Spring river. Country, high prairie.

Oct. 29th. Marched at 8h 30' ( $145^{\circ}$ ) 6 M. to the lower ford of Spring river. Crossed & encamped in the W. edge of the prairie near the middle ford. Rain.

103. Present-day maps show Hudson creek flowing northeast into the Neosho river in Ottawa county, Oklahoma. It is likely that this stream is identified with the Hudson mentioned by Colonel Johnston.

104. Little Cabin creek, Craig county, Oklahoma.

105. During the Mexican War many emigrants to Texas left Kansas through Cherokee county and followed the divide between the Verdigris and Grand rivers to Fort Gibson. *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, v. 3, p. 117.

## Defense of the Kansas Frontier, 1864-'65

MARVIN H. GARFIELD

BEFORE the outbreak of the Civil War, the plains Indians and the rapidly onrushing white invaders had come to look upon each other as enemies. To the plains Indians it mattered little during the Civil War whether a white man espoused the cause of the Union or the Confederacy. They recognized all white men as common enemies. The Comanche Indians will serve as an illustration. In Texas the members of this tribe raided the settlements of Confederates, while farther to the north in Kansas other Comanches were engaged in depredations upon the lives of Union men and women. These Indians were too little concerned with the issues in the slavery struggle and too far away from the scene of action to have been an important factor in the war. Nevertheless, North and South accused each other of having incited Indian attacks. Especially was this accusation circulated in Kansas. Throughout the Civil War Kansas newspapers alleged that Confederate plotters were at work among the plains tribes, and particularly among the Cheyennes and Arapahoes. Governor Crawford shared this view also.<sup>1</sup>

In contrast with the number of rumors of collusion between the Confederates and Indians, however, the proven instances were few. In 1864 Gen. S. R. Curtis, commander of the Military Department of Kansas, fearing that the Confederates were planning to make a raid upon Fort Larned and Fort Lyon, ordered federal troops to be transferred from the Platte to the Arkansas river. The Confederate raid proved to be only a rumor.<sup>2</sup> Some evidence, nevertheless, does exist to show that the Indians were aware of Confederate plans. Simon Whitely, United States Indian agent at Denver, mentioned having heard threats by Comanches, Kiowas and Cheyennes to take all the forts on the Arkansas river when joined by the Texas soldiers.<sup>3</sup> Despite these disquieting rumors, the War Department reports from the plains indicate that prior to March, 1864, no conclusive information had reached headquarters that the Indians were planning hostilities.<sup>4</sup>

1. Crawford, *Kansas in the Sixties*, 223.

2. G. B. Grinnell, *The Fighting Cheyennes* (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915), 144.

3. *Report of the Commission of Indian Affairs 1864*, 236-237.

4. Grinnell, *The Fighting Cheyennes*, 131.



General Curtis was busily engaged at that time in fighting bushwhackers on the border and evidently had no idea that an Indian war was at hand. Like the Sioux War in Minnesota during 1862, the Cheyenne War of 1864 was precipitated by injudicious action upon the part of young military officers. A certain Lieutenant Eayre, in attempting to recover cattle supposedly stolen by Cheyennes, punished the wrong Indians. To make matters worse, Lieutenant Dunn, of the First Colorado cavalry, on April 12 attacked a small band of Dog Soldier Cheyennes on the South Platte. The Indians were young warriors who were on their way north to visit their Northern Cheyenne relatives. A little later Lieutenant Eayre drove Crow Chief and his Cheyenne band from their camp on the Republican river. In another expedition Eayre and his troops met a group of Cheyennes near Fort Larned and attacked them. This time he received the worst of the encounter and was forced to retreat to the fort. The wrath of the warlike Cheyennes was aroused to a high degree by these attacks. A general Indian outbreak in eastern Colorado and western Kansas and Nebraska was the result.

Logically the Indians selected the great western highways as their main objectives. Immediately following Lieutenant Eayre's fight with the Indians near Larned the redskins raided the stage road between Fort Larned and Fort Riley. Arapahoes, antagonized by Captain Parmenter, of Fort Larned, joined their Cheyenne friends on the warpath. The combined tribes then set about systematically to attack the Platte trail and Santa Fe trail, concentrating their efforts on the former. The trail to Santa Fe was generally left to the tender mercies of the Kiowas and Comanches residing south of the Arkansas river, who also took to the warpath.

Realizing that a general outbreak was at hand, Gen. Robert B. Mitchell, commanding the Nebraska district of the Military Department of Kansas, asked General Curtis on May 27 for one thousand men and an artillery battery to protect the Platte trail. Governor Evans, of Colorado territory, also requested that Curtis protect the South Platte and Arkansas routes. The Colorado executive, apparently not getting satisfaction from the department commander, on June 16 turned to General Carleton at Santa Fe for aid. He desired that Carleton send troops to Fort Union, New Mexico, subject to call from Colorado.<sup>5</sup> An attempt at handling the hostile Indians was made by Governor Evans in June. A proclamation was issued and sent to the Indian tribes in eastern Colo-

5. *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1864*, 229.

rado warning all friendly bands to report at specified concentration points. Cheyennes and Arapahoes were assigned to Fort Lyon while the Kiowas and Comanches were ordered to Fort Larned. But this proclamation was generally ignored by the Indians.<sup>6</sup>

Since the aborigines preferred taking chances with their lives in preference to coming in and being "good Indians," the war on the plains continued throughout the summer. In July the hostiles again commenced depredations in the neighborhood of Fort Larned. A government train bound for Fort Union, New Mexico, was attacked and twelve men were killed, while a large quantity of merchandise was destroyed.<sup>7</sup> Shortly afterwards four large trains were besieged near Cow Creek, where a battle ensued. The beleaguered crews were finally rescued by some of Curtis' forces from Fort Riley.<sup>8</sup>

General Curtis had taken the field during July in a campaign designed both to protect the trails and settlements and intimidate the Indians. Kansas militia, stationed at Emporia, were ordered to report to Curtis and hold themselves in readiness for assistance.<sup>9</sup> Curtis reported that his force numbered 396 men and consisted of militia, volunteers and regulars aided by a section of Ninth Wisconsin artillery. In his letters the general referred to the siege on Cow Creek and an attack by Indians on Fort Larned.<sup>10</sup> Curtis was highly commended by the press for his energetic campaign.<sup>11</sup> Before he had time really to accomplish much in an Indian war, however, it became necessary for him to abandon the project and return to Fort Leavenworth. The eastern border of Kansas demanded immediate protection against the threatening raid of Gen. Sterling Price into western Missouri. Curtis' chief accomplishment during his summer on the plains was the founding of two military posts, Fort Ellsworth (Harker) and Fort Zarah.

While Curtis was still on the plains numerous Indian attacks occurred in northern Kansas and southern Nebraska. Newspaper reports from Marysville, Kan., stated that sixteen whites had been killed and scalped and that nearly the entire population of Washington county was encamped in the town for protection.<sup>12</sup> In

6. *Ibid.* 23, 218-219.

7. *Kansas Daily Tribune* (Lawrence), July 27, 1864.

8. *Ibid.* August 7, 1864. (Reprint from the *Leavenworth Conservative*.)

9. *Adjutant General's Correspondence 1864*, (Kansas). Major Pollard, commander of the Eighth regiment K. S. M. had previously urged Governor Carney to let the regiment assist Curtis. Pollard to Carney, July 24.

10. *Kansas Daily Tribune*, (Lawrence) August 7, 1864. A reprint from the *Leavenworth Conservative*.

11. *Kansas Daily Tribune*, August 10.

12. *Ibid.*, August 23. Reprint from Marysville (Kansas) *Enterprise*.



Marshall county the militia, assisted by a company of Seventh Iowa cavalry, staged a four-hour battle with a superior Indian force, but were compelled to retreat.<sup>13</sup> In Nebraska and eastern Colorado the overland mail was forced to abandon 400 miles of its route, while all stations but one along a line of 120 miles had been burned. Immigration into Colorado and California over the Platte trail was seriously checked.<sup>14</sup> The hostile Indians were reported to have proclaimed that the land belonged exclusively to them and that they intended to regain and hold it if they were forced to destroy every white man, woman and child to accomplish their purpose.<sup>15</sup> To meet this situation Governor Evans in August issued a proclamation to Colorado citizens advising them to hunt down Indians and kill all hostiles. This resulted in all the Indians of the region going to war.<sup>16</sup> Evans later testified before a joint congressional committee that he had issued this proclamation at a time when Colorado had no troops to defend it.<sup>17</sup>

In an effort to make peace, Major Wyncoop, commander at Fort Lyon, rounded up the leading Cheyenne and Arapahoe chiefs and took them to Denver to interview the governor. Evans refused to come to terms with the chiefs, informing them that he was not the peace-making power and that they must make peace with the military authorities.<sup>18</sup> For taking this stand Governor Evans was severely rebuked by Commissioner Dole of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Mr. Dole reminded Evans that his duty as *ex officio* superintendent of Indian affairs in Colorado required him to receive and encourage all overtures of peace made by the Indians.<sup>19</sup>

Peace efforts having failed, the Indian war continued until cold weather drove the hostiles into winter quarters. Before the descent of winter, however, there were several Indian scares in Kansas. Manhattan residents on October 19 informed Adjutant General Holliday that the entire military escort of the Santa Fe express had been massacred west of Salina. Holliday was petitioned, consequently, to send the Pottawatomie county militia back to the western frontier at once.<sup>20</sup> The adjutant general as a result directed

13. *Ibid.*, August 24. Reprint from Leavenworth *Conservative*.

14. Letter from general superintendent of the Overland mail line to the Hon. Wm. P. Dole, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 31, 1864, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1864*, 254.

15. *Ibid.*, 255.

16. Grinnell, *The Fighting Cheyennes*, 148.

17. *Senate Report No. 156, Appendix*, 39 Cong., 2d sess., 48.

18. *Ibid.*, 47.

19. *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1864*, 256.

20. *Adjutant General's Correspondence 1864*. (Kansas.)



Col. John T. Price, of the Fifteenth Kansas militia, then located at Fort Riley, to give special attention to the frontier in the neighborhood of Salina. Governor Carney was also requested by Holliday to grant the petition concerning the Pottawatomie county militia. Colonel Price, however, discovered that the story of the massacre of the stage escort was a fake. The escort arrived safely at Fort Zarah although the frightened stage driver, having mistaken buffalo for Indians, returned to Salina. Price promised to keep the state authorities informed concerning future Indian disturbances. He clearly indicated, on the other hand, that he would use his discretion in defending the frontier settlements.<sup>21</sup>

As a climax to the year's fighting came the Chivington massacre of the Cheyenne Indians at Sand creek on November 29. The Sand creek camp was located near Fort Lyon on the reservation which had been set aside for the Cheyenne and Arapahoe tribes by the treaty of Fort Wise [later Fort Lyon] in 1861. As a matter of fact the Cheyennes had seldom remained on the reservation, which lay south of the Arkansas river in Colorado, but had roamed at will from the Red river to the North Platte. In the late summer of 1864, however, Black Kettle and White Antelope, in compliance with Governor Evans' proclamation, brought in a part of their respective bands of Cheyennes and camped near Fort Lyon. The camp was composed almost entirely of women, children, and old men. The warriors in most cases remained on the warpath.<sup>22</sup> While Black Kettle, White Antelope and other chiefs were in Denver engaging in a peace pow-wow with Governor Evans three war parties of Cheyennes and two of Arapahoes were still out.<sup>23</sup>

On November 29 the Cheyenne and Arapahoe camp on Sand creek was attacked by Colonel Chivington with a large force composed of regulars and Colorado volunteers. Of the 500 Indians in camp about 150 were killed, two-thirds being women and children.<sup>24</sup> The slaughter was frightful, since the Indians were surprised and poorly armed. Atrocities committed by the troops were fully as bad as those usually practiced by Indians upon their victims.<sup>25</sup> Fol-

21. Price to Holliday, October 31, 1864, *Adjutant General's Correspondence, 1864*.

22. Even George Bird Grinnell, who presents the Cheyenne side of the story, admits that most of the Indians in the tribe were hostile. He states that the old men were for peace while the young men were all for war, *The Fighting Cheyennes*, 152; for Governor Evans' side of the case see *Senate Report 156, Appendix*, 43-49, 39 Cong., 2d sess.

23. Black Kettle and other chiefs to Major Colley, August 29, 1864, Grinnell, *The Fighting Cheyennes*, 152.

24. *Kansas Historical Collections*, VII, 67, footnote. Chivington in his report stated that over 500 were killed, while George Bent estimated 150.

25. Numerous testimonials given before the *Joint Congressional Committee on the Conduct of the War* agree on this statement.

lowing the attack, the remnants of the tribes fled to the Big Timbers of the Smoky Hill river in western Kansas.

A great furore was raised in the East when the news of the massacre was fully published. General Halleck, chief of staff, at once ordered an investigation of Chivington's conduct, while General Curtis attempted to have him court-martialed. Chivington's term of service had expired, though, and he was beyond the reach of military law. Congress in 1865 attempted to punish Chivington and all members of the Third Colorado regiment who engaged in the massacre. The resolution, S. R. 93, was introduced into the senate to suspend the pay of all officers and men who had participated until an investigation could take place. The measure passed the senate in January, but was defeated in the house.<sup>26</sup> In the following session of congress, however, the annual Indian appropriation bill was so amended that the members of the Cheyenne and Arapahoe bands who suffered at Sand creek were to be recompensed in United States securities, animals, goods, provisions or such articles as the Secretary of the Interior might direct. The total amount of these gifts was \$39,050.<sup>27</sup> This congressional act was in harmony with article six of the treaty of the Little Arkansas, which had been drawn up on October 14, 1865. The entire article was a condemnation by the United States government of Chivington's action.<sup>28</sup>

Explanations of the Sand creek massacre stressed three factors. First, that it was good judgment to carry the war to the home of the Indian, and that experience had proved that by such methods alone could Indian uprisings be crushed. Chivington used the same procedure which later won such nation-wide fame for Sheridan and Custer. Secondly, there had been a demand for a winter campaign against the Indians. This had been urged on November 19, by General Hunt, commander of the upper Arkansas district, in a letter to General Curtis.<sup>29</sup> Also, Governor Evans, of Colorado, had previously suggested the scheme as the only means of conquering the hostiles and bringing them to respect governmental authority.<sup>30</sup> Public opinion in the frontier regions also was favorable to the plan. The Junction City *Union*, a Kansas paper, openly advocated it on August 20, 1864:

26. *Senate and House Proceedings 1865, Cong. Globe*, 38 Cong., 2d sess., 254, 1336.

27. *Senate Debate 1866, Cong. Globe*, 39 Cong., 1 sess., 3506.

28. *Official Copy of the original treaty*. Archives, Kansas State Historical Society.

29. Grinnell, *The Fighting Cheyennes*, 161.

30. *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1864, 222.



"A successful war can only be waged against them [the Indians] by organizing an expedition that will penetrate their country and find the rendezvous of their women and children. Then they will stand and fight armed men and not before."

A third reason for the massacre is that the "hundred-day volunteers" who made up the Third Colorado cavalry were chiefly frontiersmen who had suffered at the hands of the Cheyennes and Arapahoes throughout the previous summer. To these men rules of warfare meant nothing. They retaliated with atrocity for atrocity.<sup>31</sup>

In the long run the real sufferer from the Chivington massacre was the frontier settler. Public sentiment in the East largely turned against him and sympathized with the Indian. This view spread into congress and seriously handicapped legislation aimed at frontier defense. Senator Ross, of Kansas, on July 18, 1867, attempted to amend an army bill by providing that the general of the army should be authorized to accept the services of mounted volunteers from the governors of western states for suppression of Indian hostilities. He was outvoted, however, and compelled to accept a modification which defeated the purpose of the amendment.<sup>32</sup> Morrill, of Maine, speaking in opposition to Ross, stated that volunteers from the frontier states caused all the difficulties with the Indians. As an example he cited the work of the Colorado volunteers in the Chivington Massacre.<sup>33</sup>

Indian raids did not die out altogether during the winter of 1864-1865. Early in the new year a raid occurred on the Santa Fe trail west of Fort Larned. Cheyennes and Arapahoes numbering close to 150 attacked a wagon train at Nine Mile ridge, wounding six white men. The Indian loss was unknown.<sup>34</sup> Shortly after this episode the hostile bands of the two tribes moved north into Nebraska headed for the Powder river country. General Mitchell, commanding the district of Nebraska (this was before its reorganization in 1865 as the Department of the Platte), in order to drive the Indians out of the Republican valley region, burned the prairie grass for over 100 miles.<sup>35</sup> The burned area extended throughout a favorite Indian hunting region. This action of Mitchell's contributed to the exodus of the hostiles from Kansas and southern Nebraska. It simply meant, on the other hand, that their forces

31. Root and Connelley, *The Overland Stage*, 353-356.

32. *Senate Debate 1867, Cong. Globe*, 40 Cong., 1 sess. (Debate on the Ross Amendment to S. 136.), 708-709.

33. *Ibid.*, 708.

34. *Kansas Daily Tribune* (Lawrence) January 15, 1865.

35. *Ibid.*, February 2, 1865. Report of General Mitchell to General Curtis January 29.



were to be concentrated with the hostile Sioux along the Platte trail and Overland telegraph line. As a consequence the great Indian wars of 1865 took place outside of Kansas.

During the absence of the Cheyennes and Arapahoes the Kansas frontier enjoyed a brief respite. Of course, the Kiowas and Comanches were engaged in a series of depredations, but, comparatively, things were quiet during the spring and summer. On April 25 Indians attacked Cow Creek station on the Santa Fe Stage Company line driving off sixteen head of cattle.<sup>36</sup> On June 9 Kiowas charged upon a wagon train on Crooked creek in the southwestern section of the state. The train, which consisted of about seventy wagons under a military escort, successfully defended itself. In August the government was compelled to send a heavy escort to Fort Zarah in order to prevent the Indians from confiscating the 8,000 rations which were being delivered to the fort.<sup>37</sup> These rations were consigned to the Indians, but the Great Father at Washington preferred handing them out to his red children instead of having them taken by force.

Having learned by experience the terrible cost of the Indian war of the preceding year, the United States military authorities took steps in 1865 contemplated to bring the war to a close. A three-fold plan was developed: First, to defend the settlements and routes of travel from Indian aggression; second, to invade the Powder river region in the Dakotas and strike a blow which would teach the Indian to respect the power of the government; third, to make peace with the Indians in Kansas and arrange for their removal from the state. In pursuance of the first objective the Kansas government and people coöperated. Kansas troops also made up a large part of General Dodge's Powder river expedition. As to the wisdom of the third part of the plan, making peace with the Indians, Kansans were frankly dubious.

The Kansas state legislature on January 17, 1865, adopted a concurrent resolution requesting congress to secure from the President (1) full and ample protection against hostile Indians on the western border; (2) prosecution of an active campaign against the Indians by an adequate force of federal troops; (3) permission for the governor of Kansas to organize a regiment of veteran volunteer cavalry to serve for one year in the Indian campaign.<sup>38</sup> These

36. *Kansas Daily Tribune* (Lawrence), May 2, 1865.

37. *Junction City (Kansas) Union*, August 19, 1865.

38. *House Journal*, Kansas Legislature 1865, 88-89.

requests reveal the trend of popular feeling within the state at the time.

Another event of significance in January was the reorganization of the military departments. The old Department of Kansas was replaced by the Department of the Missouri with Gen. Grenville M. Dodge succeeding General Curtis. The state legislature upon receipt of this information extended Curtis a vote of thanks for his services.<sup>39</sup>

In an effort to insure a greater degree of safety to travel on the Santa Fe trail, Colonel Ford, commanding the district of the upper Arkansas, provided for escort service between Council Grove and Fort Larned.<sup>40</sup> Twice a month, on the first and the fifteenth, a company of troops left Council Grove as an escort for travelers and freighters. From Larned west to Fort Union, New Mexico, the escort was composed of troops sent from the district of New Mexico.<sup>41</sup> A similar arrangement was made for east-bound transportation. Fort Dodge was also constructed during the year as an added protection to Santa Fe travel.

An additional burden of protection was put upon the shoulders of the military authorities in Kansas when the Butterfield Overland Despatch line was organized in 1865. Its route extended 585 miles from Leavenworth and Atchison to Denver via the Smoky Hill river.<sup>42</sup> In order to give the route adequate defense, a chain of forts and outposts was constructed along the Smoky Hill valley by the government. The Butterfield line, despite this assistance, failed to make profits. Hostile Indians and the competition of the Holladay line on the Platte trail proved its undoing.<sup>43</sup>

The frontier settlements in Western Kansas were successfully defended during the year by Colonel Cloud and the Fifteenth Kansas cavalry.<sup>44</sup> A contemplated offensive against the Indians by Colonel Ford was never carried out due to the interference of Colonel Leavenworth, agent to the Kiowas and Comanches, who fancied that he could end the war by negotiation.<sup>45</sup> Colonel Ford was delayed by Interior Department officials until spring was so

39. *House Journal*, Kansas Legislature, 1865, 168.

40. Colonel Ford's order was published in the *Kansas Daily Tribune* (Lawrence) May 11, 1865.

41. *Ibid.*

42. Root and Connelley, *The Overland Stage*, 395.

43. Root and Connelley, *The Overland Stage*, 400-401.

44. Crawford, *Kansas in the Sixties*, 224.

45. Editorial, *Kansas Daily Tribune* (Lawrence) May 2, 1865.

far advanced that the hostiles were too strong to be attacked by his forces.

While these events were transpiring, Governor Crawford was not idle. With his customary energy he plunged into the problem of frontier defense early in the year. In answer to numerous petitions from settlers in the south-central portion of the state, he endeavored to persuade both Curtis and Dodge to send a small force of cavalry to the region.<sup>46</sup> Troubles had arisen between settlers and Indians in the Indian Territory on account of cattle stealing. Many settlers were leaving because of the danger of possible Indian raids.

In August the governor wrote to General Sheridan asking for the immediate muster-out of the Eighth and Tenth Kansas volunteer infantry. The reason given for the request was that the Indian situation on the western border looked threatening.<sup>47</sup> A few days later a similar request for the muster-out of the Sixteenth Kansas cavalry was transmitted to General Grant.<sup>48</sup>

While the Fifteenth Kansas cavalry remained in the state, the Eleventh and the Sixteenth were sent north with General Dodge to restore communication along the Platte trail, to protect frontier settlements, and to drive the Indians into the Black Hills.<sup>49</sup> Although in February it had been the purpose of the Department of the Missouri to send the entire Eleventh cavalry into the Smoky Hill region for an Indian campaign, a change of orders sent them to Fort Kearney, Nebraska. While part of the regiment guarded the Platte trail and Overland telegraph, the remainder was sent to Fort Laramie for the spring campaign against the Sioux on Powder river.<sup>50</sup> The work of protecting the transcontinental highway was difficult. Indians fairly swarmed along the telegraph line, but the soldiers were never driven from the field and the wires were kept in working order.<sup>51</sup> On June 11 Col. Preston B. Plumb was ordered to reopen and protect the Overland stage line and give all possible protection to emigrants and other travel. For the next

46. Crawford to Curtis, February 7, 1865, Correspondence of Kansas Governors, Crawford, (Letterpress books), 1863-1865, 28. Hereafter cited C. K. G. Crawford (Letterpress books); Letter from Crawford to General Dodge, February 11, 1865, Correspondence of Kansas Governors, Crawford, (Copy Book), 4-5. Hereafter cited as C. K. G. Crawford (Copy Book). Archives, Kansas State Historical Society.

47. Crawford to Sheridan, August 12, 1865, C. K. G. Crawford, (Copy Book), 13.

48. Crawford to Grant August 29, 1865, C. K. G. Crawford, (Letterpress Book), 53.

49. Will C. Ferril, "The Sixteenth Kansas Cavalry in the Black Hills in 1865," *The Kansas Historical Collections*, XVII, 855.

50. *Official Military History of Kansas Regiments*, 338-339, Library of the Kansas State Historical Society, n. d., n. p.

51. *Ibid.*, 342.



two months Plumb and his men guarded the stage line, drove the stages by using cavalry horses, and kept the United States mail on schedule.<sup>52</sup> In August the Eleventh cavalry was ordered to Fort Leavenworth and mustered out of service.

Less glorious was the performance of the Sixteenth Kansas cavalry in the Black Hills. The Sixteenth had the misfortune to participate in a disastrous campaign. General Connor's forces were outnumbered and outgeneraled by the Sioux and Cheyenne warriors. The attempt to strike the Indian in his stronghold resulted in so much grief that the project had to be abandoned. The losses of the Sixteenth nevertheless were very small. One soldier was killed and one wounded.<sup>53</sup>

In October General Grant announced his Indian policy. Generals Sherman and Pope were instructed to give particular attention to the problem of putting an end to Indian troubles along the great overland highways. Additional permanent forts were to be established along the Platte, Smoky Hill and Arkansas river routes. Finally the volunteers were to be replaced by 4,000 colored troops.<sup>54</sup> The Negroes were supposedly more free from prejudices against the Indians.<sup>55</sup> In addition to this advantage the Negroes were willing to serve, whereas the white volunteers became quite ineffective on account of their anxiety to be mustered out.<sup>56</sup>

Another important event of October, 1865, was the negotiation of a treaty with the southern plains tribes. The Chivington massacre had had the effect of practically annulling the treaty of Fort Wise, since the Cheyennes and Arapahoes were afraid to remain in the region set aside for them in Colorado by the treaty. Hence it was desirable to make a new treaty which would include not only peace terms but provisions for settling the Indians on a permanent reservation. Indian commissioners selected by congress came to Kansas in October and negotiated treaties with the Cheyenne, Arapahoe, Comanche, and Kiowa tribes. Two treaties were made: one with the Cheyennes and Arapahoes, the other with the Comanches and Kiowas. On October 14, on the Little Arkansas river, near the site of the present city of Wichita, the final agreements were drawn up. The United States was represented

52. *Official Military History of Kansas Regiments*, 342.

53. Wilder, D. W.: *Annals of Kansas*, 381.

54. Junction City (Kansas) *Union*, October 28, 1865; *Daily Kansas Tribune* (Lawrence) October 26, 1865.

55. Junction City *Union*, October 28, 1865.

56. *Kansas Daily Tribune* (Lawrence), September 14, 1865.

by seven commissioners: General Sanborn; Gen. W. S. Harney; Thomas Murphy, superintendent of Indians affairs in the central superintendency; Kit Carson, the famous frontiersman; William W. Bent, the fur trader; Jesse H. Leavenworth, agent of the Comanches and Kiowas; and James Steele. The Indian delegation was composed of the most influential members of their respective tribes.<sup>57</sup>

The most important terms of the treaty were contained in articles 2, 3 and 4. The first of these provided for setting aside a permanent reservation for the Cheyennes and Arapahoes, south of the Arkansas river in Kansas and Indian Territory. The Kiowas and Comanches were assigned to a region in northwestern Texas and Indian Territory. The Indians were not to settle upon the reservations until the United States had extinguished the titles of the Cherokees and other claimants. When absent from these reservations the Indians were not to go within ten miles of any of the main-traveled routes. All claims of the Indians to the region between the Platte and the Arkansas were given up. Article 3 permitted the Indians to range in the unsettled portions between the two rivers. Article 9 abrogated all existing treaties.<sup>58</sup>

The United States senate on May 22, 1866, ratified the treaty with four amendments. The most significant of these was the amendment to article 2. The senate provided that no Indian reservation mentioned in the treaty should be located within the state of Kansas. It was also amended to remove personal reference to Colonel Chivington.<sup>59</sup>

The senate amendments were accepted by the Indians in November, 1866, and the treaty was formally proclaimed by President Johnson on February 2, 1867.<sup>60</sup>

As a preventive of future Indian wars the treaty was defective. The Cheyennes and Arapahoes were left without any definite reservation, since the senate amendment to article 2 excluded them from Kansas, while article 9 took away their Colorado reserve. With these tribes turned loose and allowed to roam at will between the Platte and the Arkansas, the danger of conflict with the whites remained as grave a problem as ever. Furthermore, that part of article 2 which provided for the Indians remaining away from the

57. *Official Copy of the Original Treaty*, Archives, Kansas State Historical Society.

58. *Ibid.*

59. *cf.* previous reference to article of the treaty.

60. *Official Copy of Original Treaty*. Archives, Kansas State Historical Society.

main-traveled routes could not possibly have been enforced except by the Indians themselves.

Much evidence exists to cast doubt upon the permanency of the Indians' peaceful intentions. On their way to the council grounds a party of braves celebrated by attacking a Mexican train near Fort Dodge and killing five men.<sup>61</sup> Also, the treaty, like most agreements with the Indians, was made in the fall when the warriors were tired of fighting and were looking forward to a winter of rest and recuperation in order to get ready for another big year. In November, 1865, consequently, Colonel Leavenworth was able to report truthfully that "his Indians" had for the most part, if not entirely, stopped depredations along the Santa Fe trail.<sup>62</sup>

61. Editorial in *Kansas Daily Tribune* (Lawrence), October 5, 1865.

62. Report of the Central Superintendency, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1865*, 46.



## No-ko-aht's Talk

A Kickapoo Chief's Account of a Tribal Journey from Kansas to Mexico and Return in the Sixties.

Edited by GEORGE A. ROOT

IN 1867 Franklin G. Adams,<sup>1</sup> the agent for the Kickapoo Indians, received a visit from Chief No-ko-aht, who, a few years before, had led a band of about 120 Kickapoos on a visit to relatives in Old Mexico. No-ko-aht, with less than a dozen of his followers, had just returned from their pilgrimage to the reservation in Kansas. The "talk" which took place during this call was at the agency, at Kennekuk, Atchison county, on May 31, 1867, and forms the basis of this article. This interview was taken down in shorthand by Mr. Adams in a book of Kickapoo memoranda, now in the manuscript collection of the State Historical Society.

The Kickapoos were first found by white men in the country bordering Lake Michigan on the west. The earliest mention of the tribe is of their near destruction at the hands of the Puans (Winnebagoes)<sup>2</sup> between 1640 and 1660. After the lapse of nearly a hundred years, and much warfare, the tribe took up new homes on the Sangamon and Wabash<sup>3</sup> rivers, in present Illinois and Indiana. By 1820 most of the Kickapoos had moved to a new home on the Osage and the Pomme de Terre<sup>4</sup> rivers, in southwest Missouri. This location had long been the hunting ground of the Osages, and they objected to their new neighbors settling down there, protesting they would spread all over their grounds and kill the game.<sup>5</sup> In 1824,

1. Franklin George Adams was born in Rodman, N. Y., May 13, 1824. He came to Kansas in 1855 from Cincinnati, returning there, where he was married to Harriet Elizabeth Clark on September 29. He returned to Kansas in 1856, settling at Leavenworth, taking an active part in the free-state struggles. He engaged in the banking business in Leavenworth in 1857, and that fall moved to Atchison, becoming part owner of the *Squatter Sovereign*, changing its politics to free-state. He was elected first probate judge of Atchison county in 1858. In 1861 he was appointed register of the land office at Leecompton, removing the office to Topeka and serving till 1864. He was first secretary of the State Agricultural Society, and edited the *Kansas Farmer*. In 1862 he was part owner of the *Kansas State Record*, of Topeka. He removed to Atchison in the spring of 1864, and established the *Atchison Daily Free Press*. He was appointed agent of the Kickapoo Indians in the spring of 1865, serving until 1869. In the fall of 1870 he moved to Waterville and edited the *Waterville Telegram* from January, 1871, to August, 1872. In the winter of 1872-'73 he published *The Homestead Guide*, a volume of 312 pages. In 1875 he removed to Topeka, and in 1876 was chosen secretary of the newly organized State Historical Society, serving in that capacity up to the time of his death on December 2, 1899. A more extended biography will be found in *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 6, pp. 171-175.

2. Basqueville de la Potherie's *Histoire de l'Amerique Septentrionale*, published at Paris in 1722 and again in 1755, in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, v. 17, p. 7.

3. Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, part 1, pp. 684, 685.

4. *Treaties Between the United States of America and the Several Tribes of Indians*, from 1778 to 1837, p. 283.

5. Houck, Louis, *A History of Missouri*, v. 1, p. 196.

therefore, a number of these Kickapoos left and started south, finally presenting themselves to the alcalde in the city of Austin, in the then republic of Mexico. They stated that they wished to acquire land and make a home for themselves with the Mexican people. They were granted a tract lying to the north of where the San Antonio road crosses the San Angelo river, and acted as a buffer between the Mexicans and the wild Indian tribes of the plains.

In the years following a part of these Kickapoos crossed the Rio Grande and settled in the state of Coahuila, Mexico. The balance of those who had gone south lived on the tract allotted them until 1842, when by common consent they were given another tract, forty miles square. Here they lived until the outbreak of the Civil War in the United States, when at the advice of Gen. Sam Houston, they moved north into Indian Territory, settling in the vicinity of present Shawnee, Okla. In 1862 these Kickapoos decided to return to Texas and make their home in the wilds of that state, their objective being the Concho river, in Tom Green county.

This band finally arrived at the ranch of William Tankersley, about two miles from Knickerbocker. Tankersley was known to them, and at his invitation they camped on his ranch. The next day a large company of Confederate cavalry appeared at Tankersley's, inquiring for the Kickapoos. The officer in charge said that the Kickapoos had a large number of fine horses which would be of more value to the Confederacy than their friendship. He ordered a charge on the Indians. The Kickapoos were not expecting an assault, but nevertheless offered a most stubborn resistance, and as a result the cavalry lost sixteen men mortally wounded. The Confederates withdrew for reinforcements, not even stopping to bury their dead. The Kickapoos broke camp at once and started for Mexico, thinking Texas had declared war on them, and the trail of carnage and destruction they left in their wake is a matter of Texas history. They forded the Rio Grande and entered Mexico at the north end of the Sierra del Carmen range, following down this range into the state of Coahuila, finally taking up their home at Naciminto. Here they were welcomed by both state and federal authorities, not only because they were a protection to the native population of the country, but in remembrance of the protection that these same Indians had been when Texas was a part of Mexico. President Benito Juarez made a service grant to them and a treaty by which the Kickapoos rendered valuable aid in exterminating the Lipans and in driving the Comanches beyond the Mexican border.<sup>6</sup>

6. 60th Cong., 1st Sess., *Senate Document No. 215*, Pt. 3, pp. 1885, 1886.



The Kickapoos who had remained in Missouri moved during 1832 and 1833 to the reservation provided for them on the Missouri river, in present Kansas.<sup>7</sup> In 1864 about one-half of those remaining on the reservation, becoming dissatisfied with their treatment at the hands of the government,<sup>8</sup> started south under No-ko-aht, and joined their relatives in Old Mexico. Not finding conditions to their liking, No-ko-aht and a few followers returned to Kansas.<sup>9</sup> The statement which follows gives the reasons for the pilgrimage of No-ko-aht and his band, and an account of the trip going and coming:

TALK WITH NO-KO-AHT.

May 31, 1867.

The following talk was had with No-ko-aht at the agency:

"When we left here we went and joined with two parties of Kickapoos, making then three parties. Two other parties were already gone. We followed. That was the same fall [1864] that we left. We overtook the other parties in the spring. There were about 700 of us in the three parties. My party numbered [number not stated]. In the winter we had a fight with the Texans. It was very cold. I joined the two parties of Kickapoos just on the Kansas river line. We started to go south in the same fall. We traveled slowly along over and hunting buffalo on the plains. We joined the other two parties—not till after the fight. The other two parties had no trouble. Those two parties numbered about 1,000. We overtook the two parties just as we got out of Mexico. There were about twenty persons living in Mexico. They had lived there for about twenty years. The seven men were soldiers in the Mexican army and had been for a long time. The men stay in a little town called San Juan, close by a lake, about 40 miles from the Rio Grande, and about 40 miles northwest of Santa Rosa. We arrived in Mexico in the spring of '65, early, about time to plant corn in that country.

"When the Kickapoos first went to Mexico, about twenty years ago, the president of Mexico offered them a sack of money, but they came away before they received the money. The president of Mexico had ordered them to go on an expedition against the Comanches. They had made one expedition and had turned their spoils over to the Mexicans, but refused to go again and the president refused to give the sack of money unless the Kickapoos would

7. *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 12, p. 66.

8. *Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Report 1865*, p. 373.

9. *Ibid.*, 1867, p. 295.



do it, and then the Kickapoos came away. Then in 1864 the president sent a message to the Kickapoos to request them to come and get their sack of money. The Kickapoos went. When we got there the Mexicans wanted our young men to enlist. They wanted fifty young men to each party, 200 men, and came down to twenty. The Kickapoos refused. The Mexicans became displeased and ordered us into the mountains. There nothing can be raised. They should live by hunting. It was a false message that came to us. It was brought by Tas-ca-tap-ia, one of the seven. We went where we were ordered. That was the same spring of 1865. There were some white families and some black. They had farms, and appeared to have been there for some time. They were planning on the Mexican government taking their produce and stock which they raised for rent or taxes. There were six families of whites and eight or ten families of blacks. The whites left and the blacks remained for a short time. They raised cattle, sheep, and horses a good deal, and corn, pumpkins, and sugar [cane] and made sugar [?] and raised sweet potatoes. It was in a little valley at the foot of the mountain where the Sobrinas river comes out. The white families left in the spring of 1866. They didn't say where they should go to. They would come to the Rio Grande and work till they should get some money and would then come to the North. They didn't belong to the South. They went into Mexico for the war next, and all returned after it closed. The farms were pretty old and must have been bought of Mexicans. The Indians took the farms after the whites left. The white men offered to trade their farms for the Kickapoo lands in Kansas.

"Our first trouble in going out was the killing of one of our number by one of the wild tribes—Kiowa, on the Red river, pretty well west. He was cut off while out hunting. After that we went on till we got to where we saw some tracks of soldiers. We camped and sent a messenger to hunt them up. We failed to find the soldiers, and leaving a white flag went on. A number of days after we reached another track by a stream and we camped seven days. One day I was out setting traps when I met one of our leading men who told me we were to move back next day. Next morning I was out hunting horses, and I went across a mountain, and as I was going home I was fired upon by soldiers. I saw as I was on the mountain, a good many horses, and thought they were ours, but think they were soldiers. All our young men were scattered that morning hunting horses, and one or two were killed while out.

Then the soldiers came upon our camp. There was a stream between the two camps. The first killed was Aski. The Indians continued firing yet. Then a woman was killed. This was before we fired. The fight was but a few minutes. A good many were killed on both sides. When we drove them to one side another force came in behind us. Then we whipped the second party back and the third one attacked us and we fired on them once. We killed a good many of the first party, a few of the second and none of the third. When we were first attacked we divided, part pursuing the first Texan party and the others fighting the rest. The second and third Texan forces went [?] to the mountains and we couldn't do anything with them. We followed the first force quite a distance. The two parties at the mountain went and drove up all our stock. After it was all over we went up to the mountain and saw a good deal of blood. After the Texans drove off our stock we pursued for awhile, when we returned. We saw bodies of two or three Kickapoos who had been killed before the fight. They had taken two of our boys prisoners before the fight, and they took them along with them. Afterwards they got away. We had fifteen killed altogether: Aski, Kap-i-o-ma, Ki-sha-pi, Pen-i-a-la, Ki-sha-qui, George Washington, Ko-ki-pi-ah, ———, Me-sho-kum-i, Pa-mo-tha-ah, Ah-chi-mo, Me-hahq, Nan-ma-qua-tah, Ka-ke-to, and a boy.

"All our stock was taken away nearly; some families had none. We were obliged to leave most of our things. Aski tried to shake hands and make peace with the Texans, but they shot him.

"We found some papers among the Texans which showed that they had followed us ten days.

"After we had got into Mexico and had gone to the mountains the Texans later came and asked the Kickapoos to deliver the girl prisoner.

"We think we killed about forty Texans. They left their dead on the field of battle. They came back and buried them. There was a Texas family living not far away. The Kiowas had been into a settlement and took a girl prisoner. The Kiowas pointed to our trail so that the Texans thought we had stolen their child.

"The killed were seven of my party.

"From there we had a hard time. Some had to walk. We had sent for water—it was a dry region.

"During the year that we remained in Mexico we subsisted by hunting. We sold beaver, deer and bear skins. We sold our ponies

[?] for \$10 apiece for subsistence. We raised a very little corn. About 40 started home last spring; 33 Kickapoos, the rest Delawares. Over one-half of all started once, and when we got out a short distance, our horses were so poor and we were out of ammunition, and most went back. After we had come on ten days, two young men overtook us and wished us to wait ten days till they could go back for their things. We waited, but they didn't come. Before we started two of the chiefs wanted us to go around through the Comanche country.

"In coming home we had no trouble except in one place. We came upon three parties of plains Indians, one of whom shook hands with us, but the others refused. In a few days twelve of our horses were stolen. The friendly chief advised us to go on, which we did. After that ten more were stolen. We went back to hunt our horses and Indians brought us twenty horses. These Indians had a good many cattle which they had stolen. There had been a fight near there recently.

"I think these Kickapoos will come back this year to the Indian country. Some of them may come here. Some will have to stay because they have no ponies. They may get into trouble by stealing. They steal nearly everything in that country. The best man gets it. The chiefs can't control the young men. It's all war—the conversation down there. There were a good many traders from the French.

(No-ko-aht has nothing, but argued that the government ought to do for these Indians. The most of them want to return and live under our government.)<sup>10</sup>

"You asked me the other day how I felt. I told you I didn't feel well in my mind. There had been a great change here since I left. I want to know how all our arrangements with the government stand. At the time the treaty of '63 was making I always told the agent the treaty should not be left till a certain time. Finally I [illegible] about making a treaty. I thought I would go south and see the country. I saw that I couldn't live among the white people, for every year my stock was being stolen. I thought I had better leave. I tell you why I got scared. I insisted that the agent gave notice to all the white people around to steal our stock so that we would be obliged to go because we were poor. The agent told us that if we didn't make the treaty we would be taken prisoners and

10. Comment by F. G. Adams.



removed. That is why I left. The treaty was forced upon us. The agent told us the government owned the land, and the Indians only had a lease for a certain number of years. It is a fact that much complaint has been made about trouble between the Indians and the settlers. All this [was made] by the white people. In old times all Indians were called together when the treaty was made, and if all the old men and the young men were willing the treaty was made, and there was no trouble. So the [illegible] to choose a chief. The trouble arises because the agent chooses chiefs. When you told me about the treaty lately made, I thought the tribe was all broken up. It was the understanding of the Kickapoo tribe in 1854 that the Kickapoos should remain here as long as the world stood. In twenty years we were to meet so we should obtain that \$100,000. Now you understand me how I feel towards treaties. I ask you how these Pottawatomies come in."<sup>11</sup>

11. No-ko-aht's reference was to those Pottawatomies who had been living with the Kickapoos since about 1819-'20, and had intermarried. In 1851, by a treaty or national compact, they had been adopted into the Kickapoo tribe. The rights of nationality purchased from the Kickapoos cost the Pottawatomie nation nothing. In 1865 these Pottawatomies were for the first time permitted to enjoy the privileges of the tribe. By order of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs this year they received allotments of lands under the late treaty and were fully incorporated with the tribe. This was in conformity with the agreement of 1851.

## Notes on the Literature of Populism

JAMES C. MALIN

TO THE general reader of historical literature the word Populist usually carries with it a simple and elemental meaning. But as one becomes more inquisitive regarding its causes and its relations with other political, economic and social movements he finds himself facing an extremely baffling subject. Pursuit of satisfactory explanations will lead him halfway around the world. So far as Populism was an agricultural movement, it involved two different features. First, agriculture as an industry had not developed as rapidly as urban industry in its application of scientific discoveries, in its use of machinery and power, in its utilization of scientific management in farm operations, or in its organization of business methods as applied to marketing its products. This fact applies to agriculture in Europe as well as in America, and in New England and the Middle States as well as in the West and South. The development of railroads, steamships, refrigeration, and the telegraph, toward the end of the nineteenth century, produced a revolution in much of the machinery for marketing such basic farm products as grain, cotton and meat. The prices came to be made in world markets on the basis of world-wide competition. These changes occurred so rapidly that much of the marketing machinery worked inefficiently because adjustments were not made as rapidly as needed, and on occasion these conditions invited unfair manipulation in the interest of speculators. All of these matters affected the whole of the agricultural industry.

The second aspect of Populism was the local complications which aggravated the problems presented by the first group of factors. In the South there was the heritage of the Civil War, reconstruction and carpetbaggers, the peculiarities attached to the production of cotton and the social demoralization aggravated by racial antagonisms and lack of education. Poverty had become the most cherished institution of the rural South, and every feature of the prevailing farm life seemed to be designed to preserve it. In the West the complicating factor was frontier conditions complicated by what was probably the greatest agricultural expansion the world had ever witnessed in a similar length of time. More land was brought into cultivation in the United States between 1870 and 1900 than in the whole preceding period of American history. In

the Northeast agriculture was demoralized, and by 1880 the abandonment of farm land had become a subject of concern. The farmers' revolt centered in the South and West, however, and an altogether adequate answer has never been given which will explain why the revolt did not take a stronger hold upon the Northeast.

The Farmers' Alliances preceded the People's party and in their beginnings approached the farm question primarily from the point of view of improving rural *social* conditions. This approach to their problems soon led the farmers to shift the emphasis to the improvement of *economic* conditions, especially to methods of marketing farm products. There were two of the Alliances, the Southern and the Northwest, as they were conveniently referred to. In 1889 and 1890 attempts were made to unite them and other farm groups into one national organization. The plan even contemplated bringing into the combination certain groups of organized labor. The plan of union failed, and this failure marks the transition of the movement to the third or *political* approach to farm relief—the People's party—and the high point of this period of rural agitation.

The Alliance and Populist movements gave rise to a voluminous literature of exposition and argument and inspired several of their members to write "histories" which resembled communiques from the field of battle rather than judiciously phrased historical narrative. One of the first of these histories was that of William L. Garvin and S. O. Davis, *History of the National Farmers' Alliance and Coöperative Union of America* (Jacksboro, Tex., 1887). Garvin was one of the state Alliance leaders in Texas, where the Southern Alliance originated, and the book was written before the national aspect of the organization had developed very fully, so it centers around the Texas region. By 1891 the Alliance movement had reached its high point or passed it. The Populist phase was already in the offing. The farmers were threatened with overproduction of histories as well as field crops, but only three will be mentioned here: W. Scott Morgan, *History of the Wheel and Alliance* (several editions 1889-1891); J. E. Bryan, *The Farmers' Alliance: Its Origin, Progress and Purposes* (Fayetteville, Ark., 1891); and N. A. Dunning (editor in chief), *The Farmers' Alliance History and Agricultural Digest* (Washington, D. C., 1891). A later book was that of F. G. Blood, *Handbook and History of the Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union* (Washington, D. C., 1893). The Populist



movement had its literature, also, but less of it was historical, as is indicated by the following titles: William A. Pfeffer, *The Farmers' Side* (New York, 1891) and James B. Weaver, *A Call to Action* (Des Moines, Iowa, 1892). Pfeffer was the Populist senator from Kansas and Weaver was the presidential candidate for the party in 1892. No doubt many readers, if they look through their book-cases or attics, can find copies of some of these books, as well as others not mentioned here. If the books have not been read for thirty-five or forty years, to reread them would be an excellent method of measuring whether the world, or the reader, has changed any in that time.

During recent years Populism has become a favorite subject of historical research. A few of these studies are of book length: Alex M. Arnett, *The Populist Movement in Georgia* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1922); F. B. Simpkins, *The Tillman Movement in South Carolina* (Durham, N. C., Duke University Press, 1926); Paul R. Fossum, *The Agrarian Movement in North Dakota* (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1925); F. E. Haynes, *James B. Weaver* (Iowa City, The State Historical Society of Iowa, 1919). Shorter studies of the length of magazine articles are more numerous than the longer studies and deal with the movement in Minnesota, Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas, Indiana, North Carolina, Louisiana and Texas.

The history of Populism as a whole has been attempted only a few times. The first such study was that of Frank L. McVey, *The Populist Movement* (New York, 1896) and it was written in a highly critical spirit. The second landmark in this field was the book by F. E. Haynes, *Third Party Movements Since the Civil War* (Iowa City, Iowa, The State Historical Society of Iowa, 1916). As the title indicates, this book is not limited to Populism, but it brought together within the covers of one book a good summary of what was then available. Of similar character, but more superficial, is Solon J. Buck, *The Agrarian Crusade* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1920). As most of the special state studies indicated in the preceding paragraph were written after the World War, the time is ripe for a new book based on this wider range of specialized information.

During the late summer of 1931 the University of Minnesota Press (Minneapolis) published a book by John D. Hicks, *The Populist Revolt*. It was advertised as a "definitive" history of the Farmers' Alliance and the People's party. Readers should not be

misled by such advertising, however, even when it comes from one of the large university presses. The book is not definitive within any accepted meaning of that term, even if one grants the possibility of any history being definitive. The book does not deal with the international economic situation which was a major contributing cause of the depression of the nineties in the United States. The chapter on silver is similar to much of the writing of the "goldbugs" of the McKinley era. There is no analysis of the machinery for marketing and distributing farm products which would afford the reader a background by which to judge Alliance and Populist grievances against the middlemen. More broadly speaking, there is a serious want of a comprehensive survey of agriculture for the whole period in question. When judged from these points of view the book is a conspicuous example of what most American historians have been doing—trying to write the history of the United States in a vacuum, assuming tacitly if not explicitly, that this country is isolated from the rest of the world and insulated completely from the influence of economic and political events outside. There are serious gaps in the local material. The author has made systematic use of the Minnesota and Nebraska newspapers and has used similarly one paper in each of the following states: Illinois, Texas, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia, together with two papers published in the interest of the Alliance and the People's party, respectively, in Washington, D. C. The author has made good use of these, but Kansas readers may ask why no paper representing their state is in the list, as Kansas was generally understood to be one of the leading Populist states. Kansas men appear only occasionally, and then scarcely more than as names, in spite of the prominence they held in the headlines of contemporary newspapers. This is not the provincial criticism of a Kansan, but it illustrates similar deficiencies in the narrative for other states, especially those whose newspaper files Professor Hicks has not examined personally. In the field of manuscript sources the limitations are even greater. Only four important collections are listed: Those of Donnelly of Minnesota, Weller of Iowa, and Allen and Maxwell of Nebraska. Labor union connections with the Alliances and People's party are alluded to at various times, but no systematic study was made of that field. There is reason to believe that an investigation of these connections is essential to the solution of several peculiar turns of events in Populist history.

Prof. John D. Hicks was for several years head of the history de-

partment at the University of Nebraska and at present is Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences. For about a decade he has been making the Populist movement his special field of historical research. He brings to the writing of this book a mature background of knowledge of his chosen subject. In his preface Professor Hicks calls attention to the book of McVey, to that of Haynes, and then states his own position thus:

"But Haynes lacked monographic material on which to rely, and in the case of a movement so widespread and so many-sided as Populism the work of a single investigator was bound to be inadequate. Since the time when Haynes wrote, books and articles dealing with various phases and segments of the Populist movement have multiplied amazingly, and for this reason, if for no other, the time is ripe for another general treatise on the subject."

Here, then, is a statement of what Hicks set out to do, and his book should be measured by the degree to which he accomplished his own purpose and not by the exaggerated claim of his publishers. From this point of view an estimate of the book becomes a very different matter. He has supplemented his own investigation with the special studies of others and has fused the whole into an effective book. He has developed to a high degree his ability to write in a simple and direct language a story which in itself is highly complicated. Criticism might be directed at some minor questions, but there are rather few points in which he has failed to appreciate fully the significance of monographic materials he has used. The present writer is of the opinion that more emphasis should properly be given to the work of H. C. Nixon, "The Cleavage within the Farmers' Alliance Movement" in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 15 (June, 1928) 22-33. In this study Nixon emphasizes the sharp differences which developed over the oleomargarine and lard-compound questions. The cotton and range-cattle interests of the South defended these products and the dairy and hog-corn interests of the North demanded federal legislation which would limit if not destroy those industries. This controversy illustrates a fundamental truism in the whole field of economic legislation, that what is relief to one industry may be disaster to another. On some other of these sectional differences Hicks has given a most illuminating treatment. Such conflicts as these help to explain more adequately why the Populist farm-relief program went on the rocks at that time. Taking the book as a whole, it sums up in a quite satisfactory manner what is known about the Alliance and Populist movements.



## The Annual Meeting

THE fifty-sixth annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society and the board of directors was held in the rooms of the Society on October 20, 1931. Since the Society is required by law to submit a biennial report of its activities, a full account of the proceedings will appear in the biennial report to be published following the annual meeting of 1932. In order to avoid duplication, a summary only is given here.

The officers elected for the year 1931-1932 were John S. Dawson, president; Thomas A. Lee, first vice president; H. K. Lindsley, second vice president. The directors whose terms of office expired at the annual meeting were reelected for three years. New directors elected to fill vacancies were: for the term ending October, 1933, Wilder S. Metcalf, Lawrence; Charles E. Beeks, Baldwin; T. F. Morrison, Chanute; Mrs. W. D. Philip, Hays; for the term ending October, 1932, John G. Ellenbecker, Marysville; John H. Wilson, Salina. Mrs. W. E. Connelley, widow of the late secretary of the Society, was elected to honorary membership.

The retiring president, Charles M. Harger, of Abilene, made a most interesting extemporaneous address. A summary of his talk, prepared by Mr. Harger, follows:

### THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

The annual meeting of the State Historical Society is merely a milestone in a long path of usefulness. Here we can evaluate our progress and plan for the future. The past year has been one of advancement, with new functions and revision of old ones to fit into the needs of these times. No organization of this kind can go on successfully without constant readjustment of its methods and the acceptance of new ideas that will further its object. This is what gives stimulation to its membership and accomplishment worth while in its achievements.

Recorded history, as other phases of civilization, is undergoing change. In the beginnings of historic time the record was of dates and persons. Wars, massacres, cruelty stalked across the pages. Revolutions, assassinations, all the brutal characteristics of untamed rulers, made the story. Later, affairs of state, of conquest by well-instituted armies, crept into the picture.

With the settlement of the new world came the recital of the trials and tribulations of settlerhood, of the varied methods evolved by pilgrim fathers to establish order in an environment strange in its physical aspects and a citizenry difficult to please in government.

Until within a century and a half of these times the history of America was of experiment, of migration to the West, of setting up new communities, later

to be gathered into states. It was concerned largely with the objective, only incidentally with the subjective in human experience.

Gradually into our national life came modern problems of government, the complexities of industrial life, the dawn of new theories in social progress, the rise of literature, the press and rapid communication. The tide of population swept to the Pacific coast and turned back on itself—there was no more free land, Uncle Sam was not “rich enough to give us all a farm”—his farms were exhausted. Storm and stress of a civil war disturbed and then abated. This nation finished one era and began another. Settlement in its first forms of development was over. Succeeding came the period of ideas, of changing social orders, of problems of maintaining among more than a hundred million persons constituting our population a rational procedure in living so framed as to give to each his opportunity and to protect the weak against the strong.

Somewhat parallel to this hastily sketched program has been the history of Kansas. The Kansas State Historical Society is entering a new era, one in which it has to deal with the subjective rather than the objective. For more than a third of a century it has been gathering the facts of early settlerhood. Marvelous is this collection of historical material preserved for the future. But Kansas is not old. We shall by continuing the process eventually gather all available records of what our forefathers did and how they developed this commonwealth. The efforts of this Society and of the county associations—that are working toward the same end—must some day have the picture of settlerhood completely recorded.

After this comes the period when we consider causes, events, civic and social accomplishments rather than the story of the pioneer. The rise and fall—or the establishment—of movements in government; the psychology of social trends; the spectacular rise of new leaders—and why; the cross currents in the commonwealth's administrations—what all these factors in Kansas life mean and how they were evolved—all these are to be part of the Society's endeavor, and upon it rests the duty of preserving these while they are fully attainable and their interpretation—or at least their real historic value—is possible.

The preservation of material things—pictures, diaries, furniture of significance—is not to be belittled. These have their place. No one can traverse the countryside of Virginia valleys or the hills and vales of New England without being impressed by the devotion to their noble history that animates their people. Kansas has no history going back 300 years as do they. Its history is recent. Many of those who took part almost in its beginnings are yet with us. It is far simpler to record events than in older commonwealths. Hence this Society has opportunity for a comprehensive record that will not only preserve every possible feature of the beginnings of things but may add to this an interpretation of the events that have come in the building of the structure of state and in its many significant activities.

Kansas is making history to-day that is as fascinating as any in its past. Present-day events will be as interesting to future generations as is to us the record of pioneering and settlerhood. The new era is concerned with things spiritual rather than with adventure; it touches on economics and social readjustments. The story of trends in government, in education, in rural and urban life will never end.

Coming historians will look back on these years as offering material for

speculation as to what sort of people we were in the second decade after the World War. They will realize that Kansas faced a type of problems new to its experience, and will seek to determine how it met them. The stress of economic conditions—its effect on community life, on government, its influence in retarding progress or in arousing a determination to conquer and so spiritually uplifting the people to new heights—will be analyzed to decide what kind of men and women made the Kansas of to-day.

The history of these times should be preserved fully that it may be known by those who come after how sanely, fearlessly and intelligently this commonwealth overcame difficulties—for so it will solve its problems. Kansas has ever won victories; it has never known defeat. We shall fail in our full duty if we do not visualize for future generations the strong manhood and womanhood of this Kansas of our period.

We should not devote all our energies to gazing into the past, for we are makers of history now, writing a page in the chronicle of the state's accomplishments that challenges in abundant interest the pages our forefathers inscribed. All the glory of days gone by was but the forerunner of the greater glory of the Kansas of to-day.

The Society has a wider field than merely the local tradition. In every county should be an historical society that will have for its object the preservation of material and records that pertain to its own existence. The state Society has for its field the consideration of broader trends in development. Notable as is its accomplishment, it cannot hope to cover every minor field. To devote its attention to those matters that relate to the state as a whole seems to me its true function. If we accomplish that successfully, if we give to that our unified attention, if we make this Society a group of earnest seekers for establishing a picture of Kansas as its history develops and so arrange and preserve that record as to make it available to those who come after us we shall have accomplished its high purpose. This is the duty that lies before us as members of the Society. This is the path that will lead the Society to its greatest usefulness and make its endeavors a satisfaction to this generation and of notable value to our children and our children's children.

The members of the executive committee for the year 1930-1931 were W. W. Denison, chairman; E. A. Austin, H. K. Brooks, Thomas A. Lee, T. M. Lillard. This committee was reappointed by President Dawson for the year 1931-1932. The annual report of the executive committee for the year ending October 20, 1931, follows:

#### REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The executive committee of the board of directors of the Kansas State Historical Society hereby submits the following report:

Monthly meetings of the committee have been held except during the summer months, at which the president, Mr. Harger, and the secretary, Mr. Mechem, attended.

The committee has examined the vouchers made in the expenditure of funds from the membership-fee fund, and three members of the committee, in accordance with the constitution and by-laws, have approved of all the vouchers for such expenditures.



The state accountant has audited and checked the books of the treasurer and the receipts and disbursements of the Society, including state appropriations and other receipts and disbursements.

The committee has reconciled the books of the treasurer of the Society with the report of the state accountant and with the cash certified to be on hand by the National Bank of Topeka to the credit of the Society.

The special committee of seven appointed by the president to rewrite or revise the charter, constitution and by-laws of the Kansas State Historical Society, performed this duty and made a report revising the charter, constitution and by-laws, practically following the constitution and by-laws of the American Historical Society, which by the direction of the executive committee has been approved and copies sent out to each member of the board of directors of the Society more than four months prior to the annual meeting now in session. The committee recommends its adoption.

The president and secretary recommended to the executive committee the publication of a quarterly in place of the annual or biennial bound volume of the *Collections*. The executive committee approved this recommendation and the first number of the *Quarterly* is now ready for distribution.

The executive committee accepted the generous offer of John A. Hall, Esquire, of Pleasanton, Kan., to deed to the Society a small tract of land near Pleasanton, Kan., of very considerable historical interest from several points of view, explained more fully in the secretary's report.

The executive committee takes pleasure in reporting to the Society that our president, Mr. Charles M. Harger, has shown a most unusual and diligent interest in the affairs of the Society, unexcelled by any previous president, and the committee hereby tenders to him the thanks of the Society for his services.

The committee further reports to the Society its very real satisfaction with the services of our new secretary, Mr. Kirke Mechem. We feel that the Society has made unusual progress during the past year under his efficient and able management.

Further actions of the committee will be shown by the secretary's report to the Society.

Respectfully submitted,

W. W. DENISON, *Chairman*,  
EDWIN A. AUSTIN,  
THOMAS AMORY LEE,  
HENRY K. BROOKS,  
T. M. LILLARD,  
*Committee.*

The report of the secretary, as read at the annual meeting, is given below. The report in detail will appear later in the biennial report:

#### REPORT OF THE SECRETARY

The Society in the past year has progressed steadily in all departments, both in volume of accessions and in usefulness to the public. In the affairs of an organization so large and so well established there is little necessity for innovation. With the exception of the new work being done in the archives department and the establishment of the *Quarterly* there have been no changes. This statement, therefore, is mostly a recital of the volume of routine work ac-

complished. While our staff is limited it is efficient and harmonious, and it handles smoothly the many demands made upon it.

The secretary has been greatly assisted in the work of the year by the president of the Society, Mr. Charles M. Harger, and by the executive committee. The executive committee has met regularly once a month, and all matters of importance have been referred to it. Mr. Harger came from Abilene for nearly every meeting.

## LIBRARY

The library has had a normal growth in number of accessions and in volume of business transacted. The loan file constantly increases in number of subjects and in usefulness. During the year approximately 2,000 requests for information were received. Much help was given to students preparing thesis material.

Accessions to the library proper and to the archives and newspaper sections for the year ending June 30, 1931, were as follows:

Books (volumes) .....	886
Pamphlets .....	2,909
Newspapers and magazines (volumes).....	1,149
Archives:	
Separate manuscripts .....	84,445
Manuscript volumes .....	84
Maps .....	20
Maps, atlases and charts.....	134
Pictures .....	255

These accessions bring the totals in the possession of the Society, including the museum, to the following figures:

Library, including books, pamphlets, bound newspapers and magazines .....	336,247
Archives, separate manuscripts .....	847,699
Archives, manuscript volumes.....	26,541
Archives, maps .....	414
Maps, atlases and charts.....	10,051
Pictures .....	14,092
Museum objects and relics.....	32,430

## ARCHIVES

The 1931 legislature gave the Society two additional clerks for repairing and calendaring manuscript material in the archives. These clerks began work the first day of July. In order to be able to institute proper methods the secretary made a trip to the East, where he inspected processes used in the Library of Congress, the New York Public Library and the Pennsylvania Historical Society. The preservation and cataloguing of manuscripts presents a difficult problem in any institution, and this is especially true in one like ours, where the work is new and the methods unfamiliar. Progress is slow and but little headway can be made by two clerks on the vast collections owned by the Society. We have been taking inventory and have unearthed hundreds of priceless manuscripts that have been stored away uncatalogued and forgotten. It is essential that this source material be made available to the historian and the public, and it is hoped that two more clerks may be secured at the next session of the legislature.

Many valuable accessions have been received by the archives department. Notable among the additions to official state documents was the voluminous accession which came from Gov. Clyde M. Reed, including thousands of letters from the general office correspondence of former governors.

#### NEWSPAPER SECTION

The death on March 10 of William E. Bacon, who for thirty years had been in charge of the newspaper section, was a severe loss to the Society. Mr. Bacon had a wide acquaintance in the state, especially among newspaper men, and he had done much to build up what is one of the largest newspaper collections in the country.

The Society is now regularly receiving 735 newspapers and periodicals. Of these 56 are dailies and 504 are weeklies. The 1931 legislature appropriated \$1,800 for new steel shelving, which is now installed and which for the time relieves the congestion in this department. It is still necessary to stack hundred of volumes of out-of-state newspapers on benches. New shelves for these are necessary for their proper preservation. Outstanding among newspaper accessions for the year were 81 volumes of Leavenworth newspapers dating from 1864 to 1921, which the late D. R. Anthony II, of Leavenworth, donated to the Society before his death. In September the Society made a gift of 186 volumes of duplicate northwestern Kansas newspapers to the State Teachers College at Hays. The 1931 annual list of Kansas newspapers and periodicals received by the Society was published in June.

#### MUSEUM

The museum continues to be the most popular department with the general public. During the year ending June 30, 1931, the attendance was 29,546. The total number of accessions was 131. With the exception of the Goss collection of birds, all the relics in the museum have recently received a thorough cleaning and have been newly labeled. The 1931 legislature appropriated money to give the walls a much-needed plastering and painting. This work is now being done and the museum will be closed for nearly two months.

#### KANSAS UNIVERSITY SEMINAR

For the first time in the history of the Society a class of students did special research work under the direction of an instructor. Dr. James C. Malin, associate professor of history at Kansas University, conducted a seminar during the last summer and six students of the University spent their full time examining source material. In addition to this class many other students, a number of whom came from universities out of the state and in the East, did special work. Also, several well-known writers and historians consulted the Society's records. Much constructive use was made of source material during the past year.

#### MEMBERSHIP

The year since the last annual meeting has been a most successful one from standpoint of membership. We now have 716 life members and 234 annual members. Since the last meeting 102 life members have been enrolled, considerably more than in any one year in the history of the Society. Senator H. K. Lindsley, of Wichita, personally secured 68 of these. Aside from his personal efforts there has been no membership campaign. The secretary ex-



pects to make a more systematic effort to secure members as soon as the press of other work will permit. The membership of the Society, considering its size and importance, is not nearly as large as it should be.

#### THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

For some years many members have felt that quarterly publication of the historical material printed in the biennial collections would be of advantage to the Society. This, of course, was not criticism of the content of the *Collections*, since their popularity has always testified to their worth, but it was believed that the unwieldiness of the volumes and the infrequency of their appearance set a regrettable limit to their use and value. After investigation by a special committee and approval by the executive committee of the committee's report, the proposal was submitted to the board of directors by letter for approval. With only one exception the answers expressed full approval. Over the two-year period the *Quarterly* will publish approximately as much material as did the biennial *Collections*, and it is believed that their more frequent appearance will be of greater value in maintaining the interest of our members.

#### PUBLICITY

In the belief that publicity about the activities of the Society will attract members and increase its usefulness, a series of newspaper stories has been written and will be sent regularly to all the leading daily and weekly newspapers of the state. The first of these was released this week. For the past three months station KFBI, owned by the Farmers & Bankers Life Insurance Company, of which Senator H. K. Lindsley, a director of this Society, is president, has been broadcasting a series of biographical sketches of eminent Kansans which were prepared by this Society. By this means a wide distribution of historical information is secured, for which the Society is given proper credit. The new *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, it is believed, will also attract new friends to the Society.

#### LOCAL AND COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

Since the last annual meeting two county historical societies, two local historical societies, and one old settlers association have affiliated themselves with the state Society by taking out life memberships. In addition the Society has given assistance to the organizers of three other county historical societies not yet affiliated. Since our records show only twelve county historical societies in the state it is felt that the past year represents a good beginning upon what should develop into an important branch of the Society's activity. In this connection it may be of interest to know that the Society has given advice and instruction to several persons planning to write county histories.

County societies are asked to submit annual reports prior to the Society's annual meeting. Only one complied this year, the Hodgeman County Society. This society reports a membership of 119. It held eight meetings during the year, possesses 50 manuscripts relating to county history and has collected 212 historical relics.

#### SHAWNEE MISSION

The most important of the properties belonging to the Society is the Shawnee Mission at Kansas City, Kan. In their present condition these buildings do little credit to the state. The north building is in such a bad state of re-

pair that visitors cannot be admitted. The east building has had considerable work done upon it and is fairly presentable. It was discovered this spring that all the original oak and walnut studding had rotted out and the building had to be jacked up and new timbers installed. When the plastering and painting which is to be done this fall is finished this building will be in good condition. The legislature reduced our appropriation for repairs at the Mission below what we thought was necessary. However, it allowed \$500 a year for 1931 and 1932 for landscaping. Under the supervision of L. R. Quinlan, of the Kansas State College at Manhattan, the first year's appropriation was used in grading the grounds and seeding them to blue grass. The Shawnee Mission Floral Club is installing at its own expense a lily pool and rock garden.

#### FIRST CAPITOL OF KANSAS

The First Capitol building, on highway 40 near Fort Riley, continues to attract many visitors. Road signs erected by the Junction City Chamber of Commerce have greatly increased the attendance. There were 9,349 visitors for the five months ending with September, an increase of 1,788 over the corresponding period last year.

#### PIKE PAWNEE MONUMENT

Pike Pawnee monument, near Republic, was improved last spring by the addition of a slate promenade with stone trim about the base. It has been suggested to interested persons in Republic that the road from the town to the monument be suitably marked.

#### KANSAS FRONTIER HISTORICAL PARK

The 1931 legislature established at Hays the Kansas Frontier Historical Park on the site of old Fort Hays. The park is under the control of a board of five, of which the secretary of the Historical Society is a member. On the 23d and the 24th of June the citizens of Hays celebrated the dedication of the park and the thirtieth anniversary of the Kansas State College. It was estimated that 10,000 persons visited the two old stone buildings and heard Gov. Harry H. Woodring dedicate the park. Vice President Charles Curtis spoke in the auditorium of the college in the morning. Charles M. Harger, president of the Historical Society and chairman of the State Board of Regents, presided at both meetings.

#### GIREAU TRADING POST

John A. Hall, of Pleasanton, a director of the Society, recently gave to the Society the site of the old Gireau trading post. This is situated in the town of Trading Post, where Highway 73E crosses the Marais des Cygnes river. It is in the center of a section full of historical associations. The site itself marks the spot where Michael Gireau traded with the Indians as early as 1834. It was later the site chosen by General Scott for the erection of barracks, before Fort Scott was established in 1842. It was here that John Brown dated his famous *Parallels*, which were written in January, 1859. Only a few miles northeast the Marais des Cygnes massacre occurred; just outside the town the bodies of the victims now lie; here General Pleasanton quartered his troops during the winter of 1864; and only a few miles south of the near-by town of Pleasanton the battle of Mine Creek was fought.

In addition to giving the site Mr. Hall will pay one-half the cost of a

permanent marker which will be erected. Signboards descriptive of the historical significance of the site and surrounding country will be erected.

Respectfully submitted,      KIRKE MECHEM, *Secretary*.

### REVISED CHARTER, CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS

As directed by the Society at its 1930 meeting, the president appointed a committee to revise the charter, constitution and by-laws. The members of the committee were George P. Morehouse, chairman; Mrs. Lucy Greene Mason, John S. Dawson, T. F. Doran, and James C. Malin. The revisions as prepared by this committee were submitted to the executive committee. After approval by the executive committee they were submitted in writing to the directors. In the absence of Mr. Morehouse, chairman, the revisions were presented to the members of the Society at the annual meeting by James C. Malin. Upon vote, they were unanimously adopted. The revised charter, constitution and by-laws, as adopted, follow:

### CHARTER

*Be it resolved by the Kansas State Historical Society:* That the charter of said Society, heretofore filed with the secretary of state on December 15, 1875, as amended June 2, 1928, by the action of its executive committee, be further amended to conform to the provisions of the constitution and by-laws of said Society adopted by it December 3, 1912, and that section 4 be amended to read as follows:

*Fourth.* The said corporation shall be managed by a board of ninety-nine directors of three classes, one class of thirty-three to be elected each year at the annual meeting of the Society.

*And further be it resolved by the Kansas State Historical Society:* That the amendment of section 2 of the said charter, duly adopted by the executive committee of the Society May 28, 1928, and duly filed with the secretary of the state of Kansas, June 2, 1928, by which amendment power is given to acquire by purchase and otherwise title to historic spots, together with the authority to improve and repair grounds and structures, be and the same is hereby confirmed and approved.

### CONSTITUTION

SECTION 1. The name of this Society shall be the Kansas State Historical Society.

SEC. 2. Its object shall be the promotion of historical studies.

SEC. 3. The Society shall consist of annual, life and honorary members, to be elected by the board of directors. Fees and dues of life and annual members shall be fixed by the board of directors. The term of life and annual membership shall begin with the date of payment of fees or dues, subject to election by the board. County and city historical societies may affiliate with the state Society by taking out one life membership and may elect one delegate member. Editors and publishers of newspapers and periodicals who contribute



regular issues of their publications to the Society shall be considered annual members during the continuance of such contributions.

SEC. 4. The officers shall be a president, a first vice president, a second vice president, a secretary and a treasurer. The president and the vice presidents shall hold office for a term of one year. The term of office for the secretary and treasurer shall be two years, each new term to begin on July 1 after election.

SEC. 5. There shall be a board of directors consisting of ninety-nine, who shall be elected from among the members, and who shall maintain their residence in Kansas. The directors shall serve for three years and shall be divided into three classes, one class of thirty-three to be elected each year. Vacancies on the board shall be filled for the unexpired term by the executive committee. Any number not less than ten shall constitute a quorum.

SEC. 6. The board of directors, in conformity with the state laws governing the Society, shall conduct the business, manage the property, and care for the general interests of the association. In the execution of its proper functions the board of directors may appoint such committees, commissions and boards as it may deem necessary.

For the transaction of necessary business when the board of directors is not in session, there shall be an executive committee of five members, to be chosen from among members of the board of directors, as follows: The president elected at the 1931 meeting shall appoint two members for one year and three members for two years, and thereafter each newly elected president shall appoint members to fill vacancies as they expire, the term being two years. Subject to the general direction of the board of directors, and in conformity with the state laws governing the Society, the executive committee shall be authorized to exercise the powers of the board, and shall be responsible for the management of the Society and the carrying out of its policies.

SEC. 7. The annual meeting shall be held in Topeka on the third Tuesday in October. Any number not less than fifteen shall constitute a quorum.

SEC. 8. This constitution may be amended at any annual meeting, notice of such amendment having been given at the previous annual meeting, or the proposed amendment having received the approval of the executive committee and having been submitted in writing to the members of the board of directors at least three months previous to the annual meeting.

#### BY-LAWS

1. The officers provided for by the constitution shall perform the duties and functions customarily attached to their respective offices, together with those fixed by law, and such others as may from time to time be prescribed. The secretary and treasurer shall be required to give satisfactory bonds.

2. Income from membership fees shall be used to supplement state appropriations. All warrants drawn on the treasurer shall be upon sworn vouchers approved by a majority of the members of the executive committee. 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.

3. There shall be a committee on nominations, to consist of five members of the board, to be selected by the president. It shall be the duty of this committee, annually, at some time previous to the annual meeting, to make a selection of persons whom they deem proper to recommend for officers and members of the board of directors, and shall present the same for action at the annual meeting. If elective offices become vacant it shall be the duty of this committee to nominate candidates; vacancies on the directorate shall be filled by the executive committee.

KIRKE MECHEM, *Secretary.*

## Recent Additions to the Library

Compiled by HELEN M. McFARLAND, Librarian

SINCE the library is specialized, books which are purchased or received by gift generally fall into the following classes: The Kansas library, including books by Kansans and books about Kansas; the western section, covering explorations, overland journeys and tales of the early West; genealogy and local history, including family histories, vital records, Revolutionary records, publications of patriotic and hereditary societies, and state, county and town histories; and books on the Indians of North America, United States history and biography.

We are always interested in obtaining information about Kansas authors and their work and shall consider it a great favor if our readers will send us any information that will put us in touch with local authors.

The following books have been added to the library from October 1, 1930, to October 1, 1931:

### KANSAS

ALTHAUS, CARL B.: *Study of School Legislation and School Support; Organization and Financing of Special High School Provisions in Kansas*. Published in mimeograph form by author, 1931.

ANDERSON, G. W., Publishing Company: *Atlas of Nemaha County, Kansas, Containing Maps of the Townships of the County*. Des Moines; Anderson, 1922.

ANDERSON, THOMAS: *Rebel Prison Life, 1863-65; a Graphic Story of the Capture, Imprisonment and Escape of a Union Soldier*. Lawrence, Kan.; Lawrence Journal Company, 1906.

BAYS, MRS. BERTIE (COLE): *The Harp of One String*. Newton, Kan.; Kansan Printing Company, 1930.

BIRD, JOHN S.; *Prairies and Pioneers*, n. p., *Ellis County News*, n. d.

BRAINERD, A., Publisher: *Atchison City Directory for 1876*. Atchison; *Daily Champion*, 1876.

BROCK AND COMPANY, Publisher: *Atlases of Cheyenne, Rawlins, and Thomas Counties*. 3 vols.; Chicago, Brock, 1928.

BROWN, LULA LEMMON: *Cherokee Neutral Lands Controversy*. Pittsburg; Girard Press, 1931.

CARLSON, ANNA MATILDA: *Heritage of the Blue Stem; a Romance of the Prairies*. Kansas City; Burton Publishing Company, 1930.

CHAMBERS, W. L.: *Niles of Nicodemus; Exploiter of Kansas Exodusters*. Los Angeles; Washington High School, n. d.

CLEMENTS, FREDERIC EDWARD: *Rocky Mountain Flowers; an Illustrated Guide for Plant Users*. New York; H. W. Wilson Company, 1914.



- COATES, MRS. GRACE (STONE): *Black Cherries*. New York and London; A. A. Knopf, 1931.
- CONNELLY, MRS. CLYDE DAVIS: *Facts for Patriots*. Kansas City, Mo.; Crafters Publishing Company, 1919.
- CRAVEN, THOMAS: *Men of Art*. New York; Simon and Schuster, 1931.
- CRAWFORD, NELSON ANTRIM: *Unhappy Wind*. New York; Coward-McCann, 1930.
- DALTON, EMMETT: *When the Daltons Rode*. Garden City, N. Y.; Doubleday, Doran and Company, 1931.
- DAVIS, MARGARET BURTON: *The Woman Who Battled for the Boys in Blue. Mother Bickerdyke; Her Life and Labors for the Relief of Our Soldiers*. San Francisco; A. T. Dewey, 1886.
- DE MOSS, JAMES ANDREW: *From Patmos to the Holy City, or The Ages Foretold; a Treatise on the Book of Revelation*. Cincinnati; Standard Publishing Company, 1902.
- DE MOSS, JAMES ANDREW: *Information About Thayer, Kansas*. Thayer; News Printing House, n. d.
- DE MOSS, JAMES ANDREW: *A Look Through the Lens of Prophecy, or What Daniel Saw and Heard*. Cincinnati; Standard Publishing Company, 1903.
- DE MOSS, JAMES ANDREW: *Medics, or the Glory of Man*. Thayer, Kan.; n. p., 1931.
- DREILING, B. M.: *Golden Jubilee of German-Russian Settlements of Ellis and Rush Counties, Kansas, August 31 and September 1 and 2, 1926*. Hays, Kan.; *Ellis County News*, 1926.
- DRISCOLL, CHARLES BENEDICT: *Doubloons; the Story of Buried Treasure*. New York; Farrar and Rinehart, 1930.
- ENDACOTT, JOHN: *Biographical Booklet Compiling Information to be Used in Celebrating the Centennial of Kansas Methodism, Especially on Sunday, November 2, 1930*. Parsons; Commercial Publisher, 1930.
- ERNEST, ELVENOR: *Present Status of Women in Medicine*. Reprinted from *Journal of Kansas Medical Society*, December, 1930.
- FARNHAM, MRS. MATEEL (HOWE): *Wild Beauty; a Novel*. New York; Dodd, Mead, 1930.
- FISHER, R. H.: *Biographical Sketches of El Dorado Citizens*. El Dorado; Thompson Brothers, 1930.
- HAUGHAWOUT, MARGARET E.: *Sheep's Clothing*. Pittsburg, Kan.; n. p. 1929.
- HAUGHAWOUT, MARGARET E., Editor: *Pittsburg College Verse, 1924-'30*. Pittsburg; College Inn Book Store, 1930.
- HAWLEY, D. E., Compiler: *Atchison City Directory for 1878-'79*. Atchison; *Champion Steam Print*, 1878.
- HUBER, MRS. FLORENCE M.: *The Golden Stairway; a Book of Verse*. London; Stockwell, n. d.
- HUGHES, LANGSTON: *Not Without Laughter*. New York; A. A. Knopf, 1930.
- JACKSON, MRS. MAUD C.: *Faith Lambert*. Nashville; Sunday School Board of Southern Baptist Convention, 1929.
- KUYKENDALL, WILLIAM L.: *Frontier Days; a True Narrative of Striking Events on the Western Frontier*. n. p., J. M. and H. L. Kuykendall, 1917.

- LIVERMORE, MRS. MARIAN (SORLIE): *Prairie Flowers and Heather Bells; Poems*. St. Joseph, Mo.; American Printing Company, 1910.
- MCCLINTOCK, MARSHALL: *We Take to Bed*. New York; J. Cape and H. Smith, 1931.
- MCENTIRE, MRS. ADELE (TUTTLE): *Candlelight*. Topeka; author, 1930.
- McKERNAN, THOMAS A.: *Musings; Lines and Rhymes in Varied Mood*. No impr.
- McMURTRIE, DOUGLAS CRAWFORD: *A Forgotten Pioneer Press of Kansas*. Chicago; John Calhoun Club, 1930.
- MALONE, D.: *Atchison City Directory, 1872-'73*. St. Joseph, Mo.; Steam Printing Company, 1872.
- MARKHAM, WILLIAM COLFAX: *Forty Years Agone; Address at the Final Chapel Assembly of Baker University, May 30, 1931*. No. impr.
- MARKHAM, WILLIAM COLFAX: *The Secret of the Years*. Washington; Ransdell Incorporated Press, n. d.
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## Kansas History as Published in the State Press\*

"A History of Coffey County," by Judge Burton L. Kingsburg, one of the pioneer jurists of the county, appeared in the May 29, June 5 and 12 issues of the *Le Roy Reporter*. Articles written by John P. Hamilton, Sr., during the middle eighties on "Pioneers of Coffey County," "Early Modes, Manners and Customs," "Some Border War Experiences," "Indian Refugees in Coffey County," and "Stories of Old Wagon Trails," were republished in the *Reporter* from June 19 through August 28. An account of the organization of two Indian regiments at Le Roy was appended in the issue of September 4, by the editor.

"Reminiscences of Early Days in Coffey County" is a regular feature of the *Burlington Daily Republican*. In this column a series of historical sketches by old settlers is run, telling of events in the early days and incidents of pioneer life.

How Oakley and Colby were named, and the reason for Oakley avenue in Colby, was explained by David D. Hoag, town founder, in a letter published in the *Oakley Graphic*, September 18. The article was later reprinted in an eight-page pamphlet.

A "Historical Sketch of the Immaculate Conception Parish," by Rev. W. T. Doran, S. J., of St. Mary's College, and Rev. Gilbert Gallagher, S. J., of St. Louis University, was published in the *St. Marys Star* June 25, July 2, 9 and 16.

An old mill, built by Edgar Nichols in 1874 on the Smoky Hill river, southeast of Russell, was the subject of an article by Oswald Dryden, writing for the *Hoisington Dispatch*, July 23. It was reprinted in the *Russell Record* of July 30, and supplementary information appeared in the latter newspaper on August 6.

W. K. Myers, of Cottonwood Falls, last survivor of the Indian raid on Adobe Walls, retold the story of the attack in the *Dodge City Journal*, July 30.

"Trail Days in Kansas," dealing with aspects of the history of the cattle business in the state, was written by Alice Hockley for the July 31 and August 7 issues of the *Cedar Vale Messenger*.

\* All dates are in 1931.

Pioneer reminiscences of William Wayman and George Knouse were published in the August 6 issue of the *Emporia Times*. Herbert Miller, pioneer cattleman, recounted some of his experiences in the *Times* of August 13.

Early life in Alexander was reviewed in the *La Crosse Republican*, August 13.

Mrs. John Hennes, of Beloit, recalled the last Indian raid in Mitchell county, on its sixty-third anniversary, in the *Beloit Daily Call*, August 13.

A "History of the Beef Cattle Industry from Frontier Days to the Present Time," by Dorothy Woodbury, ran in the *Cawker City Ledger*, August 13, 20 and 27.

"Turning Back the Pages of History" was the title of a column conducted in the *Kansas Optimist*, Jamestown, from August 13 to September 10. Information for this series of articles was gleaned from old records of Grant township.

On August 21 and 22 Oskaloosa celebrated the passing of the three-quarter-century mark. John Arnold was among the pioneers who wrote of early-day scenes in the August 14 issue of the *Independent*. He came to Jefferson county in July, 1859.

The Santa Fe trail picnic August 27 at Baldwin prompted the *Baldwin Ledger* to publish accounts of pioneer events in its issues of August 21, 28 and September 4.

A letter from E. T. Wickersham, of Fall River, published in the *Eureka Herald*, August 27, related some of the early-day incidents in Greenwood county.

Historical notes of Elk community, Marion county, compiled by William Knode, appeared in the *Marion Review*, September 1 and 8.

J. F. Randolph, writing for the *Clyde Republican*, September 10, reviewed many incidents relative to pioneer days at Clyde, Cloud county.

The *Humboldt Union*, of September 24, in advocating a new bridge for the Neosho river at Humboldt, traced the evolution of the river crossing from 1867 to 1931.

Jack Ebbutt, veteran cattleman of Geary county, recalled his part



in driving 6,000 head of Texas cattle to Abilene, in an interview appearing in the *Dwight Advance*, September 24.

A sketch of the life of Jacob Achenbach, builder of the Beaver, Meade and Englewood railroad, and organizer of the town company of Hardtner, was contributed by John Hudson to the September 27 issue of the *Wichita Eagle*.

"A Brief History of Fort Riley and the Cavalry School" appeared in the *Junction City Union*, September 28.

Announcing an old settlers' picnic held at Schnack park, Larned, the *News* of October 1 carried letters and interviews from early settlers and historical authorities of Pawnee county. Among them were S. E. Huston, Mrs. C. E. Grove, Kelso Clark, J. F. Upson, J. M. Pruett and Isaac Ulsh.

The monument erected in Library park, Baxter Springs, by the Daughters of the American Revolution in honor of Gen. James G. Blunt and the 135 soldiers killed in the Quantrill massacre, October 6, 1863, was dedicated October 2. Frank Arnold, a survivor, was in attendance. A special edition of the *Baxter Springs News*, October 1, contained historical articles apropos of the anniversary. "Baxter Springs as a Military Post, 1862-1863," written by Hugh L. Thompson in 1895; "Account of Baxter Springs Massacre, Including Quantrill's Report," from F. D. W. Arnold's history of the Arnold family; and "The Baxter Springs Massacre," as dictated in 1929 by Lewis G. Coon, Co. I, Third Wisconsin cavalry, a survivor, were features of the edition.

The fiftieth anniversary of McCune as a city of the third class was observed Friday, October 9, according to the *McCune Herald*. Many old-timers participated in a pageant which depicted early scenes.

A brief history of the Jewell City Catholic church, by Mary Hurley Fay, appeared in the *Abbey News*, Atchison, October 10.

"Pioneer Railroading Out West," was the title of a series of articles commencing in the *Ellis Review* October 15, by Jesse C. Martin.

An article on the "History of Beef Cattle Industry from Pioneer Days Until the Present Time," by Geraldine Hammond, appeared in the October 22 issue of the *St. John County Capital*.

A short history of St. Mary's College, incidental to its change from a college to a school for priests, appeared in the October 22 issue of the *St. Marys Star*. It was reprinted from the *Jesuit Bulletin*, a St. Mary's College publication.

The dedication of the reconstructed monument over the grave claimed to be that of Juan de Padilla, Franciscan priest who was slain by Indians in 1542, was held October 25 at Council Grove. The site, as originally marked with a heap of stones by friendly Indians, has been restored by the Emporia Knights of Columbus organizations, and was presented to the Council Grove Historical Society by George Bordenkircher, president of the Kansas Catholic Historical Society. Father Padilla accompanied Coronado in his search for the cities of Quivira and remained on the plains with the Indians after Coronado's return. It has been recited that the priest suffered martyrdom on December 25, 1542, while he was kneeling in prayer. The *Emporia Gazette* and the *Topeka Daily Capital* of October 26 printed the dedicatory program.

The battle of Mine creek, October 25, 1864, was described by Milton Tabor in the *Topeka Daily Capital*, October 29. Company A, Eleventh Kansas regiment, was among the Union troops engaging the Confederate forces under General Sterling Price.

The stirring days of Carrie Nation's saloon-smashing activities were recalled by Jimmy Woods in the November 1 issue of the *Wichita Beacon*.

A copy of Topeka's first city directory, published in 1868-1869, inspired Arthur L. Conklin to an article entitled a "History of Topeka," appearing in the *Topeka Daily Capital*, November 1.

The Eleventh Kansas regiment's expedition to the Platte river country in Wyoming in 1865 was described by Paul I. Wellman in the *Wichita Eagle*, November 1. In the issue of December 20 the massacre of the Bogardus family near Beloit by raiding Indians was featured. These stories appeared in Mr. Wellman's series of Sunday magazine articles on Indian battles of the West.

The history of the Pawnee Capitol, where the first territorial legislature met, was sketched by Rufus Babb in the *Junction City Union*, November 2, and the *Junction City Republic*, November 5.

Kansas pioneer women were the subject of a special edition of the *Osborne County Farmer*, Osborne, November 5. The editor expressed hope that the edition would create greater interest in the proposed Kansas women's pioneer memorial to be erected on the statehouse grounds in Topeka. The number was replete with pioneer reminiscences.

Russell county was first permanently settled on April 19, 1871, by a colony of seventy persons, organized at Ripon, Wis. The names of the first child born in the county, first teacher, first school board, first persons married, and old settlers before 1880, were listed in the *Russell County News*, Russell, November 5.

Nearly 100 old settlers answered the roll call of the Phillips County Old Settlers Association at its third annual meeting held in Phillipsburg, November 11. Marion Scott, Will Churchill, E. G. Lee and K. W. Rutherford recalled pioneer experiences. Early songs, "Little Old Sod Shanty on the Claim," and "Kansas Land," were sung. A detailed program with the list of registered old settlers was published in the *Phillipsburg Review*, November 19.

Comanche county celebrated its seventh annual home-coming of old settlers at Antioch church, in Avilla township, November 5. *The Western Star*, Coldwater, published the register of those attending, in its issue of November 13.

C. W. Sprouse, of Sublette, an Indian relic collector, has made arrowhead and scraper "finds" near the Cimarron river in Haskell county. An account of his activities appeared in the November 12 issue of the *Satanta Chief*.

Stolzenbach post office and mission house, fifteen miles northeast of Marysville, one of the oldest landmarks in Marshall county, was described in the *Topeka Daily Capital*, November 15. A sketch of an old English colony in Harrison township, five miles northwest of Wetmore, Nemaha county, was another feature of this issue. The site was selected and colonized in 1870 by the Coöperative Colonization Company, of London.

"Kansas Memorials" was the subject of a newspaper sketch by Paul Schmidt and Corwin Schawe, appearing in the *Spearville News*, November 19.



Construction of a miniature mountain in a rock garden along the west side of Boot Hill block is being considered by Dodge City business men and historians, according to the Dodge City *Daily Globe*, November 25. Historic spots such as Adobe Walls, El Quartejejo, Fort Atkinson, Wagonbed Springs, site of the Lone Tree massacre, Fort Larned, Fort Zarah, and various other places will be scaled geographically with two streamlets, representing the Arkansas and Cimarron rivers.

"The Wichita *Eagle* is the real 'Father of Oklahoma,'" Major Gordon W. Lillie (Pawnee Bill) is quoted as saying to John Hudson, *Eagle* reporter, in a story appearing November 29. Under Col. Marsh M. Murdock the *Eagle* aggressively demanded that Oklahoma be opened for settlement. It assisted in Boomer organization along the border and helped induce Pawnee Bill to accept the leadership of a Wichita contingent to the territory.

Old Fairmount College, the forerunner of Wichita University, was the subject of a historical sketch by Rea Woodman in the Wichita *Democrat* commencing in the November 28 issue.

A biographical sketch of John W. Niles, of Nicodemus, was published in the Oakley *Graphic*, December 4. The account was written in 1925 by W. L. Chambers, former editor of the Stockton *Record*, at the request of the late Judge C. W. Smith, of Topeka. Mr. Niles was one of the leaders of Nicodemus, a Negro colony in eastern Graham county, inhabited by over 500 persons in 1880.

The days of buffalo hunting in the late sixties and early seventies were recalled by Byron E. Guise in an interview with John Brandenburger, Sr., in the *Marshall County News*, Marysville, December 4.

Mrs. Robert Laughlin, of Girard, described the battle of Mine creek, in Linn county, in 1864, in a news article printed in the Wichita *Eagle*, December 8. She witnessed the battle from a hill near Mound City.

Christmas advertising as it appeared in the first Kansas newspapers, seventy-seven years ago, was reviewed in the Topeka *Merchants Journal*, December 19, by Paul A. Lovewell, editor.

David D. Leahy, pioneer Kansas editor, told of early-day Wichita newspapermen in the Wichita *Eagle*, December 21.

## Kansas Historical Notes

The Southwest Historical Society, Dodge City, has issued a mimeographed list of the books on Kansas history available at the city library.

Early-day Abilene received formal recognition October 21, when seven markers were placed by the Abilene chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution. Charles M. Harger, of the *Daily Reflector*, composed the inscriptions marking the site of the first home in Abilene, the log cabin of Mr. and Mrs. Timothy F. Hersey, now the corner of First and Vine streets; Texas street, of cattle days; site of Drover's cottage, famous hostelry during cattle days; the Overland trail and Mud creek ford; site of the Abilene shipping yards, whence were shipped to eastern markets over three million head of cattle in 1867-1871; Sand Springs and a pioneer burial ground; and the first public school.

The Dickinson County Historical Society at its annual meeting elected H. L. Humphrey, president; T. W. Sterling, vice president; W. W. Vickers, secretary; Mrs. O. L. Thisler, treasurer. The society is compiling data on the various trails that crossed the county in its early history.

Plans are being formulated in Gray county to mark the point of the Lone Tree massacre southwest of Cimarron, and the old Cimarron crossing, west of Cimarron, where the Santa Fe trail crossed the Arkansas river. It is proposed to use stone from the old courthouse at Ravanna for the monuments.

The Neosho County Historical Society convened for a semiannual meeting in Chanute, November 23. The building of the Leavenworth, Lawrence & Galveston railroad to Thayer, and accompanying incidents in the city's early history, were described in a paper by Mrs. Abby H. Forest, a resident of Thayer since February, 1876. Histories of the First Presbyterian and St. Patrick's Catholic churches were read. Other features included letters and interviews from pioneers and an informal discussion of the Osage Mission and the Erie county seat fight.

Preparation is being made in Emporia to celebrate the city's seventy-fifth anniversary. Emporia, "Kanzas territory," was founded February 20, 1857, by the Emporia Town Company, with George W. Brown as president, and G. W. Deitzler as secretary. As planned the celebration would be held concurrently with the two hundredth anniversary of the birth of George Washington on February 22.

A monument is soon to be erected by the Daughters of the American Revolution of Marshall county at the Barrett crossing on the Vermillion river. The site is thought to be the first crossing on the Oregon trail in that section. The first emigrants used it in 1827.

Old settlers of Shawnee county convened in their seventy-fourth annual reunion at the Hotel Jayhawk in Topeka, Saturday, December 5. A feature of the program was the unveiling of a tablet in memory of the pioneers which will be placed on a boulder in the new high-school grounds.

A memorial association has been formed at Medicine Lodge to honor Carrie Nation, a former resident. The association will preserve various articles which once belonged to the militant crusader and arrange them in her old home. J. Fuller Groom was chosen temporary president.

The sixty-first anniversary of Independence and the First Christian church prompted the issuance of an eighty-page booklet by the church organization, commemorating the event. The publication was illustrated with pictures of early-day Independence and church scenes and persons.

Plans for installing a lily pool at historic Shawnee Mission by the Shawnee Mission Flower Club were sketched in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Star*, October 18. The organization will coöperate with the State Historical Society in the proposed landscaping.

Orville W. Mosher, associate professor of history at the Kansas State Teachers College, Emporia, has called upon old settlers of the Neosho and Verdigris valleys to aid him in preparing an archaeological map of that section. Mr. Mosher is a collector of Indian relics.

At the old settlers' picnic which was held in Enterprise, September 3, a paper entitled "History of the Early Swedish Settlers East of



Enterprise" was read. The paper gave names and details of the arrival of many of the families in that section from 1858 to 1880.

The third edition of *Kansas Facts*, cyclopedia of information of general state interest, appeared in December, 1931. The volume was compiled and published by Charles P. Beebe. Federal census returns for all incorporated cities and counties; classification of Kansas birds; statistical information on agriculture and industry; service records of the 35th, 42d and 89th American divisions in the World War; history of the Kansas Federation of Women's Clubs; and a list of state officers of the Parent-Teacher Association are features of this edition.



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NOTE.—Articles in the *Quarterly* appear in chronological order without regard to their importance.



# Extracts from Diary of Captain Lambert Bowman Wolf

EDITED BY GEORGE A. ROOT

## I. INTRODUCTION.

THE manuscript here printed comprises the experiences and observations of a cavalryman on the plains of Kansas during the four years preceding the Civil War. For the most part his troop was engaged in protecting Colonel Johnston's survey of the southern boundary line of Kansas, patrolling the Santa Fe Trail, and guarding the United States mails.

While this account is in the form of a diary, some of the entries apparently were expanded somewhat at a later date. The manuscript in the possession of the Kansas State Historical Society was presented in 1905 by A. J. Hoisington, of Great Bend, who had received it from Captain Wolf. It is a typewritten copy, presumably made from the original either by Mr. Hoisington or Captain Wolf. In sending the copy to the Society Mr. Hoisington said: "Captain Wolf's diary contains largely more of his experiences and what he saw during his soldier life on the plains than is recorded in the foregoing, but so far I have been unable to secure from him a complete copy."

All efforts to locate Captain Wolf's original and complete diary have proved fruitless. Apparently it went the way of so many personal records of the early days and was lost or destroyed.

Capt. Lambert Bowman Wolf was born June 2, 1834, at Evansburg, Coshocton county, Ohio. He was of the fourth generation of Wolfs descended from German-born ancestors, and was reared on the farm where he was born. From 1856 to 1861 he served in Company K, First U. S. cavalry, serving with his troops on the plains of Kansas, Nebraska, Colorado and Indian Territory, and on a trip to Utah during the Mormon war. Upon the breaking out of the Civil War he became captain of Company E, 142d Ohio volunteer infantry. He was discharged September 2, 1864, at Camp Chase, Ohio. In April, 1885, he returned to Kansas and settled in Ness county, where he engaged in the harness and saddlery business. He was twice married, first to Sarah Jane Loos, who died September 22, 1892, and next to Mrs. Emeline Waterbury, a pioneer settler of Great Bend. He died in Ness City August 29, 1918.

## II. ENTRIES FROM THE JOURNAL: 1856 TO 1861.

December 20, 1856, enlisted at Newcomerstown, Ohio, as a recruit in Capt. George H. Stewart's<sup>1</sup> [Steuart] Co. K, then 1st U. S. cavalry, Col. E. V. Sumner<sup>2</sup> (Bull of the Woods) commanding, and sent to Jefferson Barracks, near St. Louis, Mo.

April 1, 1857, three hundred of us recruits were loaded on the Amizon, a big sidewheeler off the Mississippi, and sent to Fort Leavenworth, Kan., where we arrived on the 15th. During this trip we had our first experience of short rations, caused by delays when stranded on Missouri river sandbars.

May 10, received orders for Companies C, I, F and K, First U. S. cavalry, and E and K of the 6th U. S. infantry, to go on a campaign under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph B. [E.] Johns[t]on.<sup>3</sup>

May 16, everything in readiness, the command formed in line and orders for a summer's campaign read to us, in substance to wit: That we escort and guard the government surveyors while they run the now south line<sup>4</sup> of Kansas and establish the southwest corner thereof. On this expedition the stake hauler for the surveyors was killed by the Kiowa Indians and his mule team taken off by them. He got too far from his infantry escort while driving around some bluffs and draws near the Cimarron river. Our Mexican cattle herder was shot by one of our own horse guards, being mistaken for an Indian. Two of our men died from scurvy. . . .

Nov. 14 we marched into Fort Leavenworth—back again—a rusty but hearty appearing command.

March 18, 1858, Companies F and K, First cavalry, and E and H, Sixth infantry, under command of Capt. Hendrickson,<sup>5</sup> of Co. H,

1. George H. Steuart was a native of Maryland; cadet Military Academy, July 1, 1844; brevet 2d lieutenant, 2d dragoons, July 1, 1848; 2d lieutenant Nov. 11, 1849; 1st lieutenant 1st cavalry, Mar. 8, 1855; captain Dec. 20, 1855; resigned Apr. 22, 1861 (Brig. Gen. C. S. A., 1861-1865).—Heitman's *Historical Register and Dictionary U. S. Army*, v. 1, p. 922.

2. Edwin Vose Sumner, born in Boston, Mass., Jan. 30, 1797. He entered the army in 1819, as 2d lieutenant of infantry. Served in the Black Hawk, Mexican and Indian wars. Was governor of New Mexico, 1851-'53. In 1855 was promoted colonel of 1st cavalry and made a successful expedition against the Cheyennes. Was in Kansas during the territorial troubles. In 1861 he was sent to relieve Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston in command of the Department of the Pacific, but was recalled the following year to the command of the 1st Corps of the Army of the Potomac. At his own request in 1863 he was relieved, and being appointed to the Department of the Missouri, he was on his way thither when he died at Syracuse, N. Y., Mar. 21, 1863.—*Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, v. 5, p. 750.

3. For short sketch of Joseph E. Johnston, see footnote, *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, Feb., 1932, p. 106.

4. See *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, Feb., 1932, pp. 104-139, "Surveying the Southern Line of Kansas, from Journal of Col. Joseph E. Johnston," edited by Nyle H. Miller.

5. Thomas Hendrickson was a native of Pennsylvania; became a 2d Lieut. 6th infantry in 1838; 1st Lieut. 1840; served in Mexican War, receiving rank of brevet captain for gallant and meritorious services; made captain 1853; major 3d infantry 1862, and served with distinction in Civil War. Retired 1863. Died Oct. 24, 1878.—*Army and Navy Register*, Hamersley, p. 506.



Sixth infantry, ordered to escort supply trains to Col. Johnston<sup>6</sup> at Fort Bridger,<sup>7</sup> Utah, said supplies being hauled by cattle trains and located at Fort Laramie and unable to proceed safely on account of Indians.<sup>8</sup>

March 20, Col. Huffman<sup>9</sup> joined us and took command.

June 3 we passed through the South Pass of the Rocky Mountains.

June 10 we arrived at Fort Bridger during a heavy snowstorm. Found that Col. Johnston's command had been living on quarter rations of jerked beef.

June 13 the Second dragoons took up line of march for Salt Lake City under command of Col. Cook [P. St. George Cooke].

June 14 the peace commissioners<sup>10</sup> arrived and they, with the balance of Col. Johnston's command, start for Salt Lake City.

August 21, we start on return to Fort Leavenworth—that is, Companies F and K, First cavalry, under Capt. Dessashore,<sup>11</sup> he being senior officer of our battalion, via Bridger's Pass and Fort Laramie.

September 1, we pass through Bridger's Pass, going into camp in a beautiful dead pine grove with splendid water and grass. This pass reminds much of the valley between the double hump of a dromedary. It has no resemblance to the South Pass.

September 2 we awoke with 6 inches of snow on the ground. It snowed on us all day as we marched and it was very disagreeable marching. Lieut. D. D. Bell<sup>12</sup> and John Hootinger went out on a hunt yesterday—no news from them this evening.

September 17, at Fort Laramie. Here we learn that Bell and Hootinger were seen at the bridge on Ham's Fork,<sup>13</sup> heading for

6. Albert Sidney Johnston (1803-1862). He was in command of the Department of the Pacific. At the outbreak of the Civil War he joined the Confederate army and was killed at the battle of Shiloh.

7. In 1843 James Bridger built a trading post in the valley of Black's Fork of Green river, Utah Territory (now Wyoming), to catch the emigrant trade going west. This post was commonly known as Fort Bridger. In 1853 the Mormons captured the post and held it until the winter of 1857, abandoning it on the appearance of the United States army, but not until they had burned everything inflammable on the site.—J. Cecil Alter, *James Bridger—A Historical Narrative*, pp. 176-178, 244-263.

8. This was during the time of the Mormon War. Live stock and provisions sent to Utah for the subsistence of the United States army had been captured, stolen or burned by the Mormons, and the army had been reduced to scant rations, suffering many privations during the severe winter that followed from lack of proper food and clothing.—Banerfoot, *History of Utah*, pp. 512-522.

9. William Huffman, native of New York, who had a long and distinguished military service. Was in Mexican and Civil Wars, and was brevetted major-general in 1865 for distinguished service.—Hamersley, *Army Register*, p. 514.

10. L. W. Powell, ex-governor and senator-elect, of Kentucky, and Major B. McCulloch, a soldier of the Mexican War, were sent to Utah as peace commissioners.

11. William David De Saussure.

12. David D. Bell, born in Ohio. 1st. Lieut., 1st cavalry. Died Dec. 2, 1860.—Hamersley, *Army Register*, p. 292.

13. Ham's Fork, a small river of Uintah county, Wyoming, runs southeastward and unites with the Black Fork of Green river.—*Lippincott's Pronouncing Gazetteer of the World*, v. 1, p. 1357.



Fort Bridger. They got lost and four days were without rations. They obtained rations from the parties who met them, enough to last them into Fort Bridger.

October 4, arrived at Fort Kearney.

October 5, leave for Fort Leavenworth.

October 18, joined by Bell and Hootinger—great rejoicing therefor by Co. K.

October 20 finds us going into quarters at Fort Leavenworth.

November 25. It appears we are not to winter at Fort Leavenworth, as to-day we start on a march to Fort Riley.

November 30, we arrive at Fort Riley. Since we started last March we have traveled over 2,300 miles and feel almost like ourselves and horse were one animal.

I will now give you a favorite song with the men during the winter of 1858-'59. It is entitled—

“BUCKING AND GAGGING.”

Come, all Yankee soldiers, give ear to my song;  
It is a short ditty, 'twill not keep you long;  
It's of no use to fret on account of your luck,  
We can laugh, drink and sing yet in spite of the buck.

*Chorus:* Dary down, dary down, &c.

Sergeant, buck him and gag him, our officers cry,  
For such trifling offenses they happen to spy;  
Till with bucking and gagging of Dick, Tom and Bill,  
Faith! the Mexican ranks they have helped to fill.

*Chorus.*

The treatment they give us, as all of us know,  
Is bucking and gagging for whipping the foe;  
They buck us and they gag us for malice or for spite,  
But they are glad to release us when going to fight.

*Chorus.*

A poor soldier's tied up in the sun or the rain  
With a gag in his mouth till he's tortured with pain;  
Why, I'm blest! if the eagle we wear on our flag  
In its claws shouldn't carry a buck and a gag.

*Chorus.*

Eighteen hundred and fifty-nine carries me into [what is now] Barton county, with its tragic scenes indelibly impressed upon my mind.

The winter of 1858-'9 at Fort Riley passed away as also have our daily drills, both mounted and foot. These, with other usual camp duties, prevented all ennui. But we are restless, are longing for a campaign on the broad prairies—a change of some kind. Garrison duty becomes monotonous, the more especially to those who, like ourselves, have tasted the wildness of plain and mountains.

May 25, the monotony is broken with great rejoicing. We, the cavalry, have received orders to prepare for a campaign, nothing further known.

June 10, Companies F, H and K, First cavalry, under command of Capt. E. V. Dessashore,<sup>14</sup> captain of Company F, start for the Santa Fe Trail (Cimarron) Crossing of the Arkansas river. Capt. Walker's<sup>15</sup> G company, he commanding, is detailed to escort an English lord into the buffalo range northwest of Fort Riley and join us on the Arkansas river near the location of old Fort Mackey.<sup>16</sup> Our summer's work is to guard emigrants on the Santa Fe Trail.

June 17 finds us going into camp near what is known as Doc Beach's<sup>17</sup> ranch on Cow creek. The Doctor has quite a trading station here, his stock consisting of "Dead Shot" whisky, sugar, flour, and bacon. This is also a mail station and post office.

June 19, we cross Walnut<sup>18</sup> creek a little west of Allison's<sup>19</sup> big ranch (the regular old trail crossing). The ford has a fine pebbly bottom. We have not seen any Indians, but rumor says they are just a little further on.

June 20, a fine soaking rain and we had just got nicely on the move when it came down in torrents. We pass Pawnee rocks, cross

14. William D. De Saussure.

15. William S. Walker, a Mexican War soldier; captain 1st cavalry 1855; resigned 1861.

16. Fort Mackay was located at the crossing on Arkansas river in present Ford county, and named for Col. A. Mackay, Q. M. D. It was about six or eight miles from present Dodge City, and was established Aug. 8, 1850, by Col. E. V. Sumner, after a treaty talk had been held there with the Indians. The fort was built of sod, covered with poles, brush, sod and canvas. The soldiers quartered there gave it the name of "Fort Sod," and later "Fort Sodom." It was known as Camp Mackay until June 25, 1851, when the name was changed to Fort Atkinson. Sept. 22, 1853 the fort was abandoned. It was temporarily re-occupied in June 1854, but on October 2 following was permanently abandoned and the buildings destroyed to prevent their occupancy by the Indians.—Green's *Kansas Region*, p. 22; *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 7, p. 78, 444; v. 8, p. 489; v. 9, p. 567, 576; v. 12, p. 226; Blackmar's *History of Kansas*, v. 1, p. 656, 657.

17. Beach's Ranch or Trading Post was built on Cow creek, Peketon (Rice) county, about 1858 or 1859, by Asahel Beach and his son, Dr. A. J. Beach. It was on the line of the Santa Fe Trail, about one mile south of present Lyons, or near old Atlanta. A post office was established at the ranch April 1, 1859, called Beach Valley, with Doctor Beach postmaster. The territorial legislature of 1859 authorized Asahel Beach *et al.* to build a bridge across the Arkansas. The following year Beach Valley was incorporated by Asahel Beach, Dr. A. J. Beach and Samuel Shaff, and was the county seat of Peketon county, 1860, the county commissioners being the incorporators. Asahel Beach was a brother of Moses Y. Beach, of the *New York Sun*, and came west from Leavenworth. Dr. A. J. Beach was a surgeon of the 9th Kansas, 1864. Smoke houses were erected on the ranch and buffalo meat was cured for the eastern market. The ranch was abandoned in 1864, about the time of an Indian battle near by.—*Laws*, Kansas, 1859, 1860, 1861; *U. S. Official Register*, 1860-'63; Historical Society, Archives Department, original documents.

18. There were two crossings of Walnut creek in present Barton county, one a short distance east of present Great Bend, on the Santa Fe Trail, and the other slightly to the north, on the road from Fort Harker to Fort Larned. The old trail crossing was 278 miles from Independence, Mo., and near site of Fort Zarah of later date.

19. Allison's ranch or trading station was built by ——— Allison, of Independence, Mo., in 1857. It was located at the mouth of the Walnut, about 100 yards from the crossing of the creek, on the east side, and on the north side of the road. It was merely a trading post, no attempt being made at agriculture or stock raising. Allison died suddenly at Independence, and the ranch was rented to George Peacock.—*Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 8, pp. 487, 489; v. 10, p. 665.



Ash<sup>20</sup> creek, going into camp on the west bank of Pawnee Fork. Rumor has 1,000 painted warriors 40 miles up the river waiting our appearance.

June 25 finds us going into camp on the Arkansas river near where old Fort Mackay used to be.

June 29, Lieutenant Col. Johnston, our old commander in 1857, comes into camp with the Santa Fe mail. He is now inspector general of forts and troops and on his way to New Mexico.

July 4, a gill of whisky for each man, and some horse racing, to celebrate the day.

July 8, the first Indians in camp or seen—3 bucks and 1 squaw.

August 2. A terror of a rain last night. Many hats are short this morning, even the bass and tenor drums took trips down the river and we are a wet and sorry looking set generally.

August 3. Tahosan, the head chief of the Kiowas, with his squaw and three of his braves, visit us. They go into camp about 100 yards above our camp.

August 20. Capt. Walker, with his Co. G, joins us. Several of his men have the scurvy.

August 28. Two mules gone, so Lieut. D. D. Bell, with a detachment of one sergeant and four men, is sent after them.

August 21 [31]. In the afternoon Lieut. Bell and party return, bringing with them 3 Indians and 4 mules, two of which belonged to the mail route. The Indians played "good Indian," were given flour, sugar and bacon and were sent on their way rejoicing. Yes, the mules were found running loose!

September 1. Co. H sent to Pawnee<sup>21</sup> Fork to guard contractors of the mail station there.

September 14. In the morning we break camp and start for Fort Riley.

September 17 finds us at Pawnee Fork camping with H Co. The mail station builders have not reported yet. H Co. men report two large camps of Kiowa and Comanche Indians on the Walnut desiring to make a treaty with Uncle Samuel.

September 18. Just before leaving camp, Big Pawnee, second chief of the Kiowas, came into our camp and traveled with us to Walnut creek, then went to his own camp located on the south side

20. Ash creek, first known as Crooked creek, was crossed by Santa Fe Trail about 9½ miles northeast of old Fort Larned. Name probably suggested by ash and elm that shaded the creek.—Kansas Historical Society, *Eighteenth Biennial Report*, p. 120.

21. Pawnee Fork, first known as Pawnee creek or river, was a little over 302 miles from Fort Osage, on the Missouri river.—Kansas Historical Society, *Eighteenth Biennial Report*, p. 120.



of the creek (between what is now—1900—known as the old John Cook farm, and the bridge next west of it.)

September 19, on the Arkansas river, east of Allison's ranch, myself and four others made a still hunt for buffaloes and got two good ones. Capt. Dessashore this morning, before leaving camp, held a powwow with Tahosan, Pawnee, and Buffalo Hump (a Comanche chief). Buffalo Hump desired to make a treaty. Capt. Dessashore told him to go back to Texas.

September 21 finds us lying in camp on Cow creek<sup>22</sup> below Beach's ranch resting and cleaning up.

September 22. Last night midnight express from Allison's ranch brings word that Pawnee, with part of his band, threaten the ranchmen's lives. G and K Co.'s were immediately ordered to the ranch, leaving Cow creek at 2 a. m. Arriving near the ranch just as the sun peeped over the eastern horizon, half a mile from the ranch, Lieut's D. D. Bell and Baird galloped ahead of the command to the ranch. The Indians were all gone except Big Pawnee, and him they took prisoner. When we came up they had disarmed him. The officers held a council and decided to have Pawnee guide them to the Indian camp. A dismounted soldier had Pawnee in charge. He was instructed to take Pawnee to get his pony, which was tied to a wagon in the rear of the ranch. He was taken to it. The pony had been so frightened as to pull hard on the lariat and Pawnee could not untie it. He asked the soldier for his sheath knife to cut the lariat. The knife was handed to Pawnee, who cut the lariat and quickly threw the knife under the wagon, mounted the pony, gave a great yap and was off like the wind towards the bluff northeast. Lieutenants Bell and Baird, being still mounted, took after him, also R. M. Peck,<sup>23</sup> of Co. K. Peck's horse being very fleet soon passed the lieutenant's and overtook Pawnee and then turned and asked Baird if he should shoot him. "No," said Baird, "I want to talk with him." Peck veered off, Baird came up and asked Pawnee to halt. Pawnee, with an ugly defiant face, said "Bah," and went on. Baird stayed with him, dropped his revolver in front of Pawnee and commanded him to halt. Pawnee, yet more sarcastic, repeated his "Bah, bah." Baird tried him again but no good, so dropped

22. Cow creek, present Rice county, first known as Cold Water, a point on the Santa Fe Trail, slightly more than 246 miles from Fort Osage.—Kansas Historical Society, *Eighteenth Biennial Report*, p. 119.

23. Robert Morris Peck was from Covington, Ky., at which place he enlisted in Co. E, First U. S. cavalry. After five years' service as a private soldier on the plains of Kansas, he became a wagonmaster in the Army of the Frontier. For many years after the close of the Civil War he was a citizen of Leavenworth and Baxter Springs. He was a frequent contributor to the *National Tribune*, Washington, D. C., mostly on frontier history.—Kansas Historical Society, *Eighteenth Biennial Report*, p. 43.

off a little and shot him in the head. (Now, right then, our winter's trouble and our next summer's campaign commences.) At the crack of the revolver Baird's horse ran away. Peck then took after him and caught it. Lieut. Bell came up, found Pawnee dead and rode back and reported to Capt Walker.<sup>24</sup> Fearing the bluffs were full of Indians an express was sent after the balance of the command. Pawnee's body was brought in and buried just under the break of the bank about 40 or 50 yards above the Santa Fe Trail ford.

September 23, at 7 a. m., Capt. Dessashore arrives with the balance of the command. While they are at breakfast the officers decide to go to the Indian camp. Breakfast over we moved for the Indian camp, found it; that is the place, but the Indians were gone. We then moved a few miles up the creek. As the first detachment had but one day's rations left the officers decided to return, so that evening we camped by Allison's ranch.

September 24 the mails for Santa Fe arrived and demands an escort to Pawnee Fork. Lieut. E. Otis,<sup>25</sup> of F Co., and 25 men detailed for that duty. Evening finds us in camp on Cow creek.

September 25, we have a wagon and team in camp with three days' rations for Lieut. Otis' detachment. In the evening we camp on the Little Arkansas.

September 26 we laid in camp. An express arrived from Lieut. Otis informing us that one hour after the mail left him and it was getting dark, they being on the "dry route,"<sup>26</sup> they were attacked by the Indians and the conductor and one of the drivers (being brothers and on their last trip) were killed. The other driver shot the Indian that was trying to tangle the mules. That created a powwow and the driver escaped in the darkness. He was badly wounded, but got in with some Mexicans and reached Lieut. Otis' camp next morning. Otis and his detachment buried the men as best they could. The mules, bedding, and rations were all gone, the mail [mail] scattered. Otis had the latter gathered up and brought it back to Beach's ranch on Cow creek.

24. William S. Walker was born in Pennsylvania. Served in Mexican War and was brevetted captain in 1847 for gallant and meritorious service at the battle of Chapultepec. Made captain of 1st cavalry in 1855. Resigned May 1, 1861.—*Hammersley's Army Register*, p. 837.

25. Elmer Otis was born in Massachusetts. Was made 1st Lieut., 1st cavalry in 1856; captain, 1861; major, 1864; brevet colonel, 1865; lieutenant colonel, 1876. Died Aug. 18, 1897.—*Hammersley's Army Register*, p. 674; *Heitman's Register*, p. 762.

26. The "dry route" was a short cut on the Santa Fe Trail, running in a southwesterly direction from the vicinity of old Fort Zarah, past Fort Larned and striking the Arkansas river close to site of Fort Dodge. This route encountered water in but one place, at Coon creek, some fifteen miles beyond Fort Larned.—*Great Bend Register*, Jan. 22, 1880; Map of Kansas, by Ado Hunnius, 1869.



September 27, in the evening, Lieut. Otis and his men join us; men and horses jaded, and foregoing account confirmed. A detachment of ten men from each company, 40 in all, and 2 noncommissioned officers, under command of Lieut. Eli Long,<sup>27</sup> of Co. H, with rations to supply them until more supplies could be sent them from Fort Riley, was sent back to Beach's ranch to escort the mail to the Santa Fe crossing of the Arkansas and remain out 40 days unless sooner relieved.

October 2 finds our command entering Fort Riley.

October 7. Company K ordered to Pawnee Fork to relieve Lieut. Long. An express has just arrived from Long reporting that Allison [Peacock] had been shot by Satank,<sup>28</sup> the war chief of the Kiowas. Particulars of the report as follows: Satank, with 3 or 4 of his braves, called on Allison [Peacock]; found him alone at his ranch on the Walnut with a sick man lying on a bunk in the ranch building. Now Indians dread sick people and so Satank told Allison [Peacock] there were some soldiers coming by way of Pawnee Rock and asked him to take his glass, go on top of the ranch, and see if he could tell who they were. Allison [Peacock], believing the Indian, got on top of the ranch, adjusted his glass and was in the act of putting it up to his eye when his eye caught Satank pointing his gun at him. Instantly understanding his danger he started to whirl about face exclaiming, "Satank, you damned son of a bitch," when crack went Satank's gun and Allison [Peacock] fell dead on the top of his own ranch. The sick man rolled up in the covers of his bed and over the back side and then down under his bed. The Indians then came in the ranch, gathered up a few things and then

27. Eli Long was born in Woodford county, Ky., June 16, 1837, and died in New York Jan. 5, 1908. He was graduated from the military academy at Frankfort, Ky., in 1855, and received an appointment in the 1st United States cavalry in 1855. Was in the Cheyenne expedition in 1857 and served through the Civil War, being several times wounded, and was brevetted brigadier general of volunteers. Retired as major general in 1866.—*The Americana*, v. 9.

28. The late James R. Mead, of Wichita, credits Satanta with the killing, giving the date as September 9, 1860. (See *Kan. Hist. Cols.*, v. 10, pp. 664, 665.) The late Robert M. Wright, of Dodge City, in his "Frontier Life in Southwestern Kansas," published in *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 7, pp. 48, 49, names Satank as the guilty one.

Satanta, or White Bear, was born about 1830, and for about 15 years before his death was recognized as second chief in the Kiowa tribe, the first rank being accorded to his senior, Satank. Satanta's eloquence in council won for him the title "Orator of the Plains." He was one of the signers of the Medicine Lodge treaty in 1867. He committed suicide in Texas state prison, October 11, 1878, by throwing himself from an upper story of the hospital.—Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, v. 2, p. 469.

Satank, or Sitting Bear, was born about 1810 in the Black Hills region. He became prominent at an early age, and was credited with being one of the principal agents in negotiating the final peace treaty between the Kiowas and Cheyennes about 1840. His name heads the list of signers of the noted Medicine Lodge treaty in 1867. Sometime during 1871 Satank was arrested for a murderous attack on a wagon train in Texas in May of that year, in which seven white men lost their lives, and in an attempt to escape his captors was shot and killed by troops surrounding him. He was buried in the military cemetery at Fort Sill.—Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, v. 2, p. 513.



lit out. Long's detachment soon coming up took the sick man on to Beach's ranch. The detachment buried Allison [Peacock] at his ranch before starting on. The foregoing story of the killing of Allison [Peacock] is the substance of the story as related by the sick man, and I believe it mainly true.

Our captain is now at Leavenworth on short leave. The company has gone to work getting ready.

October 14 finds Company K on the move for Pawnee Fork, Capt. G. H. Stewart returning the 12th.

October 21, during the day we met Lieut. Long with his command on his way to Fort Riley. The 10 men of our Co. who were with him rejoin our Co. with much grumbling. Their horses are badly used up.

October 22 we arrive at Pawnee Fork, a location for a Fort is selected and we go into camp on the site of the location.

October 23, plans are made for the horse and cattle stable, also for officers' and company quarters, all of which are to be built of sod cut with spades by members of our company. Our stable is to be 100 feet square on the inside, wall 12 feet high and 3 feet thick at bottom and 2 feet thick at top, with a large gate in the south wall. Our detachment left at Beach's ranch join us, bring the mail with them.

October 30. Everything has been passing off smoothly and nice. Our corral is growing apace. We are having lots to do with not much rest—heavy guards at night with lots of work through the day. This morning, just as we got ready to eat our breakfast, three citizens came into our camp reporting that 15 Kiowas had driven them in. Boots and saddles sounded, leaving our hot coffee. In 10 minutes 20 of us, under command of Lieut. D. D. Bell, were moving lively southwest for the Arkansas river. Three miles from camp we overhauled 2 Kiowa Indians with six ponies—they were made "good Indians" and the ponies brought into camp. In the shield of the first one killed we found 27 bunches of different human hair, supposedly his trophies. We now carry our arms with us, always prepared for any surprise.

November 3, two men, one woman and two children, the youngest one 3 months old, who were on their way from New Mexico to the states, came into our camp and will await the escorts going to Beach's ranch before going on. They report that the Kiowas had attacked them at the Santa Fe crossing (of the Arkansas), took their oxen and cow and plundered their wagon of eatables and clothing;

had one of the men bound ready to torture when a friendly party of Cheyennes put in their appearance, released the man and made the Kiowas give back the oxen and cow, with a part of the clothing and provisions, sending the travelers on their way, thankful for their release.

November 21, orders received by special express from Fort Leavenworth for us to leave 30 men, under command of Lieut. Bell, to garrison the fort, and escort the mails east and west, and also guard the mail station now built here (below our location and at the Santa Fe crossing of Pawnee Fork). Our corral about completed and officers' and company quarters well along. A supply train from Fort Riley arrives being escorted by a detachment of the Sixth infantry.

November 26. Our company starts for Fort Riley, taking the 30 horses belonging to the detachment left behind. We kill buffalo for beef to take with us, leaving the beef cattle with Lieut. Bell.

November 27 finds us camping on the Arkansas river below Allison's ranch. We find the ranch occupied by the parties that the Kiowas ran off early in the fall. We left with them three broken-down horses.

November 30 finds us in camp on Big Turkey<sup>29</sup> creek with no wood except that we brought with us from Cow creek. The weather is, and has been during the past few days, most beautiful.

December 1. Zounds, boys; we've got it this morning. Sure it would freeze the horn of a brass monkey, remarked Kelly, (an old veteran), and I thought it might do it, for a blizzard had come upon us about midnight and I thought it a howling success. No breakfast, formed line, shot 7 horses that were so chilled could not get up, started out by twos from the right, trot march for Cottonwood creek.<sup>30</sup> Seven of us got there in formed line, the balance strung back along the trail, some not getting in until after dark, a frozen set. The captain had his left cheek and ear, hands and feet badly frozen, Rogers his hands and feet, "Pickles" Houston's hands frozen and the sight of his left eye ruined.

December 4, in the evening, finds us ensconced in quarters at Fort Riley and the frozen men in the hospital being tenderly cared for by good old Doc. Madison.<sup>31</sup> Houston lost the sight of his eye and was discharged with a pension of \$8 per month.

29. Now known as Turkey creek, McPherson county. This stream has several branches—Dry Turkey creek, Spring Turkey creek and Running Turkey creek.

30. Cottonwood creek, Marion county, 192 miles from Independence, Mo.

31. Thomas C. Madison, a native of Virginia; major and surgeon, 1856; resigned August 17, 1861; surgeon, C. S. A., 1861-'65.—*Heitman's Register*, v. 1, p. 683.



1860—Major J. Sednic's [Sedgwick's] Campaign After the Kiowa and Comanche Indians.

Remained at Fort Riley all winter.

May 15 finds Companies F, G, K and H, under command of Major John Sednic [Sedgwick]<sup>32</sup> all of the First U. S. cavalry, moving out of Fort Riley on a campaign after the Kiowa and Comanche Indians (to punish them for their murderous depredations during the past winter, all caused by, or at least commencing with, the killing of Pawnee by Lieutenant Baird at Allison's ranch on the Walnut last fall). We pass through Junction City, composed of half a dozen houses that were mostly dugouts, camping 14 miles above, on the northeast bank of the Smoky Hill river.

May 18, we pass through Salina, a thriving young town with a fine valley to spread out in. To-day 3 Delaware guides join us—Falleaf, Bullet and Dead Shot.

May 20 finds us in the buffalo range. This evening Lieut. Taylor's horse pulled his picket pin and ran off with the buffalo and we never saw him again.

May 21, had a 41-mile march, camping on the Walnut creek (at old military road crossing 5 miles northwest of now Great Bend) a mile, about, above the Kiowa camp ground of last fall. The major walked us alternate hours. It was dry and hot and he came near losing some of his men by thirst. On this day's march we passed through what is now known as Cheyenne Bottom.<sup>33</sup>

May 23 finds us camped below Fort Larned. Our detachment left here last fall is relieved by two companies of the Second infantry.

May 25 we draw our pack mules and are joined by Captain

32. John Sedgwick, American soldier, born Cornwall, Conn., Sept. 13, 1818. Served in Seminole War in Florida; Mexican War; Civil War, besides many engagements against hostile Indians. Shot by a Confederate sharpshooter during battle of Spottsylvania, May 9, 1864.—*The Americana*, v. 13.

33. Cheyenne Bottoms, Barton county, "within a few miles of the geographical center of Kansas, is a huge basin. . . . The floor of this basin embraces an area approximately the size of the Sea of Galilee or 64 square miles. During the major portion of the last half century the basin has been dry, with the exception of a few ponds. . . . Two wet-weather streams flow into it, they being Blood creek from the northwest and Deception creek from the north. . . . During August, 1927, heavy rains caused high-water conditions in those creeks . . . sufficient to create a lake of approximately 16,000 acres in the eastern portion of the basin. . . . Extensive rainfall during the summer of 1928 caused a rise in the lake and at one time the water was 18 inches deeper than at any time during 1927. The water area of the lake was increased to almost 20,000 acres." In fall of 1927 steps were taken by the Kansas Forestry, Fish and Game Commission to convert the lake into a national bird preserve, the lake at the time being literally alive with countless numbers of ducks, geese, shore birds and gulls. Measures were introduced in congress looking to the establishment of a federal game preserve. The lake was also alive with fish, probably from the overflow of some streams, as none were placed there by the Kansas Fish and Game Department. In 1929 a bill passed congress making an appropriation of \$250,000 and work was started toward acquiring a title. During 1930 evaporation caused by a severe dry spell materially reduced the waters, and in 1931 during a protracted drouth, it was feared the lake would go dry. The federal government definitely intends going ahead with plans for establishing a game preserve.—*Kansas Forestry, Fish and Game Department*, report, 1927-'28, pp. 33-35; *Topeka Daily Capital*, Nov. 6, 1931.



Steele's<sup>34</sup> command of two companies of the Second Dragoons, making our command now 6 mounted companies, about 500 men. Wagons and tents are turned in to the quartermaster.

June 3 finds us camping about 3 miles below the Santa Fe crossing of the Arkansas.

June 4 we cross the river and point for the Cimarron river.

June 7 finds us camping on the Cimarron.

June 9 finds us camping on Granet (?) Fork of the Canadian, not far from the North Fork of the Canadian.

June 15 is another hot day; a march of 40 miles and we go into camp on the North Fork of the Canadian, near one of our old camps in 1857.

June 22 finds us camping at the F. X. Aubrey crossing<sup>35</sup> of the Cimarron river.

June 25 finds us camping on Bear creek, still on the Aubrey trail.

June 28 finds us camping on the north side of the Arkansas river by the Aubrey crossing, 56 miles from our camp on Bear creek.

July 3, still in camp, resting and to let our horses recuperate on the good grass. Our supply train reports to-day, and not any too soon, as some of our companies are out of flour.

July 9 we camp in the bottom just west of Bent's new fort at the Big Timbers<sup>36</sup> of the Arkansas river. Capt. Steele, with a detachment of 100 men and guided by a volunteer Cheyenne Indian, were sent in pursuit of a party of Kiowas in the vicinity of here and the Smoky Hill river, leaving last night at 12 m. with 2 days' rations.

July 11, Col. Bent informed the Major that Satank, chief of the

34. William Steele, who resigned May 30, 1861, and became a brigadier general, C. S. A. Died Jan. 12, 1885.—*Heitman's Register*, v. 1, p. 919.

35. Aubrey trail and crossing of Cimarron. This trail started at Fort Aubrey, on Arkansas river, in present Hamilton county, Kansas, and according to a map by Ado Hunnius, made in 1869, ran in a southwesterly direction, leaving Kansas on west line of state at about township 28 or 29, range 42 west, near present Bear creek, Stanton county. The trail crossed the Cimarron river a short distance south of old Camp Nichols, Indian Territory (present Oklahoma), where it joined the Santa Fe Trail.

36. The Big Timbers of the Arkansas was one of the most famous places in the whole plains region in early days. From the vicinity of Council Grove in eastern Kansas to the mountains the old trail up the Arkansas was practically treeless except at this one point. Pike, in 1806, was the first to note the groves at Big Timbers, and here he noted signs of Indians, for even at that early period the site was a favorite wintering place for the peoples of the plains. There is reason to believe that in early years the Big Timbers extended over thirty miles along the river. The trees were very large cottonwoods, standing in open groves without underbrush on the bottom lands, also up the numerous small islands in the river. George Bent states that about 1853 the Big Timbers were only about five miles long by two miles broad. The same year Gunnison and Beckwith passed up the Arkansas, and they described Big Timbers as a section of the river about 24 miles in length, on the islands and banks of which more than the usual amount of cottonwood grew. The Cheyennes called this place Tall Timbers in early days, but after 1833 they called the grove, or the upper end of it, "Red Shin's Standing Ground." The upper end of Big Timbers was set down by Gunnison and Beckwith as about 18 miles by the old trail, below the mouth of the Purgatoire. William Bent is said to have had a trading house there as early as 1844. Another trader, Thorpe, had a trading house there in 1846. By 1863 the last of the big trees had disappeared.—George Bird Grinnell, in *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 15, pp. 82-85.

Kiowas, had been there just before our arrival and learning of our proximity he, with his family and a few warriors, pulled for the north. Lieut. Stewart with 20 men were immediately dispatched in pursuit.

July 12, report from Lieut. Stewart 5 miles north they discovered 5 Indians, gave them chase but a stern chase is often a hot one and so was this. Twenty miles and Capt. Steele's command sighted the detachment, took them for Indians, gave chase and the two parties were near coming together before the mistake was seen. Result: The Indian braves got away, less 2 that were killed. Satank's squaws and children were captured, 15 of them altogether, and brought into camp. Lieut. Baird,<sup>37</sup> the slayer of Pawnee, got an arrow clinched in his upper jaw. The last we heard of him he was on his way to New York from St. Louis to have it extracted.

July 13, we move camp 3 miles up the river. The squaws and papooses were turned over to Bent for safe-keeping and to exchange for the depredations of last winter.

July 14, a party of 80 of us are sent under command of Capt. Dessashore on a scout up the Purgatory<sup>38</sup> creek, called Picketwire.

July 18, after fruitless wandering over bluffs, through ravines and over prairies, we have rejoined the command where we left it, discovering nothing but a very old Indian camp and some bear tracks.

July 20, in the forenoon, Bent was issuing government annuities to the Apaches and Arapahoes who are now camped near his fort. A band of Cheyennes is also encamped here. In the afternoon I spent about two hours taking in the sights and appreciated it. There are now about 3,000 Indians here and they make quite a representation of the original settlers of this continent.

July 23 finds us camping where our supply train came to us.

July 26, Lieut. Bayard [Baird], with an escort, starts for the states to have the arrow point extracted. We leave the Arkansas river, striking northeast for the Smoky river.

July 30 finds us camping on the east side of the Smoky river.

August 2. Our route has been down the Smoky. In the afternoon we cross a fresh, plain Indian trail, leading to the north. "Bullet" says, "Major, Indian one day." The Major answered,

37. Absalom Baird, born in Washington, Pa., 1824; cadet military academy; had long list of promotions in the military service, and was made a brigadier general during the Civil War. Retired Aug. 20, 1888.—Heitman, *Historical Register*, v. 1, pp. 182-183.

38. Purgatory river, or creek, is a tributary of the Arkansas and is designated on old maps as the "First Fork." It was known among the Spaniards of New Mexico as the river of the souls in purgatory. The stream was noticed by Pike, who noted it on his map as the "First Fork." It joins the Arkansas near present La Junta. Spaniards had two names for the stream—Rio Purgatoire and Rio de las Animas. Picketwire is a corrupted English form in use later. Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, v. 16, pp. 62, 74.



"Bullet, where is that water?" And Bullet replied, "Right around there," directing to a point about 2 miles ahead of us. We camped by the water ponds.

August 3, we move down the river. There is some swearing done because we do not follow up the Indian trail we crossed yesterday, but to no purpose.

August 5, Capt. Steele is sent with 3 companies for two days' farther march down the river and to join us at Pawnee Fork. Sedgwick takes the balance of the command and that evening late camps on the Walnut, about 5 miles west of now Great Bend.

August 7, we pass Pawnee Rock and camp on Ash creek.

August 8, we camp one mile west of the mouth of Pawnee Fork. Our commissary train from Fort Larned joins us here. News from Bent's Fort is that he, Bent, gave up the prisoners to their tribe. He sent an express after us, who was overtaken 25 miles from the Fort, shot, scalped, and left for dead, but some friendly Cheyennes found him and took him back to the Fort. This occurred 2 days after we left there. Further, we learned that Capt. Sturgis,<sup>39</sup> who had a command out after the Kiowa and Comanche Indians, from Fort Cobb, Texas, crossed our trail on the Smoky, following up that Indian trail Bullet pointed out to us the next day after we made our trail. He had a two day's fight with the Indians, badly defeating them in the first day's fight, camping on the battle ground. We also received orders from Washington to cease hostilities against the Kiowa and Comanche Indians and Sedgwick to take the four companies of the First cavalry and repair to the Big Timbers of the Arkansas river in the vicinity of Bent's New Fort, there to establish a Fort to be named Fort Wise.<sup>40</sup> Capt. Steele and command joined us this evening.

39. Samuel Davis Sturgis saw much service on the plains; was brevetted lieutenant colonel Aug. 10, 1861, for gallant and meritorious service in battle of Wilson's Creek, Mo., and brevetted major general in 1865 before being mustered out of volunteer service. Became colonel of 7th cavalry, May 6, 1869. Died Sept. 28, 1889.—*Hamersley's Army Register*, p. 790; *Heitman's Historical Register*, v. 1, p. 934.

40. The original post was located near Bent's Fort on the Arkansas river, and was called Fort Wise. Established June 29, 1860. Name changed June 25, 1862. This site was abandoned in June 1867, and the present selected on the north bank of the Arkansas river two and one-half miles below Purgatory river.—*Hamersley's Army Register*, Forts, etc., p. 142.

Fort Wise originally was Bent's New Fort, built in 1853, near "Big Timbers" and occupied by Bent as a trading post until 1859, when it was leased to the U. S. government as a military post. It was at once garrisoned and in the spring of 1860 the name was changed to Fort Wise, in honor of the governor of Virginia. In 1860 the troops began to build a new post one mile west of Bent's stone fort and on the exact site of Bent's log houses which he had occupied during the winter of 1852-'53. When the Civil War began Governor Wise joined the Confederates, and Fort Wise was renamed Fort Lyon, in honor of Gen. Nathaniel Lyon, killed at Wilson Creek, Mo. In 1866 the Arkansas began cutting away the bank and threatened to destroy Fort Lyon, and the place was abandoned and New Fort Lyon was built twenty miles further up the river, two miles below the mouth of the Purgatory.—*Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 8, p. 487.



August 28 brings us to Bent's Fort and we go into camp in a nice little river flat just west of it. We find quite a few Cheyennes and Arapahoes camped near us, the Indian prisoners all given up as before stated.

August 29, I visited Bent's Fort and saw his scalped messenger, above described. He is a pitiable sight. Each arm had received arrow wounds. His revolver had failed him entirely. The Indians closed in on him, tomahawked him from the rear and then scalped him. His hair was all gone, less a small strip behind his right ear. The tomahawk wound on the top of his head was nearly healed up, a thin gauzy skin had grown over the scalp part, his arm wounds were slowly healing, so that now he can feed himself. He remarked that when well he would lift some of their hair.

September 10, business commences building Fort Wise. A little more scouting is done by detachments, but to no purpose.

January 1, 1861. By this time the officers' and company headquarters are occupied, with the four corral stables completed. And well it is so as we get a terrible blizzard. I remained with my command at Fort Wise through the summer and until November, when R. M. Peck, David Killinger, John Ward, John Huggins and your humble servant received our discharges.

After the death of Gen. Lyon, Fort Wise was no more the name as Lyon supplanted the name of Wise.

# General Blunt's Account of His Civil War Experiences

JAMES G. BLUNT

## I. INTRODUCTION.

ONE day nearly thirty-five years ago when an employee in the state capitol was cleaning the basement he uncovered a manuscript roll addressed to Col. T. J. Anderson, adjutant general of Kansas. Written in a bold hand, the document completely filled 116 legal cap pages. The 117th page was fragmentary. Apparently the signature had been torn off, but the handwriting and character of the manuscript unmistakably identified it as that of Maj. Gen. James G. Blunt.<sup>1</sup> Colonel Anderson denied any knowledge of the existence of the report and expressed regret that it had not appeared among the early official military reports of the state of Kansas.

Since the record had failed of publication in these volumes, Colonel Anderson requested Capt. Patrick H. Coney, of Topeka, to retain it and provide for its preservation. Realizing the significance of the document, Captain Coney submitted it to Col. Thomas Moonlight,<sup>2</sup> of Leavenworth, who had served under Blunt through most

1. James Gillpatrick Blunt was born July 21, 1826, in Trenton, Hancock county, Maine. At the age of fifteen he went to sea for five years. Subsequently he studied medicine and in 1849 a degree was granted him from Starling Medical College, Columbus, Ohio. Afterward he practiced in New Madison, Ohio. He was married there to Nancy Carson Putnam.

In 1856 he moved to Kansas and settled at Greeley as a physician. His strong antipathy toward slavery soon drew him actively into politics. As a constitutional delegate from Anderson county Blunt attended the convention held at Wyandotte, July 5, 1859, and helped write the constitution of Kansas. He served as chairman of the committee on militia. At the first call to arms in the Civil War he volunteered for service, and later became Kansas' first major general.

After the war General Blunt settled in Leavenworth, where he resumed the practice of medicine. About 1869 he removed to Washington, D. C., and for twelve years solicited claims before the federal departments. On April 9, 1873, Blunt and others were charged by the Department of Justice with conspiracy to defraud the government and a body of Cherokee Indians in North Carolina, but the case was dismissed two years later.

Toward the end of his life Blunt became ill with what was diagnosed as softening of the brain. On February 12, 1879, he was admitted as a patient to St. Elizabeth's, a government hospital for the insane. He died there July 25, 1881.

2. Thomas Moonlight was born near Arbroath, Scotland, November 10, 1833. At the age of thirteen he ran away and shipped as a fore-castle hand on board a schooner bound for the United States. Landing in Philadelphia without funds he worked at several trades before enlisting in the regular army on May 17, 1853. He saw service in Florida and was with Albert Sidney Johnston's command in the campaign against the Mormons in Utah. A short time after receiving his discharge at Fort Leavenworth in 1858 he settled on a farm in Kickapoo township, Leavenworth county. At the beginning of the War of the Rebellion he raised a light battery and was commissioned a captain of artillery in the Union Army. He received prominent mention for his services at the battles of Dry Wood and The Blue, and at Prairie Grove. At the end of the war Moonlight was colonel of the Eleventh Kansas, with the brevet rank of brigadier general. Upon returning to civilian life he became prominent in political circles. In 1868 he was elected secretary of state. During President Cleveland's first term he was appointed governor of Wyoming, and in 1893 he became minister to Bolivia. He returned to the United States four years later, where he settled on a farm. He died February 7, 1899.

of his war campaigns. Moonlight's opinion of the manuscript is recorded in the following letter:

"LEAVENWORTH, KAN., September 20, 1898.

"MY DEAR FRIEND CONEY: I received your telegram this morning on my return home, and have this day sent by express the Blunt manuscript.

"I have read it over carefully twice and I thought once I would edit it, so to speak, and have divided it off into ten sections or publications, but when I thought over the selfishness of the whole thing and his many personal abuses against Robinson, Carney, Schofield, Curtis, &c., it seemed to me to be assuming Blunt's part, who never had done anything for me, much as I had done for him, for I say now, what I have never spoken of before, that but for myself Blunt would not stand in history with the same military victories attached to him, particular[ly] in the battles of old Fort Wayne, Cane Hill, Prairie Grove, the Van Buren Raid and the battle of Honey Springs in July, 1863. As I say, he never did anything for me, but I have always stood by him as a fighter. I left him before the Baxter Springs massacre, his troubles at Fort Smith, &c., and his successors were at all times, even in the Price Raid, where we were together. I hope you will publish it and send me a paper of each publication, as I may make up my mind to have something to say.

"Your friend, THOS. MOONLIGHT."

Despite the opinion of Anderson and Moonlight as to the importance of Blunt's account and the desirability of its publication, it was never printed.

A history and short summary of the manuscript appeared in the *Topeka Mail and Breeze* November 4, 1898. On June 29, 1900, Captain Coney officially presented the report to the State Historical Society with the request that it be published some time in its entirety. In view of the highly controversial nature of the subject matter of Blunt's report, and the impossibility of justifying many of the statements it contains, no attempt has been made to edit it. The report as published here is a true copy of the original, except that to secure uniformity a few changes were made in Blunt's use of capital letters.

## II. GENERAL BLUNT'S ACCOUNT.

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 3, 1866.

*Col. T. J. Anderson, Adj't. Genl. of Kansas.*

SIR—Upon the receipt of your circular in October last, requesting me to furnish for your office "a brief or synopsis of my military history during the late war," I at first determined that inasmuch as many of the more prominent of my military operations have been made public through one source or another, I would forego the task of reviewing them; but since the renewal of your request in person, while in this city a short time since, I have reconsidered



the matter, and shall now endeavor to note, as briefly as possible, such events with which I have been connected in the military service as I shall deem worthy of record and preservation in the archives of the state. In complying with your request in this matter I am prompted by no desire that my acts shall be paraded before the public, as many of them are already before the country, and whether they are good or bad, by them I must be judged.

The only inducement for performing this labor arises from the fact that there are many things connected with the public events in which I have been an actor that are best known and understood only by myself, and concerning which, in consequence of the position I occupied as an officer, I have heretofore been content to remain mute, but as they are matters, a correct knowledge of which should be accessible to the future historian in his research for data to enable him to form a correct and impartial estimate of historical events, and being now freed from the restraints of army regulations, I deem it not only justice to myself but to the state that has honored me with her confidence, and more particularly to her gallant sons, who, with those of other states, have ever so nobly sustained me with their courage and fidelity, that I shall leave upon record for future reference, such facts connected with my career as a public servant, as may be of future interest.

Such details of events as have been given in my official reports, copies of which are accessible, I shall here omit, and in dates I may not in all cases be exactly correct, as I have no data or records here to which I can refer, and must write from memory, but the facts are substantially as follows:

About the first of May, 1861, a few days after the call of President Lincoln for seventy-five thousand volunteers to suppress the Southern Rebellion, which, at Fort Sumter, on the 17th day of April previous, had culminated in an assault upon the flag of the nation, I joined a company recruited by Capt. S. J. Crawford (the present governor) in Anderson and Franklin counties, Kansas. A few days later, in conjunction with other companies from different parts of the state, we rendezvoused at Lawrence, to be incorporated into the Second regiment, but the speedy completion of this regiment being retarded in consequence of Governor Robinson attempting to control its organization, to subserve his own personal and political interest, and, in the meantime, the Hon. James H. Lane (U. S. senator) receiving authority from the Secretary of War to recruit and organize the Third, Fourth and Fifth regiments, and the Second, not having

yet been mustered into service, I proceeded to assist in raising one of the new regiments, the Third, the recruiting of which was commenced immediately and rendezvoused at Mound City. By this regiment I was chosen its Lieut. Col. On the 24th of July, immediately succeeding the battle of Bull Run, the government being greatly in need of troops, we were mustered into service, by special order of the Secretary of War, with a full complement of officers, although none of the companies were recruited to the minimum required by law.

Fort Scott being threatened by the rebel forces under Gen'l Sterling Price, my regiment (the 3d) was ordered by Gen'l Lane, to that point, about the 10th of August, and formed a part of what was known as the "Lane Brigade." A short time prior to the battle of Drywood I was assigned to the command of the post of Fort Scott, and after the battle referred to, which occurred on the 2d of September, I remained at that post with the 6th Kansas (cavalry) while Gen'l Lane, with the other forces, moved north, on the left flank of Price's army, as they moved upon Lexington.

About the 20th of September, I left Fort Scott with 200 of the 6th Kansas, in pursuit of the guerrilla band under the lead of the notorious Matthews, who had been the terror of southern Kansas, and who but a short time prior, had sacked and burned the town of Humboldt, and then fallen back to their haunts in the Cherokee country. After hard marching for three consecutive nights, lying in covert during the daytime, we surprised their camp at daylight, and succeeded in killing their leader (Matthews) and two others, and dispersing and breaking up the band.

On my return to Fort Scott, I learned of the battle of Lexington, the defeat of Mulligan, and the occupation of the place by Price's rebel command. Believing, as every one else did, that troops would be concentrated to give him battle north of the Osage river, and desiring to participate in the affair, I asked to be relieved of the command of the post at Fort Scott, to join my regiment, then at Kansas City, where, upon my arrival, I found concentrated, in addition to the "Lane Brigade," about three thousand volunteer troops under the command of Brig. Gen'l Sturgis.

Information as to the movements and purposes of Price was very vague and contradictory, and, as for Gen'l Fremont, I have ever doubted that he had any correct conception of the military situation in his department, or at least, he made very poor use of the means at his command to meet the exigencies of the case in hand.



The day following my arrival in Kansas City, I asked, and obtained permission from Gen'ls Lane and Sturgis, to make a reconnoissance in the direction of Rose Hill, to endeavor to ascertain the whereabouts and movements of Price's command, which, from information I had received, I had reason to believe, had evacuated Lexington and was retreating south. With about four hundred cavalry, I left Kansas City at sundown, and the night being dark and rainy, we were enabled to move quietly and unobserved through Independence, and the country east, and at daylight reached the town of Lone Jack, forty-five miles southeast from Kansas City. At this point I learned beyond the possibility of a doubt, that the entire rebel force under Price, had evacuated Lexington a few days previous; that they had been encamped at Rose Hill, eight miles east of Lone Jack, for forty-eight hours, and had only left there, in their hasty retreat to the Osage river, at the middle of the night on which I was making the reconnoissance, or a few hours before my arrival at Lone Jack.

From the information that I obtained, it was evident that Price was anxious to escape the consequences of the concentration of federal troops which he supposed would be made to crush him. I lost no time in returning to Kansas City, and reporting the facts that I had learned to Gen'ls Lane and Sturgis, and about twelve hours after I had done so, an order was received by them (Lane and Sturgis) from Gen'l Fremont, dated at Jefferson City, and directing them "to evacuate Kansas City, destroy all government supplies, and fall back to defend Fort Leavenworth," saying that "Price was moving up in force on both sides of the river to attack and destroy it." Although this order was imperative, leaving no margin for discretion, and under the *broad* seal of the Department of the Missouri, with a large amount of *red tape* tied around it, yet Gen'ls Lane and Sturgis took the responsibility to defer its execution until they could communicate to him (Fremont) the facts they were in possession of in reference to Price's movements, the result of which was, that the order was revoked and the commands of Lane and Sturgis ordered to move in the direction of Springfield, Mo., upon the trail of the retreating army.

Upon Price's arrival at the Osage river, in his retreat, he found that stream much swollen, occupying his army seven days in crossing. Had the available troops at Kansas City, Sedalia and Jefferson City, and the seven thousand men under Gen'l Pope on the north



side of the Missouri river, been rapidly concentrated for offensive operations, Price's entire command could have been destroyed ere they could have crossed the Osage, but when Price was making his safe retreat, our troops were lying idle in camp, while Gen'l Fremont was cooped up in the Brant mansion at St. Louis, surrounded by his Bohemian guard and staff, making it hazardous for anyone to attempt to approach him on the most important and urgent business, or else making his triumphal entry to Jefferson City, treading his way from the depot to his hotel, upon a carpet spread for the occasion; and the people and the soldiers looked on in disappointment and disgust.

The "Lane Brigade" left Kansas City about the 18th of October, at which time I was detached from my regiment and placed in command of the cavalry of the brigade. Our march through Missouri was noted for nothing very remarkable except that our trail was marked by the feathers of "secesh" poultry and the debris of disloyal beegums. We arrived at Springfield, November 1st. General Fremont had already arrived in person, and forty-eight hours after our arrival, there was concentrated at that point forty-five thousand efficient troops, well armed and equipped, having near one hundred pieces of artillery and many of them rifled, while the rebel forces, under Price, did not exceed twenty-five thousand, many of whom were armed with shot-guns and squirrel rifles, with only about twenty pieces of artillery, and of poor quality. At this time Price's command was encamped at Crane creek, twenty miles south from Springfield, while at the latter place there was much of "the pomp and circumstance of War," *especially about Gen'l Fremont's headquarters*. While the troops were eager for a fight, and anxiously waiting to be led in front of the enemy, Gen'l Fremont, each succeeding day, would ride out to the south of the town, accompanied by his immense staff, to examine the topography of the country and select his battle ground for the anticipated bloody conflict, which he had already illustrated on *large maps*, with suitable *embellishments*.

Fremont's plans were all upon the weak delusion that Price would attack us, and thus we presented more the spectacle of a beleaguered army than an offensive one. This condition of things continued until one day a scout brought in the information that Price had retreated into Arkansas, leaving us to "hold the bag." I thought then, in common with others, and still think that with twenty

thousand men, less than one-half of Fremont's force, he could have gone out and attacked Price on his own ground and defeated him. The difficulty that interposed as a barrier to our success appeared to arise from the fact that Gen'l Fremont, on taking command of the Department of Missouri, had planned a campaign upon a magnificent and extended scale. It had been minutely mapped out with the aid of his foreign staff, and presented numerous *prospective battle fields*. It all looked very plausible, *on paper*, and might have proved a success could he have controlled the movements of the enemy as well as of his own forces. But, as Price had no more respect for Fremont than to have ideas and plans of his own, and did not choose to work to Fremont's programme, and as it would have been "unmilitary" in the latter, to have made any change in his plans to meet the exigencies as they occurred, therefore the campaign in Missouri, in the fall of 1861, was a failure on the part of the federal forces. All may have been planned and conducted on scientific principles and according to the *text books*, but there were many of us, who were novices in the art of war and did not possess the advantages of West Point, who could not appreciate the "strategy," and, agreeing with an eminent son of Illinois, who remarked of Gen'l McClellan that "no man who wore a six and a half-inch hat was competent to be commander in chief of the armies of the U. S.," we also concluded that no general *who parted his hair in the middle* was capable of leading an army in the field with success.

Coincident with the information that the enemy had eluded us, Major General Hunter arrived at Springfield and relieved Gen'l Fremont of the command, and a few days subsequent, about the 12th of November, under orders from Hunter, we marched for Fort Scott, while other brigades and divisions marched to Sedalia, Jefferson City, Rolla and other points, and no sooner had the army been broken up into detachments, so as to render it inefficient, than Price, with his entire command, again moved north to the Osage river, where he reposed in quiet, gathering his supplies from the surrounding country, until the expedition against him was organized by General Curtis, in the spring of 1862.

On our march back from Springfield to Fort Scott, I felt, as did many others, a disgust for our new profession of arms, and concluded that, at the rate we had been progressing, it would take a long time to put down the rebellion.

The winter of 1861 I spent with my regiment in camp on Mine



creek, on the eastern border of Linn county, where, for the want of anything else to kill, we "killed time," in masticating government rations. During this time Gov. Robinson was assiduously engaged in his efforts to deprive me, and other officers, from further duty in the military service, for the patriotic reason that he could not use us to accomplish his own personal and political ends. His efforts in this direction finally culminated about the 1st of April, 1862, in the issuing of a general order from the office of the adjutant general of the state, breaking up the 3d and 4th regiments, transferring a portion of the companies to other regiments, and consolidating the remainder into a new regiment (the 10th) with the appointment of new field officers, to supersede myself and others, whom he desired to get out of the service; and while it was patent that the governor had no right to deprive an officer of his command, who had been mustered into service, or to interfere with the organization of troops mustered into the U. S. service, except by authority of the Secretary of War, yet, having the approval and coöperation of General Denver, and General Sturgis, commanding the troops and the district, by orders issued by the latter, the programme of the governor was carried into effect.

The day preceding the march of the Third regiment to Paola, to be consolidated with the Fourth into the Tenth regiment, and at the time I was expecting to be relieved from my position in the service, I received information of my appointment and confirmation as Brig. General of Vols., which dated April 8th, 1862.

This appointment, which had been unsolicited and entirely unexpected, created no less surprise on my part than it did with the citizens of Kansas.

On the 4th day of May, 1862, I received by telegraph, orders from the Secretary of War establishing the Department of Kansas, to comprise Kansas, Nebraska, Colorado and the Indian Territories, with headquarters at Fort Leavenworth, and assigning me to the command. This brought me into a new field, and imposed upon me greater responsibilities than I would voluntarily have assumed, but recognizing that it was the first duty of a soldier to obey orders, I assumed the command, inexperienced in the routine of military affairs, and with many misgivings as to my qualifications for the position, but with a firm resolve to discharge its duties and responsibilities to the best of my ability, relying upon the indulgence and coöperation of my comrades in arms, and the loyal citizens to sustain me and strengthen my hands for usefulness.



The command of the Department of Kansas, to which I had been assigned, was, for many reasons, to me, an unpleasant and embarrassing position, which I would have gladly avoided if the matter had been left to my own choice.

Of the troops in my command, the greater portion of them were Kansas regiments, all of which had become more or less disaffected in consequence of the unauthorized interference of the governor with their organizations, while the fact that military matters in Kansas had been conducted very much in the manner of a political canvass, rendered the administration of the affairs of the department anything but pleasant to an inexperienced commander. My assignment to this command was the signal for a combined attack of all my personal and political opponents, as also the opponents of all with whom I had held intimate personal or political relations, and to make my position still more difficult, this crusade against me was headed by the governor of the state, from whom, in his official capacity, I had a right to expect coöperation, but whose acts seemed to indicate more of a desire to embarrass and complicate military operations than to contribute to their success. In this opposition to me, as commanding officer of the department, ready and willing allies were found in many of the officers of the staff departments, and others on duty at Fort Leavenworth who were of the regular army, and whose loyalty, in the case of some, at least, was not above suspicion. Their opposition was first organized by convening a "Council of War" at which Gov. Robinson and some of his political allies, together with the military officers just alluded to, were present. This convocation took place at Leavenworth city, and was intended to be kept secret, but believing it to be a movement of the "enemy," I took the precaution to ascertain their plan of attack, which was as follows: Gov. Robinson, who had already commissioned and procured the muster into service, in many instances, of two and three officers for the same position, had brought with him, to Leavenworth, a large number of commissions to be issued indiscriminately to all his friends who would accept one, when it was known that there were no vacancies for them to fill. Major Prince, the post commandant at Fort Leavenworth, was to have these officers mustered upon the request of Gov. Robinson, and thus impose upon me the responsibility of deciding who was the rightful claimant when several had been commissioned and mustered for the same position or place, expecting and hoping that my action and decision in the matters at issue would result in a general wrangling and demoralization

of the troops. Another feature in their tactics was, that the officers of the regular army, before referred to, assuming that I was a novice in military affairs, were to take advantage of my inexperience, and endeavor to involve me in as many difficulties and complications as possible, and from which to extricate myself, they supposed that I would have to be relieved of the command. With the proof of these facts before me, I believed it my duty to meet their conspiracy promptly, and as I could not afford to have the usefulness of my small command sacrificed, I directed Major Prince not to permit the muster of any officer upon a commission issued by Gov. Robinson, except upon specific instructions in each case from department headquarters, while, at the same time, I warned all persons of the consequences of tampering with troops in the U. S. service, for the purpose of creating among them, dissension and discord, assuring them that anyone so attempting would be promptly dealt with, even though they might be high state functionaries. This routed my adversaries from their preconceived purposes, and I had but little further trouble in that direction.

In complications already existing, such as a conflict of interest between officers holding commissions for the same place, I endeavored to decide the matter in question, upon the principles of law and justice, observing a strict regard for the rights of all parties concerned. Officers who had been deprived of their commands by the action of Gov. Robinson and Gen'ls Denver and Sturgis, before I assumed the command of the department, I again assigned to duty wherever there was a vacancy equal to their rank. This I did upon the assumption that the act of Gov. Robinson, in depriving them of their command, was illegal and unauthorized. In this position I was sustained by the Attorney-general of the United States, to whom the matter was referred by the Secretary of War.

Prior to the reinstating of the Department of Kansas, the same territory had been included in the Department of the Mississippi, commanded by General Halleck, who had just started an expedition of near five thousand troops to New Mexico, under the command of Brig. Gen. R. B. Mitchell. This expedition had reached Fort Riley, and was encamped there when I took command of the department. A few days later I received a telegram from the Secretary of War saying that "if I had any troops that I could spare from my department, that I should send them to General Halleck," then before Corinth, "that a decisive battle was anticipated, and that Halleck was greatly in need of reinforcements." Although I had no troops



that I ought to have spared from my command, yet I was so impressed with the importance of a victory over Beauregard, and being then so *unsophisticated* as to believe that the war should be prosecuted with the utmost vigor, to suppress the rebellion, I countermanded the order for the New Mexico expedition, and directed General Mitchell to move the troops, by forced marches, to Fort Leavenworth, where, upon their arrival, I had steamers in readiness for their embarkation, and sent them without delay to Pittsburg Landing. Two days after these troops had left Leavenworth, I learned of Beauregard's safe retreat from Corinth, while Halleck was entrenched in his front with a force outnumbering the enemy as two to one. Then, when it was too late, I regretted having parted with my troops. How much my efforts to serve this officer (General Halleck) by sending him my troops, that I could not spare without great detriment to the interests of my own department, was appreciated by him, his subsequent conduct will prove.

Soon after Halleck's miserable failure at Corinth, to the astonishment of the whole country, he was ordered to Washington and made commander in chief of the armies of the United States, and entertaining, as he always had, the most bitter and hostile feeling towards Kansas, and everything pertaining to her, and this, for no other reason than that her people were truly loyal, and understanding the real issues of the war, desired to punish traitors, while he (Halleck) being of questionable loyalty, sought to exhibit his animosity and hatred towards the state, through me, as the representative of her radical element. This was made manifest by one among the first of his acts after being installed as commander in chief, in sending to me an official paper, with an indorsement by himself, which was a studied and intended insult to the loyal people of my state, whose honor and reputation I felt it my duty to protect to the best of my ability. I therefore wrote to Mr. Stanton, Secretary of War, stating the case to him, and saying that "I would hold no further official intercourse with him (Halleck) as commander in chief, but, as a department commander, I would report directly to the Secretary, and if that was not satisfactory, then I desired to be relieved of the command of a department, and assigned to some subordinate position, where the army regulations would not require me to report to the commander in chief." In this matter I was sustained by Mr. Stanton, and never after did I have any official intercourse with Gen'l Halleck, but, while I continued to command



a department reported directly to the War Department, and received instructions direct from the same source.

In entering upon the discharge of the duties of commander of the Department of Kansas, I found myself with a large extent of territory, much of which was exposed to the operations of the enemy, and with but few troops with which to meet the emergencies. Especially was this the case after I had sent the greater portion of my best troops to reinforce General Halleck. In addition to protecting the numerous trains with government supplies, en route to New Mexico, which were exposed to raids from the Indian country and Texas, and the protection of the border from rebel incursions from Missouri, and the constantly increasing demand for troops for police duty in all parts of Kansas, to protect peaceable citizens, in the absence of the administration of the civil laws, I had information that a large rebel force was being organized and concentrated in western Arkansas, under Gen'l Hindman, for offensive operations in Kansas and Missouri. To meet this threatened invasion by Hindman's forces, I made application to the Secretary of War for additional troops, urging upon him the necessity of immediate action to avert the threatened danger. His response was that, "in consequence of the pressing demands made upon him from all quarters, for troops, he could not then furnish me the reinforcements I asked for, but would do so as soon as possible, and, in the meantime, authority would be given to raise new regiments within the department." For this purpose, Hon. James H. Lane was appointed by the Secretary of War, commissioner of recruiting, and under his immediate supervision was recruited and organized, the Eleventh, Twelfth, and Thirteenth Kansas infantry, and Third Colorado, and First Kansas Colored infantry, of which, the Eleventh and Thirteenth Kansas were ready for service in September, and joined me in the field in time to participate in the campaign in western Arkansas in the fall and winter of 1862.

A short time prior to my taking command of the department, authority had been given by the Secretary of War, to recruit and organize two regiments of infantry from the loyal refugee Indians (Cherokees, Creeks and Seminoles) then in Kansas, and field and staff officers (white men) had been appointed by the War Department for that purpose; but my predecessor, Gen'l Sturgis, had interfered to prevent the organization of these regiments, declaring that "it was not the policy of our government to fight *high-toned south-*

*ern gentlemen, with Indians,"* and threatened the arrest of the officers if they persisted in carrying out their instructions from the Secretary of War. Immediately after assuming command, I revoked the order of General Sturgis, and facilitated the organization of these regiments as rapidly as possible.

In June I organized and started the first expedition for offensive operations south of Kansas. This force consisted of the Second, Sixth and Ninth Kansas (cavalry), the Tenth Kansas (infantry), Ninth Wisconsin (infantry), Second Ohio (cavalry), First Kansas and Second Indiana batteries, and the two Indian regiments, numbering in all about six thousand effective men, and under the immediate command of Col. William Weer, of the Tenth Kansas.

My purpose in sending this force into the Indian country was to operate against small forces of the enemy that were concentrating there, restore the loyal Indians to their homes, and, in that advanced position, to cover Kansas and southwest Missouri, until I could obtain additional troops, when I designed to take the field and operate against Hindman in western Arkansas.

This expedition penetrated as far south as Tahlequah (the capital of the Cherokee nation), defeating and capturing several small rebel forces, and was in every respect as successful as could have been anticipated, until disagreements and difficulties arose among officers, that finally culminated in mutiny and the forcible arrest of the commanding officer (Col. Weer) by his subordinate (Col. Soloman, of the Ninth Wisconsin) and the assuming of the command by the latter, and the abandonment of the Indian country.

As soon as I received intelligence of this affair, and that Col. Soloman, with the command, was falling back to Fort Scott, upon the false plea that a large rebel force was flanking him on the east, I despatched a messenger directing him to halt the command wherever the order reached him, to send certain troops to reinforce or support the Indian regiments that had not yet abandoned the Indian country, and with the remainder of the command await further orders, assuring him at the same time, that there was no enemy threatening him on his flank, or elsewhere, and then placing the headquarters of the department in charge of an Asst. Adj't Gen'l, I left Fort Leavenworth about the eighth of August, and proceeded south, with as little delay as possible, to assume command of the troops in person.

On my arrival at Fort Scott, to my great surprise, I found the entire command at that place, notwithstanding Col. Soloman had



received my order at Baxter's Springs, sixty-five miles south of Fort Scott.

Accompanying this expedition back to Fort Scott was Chief John Ross and family and others of the Cherokee officials, bringing with them the treasures of the nation. The Cherokee regiment organized for the rebel service in 1861, and known as "Drew's Regiment," taking advantage of the presence of our forces in the vicinity of Tahlequah, abandoned the fortunes of the rebel confederacy, came within our lines, surrendered, and offered their services to the government. I accepted their offer and had them organized and mustered as the Third Indian regiment, with field and staff officers and one lieutenant for each company selected from the white regiments. This regiment numbered twelve hundred men. They served three years, which terminated just at the close of the war, and did excellent service for the Union cause.

Upon my assuming command of the troops in the field, I found them in a disorganized and demoralized condition, resulting from the mutinous proceedings before referred to. A general wrangling among officers and charges and countercharges had followed this occurrence. For the purpose of investigating the conduct of officers accused of being implicated in this insubordination and mutiny, I convened at Fort Scott a general court martial, but on learning that a large proportion of the officers were in one way or another involved in the affair, and foreseeing that an investigation would consume more time than could be afforded, I therefore dissolved the court, restored such officers as had been placed under arrest, and proceeded to reorganize the command for an active campaign in the field.

About the 30th of August, and before preparations had been completed for an advance movement, I learned that a force of rebel cavalry, of about four thousand, under Shelby and Coffee, had passed northward through Missouri; and although not within my department, I considered it my duty to act in the matter promptly, with the view of defeating them in their enterprise, which I believed to be the destruction of some of the towns on the Missouri river. With such cavalry as were well mounted, and infantry, in wagons, numbering in all between three and four thousand men, I left Fort Scott at dark, and marched all night in the direction of Pappinsville, hoping to be able to strike the enemy on the flank, but as they were all well mounted and moving very rapidly, I struck their trail twenty-four hours after they had passed north. We pushed on vigorously, moving day and night, with but little rest, and in



sixty hours after leaving Fort Scott, and after marching one hundred miles, we came upon the enemy at Lone Jack, where, the evening before they had defeated a small force of Missouri militia, who, under the command of Major Foster, had made a gallant and desperate fight before they were overpowered by superior numbers.

The rebels, on learning of our close proximity, showed no disposition to risk an engagement, and, it being near the close of the day, they fell back under cover of heavy timber, and availed themselves of the darkness of the night to commence their hasty retreat. A terrific storm coming on, and the night being extremely dark, we were unable to resume the pursuit until daylight, when the chase again commenced and continued until near the southern boundary of Missouri; when our stock becoming exhausted and worn out, we were compelled to abandon further pursuit. Although we were unable to bring the enemy to an engagement except several times on their retreat, to attack his rear guard and punish them slightly, yet it cannot be doubted that our prompt and vigorous movements saved Lexington and Kansas City from attack and destruction.

Immediately upon our return from the pursuit of Shelby and Coffee, operations were again resumed to prepare the command for a forward movement. In addition to the forces heretofore enumerated as comprising the expedition into the Indian Territory, was a portion of the Third Wisconsin cavalry, the Third Indian regiment, and the Second Kansas battery, which had been recruited and organized, by my order, at Fort Scott.

This force was divided into three small brigades, commanded respectively by Brig. General Soloman (who had just been promoted), Col. William Weer, of the Tenth Kansas, and Col. William F. Cloud, of the Second Kansas.

About the 15th of September, I directed General Soloman to move forward with the first and second brigades, in the direction of Carthage, Mo., to cover the front of a small rebel force which was understood to be in Southwest Missouri, intending to follow myself and overtake them, with the third brigade in a few days, or as soon as I could arrange for the administration of affairs, at department headquarters, during my absence.

The day that I had intended to leave Fort Scott, I received a communication from General Curtis, announcing that the Department of Kansas had been merged in the Department of Missouri, and inclosing an order assuming command of the consolidated department, Gen'l Curtis directing that all of my available troops

were to be consolidated with the troops concentrating at Springfield under command of Brig. General Schofield. In this new arrangement, I was given the choice of returning to Fort Leavenworth and contenting myself with the command of a district, without troops, or go with my troops under the command of Gen'l Schofield, and at the same time retain command of the "District of Kansas." I chose the latter, and on the same evening, October 1st, left Fort Scott to overtake that portion of the command sent forward under Gen'l Soloman. About midnight, I met a messenger from Gen'l Soloman with despatches stating that he had an engagement the day previous with rebel forces under Generals Cooper and Shelby, at Newtonia, in which he (Soloman) had been defeated and driven back to Sarcoxie. With a small escort I pushed rapidly forward, leaving the Third brigade to follow with as little delay as possible, and the next evening, at 9 o'clock, just twenty-four hours after leaving Fort Scott, I reached Sarcoxie, a distance of eighty-five miles. General Schofield had preceded me in his arrival at Sarcoxie about twenty-four hours, and being the ranking officer, I reported to him early the morning after my arrival, for orders.

Upon consultation between us it was agreed that we should attack the rebel forces at Newtonia (six thousand strong) at daylight the following morning. It was conceded that Cooper and Shelby would not risk an engagement after learning of the strength of our force, if they could avoid it, and our plan of operations was as follows: As it was to be presumed that the enemy would be expecting an attack in front, and would have the approaches by the direct route guarded, we agreed that, with my command I should move to the right by a circuitous route, through the town of Granby, and attack them in their left flank, while Schofield was to move to the left, come in on the east of Newtonia, and throwing his cavalry—which he had a large force—in their rear, cut off their retreat, after I had broken their lines and routed them. As either of us had sufficient force to risk a battle without the aid of the other, we agreed upon this plan as the surest way of "bagging all the game." We had also agreed upon signal guns to notify each other when we were in position. I had a distance to march of twenty-five miles, and before reaching Granby, I encountered a detachment of the enemy in ambush in a narrow defile, who, opening a vigorous fire upon my advance, in the darkness of the night, impeded our march for a considerable time. At daylight we encountered a regiment of mounted men at Granby, six miles from Newtonia, who fled rapidly before



us. Driving in their pickets and advancing over the high prairie overlooking the town and surrounding country, I had an excellent view of the enemy's position and movements. Having been delayed by the ambuscade just mentioned, which brought me behind the time agreed upon, I feared that Schofield would be waiting on my movements, but on firing the signal guns I got no response, and seeing that the enemy was anxious to get away and avoid a fight, I opened a fire upon them, which, in a few minutes, resulted in their rout and hasty retreat with a small loss in killed and wounded. "After the bird had flown," General Schofield's column could be seen approaching over the prairie from the east. He had five miles less distance to march than I had, did not encounter even a picket, and yet failed to carry out his part of the arrangement, which, had he done as agreed upon, the greater portion of the rebel force could have been captured.

From Newtonia we followed slowly on the trail of the retreating rebels, occupying near ten days in our march from that point to Pea Ridge, a distance of forty-five miles. In the meantime General Schofield had organized the command into three divisions, and designated it the "Army of the Frontier." I was assigned to the command of the first division, comprising all the troops from the former Department of Kansas. The other two divisions were commanded respectively by Generals Totten and Brown.

Our arrival at Pea Ridge was about the 15th of October, and the time since leaving Newtonia had been spent by General Schofield in making a survey of the country and mapping out roads in *our rear*, while the enemy kept just far enough in our advance to avoid danger and gather from the surrounding country the supplies that we should have appropriated to the use of our command. At Pea Ridge, where we lay in camp for a week, the same *farce* was reënacted, and during this time the rebel forces, which we had driven out of Newtonia on the 4th of October, were encamped at Elm Springs, twenty-five miles south of us, at which point they had been reinforced by about six thousand men under General Marmaduke. On the morning of the 20th of October, information was received that the rebel forces had divided at Elm Springs, Cooper and Stand Watie, with six thousand men moving west to Maysville, while Marmaduke and Shelby had moved east, with about the same number, to the vicinity of Huntsville. General Schofield then came to my headquarters and intimating that he had finished his *geographical and topographical* survey of the country, asked me if I had any



suggestions to make relative to future movements. This was the first time that he had consulted me since the day previous to the fight at Newtonia. I proposed that, with his permission, I would take the second and third brigades of my division and move against Cooper and Stand Watie at Maysville, leaving the first brigade to guard the transportation and supply trains of the whole command, if he (Schofield), with the other two divisions, would move against Marmaduke at Huntsville. To this proposition he agreed, and the same evening, at dark, with thirty-five hundred men, I moved to Bentonville, where we bivouacked the following day, and making a march of twenty-five miles during the second night, we surprised and attacked Cooper and Stand Watie at old Fort Wayne on the morning of the 22d of October. After a brief but spirited engagement, the enemy was completely defeated, and routed with the loss of all his artillery. In his hasty retreat to the Arkansas river, we pursued him as far as the exhausted condition of our stock would permit, and then abandoned the chase.

Ordering up the first brigade with my transportation and supply trains, I established the camp of the first division near Maysville. General Schofield, who had failed to attack Marmaduke and Shelby, at Huntsville—notwithstanding they, with an inferior force, had offered him battle—had returned with the second and third divisions to Pea Ridge, while Marmaduke and Shelby, after Schofield's refusal to fight, had fallen back to the Arkansas river.

I now urged Schofield to permit me to move forward with my division, but, instead of obtaining such permission, I received an order "to fall back to the vicinity of Pea Ridge, to be within supporting distance of the other two divisions." Where the danger was, to the second and third divisions, requiring this support, I have never yet been able to learn.

In compliance with this order, I commenced moving back to the "support" of Schofield, and established my camp four miles south of Bentonville, and about twelve miles in advance of Schofield's headquarters, where I awaited further orders. Here I remained until about the 10th of November, and receiving no instructions from Schofield, but learning *unofficially* that he had abandoned the country, and with the second and third divisions moved back towards Springfield, the question naturally arose in my mind, what I should do. Not yet having had much experience in military affairs, I did not know but that it was a part of *West Point tactics* for a superior officer to abandon his subordinate, and leave him in the

face of the enemy, with an inferior force, without any order or instructions, but I was not well enough versed in the science of war to appreciate the "strategy" of such a movement. I was now well convinced that I had been abandoned to my fate, and must act upon my own responsibility. The supply of forage being exhausted where I was, I determined to move forward where supplies, such as forage, could be obtained. Therefore, about the 10th of November, I advanced twenty-five miles, and established the camp of the first division on Flint creek, where the old military road to Fort Smith crosses that stream, and fifteen miles south from Maysville. The day after our arrival at this point, I received intelligence of Marmaduke being at Cane Hill, and having learned that Schofield, with the greater part of the "Army of the Frontier," had abandoned the campaign, he contemplated moving against my division before I could be reinforced. I determined, however, to risk a battle, and made my dispositions accordingly; and at this time, while I was each day expecting to be attacked by a superior force, I received a copy of the St. Louis *Democrat* containing a letter from Schofield's "army correspondent," and dated at his (Schofield's) headquarters, saying that "the Army of the Frontier had *fulfilled its mission*, and had gone into winter quarters near Springfield, and that General Schofield was about to leave for St. Louis to recruit his health, which had been shattered by *long and arduous duties in the field*."

This newspaper letter afforded me the only information as to the whereabouts of the second and third divisions that I had been able to obtain since—in compliance with Schofield's order—I had moved from Maysville back to the vicinity of Pea Ridge, to "support him."

For some reason, Marmaduke, at this time, failed to attack me, but fell back over the Boston mountains.

On the 26th of November, I learned that Marmaduke had again advanced to Cane Hill with eight thousand mounted men, and eight pieces of artillery, and that Hindman, with over twenty thousand infantry and artillery, then on the south side of the mountains, would join him by the 30th, when they intended moving against me in force, and crush me before I could receive assistance. In this emergency there was no alternative left me but to follow the example of my *superior*, and abandon the country to the enemy, or to advance upon Marmaduke at Cane Hill, attack and defeat him before he could be joined by Hindman, and then rely upon holding the entire rebel force in the Boston mountains until I could obtain reinforce-



ments. In the enemy's country we had no posts or important points to guard, and no long lines to defend. My command, though small, was mobile and free, whereas, were I to fall back before the enemy, we would have Springfield and Fort Scott, with their large depots of supplies, as well as other important points to protect, which would necessarily divide our forces, and the enemy would be free to operate where they chose; besides, to have retreated in the face of the enemy, would have the effect to discourage and demoralize my own command, and give confidence and boldness to our adversaries. After weighing all these considerations, and duly impressed with the responsibility my position imposed upon me, I determined to take the offensive.

Early on the morning of the 27th of November, after parking my transportation and supply trains, and detailing a sufficient guard to protect them, I left "Camp Babcock" with five thousand effective men (cavalry and infantry) and sixteen pieces of artillery, taking with us four days' cooked rations. Notwithstanding much of the road was rough and mountainous during this day's march, we made a distance of twenty-five miles by eight o'clock p. m., when we bivouacked ten miles from Cane Hill. At four o'clock the following morning, the column was again moving, and at ten o'clock a. m. the attack was made upon the enemy's lines at Cane Hill. After a brief engagement, their line was broken and they fell back to a second position from which they were a second time routed, and then commenced a hasty retreat. With the second and third brigades, I pursued them in their retreat for a distance of twelve miles, over the Boston mountains, they making stubborn resistance and getting severely punished. At dark we abandoned further pursuit.

I now established my headquarters at Cane Hill, and ordered up all my transportation and supplies. Learning that Marmaduke had fallen back upon Hindman's main army at Lee's creek, on the south side of the mountains, and that they intended to advance upon me in force, I felt that I had no easy contest before me. To meet the emergency, I issued a general order assuming command of the "Army of the Frontier," and despatched to Springfield to the second and third divisions to reinforce me by forced marches. Fortunately, Gen. F. J. Herron had arrived at Springfield a few days previous and had assumed command of these two divisions, and, in a few hours after receiving my telegram, was marching to my assistance. On the morning of the 5th of December, the advance of Hindman's forces, who were moving by the Cove creek road, attacked my



outpost six miles southeast of Cane Hill and at the junction of that road with the Cane Hill and Fayetteville road. In this attack they were repulsed. On the morning of the 6th they renewed the attack in greater force, and the outpost not being strengthened, as I had directed, was driven back, thus giving the enemy possession of the Fayetteville road which led north on our left flank, and as the position then occupied by both armies was rough and mountainous, and heavily timbered, the holding of the road was an important matter, as troops could not be moved to any advantage, except by the main roads, until they got six or eight miles north of that point. All day of the sixth was spent in skirmishing in front of the second and third brigades of the first division, while Hindman was bringing up and massing his whole force at the junction of the roads before named.

Fearing a flank movement of the enemy by the Fayetteville road during the night, while with a small force they would make a feint in my front, I sent Col. J. M. Richardson, of the 14th M. S. M. (who asked to be detailed for that duty), with a force of three hundred cavalry to move out from Cane Hill by a crossroad, until he intersected the Fayetteville road, then move down said road as near to the enemy as was prudent, and there select a strong position, and if the enemy should attempt a flank movement during the night, to resist his advance and immediately notify me. Knowing well the topography of the country and that it would be impossible for them to succeed in forcing a passage until daylight, if Col. Richardson did his duty—as I had reason to expect that he would—I awaited the result of their demonstrations in my front.

At dark the cavalry of the second and third divisions arrived at Cane Hill and reported to me for duty. Despatches from General Herron informed me that with the infantry and artillery of those two divisions, he would be at Fayetteville by daylight the next morning. I sent back instructions to him to press forward rapidly until he joined me, and apprising him of the purpose of Hindman to get between us.

At daylight on the following morning (the 7th of December) about two thousand of the enemy appeared in front of the second and third brigades. Although I had yet heard nothing from Col. Richardson—upon whom I relied for information—I felt convinced that the main force of the enemy had passed north by the Fayetteville road, and acting upon this theory, I directed all the transportation to Rhea's Mill, and with the first division and the cavalry of

the second and third divisions, moved rapidly in the direction of Fayetteville, on a road running parallel to that upon which the enemy were marching. About ten o'clock a. m. and about two hours after the command had been ordered to fall back in the direction of Fayetteville, I received a note from Col. Richardson, saying "*that the enemy had been passing our flank on the Fayetteville road since twelve o'clock the night previous, and he judged from the rumbling of wheels that they had with them a large amount of artillery.*" Subsequent investigation proved that this officer (Col. Richardson) had not been nearer than a mile of the Fayetteville road, where he had quietly bivouacked, and for eight hours heard the passing of the enemy's column without even notifying me of the fact. Had he obeyed my instructions he could have successfully resisted their advance until daylight, and by promptly notifying me I could in the meantime have made such disposition of my forces as I chose.

Immediately upon the reception of this note from Col. Richardson, I detached a battalion of cavalry, and two pieces of light artillery with instructions to move rapidly across to the road upon which the enemy were moving, and attack the rear of their column, with the view of retarding their movements until I could form a junction with General Herron.

Hindman's advance met General Herron's command at the crossing of the Illinois river, and twelve miles south of Fayetteville, where skirmishing commenced about 11 o'clock a. m. Between one and two o'clock p. m. with the first division, I came in on the left front of the enemy, joining Herron on his right, just as Hindman was making his dispositions to crush him with an overwhelming force. Up to this time the engagement between Herron and Hindman's command had been carried on principally with artillery, but with very damaging effect to the latter. At two o'clock, the first division having got in position, I ordered an advance of our entire line, and then commenced one of the most determined and sanguinary conflicts of the war. The enemy occupied a position of their own choosing, which was a body of timber known as "Prairie Grove," the formation of which was such that their line was formed in the shape of an elliptic, with their rear protected by heavy timber, while we were compelled to occupy the open plain on the outside of their semicircular line.

From two o'clock until dark the battle raged furiously, and without a moment's cessation, along our entire front. Our troops, knowing the disparity of numbers, and the odds against them, fought



with desperation, and advancing to the edge of the timber, boldly met their foe, when, for hours, the two lines swayed to and fro, while all the time our batteries were pouring into their ranks a deadly fire of cannister at short range. This condition of things continued without any material change of position, or perceptible advantage to either party, until near dark, when the enemy, seeing our inferiority of numbers, massed a heavy force to flank us on our right, while at the same time they made their dispositions to charge the batteries along the line of the first division. This movement they attempted to execute with boldness and determination, but at each point were driven back in confusion and with terrible slaughter. Darkness now put an end to the bloody strife, and not knowing to what extent we had punished them, I proceeded to make my arrangements to renew the battle at daylight the following morning. The command was directed to occupy their position in front of the enemy's lines — sleeping upon their arms. The wounded were brought off the field and cared for; subsistence was brought up and supplied to the command; all of the transportation and supply trains sent to Fayetteville where it would require but a small guard, and General Soloman's brigade, which had been guarding it at Rhea's Mill during the battle, was brought to the front. Many of the men of the second and third divisions who had become exhausted and given out in the forced march from Springfield, came up during the night and joined their commands. The cavalry, except two or three regiments, were dismounted and prepared to fight on foot, and therefore, notwithstanding my losses in killed and wounded on that day, I could have renewed the battle in the morning with my force increased at least four thousand effective men.

During the latter part of the night I received, by truce, a note from General Hindman, appealing in the name of humanity, "for a personal interview at daylight, to agree upon terms, to enable him to care for his wounded." To this I assented and met him at daylight, at a place agreed upon, when I discovered that his army had been occupied during the entire night in a hasty, and disorderly retreat over the Boston mountains, leaving all his dead, and a portion of his wounded on the field, and having torn up the blankets of the soldiers to muffle the wheels of his artillery, to enable them to steal noiselessly away. The sacredness of a truce had been prostituted, and proved to be a trick of the high-toned chivalry to get their defeated army out of further danger.

The entire federal force engaged in the battle of "Prairie Grove"



was not to exceed eight thousand. An additional force of two thousand (cavalry) were on the field, but did not participate in the battle.

The rebel force engaged, as acknowledged by General Hindman himself, in the interview held with him, was twenty-eight thousand, while commissary returns, captured, showed that he was issuing rations to thirty thousand. The exact number of his loss in killed and wounded, I had no data of knowing. After a detail of one hundred and forty rebel soldiers, left with my permission, had occupied an entire day in burying their dead in trenches, over eight hundred of the enemy's dead were buried by my command, while fifteen hundred of his worst wounded were left upon the field in their retreat. I have since learned, from rebel sources, that the loss of the enemy in this engagement did not fall short of six thousand in killed and wounded.

The stake played for in this battle was an important one. Upon the result hung the fate of Missouri and Kansas. St. Louis was their objective point. Had our little army been defeated, there was nothing in our rear to have checked their progress, and flushed with victory, they would have moved rapidly north, augmenting their forces from the disloyal elements, as they marched, and would have entered St. Louis with a force of forty thousand before the government, at that time, could have concentrated sufficient force to operate against them.

Succeeding the battle of "Prairie Grove" some time was occupied in camp near the battle field, awaiting further developments of the enemy, and caring for the wounded.

On the 25th of December, I learned through my scouts and spies, that Hindman had been reinforced at Fort Smith, with nine thousand infantry from Little Rock and that he contemplated moving against me again and risking another battle, and I at once determined to "beard him in his own den."

Hindman's forces were on the south side of the Arkansas river, and knowing the facilities he had for ferrying them across at Van Buren, I was convinced that he could not have more than half his force on the north side before I could reach that point; and although the proposition was dissented to by all my subordinate commanders, I determined to move on him rapidly, surprise and attack him in detail, or in other words, while the river divided his force, to defeat those on the north side, and then, if the river could be crossed, attack those on the south side. Preparations for this movement were

made with the utmost expedition and secrecy. I had created the impression in camp that I was going to fall back to Springfield, all of which was carried speedily to the enemy by their *numerous friends who were inside of our lines*, as I intended it should be. I directed six days' cooked rations to be prepared and a peck of shelled corn to be carried by each trooper for his horse.

On the evening of the twenty-sixth, I received a telegram from General Curtis, commanding the department, saying, "that he had information via Helena, Ark., that Hindman had been reinforced by Gen. Henry McCulloch, with nine thousand infantry from Little Rock, and designed attacking me," and "*advising me to fall back and not take too great risks.*" At the same time I received a telegram dated at Wellsville (between Springfield and Rolla) from General Schofield, who had *recovered his health*, or in other words had failed to secure the promotion to major general, *that he went to St. Louis for*, and was returning to the command that he had, two months before, deserted. This telegram from Schofield repeated the same intelligence contained in General Curtis' despatch, and *ordered me to parole the rebel wounded within my lines; remove my own wounded, then at Fayetteville (where a general hospital had been established) to Springfield, and then fall back to Springfield with the command.* I considered that a decidedly cool proposition to come from an officer *who had deserted his command in the face of the enemy*, and immediately replied to him that "I was in command of the Army of the Frontier, and that until a superior officer arrived there and assumed command by general order, I should direct its movements, and that I should commence moving on the enemy at Van Buren at daylight the next morning."

At daylight on the morning of the 27th of December, with eight thousand efficient troops (cavalry and infantry) and thirty pieces of artillery (taking only four guns from a battery and doubling the teams), we left camp at Rhea's Mill and Cane Hill; the first division moving by the Cove creek road which passes through a narrow gorge in the Boston mountains, and frequently crossed by the meandering stream (Cove creek) which, being at that time much swollen, the infantry were compelled to wade it thirty-seven times in that day's march, the water sometimes waist deep. The second and third divisions I directed to move by the "Telegraph road," which passes over a plateau of the mountains, parallel with the Cove creek road, and from two to four miles distant. After making a march of thirty-five miles we bivouacked at ten o'clock p. m. At



four the following morning we were again on the march, and at daylight arrived at "Oliver's Store," on the south side of the mountains, and where the two roads (Cove creek and Telegraph road) form a junction. Here I placed the cavalry of the three divisions in front of the infantry and artillery, with the Second Kansas cavalry and two mountain howitzers in advance of the whole column. The distance from this point to Van Buren was twenty miles; and with the cavalry I pressed rapidly forward, directing the infantry and artillery to follow with as great speed as possible. My purpose was to surprise and capture two regiments of Texas cavalry that I knew were encamped at Dripping Spring, a point eight miles north of Van Buren. Five miles from Oliver's store we encountered the rebel pickets, and following them up rapidly came upon the rebel outpost at Dripping Springs, where we found the two regiments referred to, in line of battle and making hurried efforts to save their transportation, and camp and garrison equipage. The ground being favorable, I deployed a portion of the cavalry as they came up, and dashing upon their line, routed and drove them back in disorder, capturing their camp, transportation, &c.; and a running fight followed from there to Van Buren, the enemy several times making a determined stand, and each time being routed with more or less loss from the free distribution among them of "spherical case" from our howitzers.

The flight of the rebel cavalry through the streets of Van Buren, hotly pursued by our troops, was the first intimation had at that place that there were federal troops within sixty miles, and they were quite confident that the "Army of the Frontier" had fallen back to Springfield.

The entry to Van Buren was quite an exciting race. The two regiments of Texas cavalry dashing through the streets at full gallop, with the despised "Yanks" close upon their heels, the sharp crack of carbines and revolvers, with the consternation and terror of the citizens, all contributed to make up an interesting *tableau*.

The advance entered Van Buren at ten o'clock a. m. Four steamers in the employ of the Confederate government, that had just arrived from Little Rock with supplies, having their steam up, attempted to escape down the river. I directed a detachment of the Second Kansas cavalry to capture them, which they succeeded in doing, and brought them back to Van Buren. Some of the rebel cavalry attempted to escape across the Arkansas river in the ferry-boat, but when in the middle of the river a shell from one of our



howitzers disabled the boat, when they jumped into the stream, and most of them succeeded in swimming to the opposite shore. The remainder of the two rebel regiments scattered in different directions, but were pursued by our cavalry and many of them captured and brought in.

In reading a book entitled *The Great Rebellion*, by J. H. Ingersoll, of Iowa, I notice that he gives the credit of the fighting done on the morning of the 28th in the advance on Van Buren, and of the capturing of the steamers, &c., to the First Iowa cavalry. While I do not wish to detract a particle from the merits of this gallant regiment, yet it is due that I should correct this error. What is ascribed by Mr. Ingersoll to the First Iowa cavalry, was done by the Second Kansas cavalry. Being myself in the advance, where all operations were conducted under my immediate direction, I cannot be mistaken as to the part taken in this affair by the different regiments.

The main force of the rebels were encamped on the south side of the river. After we had occupied the place about two hours with the cavalry, the enemy brought a battery to the south bank of the river and opened a fire upon the town, from the effects of which I lost one man killed and two or three wounded. The fire of this battery continued for about an hour when the infantry and artillery coming up I placed the First Kansas battery (ten-pound rifled Parrotts) in position, which soon silenced them and put a stop to their further amusement. The greatest damage sustained from the fire of this rebel battery was by their own friends. Early in the evening (there being a bright moon) I sent a battalion of the Second Kansas cavalry, and two sections of the First Kansas battery down the north bank of the river about four miles to a point opposite which there was a large camp of rebel infantry, with instructions to open fire upon them. The shells falling thick and fast in their camp from these rifled Parrotts, proving disagreeable visitors, they hurriedly left. A scout sent up opposite Fort Smith returned and reported to me that the enemy were burning their steamers there and evacuating the place, and the next morning revealed the fact that Hindman with his entire army had been retreating all night in the direction of Little Rock. Deserters who came in reported that they retreated in disorder and completely demoralized, doubtless the effect of their several defeats, as following this last demonstration against Hindman's command, it crumbled to pieces, and became entirely inefficient.

Thus in the space of thirty days had a rebel army of thirty thousand men inspired by the most extravagant anticipations of success, and operating in their own country, been successively defeated and finally broken up and destroyed by a force not half their equal in numbers, and operating far from their base of supplies.

On the evening of the 29th, the troops having become rested, and as nothing more could be accomplished in that direction, I ordered the burning of the captured boats with their supplies, and directed the command to move back to our camp north of the Boston mountains, where we had left all our supplies, transportation, &c.

Twelve miles from Van Buren, the command was met by General Schofield and staff, who returned with us to Rhea's Mill, where, on the first day of January, 1863, he *resumed* command of the "Army of the Frontier." It was my intention, after returning from the Van Buren expedition, to have moved east to the valley of White river, and thence through a section of country that afforded supplies, and to have attacked Little Rock and Arkansas Post, which I had reason to believe I could do with success, and establish, at the former place (Little Rock) a base for further operations, having the Arkansas and White rivers as a line of communication for supplies, &c., but the arrival of Schofield defeated all further plans, and on the third of January I left the "Army of the Frontier" and proceeded to Fort Leavenworth to attend to the administration of affairs in my district, that had been much neglected in my absence. My geographical district now comprised Kansas, the Indian Territory and western Arkansas. Before leaving Arkansas, I made application to General Schofield for troops to hold the conquered territory then embraced in my district, and for which I was responsible, as I knew that he (Schofield) intended falling back with the "Army of the Frontier," into Missouri. In response to this request he ordered to report to me the three Indian regiments, a battalion of the Sixth Kansas (cavalry) and Hopkins' battery (a four-gun battery organized from the Second Kansas cavalry with the rebel guns captured at the battle of Maysville). This force I left in northwestern Arkansas, under the command of Col. Wm. A. Phillips, of the Third Indian regiment, to serve as an outpost and protection to southern Kansas, until I could procure troops with which again to take the field.

On my arrival at Fort Leavenworth, I met for the first time in my life, and at his request, Thomas Carney, who had just been inaugurated governor of Kansas. The governor promised me his hearty support to secure the success of military operations within my com-



mand, or district. This I hailed as the dawning of a new era, and was rejoiced to think that at last I could rely upon the coöperation of the governor of Kansas, especially as my position imposed upon me, in the absence of the execution of the civil laws, the regulation of police affairs throughout the state.

During my absence in the field, matters left in charge of subordinates had been running rather loosely in the district. Among other things, an organization had sprung into existence known as "Red Legs," and whatever had been the primary object and purpose of those identified with it, its operations had certainly become fraught with danger to the peace and security of society. The organization embraced many of the most desperate characters in the country, while the inducements of easy gain had allured into it many persons who, in ordinary times, would never have consented to be connected with such an enterprise. Officers, soldiers and citizens had become infected until the leaders became so bold as to defy interference with their operations. Letters intercepted, passing from one to another of the principal actors in this organization, proved a most deplorable state of affairs, and showed that it extended into Colorado, Nebraska and Iowa. A reign of terror was inaugurated, and no man's property was safe, nor was his life worth much if he opposed them in their schemes of plunder and robbery. In this condition of things I considered it my duty to interfere for the protection of honest and peaceable citizens, and to a great extent was successful, notwithstanding I daily received anonymous letters threatening me with assassination if I did not desist arresting and punishing these offenders.

General Curtis had promised that as soon as the season would permit it, I should have sufficient troops to make a campaign south of the Arkansas river, and with that view I had ordered Col. Phillips to move from western Arkansas to Fort Gibson, in the Cherokee Nation, as soon as there was sufficient grass in that section to sustain his stock, with the expectation of joining him as soon as additional troops could be procured. I soon after ordered to his (Col. Phillips) support, at Fort Gibson, the first regiment of Kansas colored troops, the Second Colorado, and one section of the 2d Kansas battery. This force, on its way to join him, was attacked by a rebel force under Stand Watie and Cabell, at Cabin creek, with the view of capturing the train. After a brisk engagement the enemy was defeated and routed and the train proceeded in safety.

In the meantime, General Curtis was relieved of the command of



the Department of Missouri by General Schofield, who, without any provocation, had become my bitter personal enemy, when he should have been my friend, for the reason that when he so basely abandoned me in the face of the enemy, I did not complain or say aught against him, whereas but few other officers, similarly situated, would have failed to have preferred against him serious charges. For my forbearance and good will towards him in this instance, he wrote a letter to the department commander the day after he resumed command of the "Army of the Frontier," of the most infamous character declaring "that on returning to his command, he found it demoralized and its efficiency destroyed, and that all of its operations while under my command were a series of *stupid blunders*." This was the commencement of his crusade against me which he afterwards so persistently followed up.

Governor Carney, from whose friendly declarations I had reason to believe was coöperating with me for the public good, I now discovered was secretly doing all in his power to oppose and embarrass me in my official capacity. In Schofield he found a hearty coworker, and with other *worthy allies*, they deliberately plotted for my ruin. If I alone had been the only one to suffer, it would have been of little consequence, but, in the position I occupied, to reach me others must suffer, and the public interest be jeopardized.

Just before Schofield assumed command of the department, I had given my consent to some of the most responsible citizens of Atchison, including the sheriff, that they should try by citizens' court and punish several desperate villains charged with murder, robbery and every other species of crime. This I did because there was no attempt made to execute the civil laws, and I had then already more of that kind of work on hand than I could well dispose of by military commissions, and moreover, I believed that some such example of summary punishment was required for the protection of life and property. They were tried and hung, and I believe received their just deserts. This my enemies made the pretext for a terrible howl against me. A huge document, addressed to the President, was drawn up by Gov. Carney's man of "thirty years standing," and signed by the governor himself, reciting the Atchison affair, and charging me with "being a usurper, a tyrant and a murderer," that I had "overridden the civil law, had inaugurated a reign of terror, and that under my administration of affairs, no man's life or property in the state was safe," and demanded that I should be dismissed from the service. This document was taken by Carney to St.

Louis, where, very opportunely had arrived Thomas Ewing, Sen'r, of Ohio (*who at that particular junction appeared to take quite an interest in Kansas matters*). Also was there his son, Gen. Thomas Ewing. These parties, together with Gov. Gamble, of Missouri, held frequent sessions with General Schofield, at his headquarters, to devise a programme or plot to insure my discomfiture and destruction. If they failed to win on the charges preferred by Carney, then the district of Kansas was to be divided. I was to be sent to the Indian country in the face of a superior force of the enemy, and all support withheld from me, with the expectation that I would be defeated and destroyed.

I know that I am making serious accusations, *but I know whereof I speak*. There is proof to show that certain parties were willing to sacrifice the lives of over three thousand Union soldiers, and the interests of the country, if necessary, to accomplish the ruin of one who they imagined, and without cause, stood in the way of the success of some of their ambitious schemes, and I envy neither the head or the heart of those, who to gratify personal malice, or secure personal or political aggrandizement [aggrandizement] could contemplate, and give countenance to such a heartless and cold-blooded conspiracy.

Thomas Ewing, Sen'r, was the bearer to Washington of the document before referred to, and in company with Attorney-general Bates, presented it to the President with very tragical effect. The result was that the President became quite excited, and at first threatened dismissal, but on reflection, telegraphed me for a report upon the matter. I complied, and gave him in detail all the circumstances attending the hanging of the men in Atchison, and the necessity for such action, and telling him that "under like circumstances I should do the same thing over." This report was accompanied by letters from several officers of the state government, several of the judges, and many of the leading lawyers, certifying that the civil law was powerless to protect the innocent, or punish the guilty, and that the action complained of had done much to insure the security of life and property. The President became satisfied and wrote me *privately* that I need apprehend no trouble from the charges of Governor Carney.

Not more than four months ago, Governor Carney, in speaking of this transaction, admitted to me "that my course in the Atchison affair was the best thing that could have been done, under the circumstances, and was the only thing that could give protection



to peaceable and honest citizens, and that he knew such to be the case at the time it occurred, but that *they had determined to make a fight on me, and intended to use all the weapons they could get.*" And I mention this now only to show *how assiduously the governor was laboring to promote the interest of the state.*

The conspirators against me having failed in their efforts in this direction, now resorted to the second proposition. General Schofield ordered that the district of Kansas be divided into the district of the border, and the district of the frontier, the former to comprise Kansas, except the southern tier of counties and Fort Scott, to be commanded by Brig. Gen. Thomas Ewing, while I was to command the latter, embracing the Indian Territories, western Arkansas, and that part of Kansas excepted in General Ewing's command.

While I did not admire the motive that prompted this change, yet so far as the change itself was concerned, I was well satisfied, for the reason that I desired and intended, in any event, to take the field to operate against the enemy south of the Arkansas river; and to be relieved of the responsibility of protecting the border, liable to rebel raids from Missouri, when I could not be there to personally direct affairs, was to me certainly most satisfactory.

In May I had received my commission as major general of volunteers, to date from Nov. 29th, 1862, and soon after was directed by the Secretary of War to recruit and organize two new Kansas regiments, one of cavalry (white) and the other, infantry (colored), and to select the officers for the same. For this purpose I tried to select from the old regiments, noncommissioned officers and privates who had proved themselves worthy soldiers, for appointments as recruiting officers. When I had not a personal knowledge, and had to rely upon recommendations of other parties, I may have made, in some instances, poor selections. Many persons who had never seen a day's service, although the war had been in progress over two years, were urged upon me *by politicians* for appointments, but as it was not voters that I needed, but men upon whom I could rely when in the face of the enemy, I preferred to take those who had smelt gunpowder, although they might not have as much influence as the other class, in a *town caucus*.

On the 13th day of June, Gen'l Ewing arrived to take command of his district. I therefore relinquished the command of the district of Kansas, and the following day left for Fort Scott, the head-



quarters of the reduced command—*my command being reduced in proportion as my rank was increased.*

Upon my arrival at Fort Scott I received a letter from General Schofield, saying that he desired that "I should take the field in person and if possible maintain the line I then held," which was the Arkansas river. This was what I desired and intended to do if I could be provided with troops; and not having over two thousand effective men outside of the small force at Fort Gibson (holding the Cherokee country) and my depot, and line of communication for supplies to protect, as also the southern border of the state to guard, I applied to Gen'l Schofield for additional force, representing to him the actual condition of affairs, and urging the necessity of more troops, if it was expected to "hold the line of the Arkansas river." To this application I got no response whatever. After waiting for some time I renewed my application, telling him that the enemy was massing a large force on the south side of the Arkansas river, and, without troops, it would be impossible to hold that portion of the Indian country we then occupied. This second application was treated as the first, and was not answered at all, for the reason, I suppose, that he did not wish to put his refusal on record. It now became evident that all troops were to be withheld from me in accordance with the previously arranged programme of my enemies, while in southwest Missouri there were not less than five thousand efficient troops and three batteries that could have been sent to me without detriment to the interest of the service elsewhere.

During all this time the enemy were being strengthened in front of the weak garrison at Fort Gibson, and on the morning of the 5th of July, I learned from an *unofficial source* that that post, with its garrison, was in imminent danger of being captured. Leaving the headquarters of the district in charge of my adjutant general (Major Curtis), and the recruiting and organizing of the two new regiments, before alluded to, in charge of Major T. J. Anderson, ass't adj't gen'l, I left the same evening for Fort Gibson with about 350 of the 6th Kansas cavalry, and a section of the 2d Kansas battery, and accompanied by two members of my staff. By forced marches I reached Fort Gibson on the morning of the 11th, where I found that the administration of military affairs had been very badly conducted. Detachments of the enemy had been allowed to cross the Arkansas river at pleasure, and amuse themselves by capturing all

stock sent out to graze, and in every other way annoy our troops, who were kept close to the fortifications, while rebel spies were inside of the garrison in the full confidence of the commanding officer, and acting as his military advisers, and in this way they (the rebels) were enabled to "play both hands," and it is not to be wondered at that they always "took the tricks."

On my arrival at Fort Gibson I found the Arkansas river swollen. Cooper with a force of six thousand was on the south side, having all the crossings guarded, and the one opposite Fort Gibson, at the mouth of Grand river, protected by artillery. Learning that reinforcements from Texas were moving up to join Cooper, I determined to take the offensive, and strike him if possible before they could arrive.

At midnight of the 15th, taking a battalion of the 6th Kansas (cavalry) and four pieces of light artillery, I crossed Grand river and the Verdigris, and proceeded about twelve miles up the north bank of the Arkansas, to a point opposite the Creek agency, where we arrived soon after daylight. This crossing was guarded by about one hundred rebel cavalry, who abandoned the position and fled as soon as we brought our artillery to the river bank. Forging the river at this point, I proceeded down the south side with the hope of capturing their outpost and artillery opposite Fort Gibson, but they had learned of my approach, abandoned the position and fallen back to Cooper's camp on Elk creek, twenty-five miles south of the Arkansas. I now commenced crossing troops in flat boats built for the occasion, and by 10 o'clock p. m. was ready to commence our long and weary night's march. At daylight we encountered about five hundred rebel cavalry, and driving them rapidly before us, came upon Cooper's entire force in line of battle, about 10 o'clock a. m. Their position was on the north side of Elk creek, and in the edge of the timber, which served as a cover, while ~~we were~~ we were compelled to advance over the open prairie. After halting my command to obtain a couple of hours' rest and eat a lunch from their haversacks, we advanced upon their positions and after two hours of severe fighting, the center of their line was broken, when they fell back from one position to another, and were each time routed. This running fight continued until near night, when my men and stock became so exhausted that I could pursue no further. Before dark I observed General Cabell coming up with about three thousand troops to reinforce Cooper; and supposing that with this increased force, they would offer me battle in the morning, my com-



mand slept upon their arms ready to renew the engagement, but the morning revealed that, during the night, they had retreated to the Canadian river. My force in this engagement did not exceed twenty-five hundred, while that of the enemy was six thousand. This affair is known as the battle of "Honey Springs."

On the 19th I fell back to Fort Gibson to make preparations for other movements. With a knowledge that Cooper would be reinforced, I despatched General Schofield the result of the battle of the 17th and urged upon him the necessity of sending me additional troops. His reply was that "I could not have any reinforcements, that I was too far advanced and must fall back," notwithstanding he had previously directed me to take the field in person and "hold the line of the Arkansas river." My position now was a delicate and trying one. Prostrated by severe sickness; far in the enemy's country, with but a handful of troops, and in the face of a foe greatly my superior in numbers, and constantly increasing, I felt that I was purposely abandoned to fate. In addition to the reinforcements under Cabell, General Cooper had been joined by troops from Texas under General Steele, and his force, now encamped on the Canadian, forty-five miles south of Fort Gibson, numbered eleven thousand. To fall back from my position on the Arkansas river would be to abandon all the country that had been conquered by the expenditure of blood and treasure, and transfer the theater of war to the borders of Kansas and Missouri. While reflecting what course to pursue in this emergency, I heard, by accident, that the Second Kansas cavalry, a portion of the 7th and 8th M. S. M. and Second Indian battery, had moved down from Springfield to the vicinity of Fayetteville, Ark., thereby getting within the limits of my district. I immediately sent couriers to them with orders to join me at Fort Gibson by forced marches. To this order they promptly responded, and reported to me on the 20th of August. In the meantime the 13th Kansas (infantry) had arrived at Fort Gibson, as escort for a supply train. Leaving a sufficient force to hold the garrison of Fort Gibson, with the remainder of my available troops, numbering four thousand five hundred, I again commenced crossing the Arkansas river, on the 22d of August, for offensive operations. On the evening of the day the command had crossed the river, I received a despatch from General Schofield—the first that I had received since his order to me to "*fall back.*" This despatch stated that it was the "desire of the Interior Department that we should obtain possession of all the Indian Territory to Red river,



that they could remove and locate the Kansas Indians in that country, in accordance with an act of congress of 1862, and to enable me to accomplish that object, I was authorized by him (Schofield), to recruit and organize into battalions and regiments, such Indians of the friendly tribes in Kansas as would enlist for a limited period for that kind of service." Knowing that I was in the face of a superior force of the enemy, who might attack me at any hour, I was directed by him to obtain reinforcements to meet the emergency, by recruiting in Kansas, three hundred and fifty miles away, half-civilized Indians, and transform them into soldiers. This was certainly "*strategy*," but comment is unnecessary. If his previous conduct had exhibited cowardice, this was certainly an unmistakable evidence of his weakness and imbecility. I considered that forbearance was no longer a virtue, and immediately wrote to the Secretary of War, and to the President, saying to them "that I was the superior officer of General Schofield, and should no longer regard his orders, but act upon my own responsibility." At the same time I raised for decision the question of rank between myself and Schofield, taking the position that he was only a brigadier general until he was confirmed upon his appointment of major general, and that under the law "authorizing the President to assign officers of the same grade, to command in the same field or department without reference to seniority of rank," did not authorize him to assign General Schofield (a brig. gen'l) to command over full major general, as he was not an officer of the same grade.

After crossing the Arkansas river, on the 22d, as before stated, we moved rapidly on the enemy who were encamped near "Briertown" on the Canadian river. At midnight of the 24th, learning of our approach, they hastily made preparations to avoid a battle. Cabell, with a force of three thousand, returned to Fort Smith, while Cooper and Steele with the remainder—seven thousand—retreated in the direction of Red river. Eight hours after their retreat I arrived in their deserted camp, and scouts were immediately sent out to learn of their movements. Having ascertained that Cooper and Steele were retreating off by the Boggy Depot road, I moved at daylight on the morning of the 26th, and with all the cavalry and a few pieces of light artillery in the advance, pushed on rapidly after them. In the after part of the day our advance several times skirmished with their rear, and at nine o'clock p. m., after a continuous march of fifty miles, we entered the town of Perryville, driving out their rear guard, and capturing and destroying

their depot of supplies. From this point we returned by easy marches to the Canadian river, and there sending a portion of the command back to Fort Gibson, with less than two thousand men, I moved against Cabell at Fort Smith.

We arrived at the crossing of the Poteau river, nine miles from Fort Smith—and at which point Cabell had determined to defend that place—on the evening of the 31st of August. Here we drove in the enemy's outpost and skirmished in their front until dark. At daylight the following morning, we moved upon their position expecting to meet with a determined resistance, but were surprised to find that they had abandoned their position during the night and were retreating in the direction of Arkadelphia. Sending the cavalry, under command of Col. Cloud, in pursuit, who overtook and engaged them, in the latter part of the day, at "Devil's Backbone," while, with the infantry and artillery, I quietly entered the town of Fort Smith, September 1st, and lowered the rebel flag that had been left floating in this garrison, and raised upon the same staff the "stars and stripes." This post (Fort Smith) had been captured from the U. S. forces under Gen'l Sturgis in April, 1861, and until now had been held by the enemy as an important base for their military operations. My health, which had been rapidly failing since my first arrival at Fort Gibson, now completely gave way, and I was confined to my bed until the 12th of September, when, being able to ride in a carriage, I left the command in charge of subordinate officers, and returned to Fort Scott for the purpose of completing the organization of the Second (colored) and Fourteenth Kansas regiments, and removing the headquarters of the district to Fort Smith.

On the fourth of October, with a portion of my staff, the records, and everything pertaining to district headquarters, and accompanied by a small escort (less than one hundred), I left Fort Scott on my return to the command at Fort Smith. On the 6th we met with a party of guerrillas, numbering six hundred and fifty, under Quantrill, in the vicinity of Baxter's Springs. As they were dressed in blue uniform and carried our flag, they were at first supposed to be federal troops, but a doubt arising as to whether they were friends or enemies, I approached their line, alone, to ascertain their true character, and when within three hundred yards of them, they opened a fire on me. When, upon turning to my escort to signal them to return the fire and charge their line, I discovered that the entire escort (who were new recruits) had broken at the first fire



of the enemy, and were flying in disorder over the prairie. In vain I endeavored to halt and rally any portion of them until they had continued their stampede for a distance of two miles, when I succeeded in halting a squad of fifteen men, with which I checked the advance of the enemy, and followed them back over the field that was strewn with our dead. Sending six of the fifteen men with Lieut. Tappen of my staff back to Fort Scott for other troops, with the remaining nine I hovered close around the enemy, creating in their mind the impression that I had a large force coming up, which induced them to move rapidly off. In this affair eighty-seven men, including escort, clerks, teamsters, servants and musicians were killed. All who fell wounded or were taken prisoners were inhumanely murdered. Among the killed were two members of my staff, Major H. Z. Curtis, my adj't gen'l, and Lieut. Farr, the former being murdered after he was taken prisoner. Had the escort stood their ground, as they should have done, instead of becoming panic stricken, all would have been well, and the horrible massacre would not have occurred.

Returning again to Fort Scott, I procured a new outfit of records, &c., for district headquarters, and on the 29th of October, with fifteen hundred troops, and a supply train of seven hundred wagons, all under the immediate command of Col. S. J. Crawford, of the Second Kansas (colored), I left Fort Scott a second time for Fort Smith.

The day before we were to leave Fort Scott, I received an order from General Schofield, directing that Brig. Gen'l McNeal [Mc-Neil] should relieve me at Fort Smith of the command of the "District of the Frontier," when I was to proceed to Leavenworth and report to him (Schofield) by letter. A few days subsequent, information was received from Washington of the decision of the question of rank between Schofield and myself, which was adverse to Schofield and sustaining me in every point that I had raised, affirming that "Schofield was only a brigadier general."

I arrived at Fort Smith on the 12th day of November, when I found that Gen'l McNeal had preceded me several days, and, by Schofield's order, had assumed command. Although I was not bound to relinquish the command, yet as McNeal had assumed it, and to avoid further complications, I acquiesced, and turned over to him the other troops and supply train.

I learned on my arrival at Fort Smith, that Schofield, anticipating that I would pay no attention to his order, had telegraphed to Gen-



eral McNeal, "that if I did not comply with his instructions to proceed to Leavenworth, &c., he should arrest me forcibly and send me under guard to St. Louis." I thereupon requested Gen'l McNeal to telegraph him, in my behalf, that if he (Schofield) wanted me arrested he had better come and do it himself, and then for the first time during the war, he might see a little "*active service*."

Instead of proceeding to Fort Leavenworth and reporting by letter to Gen'l Schofield, I wrote to the Secretary of War, enclosing a copy of Schofield's order, and telling him that "I should not obey it, or any other order from him (Schofield) or hold any further intercourse with him unless it should be to prefer charges against him for imbecility and cowardice," and that "I should remain in Fort Smith until I received orders direct from the War Department." And here I leave General Schofield, and will let others take him up and finish his record, except to add what I have before omitted to state, that anxious to leave nothing undone that could injure me, he (Schofield) sent a smelling committee, dubbed with the respectable cognomen of "board of inspection," through my district while I was making the campaign in the Indian country, in the summer of 1863. They merely "walked over the track," and then signed a report previously agreed upon at Schofield's headquarters in St. Louis, which was not only false in every particular, but infamous in its character. This board refused to comply with my request to come to Fort Smith, where I was lying, confined to my bed by sickness, and where the headquarters of my command was, notwithstanding they were within thirty miles of that place, neither did they make any inspection of my staff departments or of the troops, but their *talent for drinking whisky* was remarkable. This report was intended to be used against me at Washington, and it was only by accident and good luck that I obtained a copy of it.

In response to my letter to the Secretary of War, asking for orders, I received instructions to recruit and organize, at Fort Smith, the Eleventh regiment, U. S. Colored troops, and appoint the officers for the same.

Early in January, 1864, and after the organization of this regiment had progressed so far that my personal attention with it was no longer required, I made application to the Secretary of War for assignment to other duty, in answer to which I received a telegram from the President to proceed to Washington, where I arrived on the 27th of January, and there learned that the object for which I had been called to Washington was for consultation in reference to the

condition of affairs in the Indian territories, and with the view to a campaign, early in the spring, into Texas, through the Indian country. Before leaving Washington to return to the West, I was assured, by Mr. Lincoln, that I should have every facility afforded me for the organization of this Texas expedition that I desired, to insure its success. In the meantime the Department of Kansas, to include the Indian territories and the military post of Fort Smith, had been reinstated with General Curtis in command. On the 7th day of February, I left Washington for Fort Smith, via Kansas, where I arrived and *resumed* command of the "District of the Frontier," on the 12th day of March, 1864. Here I found that all the troops belonging to my command, by reason of their location when the Department of Kansas was reinstated (Jan'y 1st) had been transferred by Gen'l Steele, with the aid and assistance of Col. Judson of the Sixth Kansas (temporarily in command at Fort Smith) to the Department of Arkansas. A controversy ensued relative to the jurisdiction of the troops in question, in which General Halleck, the commander in chief, took the part of General Steele. At this result I was not at all disappointed, as I had already learned that I had not left Washington twenty-four hours when General Halleck, with his chronic hatred of Kansas, had determined to defeat the contemplated Texas expedition, which had had the sanction and approval of the President and Secretary of War; and to this end he had been in collusion with General Steele in robbing my district of all available troops before I could arrive there. Being satisfied that so long as General Hallack was commander in chief, I was to be the special object of his malice, I asked to be relieved of the responsibilities of the administration of military affairs in a large extent of territory that I could have no troops to protect. Accordingly, on the 18th day of April, by telegram from the Secretary of War, I was relieved of the command of the "District of the Frontier," which was transferred to the Department of Arkansas, and from thence proceeded to Leavenworth. By the strangling and defeat of this contemplated Texas expedition, three thousand loyal Texans, whom, through secret agents, I had organized, and were ready to join me as soon as I reached the Red river country, were doomed to bitter disappointment, followed by every species of cruelty that could be inflicted for their suspected sympathy for the Union cause, and in its stead followed the Camden expedition of Gen'l Steele, the disgraceful results of which are before the country and need not be commented upon here.



There now being no field for active service in the Department of Kansas, I applied to the Secretary of War for assignment to some other, and while at Leavenworth awaiting orders from Washington, I was ordered by General Curtis to the command of the "District of the Upper Arkansas," to operate against the hostile Indians, who were becoming very troublesome upon the plains. I arrived at Fort Riley and assumed command of this new district on the 2d of August.

Here I again found myself with a large extent of territory filled with hostile "redskins," and but few troops with which to operate against them, and no horses to mount the few I had. After procuring horses to mount two hundred and fifty men, I proceeded to Fort Larned, where I added to the detachment, one hundred and fifty of the 1st Colorado cavalry and two pieces of light artillery, and with this force started on an "Indian hunt."

I had received information of a war party of Arapahoes and Cheyennes on the head of the Smoky Hill who were contemplating a movement across the Arkansas to the Cimarron river. Leaving Fort Larned on the 21st September, I proceeded west as far as old Fort Atkinson, where I obtained information that satisfied me that no large body of Indians had recently crossed the Santa Fe road. I therefore determined to move north in the direction of the Smoky Hill, and if possible to intercept them; and as it was impossible to move over these extended plains without being observed by Indian scouts I therefore, with the aid of a party of Delaware Indians as guides, did all my marching by night, halting during the day in the deep ravines that afforded grazing for our stock and a secure hiding place from the view of Indian spies.

At daylight of the third night's march, September 25th, we struck the Indian picket on Pawnee Fork, eighty miles northwest of Fort Larned. A lively fight ensued with a party of fifteen hundred Cheyenne and Arapahoe warriors, lasting about four hours and resulting in the defeat and retreat of the Indians. I followed them rapidly up the Pawnee for two days without again being able to overtake them, when, in consequence of the exhausted condition of our stock, the chase had to be abandoned. I now returned to Fort Larned with the view of obtaining more troops and organizing a campaign against the "redskins" on a larger scale; but before reaching that place I was met by a courier, with despatches from General Curtis, saying that "Price, with a large rebel force was in Missouri, had captured Pilot Knob, and was moving towards the



Missouri river," and directing that I should "report in person at Fort Leavenworth with as little delay as possible." The information of Price's movements was not unlooked for by me, as I had come in possession of facts previous to my leaving for the District of the Upper Arkansas, that convinced me that such a raid was contemplated, and at that time stated my apprehensions to General Curtis, and urged upon him the necessity of preparation to meet the threatened danger.

Upon receiving General Curtis' despatch before referred to, I traveled night and day, and lost no time en route to Leavenworth, arriving there on the 8th of October, where, to use a curt phrase, I found matters very much "mixed." Price was moving from Boonville up the line of the Missouri river, constantly augmenting his forces by recruits and conscripts, while it was difficult to tell what General Rosecrans was doing, or intended to do. There were but few regular troops in the Department of Kansas that could be made available for the defense of the state, and the main reliance must be upon the militia. General Curtis had been in a controversy for a week with Governor Carney in reference to calling out the militia of Kansas, the governor refusing to do so, and declaring that there was no enemy in Missouri, that Kansas was not in danger, and that the whole excitement and furore had been gotten up by "Jim Lane" for political purposes. As soon as I arrived at Leavenworth, I proceeded, in company with Hon. James H. Lane, to the fort, to urge upon Gen'l Curtis the necessity of immediate action to avert the threatened danger. Gen'l Curtis sent his adjutant (Major Charlott) to confer with the governor and ask him to issue a proclamation calling out the militia forces of the state. The governor, in an angry mood, gave many reasons for not acting in this matter, but finally summed up all in the declaration that "*Blunt should not command his militia.*" He promised, however, to telegraph General Curtis in an hour what he would do, and at his (Curtis) request we waited at the fort till near midnight, but no telegram came. The following morning General Lane and myself went again to General Curtis' headquarters, and urged upon him that the danger from delay was imminent, and that not a moment should be lost in making preparations to meet it, and that if he did not declare martial law and call out the militia force of the state, he would be held responsible for the disaster which would follow. General Curtis finally determined to issue the necessary proclamation, and that evening, under orders from him, I left Leavenworth for Paola to

relieve Major General Sykes of the command of the District of South Kansas. Riding all night I reached Olathe early the next morning, when I assumed command by telegraph and directed all troops in the district to concentrate as rapidly as possible at Paola, at which place I arrived that evening. Early on the morning of the 13th with such regular troops and militia as had arrived, I left Paola for Hickman's Mills, in Jackson county, Missouri, arriving there on the following morning. The same evening other troops arrived, and the force then under my immediate command was the 11th, 15th, and detachments of the 5th, 16th and 14th Kansas (cavalry), a portion of the 3d Wis. cavalry, 1st Colorado, and section of 2d Kansas battery and eight twelve-pound mountain howitzers with the addition of the 5th, 6th and 10th regiments of Kansas state militia. For the latter (militia) I procured the best of arms and equipments in the place of those they had which were of poor quality, and while thus engaged day and night to make my little command as efficient as possible, I was cognizant of the fact that the governor and others were endeavoring to produce disaffection and mutiny among the state troops, themselves remaining in the background, while they used "other *paws* to rake the chestnuts out of the fire." These mutinous proceedings culminated on the 16th by Brig. Gen'l Fishback, of the state militia, and Col. Jas. T. [D.] Snoddy of the 6th Reg. state militia refusing to obey my orders, and attempting to march their commands back to Kansas. This movement I promptly met by placing Gen'l Fishback and Col. Snoddy in arrest, and substituting other officers in their places, at the same time admonishing others of the consequences of a repetition of such an offense, and no further difficulty of this kind occurred. It is due the militia regiments referred to that I should here state that, with the exception of the persons named, none ever showed any disposition to question my authority to control them, but were willing to advance into Missouri, or elsewhere, to meet the enemy, and cheerfully performed every duty required of them.

With the remainder of the militia and a few regular troops, General Curtis was fortifying a position for defense on the "Big Blue," between Kansas City and Independence, and as there was no reliable information regarding the locality and movements of Price, I asked permission of General Curtis, to make a reconnoissance in the direction of where I supposed the enemy to be. He (Curtis) consented that I might move as far east as Pleasant Hill. Therefore, after dark on the evening of the 16th, leaving the militia and



heavy artillery at Hickman's Mill, under the command of Col. C. W. Blair, of the 14th Kansas—with about two thousand cavalry and eight mountain howitzers—I left the last-named place, and arrived at Pleasant Hill before daylight the next morning. After halting here a short time we again moved forward, repairing the telegraph as we marched, and arrived at Holden about one o'clock p. m. Between Pleasant Hill and this place (Holden) we met a train of citizens and irregular militia from Warrensburgh, who stated that, as they evacuated the place, Shelby's division (rebel) which had captured Sedalia a few days before, was entering the town. Taking back with me the militia and telegraph operators I allowed the citizens to move on. While my command was bivouacked, for rest, at Holden, I sent forward Major Foster, with a detachment of the Warrensburgh militia and a telegraph operator to Warrensburgh to ascertain if the enemy were occupying that place. At dark he telegraphed me that there was no enemy there, but that he had obtained what he believed reliable information, that Price was below Waverly. I learned also that General A. J. Smith's command—of seven thousand veteran infantry and artillery—were at California, held back by orders from General Rosecrans, and that a cavalry division of six thousand, under Generals Sanborn and McNeal, was at a point about 12 miles northwest from Sedalia, and upon the flank of the enemy. I immediately telegraphed Gen'l Curtis, requesting him to send me the 16th Kansas and Second Colorado cavalry, and 1st Colorado battery, by the Independence and Lexington road, and join me at the latter place, where I expected they would join me early the next morning. It was my intention then to form a junction with Sanborn and McNeal, then with General Smith, and assuming command of all the troops in the field, attack Price at once, and with this view I had despatched messengers to Generals Sanborn and Smith, apprising them of my movements.

Leaving Holden the same evening at 8 o'clock, and marching all night, we arrived at Lexington at 11 o'clock a. m. the following day (October 18th) and awaited there the arrival of the troops that I had requested Gen'l Curtis to send to me.

On my arrival at Lexington I learned that the advance of Price's army was at Waverly, twenty miles below or east of Lexington. At 10 a. m. of the 19th, I received a despatch from Gen'l Curtis, by messenger, saying that "he could not send me the troops asked for," that "Gov. Carney and others were making him much trouble with the militia, that he could get them no further into Missouri," and



that he "was fortifying on the Big Blue" for the defense of Kansas. An hour after receiving this despatch my pickets were attacked on three different roads, leading into Lexington from the east and southeast, by Price's forces, who were moving in three separate columns. The only thing I could now hope to accomplish was to develop the enemy's strength and intentions. For this purpose we resisted his advance until his whole force was brought into position, and in full view, upon an open plain. Keeping the Independence road in our rear, we fell slowly back before his overwhelming force, punishing him severely as we retired, and continuing the fight until dark. I had now ascertained that Price's armed force was about twenty thousand, while in addition he had about six thousand unarmed recruits and conscripts, and furthermore that Kansas was his objective point.

During the night of the 19th we fell back towards Kansas, and at 10 o'clock the following morning reached the Little Blue, nine miles east of Independence. Here, on the west side of this stream, I observed that the topography of the country was admirably adapted for defense against the advance of Price's column. On a semicircular ridge extending to the river on the right and left, I bivouacked my command in line of battle, with the artillery in the center commanding the road and the bridge. I then sent one of my staff to General Curtis, requesting him "to send me subsistence for my men, and also to order forward to me the 16th Kansas and 2d Colorado cavalry and 1st Colorado battery, and with that force I would resist the enemy's advance, leaving the militia at the Big Blue, as a reserve to fall back upon if it should be necessary to do so." In response, General Curtis sent one of his staff to direct me "to leave a picket of two or three squadrons at the Little Blue and with the remainder of the troops fall back to Independence, that he was going to make the fight at the Big Blue, where he had been fortifying."

Instead of leaving two or three squadrons as directed, I left Col. Moonlight with all of the Eleventh regiment and four howitzers, directing him to keep all the crossings of the Little Blue picketed; also keep a strong guard well in the advance on the Lexington road, and if the enemy advanced in force to notify me immediately, and burn the bridge, and make as stubborn resistance as he could. Upon my arrival at Independence that evening I urged upon General Curtis the mistake that had been made in abandoning the Little Blue, and demonstrated to him that when the enemy had crossed

that stream, they would be in an open country free to move in any direction they chose, and that it was not reasonable to suppose they would move against a fortified position, when it was much easier for them to pass around our flank and rear. At Independence, I also found Governor Carney and his *political staff* busy in their efforts to produce disaffection in the ranks of the militia, declaring that in my despatch to Gen'l Curtis, informing him of my engagement with Price at Lexington, "I had *lied*," that he knew "that Price was south of the Arkansas river, that there was no enemy in Missouri except a few bushwhackers," and that "the calling out of the militia upon the pretext of defending Kansas was an outrage." He (Carney) had also a proclamation prepared to disband and send home the militia, that he intended to issue the following morning. This was the situation on the night of the 20th of October.

On the following morning (the 21st) General Curtis acceded to my request to move back to the position I had left the previous evening, on the Little Blue, and taking with me the troops that I had previously with me, and those that I had asked to be forwarded to me the evening before. I lost no time in getting the command in readiness to move, and just as they were filing out of the streets of Independence, a telegram was handed me from Col. Moonlight (I had sent to him the night before, an operator with an instrument and a ground wire to tap the line) saying that he had burned the bridge, that the enemy was crossing in force at several points (fording) and that he was making all the resistance that he could. I now pushed forward at a rapid speed, hoping that Col. Moonlight would be able to hold them in check until I could get in position on the ridge before alluded to, but upon arriving upon the field I found that although Col. Moonlight, with the Eleventh regiment, had been making a desperate resistance, they had been driven back nearly a mile. Deploying the other regiments into line and dismounting them, they dashed forward and pressed the enemy back for a distance of half a mile, when our flanks becoming endangered by the overwhelming numbers of the enemy, we were compelled to fall back. About this time Gen'l Curtis came up, and by interfering with the disposition of my troops without conveying his orders through me, threw the command into confusion that might have been avoided. He soon after left the field and gave me no further trouble during the day, except, on his return to Independence, he ordered back my ammunition wagons which I had ordered to the front, which circumstance came near proving dis-



astrous to the whole command. My entire available force did not exceed three thousand men, with which to contend against Price's entire command, and my purpose now was to fight for time, that Rosecrans' forces might come up in the enemy's rear, and to enable the militia of Kansas to concentrate on the border.

With the small force at my command I formed two lines, fighting each alternately while the other was falling back and taking a new position, and thus the fight continued from 9 o'clock a. m. until 4 o'clock p. m., when the enemy refused to advance upon our last line, formed on the east side of Independence. In this day's fighting our loss was slight while the enemy were punished severely. I have never for a moment doubted that had I been allowed to remain on the Little Blue the night of the 20th, and received the reinforcements I asked for, the contest would have been settled there in a manner entirely satisfactory to our arms. I had no doubt of my ability in that position to have held the ground until Pleasanton could come up when we could have crushed Price's command.

During the evening of the 21st, we fell back to General Curtis' "*fortified position on the Big Blue*," where the militia were encamped. Here again a disagreement arose between General Curtis and myself relative to the probable movements of Price the following day. General Curtis contending that he must move direct on the Kansas City road and in front of his fortifications, while I believed that he would only make a feint in front, while with his main army he would flank us on the right, and cross the Big Blue at one of the upper fords, and as Gen'l Curtis would not take the responsibility to give direct orders for the disposition of the troops, I acted upon my own theory and sent Col. Jennison with his brigade to guard Byron's ford, with instructions to keep his pickets well out in the direction of Independence, to notify me promptly of any movement of the enemy, and in case they attempted to cross at that ford, to make determined resistance until reinforcements could reach him. I only heard from General Curtis twice during the day, once to notify me "that he would move his headquarters a couple of miles to the rear," and then again, "that he would establish his headquarters at Westport."

At about 9 o'clock on the morning of the 22d, a small rebel force demonstrated in front of us on the road leading from Independence to Kansas City. I immediately sent a detachment of the Second Colorado cavalry to develop their strength and purposes. They



(the rebels) were rapidly driven back in the direction of Independence, and proved to be only a small force sent to make a feint, or draw our attention in that direction, while the main force should attempt to force a passage of the Blue, on our right, as I had previously anticipated. At about 2 o'clock p.m. I heard firing from Col. Jennison's howitzers at Byron's ford, and soon ascertained, as indicated by the firing, that they were being driven back from the ford. Without waiting to hear from Col. Jennison, I sent orders to Col. Moonlight then at Hinckel's ford, two miles below Byron's ford, to move up with his brigade to his support, and immediately ordered Col. Ford with his brigade to move to the same position, with instructions to keep their forces united, and attack the enemy's flank, and not permit themselves to be cut off from Kansas City. I had now to turn my attention to the militia, who were still where Gen'l Curtis had placed them, in the "*fortified position at the Big Blue.*" With the exception of the 5th, 6th, and 10th regiments of militia, under the immediate charge of Col. Blair, I had assumed no command over them, they having received their orders direct from General Curtis; but our position had now been successfully flanked by the enemy, and different dispositions must be made, and hearing nothing from Gen'l Curtis, I directed Major General Deitzler, the immediate commander of the militia, to withdraw them, and fall back to Kansas City. This militia force numbered probably ten thousand and on the arrival of the head of the column near Kansas City, at dark, I attempted to get them into position on the south side of that place and have them to bivouac during the night in line of battle, but the north side of the Kansas river possessing peculiar attractions for them at that time, and it being dark it was with great difficulty that I succeeded in halting and forming in line, a small portion of them. While I had been looking after the militia, the brigades of Col. Moonlight, Jennison and Ford (compromising all the regular troops) had been engaging the enemy on his right, south of Westport, and after a stubborn resistance had turned his flank and driven him back until dark. After dark and while engaged in getting the militia in position, as before stated, I received a despatch from General Pleasanton that he had come upon the enemy during the afternoon, and had attacked their rear. I also learned at the same time that General Curtis—who had again changed his headquarters—(this time to the Gilliss House, Kansas City) had sent orders to the commands of Cols.

Moonlight, Jennison and Ford, to fall back to Kansas City. I immediately sent a messenger countermanding the order, telling them to receive no orders except through me as their immediate commander, and directing them to lay upon their arms in front of the enemy, and that I would provide for their subsistence and ammunition and join them before daylight.

After spending the greater part of the night in procuring and forwarding subsistence and ammunition to the command, and sending Col. Blair's brigade (5th, 6th and 10th, state militia) to the front, I left Kansas City at three o'clock, at the same time notifying Gen'l Curtis of the position of the enemy, and of my purpose to attack him at daylight, and that I should rely upon others to form a line of battle with the militia on the south of Kansas City, that in case I should be driven back by overwhelming force, I could avail myself of them for support.

The enemy during the night had bivouacked on the south side of Brush creek, which lies immediately south and near Westport. Soon after daylight I formed Blair's brigade as a reserve on the north side of Brush creek, and advanced the brigades of Cols. Moonlight, Ford and Jennison to the edge of the timber on the south side, when they immediately engaged Shelby's and Marmaduke's divisions of the enemy. Soon as the engagement had commenced I sent a despatch to General Curtis, at Kansas City, requesting him to send forward to me all the militia, in response to which they soon commenced arriving at Westport and reported to me by regiments. After the engagement had continued near two hours, the conflict becoming unequal and my flanks being endangered in consequence of the superior numbers of the enemy, I withdrew my forces to the north side of the creek to enable me to bring up the militia and get them into position, and having accomplished this and taken measures against my flanks being exposed, I ordered an advance of the whole line. Moving steadily forward across the creek and through the timber we met the enemy at the edge of the prairie on the south side, and the engagement soon became general along the entire line. After a brief but fierce contest the enemy's lines were broken, and a rout and retreat soon followed. Driving them back a mile and a half over the prairie, I discovered Fagan's division of the rebel command engaging Pleasanton, who—during the morning—had come up from the east, on the enemy's flank. Their line was formed at right angle with the advancing line of my division, and massing three batteries of artillery on my left, they poured a murderous fire into the flank



of Fagan's division, just as they were in the act of charging Pleasanton's line. The terrible fire of these batteries on their flank, routed them in confusion, and joining the flying fugitives of Shelby's and Marmaduke's divisions they moved rapidly south, while Moonlight's, Ford's and Jennison's brigades, of my command, moved past Pleasanton's command, and pressed rapidly upon their rear until dark. That night, my command and Pleasanton's bivouacked at and near Little Santa Fe. Here I urged upon Gen'l Curtis the importance of moving the following morning at two o'clock (at which time the moon rose), with the view of coming up with Price at Grand river, where I knew he must bivouac that night. Gen'l Curtis decided that we should not march until sunrise, and by that time I was moving with my command on Price's trail down the military road, except Col. Moonlight's brigade, which I had directed to move down on the enemy's right flank to prevent raiding parties into the state. On arriving at the crossing of Grand river, where Price had bivouacked during the night, I ascertained from deserters that the rear of their column had left there about three hours before, and had we moved at two o'clock in the morning, as I urged, we would have overtaken them at that point.

After a march of fifty miles, we arrived at West Point at sundown. Here I received an order from Gen'l Curtis, who was with Pleasanton's division, about six miles in the rear, to halt my command until they came up. It was evident that the enemy at this point had taken the Fort Scott road, and it was also evident that he would halt until morning at the crossing of the Osage, twelve miles south of West Point, and while waiting for the arrival of Gen'l Curtis, scouts whom I had in the advance, returned to me with information that they (the enemy) were bivouacked on the south side of the Osage (at the trading post) with a strong rear guard on the north side of the river.

Upon General Curtis coming up, a consultation was had in reference to further movements. In this conference a decided difference of opinion was held. Being well satisfied that the enemy were expecting our attack upon their rear, and that their flanks were unguarded, I proposed that we should leave a few squadrons of cavalry to make a feint on their rear, while, with the main column, we should pass to the right, cross the Osage river four miles above the trading post, pass entirely around their flank, and before daylight in the morning have our line of battle formed in their front, our right resting on the Osage below them, and our left on



the same stream above them, while the enemy would be in the sack formed by the course or bend of the river. Understanding well the topography of the country, I felt assured that this movement could be made with complete safety and success, and would result in the capture of Price's entire army with but little loss to us. General Pleasanton seconded this proposition and subsequent events proved that had it been adopted and we had been in position in their front at daylight, where they neither looked for, or were prepared to meet an attack, no portion of the rebel command could have escaped, but General Curtis disagreed with me, and decided that we should follow up and attack their rear. I now despatched a messenger to Col. Moonlight to move with his brigade by way of Mound City, past the enemy's flank, and proceed to Fort Scott with as little delay as possible, for the defense of that place.

After halting about two hours at West Point, for rest, Pleasanton, by Gen'l Curtis' order, moved his division past my command and took the advance. The column then moved forward, and near midnight our advance came upon the enemy's pickets, when the column halted until daylight. The attack was then made by Pleasanton's division on their rear guard, when they showed more disposition to make a safe retreat than to fight, but being pressed hard, they were compelled to form their line near Mine creek, where they were soon routed with severe loss and the capture of near all their artillery and a large number of prisoners, among whom were Gen'ls Marmaduke and Cabell. In this engagement, my division, except three squadrons of the Second Colorado cavalry, took no part, in consequence of the crossing of the Osage being obstructed by the rear of Pleasanton's command, and thus prevented from getting up in time. From Mine creek a running fight continued until dark, when the enemy reached the timber of the Marmaton about four miles east of Fort Scott. General Curtis having now left the field, leaving me without orders, or even an intimation of what he intended doing, and my men being without rations, and the night so excessively dark that we could not move on the enemy's rear, I marched my division to Fort Scott, where on my arrival I found that Gen'l Curtis and General Pleasanton with his command had preceded me, and believing that Price must bivouac until morning near the junction of the Drywood and Marmaton, I urged the importance of moving east from Fort Scott, as soon as the command could be supplied with rations, and at daylight place ourselves on the enemy's flank, but in this I was overruled by General Curtis,

and did not leave Fort Scott until noon the next day (Oct. 26th), when the enemy had had time to get far in our advance.

I now again got the advance with my division, and near night struck the enemy's trail near Shanghai and pressed forward as rapidly as the condition of our stock would permit. At three o'clock on the morning of the 28th, we bivouacked at Carthage, and at daylight again moved forward, arriving at Granby about noon. I there ascertained that we were close upon the enemy's rear, and having with me, in the advance, only the first and fourth brigades of my division, I sent back messengers to hurry forward the second brigade, and also Gen'l McNeal's brigade of Gen'l Pleasanton's command, both of which I supposed were only a short distance in my rear. Arriving on the high prairie overlooking the town of Newtonia from the northwest, I discovered the enemy bivouacked in the edge of the timber south of the town, while a detachment numbering some fifteen hundred were occupying the town, and were preparing to manufacture flour for their command. They had stopped here upon the supposition that we had abandoned the pursuit, and upon observing our advance approaching, they made hasty preparations for leaving. Although I had not to exceed one thousand men on the ground, yet seeing the enemy was anxious to avoid a fight, I determined to attack them at once, relying upon Col. Moonlight's and Gen'l McNeal's brigades to come up in time for support. Placing the First Colorado battery in position on the high ridge west of the town, and directing them to open fire upon the enemy, I advanced in line with the cavalry and two mountain howitzers, until we met their line moving out of the timber, when skirmishers were immediately thrown out, the battery ordered up and a spirited engagement ensued. A second line of the enemy soon advanced from the timber and with less than one thousand men I found myself confronting all of Price's available force, and according to the estimate of his own officers, not less than ten thousand in number. Having sent back messengers repeatedly to hurry forward the other troops, and momentarily expecting their arrival, I determined if possible to hold the ground until they came up. In this situation of affairs the battle raged on an open plain from two o'clock p. m. until sundown, the enemy, by their superiority of numbers, attempting to overwhelm and crush us, while the two diminutive brigades of Col. Ford and Lt. Col. Hoyt fought with a heroism seldom equalled, and as the enemy repeatedly attempted to charge



our artillery, they were each time driven back by a terrible and deadly fire of cannister.

Just in the twilight of the evening, and as the enemy were moving a heavy column to flank us on the left, and when the ammunition of the First and Fourth brigades was exhausted, the brigade of Gen'l Sanborn came in sight. I immediately ordered him forward to form on my left, when the rebels seeing that I had been reinforced, fell back under cover of the timber, and occupied the night in their hasty retreat, leaving their dead, and many of their wounded on the field.

My loss in this engagement, in killed and wounded, was one hundred and fourteen, while the enemy's loss, according to their own estimate was over eight hundred.

After dark General Curtis came up with the remainder of the command and directed the pursuit to be continued the next morning, but during the night, orders were received from Gen'l Rosecrans for the troops belonging to his department to return to their respective districts, and General Curtis then determined to abandon the chase. Upon our arrival at Neosho, on our return, despatches were received from Gen'l Grant, countermanding Gen'l Rosecrans' orders, and directing that the pursuit be continued to the Arkansas river, but we had now lost two days' time, which rendered it very improbable that we could again overtake the enemy, yet we pressed forward as rapidly as possible. At Cane Hill we were twenty-four hours behind them, and here I learned, from the official report of Gen'l Price's adjutant, that their losses in killed, wounded, prisoners and deserters, from the time that I met them at Lexington, was ten thousand, five hundred and fifty.

From Cane Hill we strained every nerve to overtake them, but arrived at the Arkansas river on the 8th day of November three hours after the rear of their column had crossed, thirty miles west of Fort Smith; and from this point we commenced our long and weary march back to Kansas.

Had Gen'l Thayer, who had six or seven thousand efficient troops inside of the fortifications at Fort Smith—and who was apprised of our movements by despatches by messengers—sent a small force with two or three pieces of artillery up the river on the south side, to attack and check Price's advance while crossing, as he (Thayer) was urged to do, we would have been enabled to have captured the entire rebel force at the Arkansas river.

While I have not gone into minute details regarding the campaign



against Price in the fall of 1864, yet I have been more elaborate than I otherwise would if it were not that my official report of the affair has been manipulated, while many accounts of the same have been spread before the public which were far from being correct, and while I have not said all that I might in reference to this campaign, yet what I have narrated *I know to be correct*.

I arrived in Kansas on my return from the campaign against Price, the 24th of November, and remained at Paola, the headquarters of my district, until after the surrender of Lee, when it being supposed the war would be continued west of the Mississippi, I was ordered by Gen'l Pope, commanding military division of the Missouri, to the command of the cavalry division of an army that was to move against Gen'l Kirby Smith, who with a command of sixty thousand rebels, was occupying the line of Red river. About the middle of April I left Kansas and proceeded by way of St. Louis and the Arkansas river, to Fort Gibson, when I commenced to concentrate and organize my command, which was to consist of ten thousand cavalry, and several batteries of light artillery. With this force it was expected that I would move as a separate column through the Indian country, cross Red river, and come in upon the enemy's left flank, while the infantry columns moved from Little Rock, and Fort Smith, to form a junction, but the surrender by Kirby Smith, of all the rebel forces west of the Mississippi, saved us further efforts in that direction. While I was making active preparations, and in a short time would have been in readiness to move against the enemy, I received information, on the second day of June, of the surrender just alluded to, and considering the war was at an end, I forwarded on the following day (June 3d) to the Secretary of War, my resignation as Major General of Vols. and asked of Gen'l Reynolds, commanding Department of Arkansas, to be relieved of the command as soon as convenient. Accordingly I was relieved on the 18th day of June and proceeded to Leavenworth to await action on my resignation, which was accepted on the 29th of July, 1865, and thus terminated my connection with the army, after serving a period of over four years.

In the foregoing recital I have not attempted to go into the minor details of events with which I have been connected, or refer to the part taken by individual officers or particular commands. For these I must refer you to my official reports, in which I have endeavored to do justice to all according to their merit. If I have

erred, or omitted what was due to anyone, it has not been intentional.

While there are some pleasant reminiscences connected with my service in the volunteer army during the late war, yet my path was not free from thorns. To be compelled always to contest with an enemy double and treble my superior in numbers, and thrown upon my own resources to provide for every emergency, was not the misfortune that annoyed me the most. I had as much to fear from the treacherous and cowardly enemy in my rear, as from armed rebels in my front. When I first entered upon the duties of a responsible command, I verily believed it was the duty of every loyal man to sustain the government in its hour of peril, and to strengthen the hands of those who were laboring to put down the gigantic rebellion by a vigorous prosecution of the war. In this I was mistaken. Experience has since taught me that patriotism

[There is a gap in the manuscript here; the top of the final page is missing and what is left appears as follows.]

knew better than they, the  
and the remedy to be

I been willing to have sac-

principle, honor and self-respect,

back upon those with whom my lot had been  
cast, and played the sycophant and toady to men for whom I had  
a supreme contempt, and some of whom I even doubted their  
loyalty, notwithstanding they occupied high official positions in the  
army, I should probably have been one of the favored instead of  
the persecuted. That I did not comply with their requirements, I  
shall never regret.

Another annoyance and barrier to my usefulness, that met me at  
every step, and one that I felt more keenly than all others was the  
unrelenting crusade against me by those exercising authority and  
influence. [Apparently the report does not quite end here, but it is  
evident that Blunt was concluding his narrative. If there were  
other pages they have been lost.]

# United States Surveyors Massacred by Indians

Lone Tree, Meade County, 1874

MRS. F. C. MONTGOMERY

THE completion of the task of surveying the public lands in Kansas was provided for under eight contracts entered into July 8, 1874, by Carmi W. Babcock, of Lawrence, the surveyor general of Kansas. Contract No. 382 was signed by Capt. Oliver Francis Short and Capt. Abram Cutler, both of Lawrence. The final cost of their contract was \$9,677.92 for 1,055 miles of section lines. Contract No. 381 was taken by Capt. Luther A. Thrasher, a Mr. Steele, W. C. Jones and Harmon Scott, all of Iola. Their compensation was \$9,117.35 for 920 miles of section lines. All these men had contracts in former years and their plats and field notes are in the auditor's office in Topeka.<sup>1</sup>

The surveying expedition for the performance of these two contracts was formed at Lawrence for the most part. Captain Short, the ranking officer, left there July 29, 1874, for Wichita, where he bought oxen and some equipment. He was joined at Dodge City on August 4 by his sons Harry C. and Daniel Truman Short, Captain Cutler, James Shaw and son J. Allen Shaw, J. H. Keuchler, Fleming (Clem) Duncan, Wm. and Richard Douglas, Frank Blacklidge, and Harry C. Jones, who was a nephew of Captain Cutler. All of these were of Douglas county, and with the exception of the contractors and James Shaw, farmer, were young students of Kansas University.<sup>2</sup>

They were soon joined at Dodge by Captain Thrasher, of Iola, second in command of the expedition, and S. W. Howe, of Florence, Marion county; also a Mr. Crist, a Mr. Woolens, and others of his party, as yet unknown. Crist, no doubt, was S. B. Crist, the Allen county man who had been a chainman in the survey of the Cherokee Neutral lands in 1867, by the government. The whole Meade county expedition comprised twenty-two men, eighteen for field work, and four for camp duties, including Prather, a mulatto of Lawrence. The location of their general camp was on the northeast corner of section 4, township 33, range 28 west, just a short

1. Rept. Surv. Gen. Kan., 1873. (In *Report Secretary of Interior*, Commissioner, General Land Office) pp. 93-98; 1874, pp. 106-112; 1875, pp. 30, 39, 40, 210-214; Serial Nos. 1601, 1639, 1680.

2. *Lawrence Tribune*, Aug. 20, 27; Oct. 29, 1874; *Lawrence Western Home Journal*, July 28, Sept. 3, 1874.



distance east of the old "Lone Tree." This is a well-known landmark on the east side of Crooked creek, six miles southwest of Meade, and about forty miles south and twenty miles west of Dodge. Captain Short's party was to survey the exterior lines of township 33, and be away from camp for the entire week. The parties of Captain Thrasher and Captain Cutler returned to camp each night, after surveying the township into sections.<sup>3</sup>

From this camp Captain Short wrote to his wife on August 16 and 22 that water had been found for the oxen, and that a pump driven down at the camp had furnished cool water for the men. Stone was plentiful for cornerstone markers. It had been agreed that in case of Indian attacks they would set fire to the grass as a signal to other surveyors, but they had been forced to fight prairie fires to save the grass for their oxen. On the last Sunday afternoon in camp, August 23, Captain Short had read passages from his New Testament and joined in the singing of hymns. The morning had been spent in washing clothes. His letters were sent to Dodge by hunters passing by the camp on Monday morning, August 24, 1874.

On that fatal day Captain Short chose his party for a week's survey. It included his son, Daniel Truman Short, aged fourteen; James Shaw, aged fifty-one; and his son J. Allen Shaw, who was about eighteen; Harry C. Jones, about twenty-two, and John H. Keuchler, who was seventeen or eighteen. Harry C. Short, who had been chainman for his father, was assigned to stay in camp that week under his protest, to harmonize camp troubles. The other two field parties took different directions to mark the virgin prairie into sections for future occupants.

About noon of Wednesday, August 26, Mr. Crist, of Thrasher's party, saw Captain Short's wagon standing on the east side of Crooked creek, about eight and one-half miles south, and two and one-half miles west of Meade. Captain Thrasher was notified, and he reconnoitered with his force, including Mr. Woolens, S. W. Howe and Richard Douglas. They armed themselves, then unhitched their oxen from their cart and drove them ahead to the empty wagon. There they found the bodies of Captain Short and his five men lying on the ground in a row, as they had been left by the Indians. The oxen were dead in their yokes, with the hind quarters cut off, and the camp dog lay dead beside its master. Captain Short, his

3. Crist, [S. B.], *Adjutant General, Kansas, 1873-'74*, p. 20; U. S. Survey Cherokee Neutral Lands, plat book 1867, S. B. Crist, chainman. Howe, S. W., biog. Andreas, *History of Kansas*, p. 1265; *Lawrence Tribune*, Nov. 29, 1874. Smith, E. D., letters on locations, to Historical Society, Jan. 11, 16, 1911, Mss. White, Thomas K., statements in interview with author.

son, and Harry Jones had been scalped, and others had their heads crushed. The pockets of all had been turned inside out. There were twenty-eight bullet holes in the wagon, and eight bullets were found in the water barrel.

James Shaw was the last man killed at this place, as shown by tracks made there by the irons on his boot heels. It was learned later that the Indians had carried off their own dead and wounded. The bodies, after a careful search, were put in Short's wagon and drawn back to camp. They were buried near sundown, about 100 yards southeast of Lone Tree, and the same distance southwest of the camp. One lone grave three feet deep was made for all the victims, who were wrapped in tent cloth. Initials were carved on rough stones which were placed at the head of each body.

Captain Thrasher, Richard Douglas and others had traced the route of the surveyors back to the first point of attack. This was one-half mile north of the extreme southwest corner of section 31, township 33, range 28 west. It is about eleven miles southwest of Meade "as the crow flies" and was near Stumpy arroya and a creek later called Short's creek. The location was about two miles west of old Odee post office. From the first point of attack, to section 20 northeast, the surveyors attempted to make a running fight from the wagon. They tossed out their water barrel, mess kit and other equipment to make room for the bodies of those killed. For about three and one-half miles the trail toward the camp was strewn with cartridge shells, showing a desperate fight.

Next morning, Thursday, August 27, hunters passing by the camp reported they had seen a party of twenty-five Cheyennes about fifteen to twenty miles west of the camp. Waiting until the Indians passed well out of sight they examined the camp of the Indians. Here they found Short's compass, papers and chains; also Cheyenne arrowheads. It was learned later from Mochin, a squaw of this party, and from the Indian agent, that it was the band of Chief Medicine Water. Truman Short's horse was found in Medicine Water's camp about a hundred miles west of Camp Supply. Years afterwards Chief Yellow Horse began to tell H. C. Perkins, of the auditor's office, Topeka, about his prowess in the Short massacre, but shut up like a clam when he feared that Mr. Perkins might inform the government about his deeds.

The Cheyennes had been angered by an order which called out 300 soldiers from Fort Dodge to drive the Cheyennes back to their reservation. These soldiers had passed by Captain Short's camp



on their way south. At that time he had asked the commanding officer to give him a small detail of soldiers to act as scouts or guards for the surveyors. The officer said he had no authority to grant his request, and stated that there were no Indians in the vicinity. These Cheyennes who killed Short's party, and the German family of five near Fort Wallace soon afterward, were convicted and sent to a government prison in Florida later, but were soon liberated.<sup>4</sup>

Mrs. Short, mother of six children, was informed of the catastrophe by Captain Thrasher at Dodge. He had assumed charge of the camp affairs, as second in command. He requested Captain Cutler to remain in camp with the remaining surveyors, while he went to Dodge for more men, arms and equipment. Captain Cutler declined to remain, or to continue the survey unless he be given full control. The whole force broke camp on August 27 and went to Dodge to await reorganization. Here Captain Thrasher communicated with Mrs. Short as to the continuance of Captain Short's contract, in which Captain Cutler was partner.<sup>5</sup> Mrs. Short empowered Captain Thrasher to finish this contract, which he then undertook in addition to his own.

Mrs. Short, at all times acquainted with affairs of the survey and its personnel, determined that all bodies of the murdered surveyors should be removed at the same time from near Lone Tree to their permanent burial places. She was aided in this by the surveyor general of Kansas, and by Gen. John Pope, of Fort Leavenworth. Richard Douglas and other surveyors left Lawrence on January 20,

4. Captain Short was born in Ohio, July 9, 1833, son of Rev. Daniel and Diana (Pete-fish) Short. He came to Kansas from Illinois, where he married Frances Celia Ann Catlin, of Springfield. He was one of the first professional surveyors in Kansas, having served on all frontiers of Kansas, and from the Dakota line into the Indian Territory, as contractor, compassman or chainman. He had some narrow escapes from rabid proslavery men during his early surveys. For a short period in 1857 and 1858 he was owner and editor of the *Atchison Squatter Sovereign*, a free-state paper. One of his early contracts was No. 303, dated 1864, when he was loaned a tent and six rifles for his party of six, by the surveyor general of Kansas. He surveyed in Cowley and Sumner counties in 1871, and later from Wallace county southward. His wife had surveyed with him in 1863, being paid as a flagman, riding over 1,600 miles, swimming rivers, hunting buffalo, meeting Indians, with whom their relations were always friendly. *Adj. Gen., Rept.* 1873-'74, pp. 20, 21, 84; *Andreas*, pp. 278, 375; *Biog. Scrap Book*, S., Vol. 9, pp. 183, 191; *Atchison Freedom's Champion*, Feb. 20, 1858, and *Squatter Sovereign*, Dec. 5, 1857; *Lawrence Tribune*, Oct. 29, Nov. 19, 1874; *Lawrence Western Home Journal*, Sept. 3, Nov. 19, 1874; *Meade Co. Clippings*, pp. 28, 48, *His. Soc. Lib.*; *Meade Globe*, Aug. 23, 30, Sept. 26, 1907; *Meade Globe-News*, July 2, 10, Aug. 14, 21, 28, 1924; *Surv. Gen. Kan.*, *Journal of Office Work*, p. 82 in *Archives*; *U. S. Biog. Dic. Kan.*, pp. 107-110.

5. Captain Cutler abandoned the survey and returned to Lawrence, Sept. 3, 1874, in company with Frank Blacklidge and Fleming Duncan, of his own party, and Harold C. Short, who was now the only support of his mother. Captain Cutler had been taken into partnership with Captain Short for some business reason. In 1879 he wrote to a friend some unsubstantiated assertions about Captain Thrasher, which only serve to prove that as a government officer, Thrasher would not tolerate any insubordination in that time of peril. Captain Cutler had been a member of the Topeka free-state legislature, an officer in the Lawrence Stubbs and other militia, and a private in Co. I, 10th Kan. Vol. Inf., in 1861. Little else is known of him except that he was buried in Ohio.



1875, with six caskets, arriving at Dodge on the 26th. Here they were given a military escort from Fort Dodge to Lone Tree Camp and return. Captain Short and son Truman were buried on February 6, at Mount Muncie cemetery, Leavenworth, their former home. James Shaw,<sup>6</sup> who had come to Lawrence in 1866, was buried in that city in Oak Hill cemetery, with his son, J. Allen Shaw. H. C. Jones, nephew of Captain Cutler, was also buried at Lawrence, but the body of John H. Keuchler was sent to his father, a doctor of Springfield, Ill.

Mrs. Short filed a \$10,000 claim against the government for loss of life. It was reported adversely in 1875 and 1878, although indorsed by the Cheyenne Indian agent, the U. S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, by Enoch Hoag, of Lawrence, who was the central superintendent of Indian affairs, and by Gov. T. A. Osborn, of Kansas. Finally, by special act put through by Congressman D. C. Haskell, of Kansas, \$5,000 each was allowed to Mrs. Short and Mrs. James Shaw. Among those who assisted Mrs. Short was Mrs. Fanny Kelley, of Allen county, once a prisoner of Indians. She secured signatures of Cheyenne chiefs, indorsing Mrs. Short's claim.<sup>7</sup> Thrasher also joined Mrs. Short in a claim for \$678 for loss of property taken from the surveyors by the Indians.

Captain Thrasher's work in completing the survey contracts was hampered by danger of further Indian depredations and by unusually unfavorable weather. He had reached Dodge with the surviving surveyors on August 31, 1874. The next day he notified Governor Osborn of the massacre and requested arms and ammunition be sent him. This was done, and he was also given an escort of soldiers from Fort Dodge for a short time. After reorganizing the parties he resumed work in the field October 1, about twelve miles north and fifteen miles west of Lone Tree on the Cimarron. On November 27, upon his return from a business trip to Lawrence, he found four men suffering from frozen feet. He had to go into camp December 20 on account of an eight-inch snow heavily crusted. Feed for the oxen gave out in early January, 1875. He started for Dodge, taking three men and the oxen, leaving twelve men in camp.

6. James Shaw was a graduated civil engineer of a Maryland college, and brought his instruments with him to Kansas. Both Short and Shaw located on farms near the present stadium of Kansas University. Mrs. James Shaw lived later at the residence of Joel S. White at Lawrence.

7. Archives, Gov. Letter Bk., 1875-'77, No. 6, pp. 24, 40, 281; *Biog. Dic. of Leav., Doug. & Franklin Co's.*, pp. 363-364; *Lawrence Tribune*, Oct. 29, 1874; *Lawrence Western Home Journal*, Jan. 28, 1876; H. C. Short, statements, 1931.

On the way another blizzard swept over them. The men made a dugout and got the stock into some thick brush. Finally they reached Dodge and sent hay, food and clothing back to the camp. Work was resumed about January 20.

Captain Thrasher kept Mrs. Short fully informed, and she in turn reported progress of the work in a Lawrence paper, for the benefit of the surveyors' families. From one issue we quote as follows: "The energy and bravery with which this contractor has maintained the field since the massacre of his copartner, O. F. Short, is worthy of respect." On February 22, 1875, Captain Thrasher notified Governor Osborn that he was ready to return all unused ammunition and all guns, except two stolen by the Indians. He was back in Iola before March 6, 1875, with no loss of life to men or oxen.<sup>8</sup>

Several futile efforts have been made to erect a memorial to the surveyors of 1874. At an old settlers' picnic held in Odee grove on August 28, 1907, Mrs. M. A. Brown, a sister of Captain Short, told the story of the massacre, and read Captain Short's last letters. Rev. J. M. McNair was president, and Mrs. M. P. Petefish, a relative of Captain Short, was secretary of a committee to consider plans for a monument. In 1908 a Rev. Martindale, of Plains, sponsored a plan to erect a community meeting house on Crooked creek, but the plan failed. Fifty years after the massacre a second attempt was made. On August 24, 1924, Harold C. Short, of Leavenworth, was the guest of Mr. and Mrs. John Haver, a relative of Captain Short, and with other settlers, in motors, visited the scene of Captain Short's last survey. The last stone he set, which originally was two feet square, was found to be worn to but a few inches. In the afternoon at a meeting under the shade of Lone Tree, Mr. Short retold the story of the survey. His address was followed by the

8. Captain Thrasher was born at Lynchburg, Va., June 26, 1833, and died there on Nov. 15, 1903, after twenty-two years service as an internal revenue agent for the United States. He was appointed in 1881 from Douglas county, served from San Francisco to Washington, and was known as the most daring agent in the service. He came from Illinois to Kansas in 1859, settling in Allen county. He served in the 3d and the 10th Kan. Vols., from 1861 to 1865, ending as quartermaster of the 79th U. S. Col'd Vols. He engaged in surveying of state roads, with Dr. J. W. Scott, at one time on a road from Iola to Wichita, thence to Abilene, during which time they were attacked by Indians. In December of 1867 he organized a cattle drive from Texas to Abilene, and kept a diary which is of much interest. At Abilene he received his appointment as quartermaster of the 19th Kan. Vol. Cav. After a hard service he was mustered out in April of 1869, and became principal of Iola schools. Next he engaged in surveying for the Santa Fe railroad, and is said to have laid out the towns of Florence and Larned. From Dec., 1877, to May 14, 1878, he was one of three state commissioners to select indemnity school lands, in lieu of lands taken by the railroads in the Indian reservations. His burial at Arlington was witnessed by the Kansas congressional delegation.

organization of a memorial association. This effort also failed in its purpose.<sup>9</sup>

Mrs. John Haver, Mrs. R. F. Todd, former editor of the *Meade County News*, Meade, and Frank Fuhr, former editor of the *Meade Globe*, formed the latest committee to arrange for a memorial. Mr. Fuhr took the lead in this organization in June, 1931. It is planned to raise sufficient funds to erect a monument in the courthouse square at Meade, and to place markers on the camp site, and the site of the massacre.

9. Harold C. Short, of Leavenworth, is now the only survivor of the government survey in Meade county, being then under sixteen years old. He was born at Atchison, Sept. 17, 1858. Since 1885 he has maintained the oldest abstract office in Leavenworth county, and since 1904 has been chairman or member of the board of county commissioners, his present term ending in 1938. He has given such details of the survey as he remembers to the Historical Society, and a picture of himself taken under Lone Tree in August, 1924. He gave, also, a copy of a map of township 83, range 28, which Captain Thrasher had made for Mrs. Short. This map shows the camp, routes of the three surveying parties, point of first attack, route of flight northeast toward the camp, place of massacre and the common grave near Lone Tree.



# Some Phases of the Industrial History of Pittsburg, Kansas

FRED N. HOWELL

THE history of the founding and the growth of Pittsburg has been closely and vitally connected with the development of the coal industry of southeast Kansas. The original Pittsburg was nothing but a coal-mining camp located on a railroad constructed for the express purpose of tapping a coal field and furnishing an outlet for Joplin, Missouri, zinc and lead. Thus the camp grew in proportion to the development of the coal industry of its vicinity and zinc industries of southeast Kansas and southwest Missouri. Two other industries which have been important factors in the development of Pittsburg were the clay products factories and the meat-packing plant.

## THE COAL-MINING INDUSTRY.

The earliest known coal mining in southeast Kansas was about 1850, and was carried on to a limited extent by residents of the neighboring section of Missouri.<sup>1</sup> As settlers came into what became Crawford and Cherokee counties, more coal was mined from year to year. While most of that output was for home use some was hauled to such towns as Fort Scott and Baxter Springs, Kansas, and Granby, Missouri, where it was sold for cash or traded for supplies.

During the ten years following the first influx of permanent settlers little attention was paid to coal mining and but little thought given to the value of the coal-bearing lands, due to lack of market and cost of local transportation. With the advent of the railroad into the coal fields casual and occasional coal mining gave way to an established industry.

The first real mining was done by the stripping process, using plows, scrapers and teams. This was profitable only where the overburden was light. But in most places where the overburden was light the coal was poor and limited in extent. As a result, that kind of mining soon ceased and remained in disuse until the coming of the modern steam shovel some thirty years later. However, an attempt at steam-shovel stripping was made in 1876, when Hodges and Armit began stripping near Pittsburg with a shovel made for

1. C. M. Young, "Kansas Coal, Its Occurrence and Production," *Bulletin*, University of Kansas, March 1, 1896, pp. 88-89.

railroad work. The shovel was operated for three years successfully. But since it could operate in strips with but ten or twelve feet of overburden it ceased operations due to lack of suitable stripping territory. While that shovel was too small for general coal stripping Hodges was satisfied that a shovel of sufficient size could be built. The shovel makers, however, declared a shovel of sufficient size to uncover a wide strip of deep coal was absolutely impractical and could not be made.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, such a shovel was built within the next thirty years. A revolving stripping shovel was first put into operation in the Pittsburg field in 1911. It cost \$25,000 and could operate to a depth of twenty feet only, but it was not much of a shovel compared with one developed twenty years later, costing from \$150,000 to \$175,000 and operating to a depth of forty-five feet.<sup>3</sup>

The amount of production of the strip mines kept pace with the improvements in shovels. During the early days of the shovel a production of 200 tons per day was unusual. In 1930 daily production in the large mines ran as high as 1,500 tons.

The cost of equipping an up-to-date mine was no small item. During the year 1929 \$300,000 was spent on an electrically equipped shovel, a loader, a tippie, and other equipment for a single mine.<sup>4</sup> This was doubtless the best-equipped mine in the Pittsburg field.

The first shaft, worthy the name, in southeast Kansas, was sunk by Scammon Brothers, just north of Scammon, in 1874.<sup>5</sup> A year or two later shafts were sunk in the Pittsburg district. The exact location of the first one is a matter of dispute, but there is sufficient evidence to show that during the year 1877 at least one shaft was sunk on the Pittsburg town site and one on Carbon creek, a few miles northeast of Pittsburg.<sup>6</sup> How fast shaft mining increased during the next twenty years there is no authentic record. In 1898 there were fifty-three mines in operation in Crawford county, according to the State Geological Survey for that year. Of the fifty-three mines in the county approximately thirty were within five miles of Pittsburg; of the thirty within the five-mile radius approxi-

2. *Ibid.*, p. 100.

3. Interview, K. A. Spencer, Pittsburg, Kan., vice president and manager, Jackson-Walker Coal and Mining Company.

4. Interview, Joseph Klaner, Pittsburg, Kan., strip mine operator, 1911-1930, Pittsburg territory.

5. Interview, P. S. Boulware, retired stockman, Pittsburg, Kan. Settled six miles west of Pittsburg, 1869.

6. Interview, Franklin Playter, Galena, Kan., retired lawyer, banker, promoter. Assisted in organizing Joplin Railroad Company, and in establishing Pittsburg town site.

mately seventeen were within two and one-half miles of the center of the town.

According to both state and federal statistics Crawford and Cherokee counties have been the leading coal-producing sections of the state. Of the two, Crawford county has been by far the larger producer. However, only the southeast quarter, approximately, is considered good coal territory. Since that part of the county is almost entirely Pittsburg trade territory the importance of the coal industry to the town may be shown by the following comparative table of coal production, expressed in tons:

Year.	Crawford county.	Cherokee county.	State.
1885.....	221,741	371,930	1,212,057
1890.....	900,464	724,861	2,259,922
1895.....	1,517,936	918,944	2,926,870 <sup>7</sup>
1900.....	2,307,130	1,547,471	4,467,870 <sup>8</sup>
1905.....	3,729,953	2,132,589	6,423,979 <sup>9</sup>
1910.....	2,986,411	1,477,529	4,921,451 <sup>10</sup>
1915.....	4,843,232	1,707,456	6,824,474 <sup>11</sup>
1920.....	4,508,747	1,090,186	5,926,408 <sup>12</sup>
1925.....	3,107,829	1,177,235	4,524,000 <sup>13</sup>
1930.....	1,634,947	539,890	2,603,156 <sup>14</sup>

The sharp decline in production since 1920, as shown in the chart, is not peculiar to the Pittsburg field alone. All other local coal fields of the United States have experienced a similar decline. This has been due to four principal causes. First, between 1925 and 1930 combustion engineers had made great progress. The efficiency of all heat and motive power producing appliances had been increased about 35 per cent. Second, increased use of substitutes for coal, such as oil and natural gas. Third, increased use of hydro-electric power. Fourth, unsettled labor conditions which have caused large producers to hesitate to enter into long-time delivery contracts, lest difficulty be experienced in filling such contracts.<sup>15</sup>

The part the coal industry has played in the economic life of Pittsburg is shown further by the following table:

7. *Eighteenth Annual Report, United States Geological Survey, Mineral Resources*, part V, p. 526.

8. *Mineral Resources of the United States*. Calendar Year, 1902, p. 380.

9. *Mineral Resources of the United States*, 1905, pp. 601-602.

10. *Ibid.*, 1910, part II, p. 136.

11. *Ibid.*, 1915, part II, p. 948.

12. *Ibid.*, 1921, part II, p. 585.

13. *Ibid.*, 1925, part II, p. 499.

14. *Annual Report of Coal Mine and Metal Mine Inspection and Mine Rescue Department*, 1930, p. 80.

15. Interview, K. A. Spencer.



Year.	Number of miners.	Average number of days mines operated.
1890.....	1,447	198
1895.....	3,098	161 16
1901.....	5,038	239 17
1905.....	6,190	212 18
1910.....	7,458	148 19
1915.....	9,094	182 20
1920.....	6,915	206 21
1925.....	5,584	164 22
1930.....	3,753	93.7 23

In the study of the above table one should take into consideration the wage scales in effect during the thirty-nine-year period.

The early-day miners were paid about \$2 per day. This wage had been increased to but \$2.98 per day by 1916. In May, 1917, when the coal industry was placed under a national board, wages were fixed at \$3.60 per day. That scale remained in effect until October, 1917, when wages were increased to \$5 per day. Early in 1919 a provisional scale of \$5.70 per day was established. This was increased to \$6 in the fall of the same year. In the fall of 1920 a wage scale of \$7.50 went into effect and operated until April, 1923, when the famous Jacksonville four-year agreement, fixing wages at \$7.50 per day, was adopted. In 1927 the Jacksonville agreement was continued for one year. In August, 1928, a three-year agreement with a \$5 wage scale was adopted.<sup>24</sup>

The part the coal industry has played in the economic life of Pittsburg and Crawford county, and the part it will play in the future, is worthy of consideration from another viewpoint. Whether the economic loss resulting from the destruction of the surface by the shovels is counterbalanced by the increased production of coal per acre was an unanswered question, January, 1930. By that time approximately 4,000 acres of coal land had been stripped and there remained to be stripped during the next twenty-five years approximately 800 acres.

16. *Eighteenth Annual Report, United States Geological Survey, Mineral Resources*, part V, p. 526.

17. *Mineral Resources of the United States*, Calendar Year, 1902, p. 380.

18. *Mineral Resources of the United States*, 1905, pp. 601-602.

19. *Ibid.*, 1910, part II, p. 136.

20. *Ibid.*, 1915, part II, p. 948.

21. *Ibid.*, 1921, part II, p. 585.

22. *Ibid.*, 1925, part II, p. 499.

23. *Annual Report of Coal Mine and Metal Mine Inspection and Mine Rescue Departments*, 1930, p. 81.

24. Interview, Bernard Herrigan, Pittsburg, Kan., secretary, Southwestern Interstate Coal Operators' Association.

The average price of farm land in the stripping territory has been \$25 to \$35 per acre. Stripped land has been valued by the coal companies at \$10 per acre. The loss to the county in taxable valuation is evident. On the other hand, the shovels take out 100 per cent of the coal, while the shaft mines remove only 40 per cent to 50 per cent of it. From this viewpoint, stripping is an economic gain.

Little experimenting in reclaiming the abandoned strip pits had been made prior to January, 1930. During a two-year period prior to that time the Spencer interests had done some experimenting on a ten-acre tract of six- to eight-year-old strip land. The surface soil of those particular ridges and pits contained considerable shale. Nothing was done to level down the ridges. They were planted to alfalfa and to catalpa trees just as the shovel had left them, plus six to eight years' erosion. Both the alfalfa and the trees have done well during the two-year period.<sup>25</sup>

From personal observations, the author has found that many of the earliest stripped lands have become quite well reforested with practically all the native varieties of trees, such as elm, cottonwood, willow, wild cherry, hackberry, etc. Some of the trees have attained a diameter of twelve to fifteen inches. Wild blackberries, especially, grow well on many of the older stripped areas.

Nature has converted the last runs of the shovels into lakes, many of which have been stocked with fish through natural processes. A number of these pit-lakes have been leased by private parties for recreation grounds and have been made to yield small returns to the owners. In 1928 the citizens of Pittsburg purchased 400 acres, 80 per cent of which is old strip pits, and presented the tract to the state of Kansas. This became the Crawford County State Park. It is a rugged, well-timbered park through which wind many beautiful narrow lakes. Since taking it over the state has improved it greatly and has converted it into a pleasant recreation center.

Since the middle eighties the coal industry of the Pittsburg field has been characterized by independent action on the part of the leading operators. This independence of action has been evident in purchasing and leasing coal lands, in production, and in marketing the output of the mines. Several of the large producers of the early period were still in the field January, 1930. A few were operating under their original trade names while the remainder were

25. Interview, K. A. Spencer.

under new names but governed primarily by the earlier business policies.

Transportation has never been a very serious problem with the coal companies, except possibly during the first ten years of the industry. At times freight rates on coal have discriminated in favor of Pittsburg. For example, for several years prior to 1918 Pittsburg coal was sold within fifty miles of St. Louis, Missouri, in competition with other coal of like grade. This was manifestly unfair to the Illinois and other neighboring coal fields. But this attitude of the transportation companies toward the coal operators is easily explained. In 1929 the railroads had \$4 invested in coal marketing equipment, such as coal cars, switch engines, mines spurs, etc., for each \$1.50 invested by the mine operators in mines and mine equipment. A similar ratio of investments runs back through most of the history of coal mining in the Pittsburg district.

Independent marketing has characterized the Pittsburg coal field in spite of the tendency to merge which dominated so many business interests during several decades. During the year 1929 86 per cent of Pittsburg coal was marketed by seven companies. Two of the seven were exclusive sales companies. The other five were both producers and distributors and marketed 50 per cent of the coal mined in the district. Competition was keen and there was no tendency to fix prices. It is said that practically the same general statements relative to marketing are applicable to any period of the coal history.<sup>26</sup>

Two mine disasters stand out boldly in the history of coal mining in the vicinity of Pittsburg. The one occurred at Frontenac the afternoon of November 9, 1888; the other at Stone City, some eight miles southwest of Pittsburg, about midday, December 13, 1916.

The story of each disaster has been graphically told in *The Daily Headlight*, from whose columns the following is quoted:

"Yesterday evening witnessed the most terrible holocaust that ever occurred in this mining district or the west. Mine No. 2 of the Pittsburg and Cherokee (Santa Fe) Mining Company at Frontenac blew up, causing a horrible toll of life. Number of lives lost is not known. Men in the mine at the time of the explosion numbered 164. Many of them made their way out uninjured. . . .

"Every available doctor from Pittsburg, Girard, Litchfield and other places from over this district are at the shaft ready to give emergency treatment.

"Rescue parties have endeavored to enter the mine, but have been driven

26. *Ibid.*



back by foul air. The fans were demolished by the explosion and men are working frantically to replace them so air can be sent into the mine."<sup>27</sup>

The second tragedy was told by the same paper as follows:

"Twenty men, at least, lost their lives in the explosion at a mine near Stone City early this afternoon. According to reports thirty-nine men were entombed by the explosion. One hundred men are said to have been employed in the mine.

"The explosion is said to have been one of gas accumulated in an old entry that is being reopened. Part of the men were working so far back from the shaft that it is a difficult task for the rescuers to reach them. . . .

"The state mine inspector and the engineer for the Bureau of Mines started at once for the mine, provided with rescue apparatus. . . .

"Unequipped with rescue apparatus several miners tried, time after time, to explore the smoky entries, only to be driven back. . . .

"Death came to most of the victims by suffocation. For, with the exception of a few, none of the bodies were burned to any extent."<sup>28</sup>

The mine had started work but shortly before the day of the catastrophe. As a result, many families were left practically destitute. Pittsburg at once requested aid. Governor Capper joined in this appeal to the citizens of Kansas. The responses to the appeals were generous. The two largest contributors were the United Mine Workers of America, with \$1,000, and the Coal Operators Association of Pittsburg, with \$1,000. Small individual contributions poured into the hands of the committee in charge. In addition to these contributions various means were employed to swell the fund, such as concerts, picture shows and church collections.<sup>29</sup>

Two other mine disasters in the Pittsburg field stand out prominently. On December 20, 1906, there was an explosion near Stone City which resulted in seven killed and sixteen injured. This mine was just being opened; no coal had been taken from it. It was believed that the explosion was caused by faulty electric wiring setting off some cans of powder.<sup>30</sup>

An explosion, March 18, 1911, in an M. K. & T. mine near Mineral, caused the death of five miners. This was a gas explosion attributed to workmen breaking through into a gas-filled abandoned mine adjoining.<sup>31</sup>

The mine death toll during the past few years has been small. The majority of fatal accidents have been from rock falls resulting from conditions seemingly beyond control. But, with the increased care

27. *The Pittsburg Daily Headlight*, Nov. 10, 1888.

28. *Ibid.*, Dec. 13, 1916.

29. *Ibid.*, Dec. 13-27, 1916.

30. *Ibid.*, Dec. 21, 1906.

31. *Ibid.*, Mar. 19, 1911.

given mine inspection, fatalities from this cause have gradually grown fewer.

To protect the lives of the miners as fully as possible the state took early action in the establishment of the office of state mine inspector. The original act of 1883,<sup>32</sup> creating that office and defining its duties, was amended materially in 1913 for the purpose of widening its scope of activities and enabling it to perform its duties more efficiently.

The general duties of the state mine inspector were to safeguard the lives and health of the miners. In addition to that it was his duty to determine the cause of mine disasters and to fix the blame. In his office were kept many records of the coal mines, such as amount of production, number of miners employed, etc. In addition to that there was kept a complete file of maps and charts of all the underground mines. These maps and charts were prepared especially as aids in rescue work in case of disaster.

The mine rescue department was created by act of the legislature, January, 1917.<sup>33</sup> This additional provision was prompted by the serious mine disaster at Stone City the previous December, which emphasized strongly the need for a well-equipped organization to supervise and aid in the work of rescuing imprisoned miners.

The year following the creation of this bureau three rescue stations were established. One was located at Scammon, one at Arma, and one at Pittsburg. A few years later, in 1923, the Scammon station was closed for lack of appropriation by the state legislature. The other two stations have continued to function. Both are well equipped to render efficient service, with motor trucks ready to rush to the rescue. The Pittsburg truck, especially, is well equipped with all that is needed for first-aid work, or for the more dangerous task of entering a mine on fire or one filled with the dreaded fire damp.

Danger of explosions and accompanying fires was ever present, even in the well-ventilated mines. Much explosive was still used in loosening coal (January, 1930). Whenever a shot was fired for such purpose there was the ever-accompanying danger of an explosion. For this reason the rescue crews were always on duty until early evening, or until all shot firers had completed their work for the day.<sup>34</sup>

32. *Session Laws*, 1883, chap. 117, sec. 9.

33. *Ibid.*, 1917, chap. 239, secs. 1-4.

34. Data furnished by state mine inspector's office.



## THE SMELTERS.

It has been said that the coal fields adjacent to Pittsburg made a good mining camp out of the town, while the smelters made a city out of a mining camp.

The immediate vicinity of Pittsburg produced neither zinc, lead nor silver. Yet Pittsburg for a number of years was ranked among the zinc-smelting centers of the country. And for a time a silver smelter also was operated successfully in the city.

For some years prior to the founding of Pittsburg the presence of zinc and lead deposits in southeast Kansas and southwest Missouri had been known. During the year 1870 J. B. Sargent and E. R. Moffet discovered lead ore in large quantities within the present limits of the city of Joplin, Mo.<sup>35</sup> By 1872 positive knowledge had been gained of the presence of ore near Baxter Springs, Kan.<sup>36</sup> In 1877 came the big Galena, Kan., strike. With these discoveries the mining industry was established.

Following the discoveries of lead and zinc in paying quantities in southeast Kansas and in the neighboring districts of Missouri it remained to refine the crude ore and market the metal at a profit. The vast storehouse of coal in the north part of Cherokee county and in the south part of Crawford county offered a solution if the coal field and the zinc-producing areas could be brought closer together. Moffet and Sargent solved this problem by building a railroad from Joplin, Mo., through the coal fields to Girard, Kan., and there connecting with a line to eastern markets. This road was constructed through the present site of Pittsburg during the summer of 1876. At this point it may be well to state that Pittsburg was laid out as soon as the railroad was established.<sup>37</sup>

During the late winter of 1878 Robert Lanyon arrived in Joplin, Mo., from his home in La Salle, Ill., in quest of a suitable location for a zinc smelter. After looking over the zinc fields around Joplin and the coal fields around Pittsburg he decided to build a smelter at the latter place. Cheap and abundant fuel was the deciding factor in his decision. In those days slack coal could be purchased at fifty cents a ton, delivered. Zinc smelters must be located as closely as possible to an ample supply of cheap fuel. A smelter operated at a profit must produce from eight to ten tons of metallic zinc a day. It required about three tons of ore to produce one ton

35. *The University Geological Survey of Kansas*, v. 8, p. 20.

36. W. E. Connelley. *A Standard History of Kansas and Kansans*, v. 2, p. 1007.

37. *Register of Deeds*, Crawford county, book E, p. 108.



of metallic zinc and about six tons of coal to smelt one ton of ore. Lanyon located his smelter in the east part of Pittsburg and at once commenced the construction of the plant.<sup>38</sup> The progress made in building the plant, its capacity, and the interest taken in its construction can be traced in the *Girard Press*:

"The oven for cooking the ore is being laid up and will soon be ready. Two furnaces will be put in operation and then two more will be built."<sup>39</sup> "Mr. Lanyon says he thinks he will have one furnace in operation by the first week in June."<sup>40</sup> "It is expected that the Lanyon smelter will produce about twelve tons per day and from thirty to fifty hands will be employed."<sup>41</sup>

The plant was soon completed, and during August seven cars of zinc were shipped.<sup>42</sup>

The Robert Lanyon smelter was a success and established the fact that Pittsburg was a suitable place for carrying on smelting operations on a large scale. By the end of two years this pioneer smelter and a companion plant at Weir City, eleven miles away, were doing a large volume of business. According to the government report for 1880 they were the only smelters in Kansas. They employed 180 men, with a pay roll of \$110,000, and produced spelter worth \$254,000.<sup>43</sup>

The success of the Robert Lanyon smelter soon brought other smelters to Pittsburg. In 1881 came the firm of S. H. Lanyon and Brother; and also that of W. and J. Lanyon. Each organization constructed a plant of about eight tons daily capacity. In 1882 the Granby Mining and Smelting Company, with mines at Joplin, built a smelter in the north part of Pittsburg.

The position occupied by Pittsburg during the early eighties in the zinc-smelting industry of the United States was shown by the following quotation from the Missouri Geological Survey: "In 1882, according to the Mineral Resources of the United States, three plants were in operation in Illinois; five in Kansas (four in Pittsburg and one in Weir City); and five in Missouri."<sup>44</sup>

The smelters ran practically all the time, nights and Sundays, as well as week days. Shutdowns were infrequent, as the following quotation illustrates: "The large furnace at the Granby's, which

38. Interview, E. V. Lanyon, Pittsburg, Kan. Formerly smelter operator. President of the National Bank of Pittsburg.

39. *Girard Press*, April 18, 1878.

40. *Ibid.*, May 16, 1878.

41. *Ibid.*, May 23, 1878.

42. *Ibid.*, Jan. 9, 1879.

43. *Compendium of Tenth Census of the United States*, part 2, p. 971.

44. *Missouri Geological Survey*, 1894, v. 6, p. 302.

has held fire for more than three years, was shut down last Tuesday for necessary repairs."<sup>45</sup>

It is difficult to obtain facts relative to the output and pay rolls of the smelters, regardless of location. The *Pittsburg Kansan* of December 4, 1889, contained the following: "The daily production of metallic zinc by the smelters is 90,000 pounds, and the annual pay roll amounts to \$180,000." Again the *Pittsburg Kansan* of August 20, 1890, gives the production of the different smelters for the week ending August 16, 1890:

R. Lanyon & Co.....	188,000 pounds
S. H. Lanyon & Co.....	96,000 pounds
W. and J. Lanyon.....	97,000 pounds
Granby Mining and Smelting Company.....	95,000 pounds

The next smelter concerns to enter the Pittsburg field were the Cherokee Zinc Company and the St. Louis Zinc Company, during the fall of 1889. Their entrance into the field was on terms somewhat different from those which brought the other companies. These two concerns sought a bonus for locating in the city. On October 9, 1889, the Board of Trade of Pittsburg entered into contracts with these companies providing for a bonus of \$15,000 each. In consideration of that amount each company agreed to construct and operate a plant for a period of one year.<sup>46</sup> The Cherokee Zinc Company was primarily a Lanyon organization; the list of stockholders of the St. Louis and Pittsburg Zinc Company contained the names of several persons prominent in the development of Pittsburg.<sup>47</sup> Construction of both plants was commenced in the spring of 1890 and rushed to completion within a few months. While these plants were being built the Granby Mining and Smelting Company increased the capacity of its plant by the addition of more furnaces.<sup>48</sup>

The St. Louis and Pittsburg Company, especially, experienced difficulty in housing its employees. In order to meet this condition it was necessary for the company to build houses of its own, and within a short time it had twenty buildings under construction.<sup>49</sup>

During the early nineties the Pittsburg zinc smelters reached their greatest output. The following table shows the size of the Kansas smelters and the production of each; also the output of the two other large zinc-producing states, for the year 1893:

45. *Pittsburg Headlight*, Oct. 2, 1886.

46. *Pittsburg Kansan*, Oct. 9, 1889.

47. *Ibid.*, April 9, 1890.

48. *Ibid.*, Sept. 9, 1891.

49. *Ibid.*, Sept. 10, 1891.

NAME.	Number furnaces.	Number retorts.	Output, approximate.
R. Lanyon & Co.....	10	960	3,500 tons
S. H. Lanyon & Bro.....	6	672	2,500 tons
W. and J. Lanyon.....	6	672	2,500 tons
The Cherokee Zinc Co.....	12	1,344	3,500 tons
The Granby M. & S. Co.....	6	672	2,500 tons
St. Louis and Pittsburg.....	8	896	3,000 tons
Girard Zinc Co. ....	12	1,344	3,000 tons
Weir City Zinc Co.....	14	1,568	3,750 tons
State of Illinois .....	..	....	27,000 tons
State of Missouri .....	..	....	16,000 tons <sup>50</sup>

During the same year, 1893, there were twenty-five active zinc smelters in the United States, distributed as follows: Illinois, 4; Indiana, 1; Kansas, 9; Missouri, 4; Pennsylvania, 2; all other states, 5.<sup>51</sup> Of the nine smelters in Kansas, six were located in Pittsburg.

Pittsburg did not long continue as the leading spelter-producing city. By the middle nineties the natural gas fields of southeast Kansas were being developed rapidly. These gas fields offered a fuel cheaper than coal. Many towns in the gas field were reaching out for industrial plants. Free gas, or gas at a very low cost, was offered them. This played havoc with the zinc smelters, as well as with some other industries, in the coal fields. Pittsburg began to lose its smelters. Soon all but two were gone. These two, the St. Louis and Pittsburg and the Cockerill smelters, continued to operate for a time on coal. Soon they were forced to close down because they could not meet competition. They remained closed until 1914, when the high price of spelter and the great demand enabled them to operate again. They continued to operate for a period of three years, after which they were closed down and dismantled.

The closing of the zinc smelters was a severe blow to Pittsburg. It was followed by a loss in population of about 2,500 and a pay roll of approximately \$25,000 a month.<sup>52</sup>

In addition to the zinc smelters Pittsburg numbered a silver smelter among its industries for a few years. During the summer of 1890 some men looking for a suitable place for locating a silver smelter visited Pittsburg. They were attracted by cheap coal and the desire of the citizens for additional industrial plants. After looking the field over they decided to locate if sufficient aid in establishing the plant could be obtained from local citizens. After a few days' negotiations between the visitors and the Pittsburg Com-

50. *Missouri Geological Survey*, 1894, v. 7, pp. 495-496.

51. *Ibid.*, vol. 6, p. 246.

52. Interview, E. V. Lanyon.



mercial Club an agreement was reached and a formal contract was entered into.

This agreement between the Pittsburg Commercial Club and the Short Method Refining Company of Pittsburg provided that the smelter company should refine not less than twenty tons of refractory ores at Pittsburg daily for a period of three years; and that the Commercial Club should erect a suitable building on a five-acre tract, which was to be donated, and supply \$2,000 to be expended in the construction of furnaces. In addition, the smelter company agreed to install machinery in the amount of \$16,000.<sup>53</sup>

The smelter company started construction work without delay, but was slow in completing the plant. Not until September, 1891, was it put into operation.

The Commercial Club was equally slow in paying its bonus. The day before the expiration of a "six months" clause of the contract, it lacked \$750 of the amount due the smelter company. That night it held a meeting for the purpose of raising the amount due. Two hundred dollars was raised from those present. As a means of enthrusing others arrangements were made to run a special train to the plant the next morning. About one hundred men took advantage of the excursion. The enthusiasm of the occasion raised another \$100. On returning to Pittsburg a committee raised the balance, \$450, in about three hours.<sup>54</sup>

The silver smelter operated at a profit for some four years. It shut down for want of operating capital, due to the fact that the ore-purchasing agent had managed to get hold of most of the money in the treasury through fraudulent invoices and other means and had left for parts unknown. The plant shut down, never to reopen. Fortunately for the stockholders, the plant had earned and had paid to them in dividends during its period of operation more than the stock had cost.

The silver smelter was not a financial success for its owners, nor did it add materially to the pay roll of the town. But it was considered to have performed a valuable service for the town in advertising it and in furthering business enthusiasm.<sup>55</sup>

53. *Pittsburg Kansan*, Aug. 27, 1890.

54. *The Pittsburg Daily Headlight*, May 20, 1891.

55. Interview, J. H. Seeley, Pittsburg, Kan. Retired building contractor. Stockholder in the silver smelter.

## THE HULL AND DILLON PACKING PLANT.

The beginning of the Hull and Dillon Packing Plant is set forth in the following story related by Lewis Hull.

In the fall of 1885 Hull found himself in Pittsburg, Kan., full of ambition to enter the meat business, but lacked the funds to do so even on a very modest scale. However, he managed to secure on credit a location and to provide himself with meager equipment. To get a supply of meat he rode out into the country to the homes of two farmers with whom he had a slight acquaintance. From one he bought a cow, from the other a hog. He told each to call at his shop the following Monday for his pay.

The two animals were slaughtered and the meat was placed on sale. That was Saturday. The first day's sales brought Hull twenty-eight dollars and left about half of the meat. The cash receipts of the first day's business paid for the cow and the hog. He then bought another cow and hog on the same basis. The meat was readily sold and from that time on he was able to pay cash for the beeves and hogs as he bought them.

At the time Hull opened his shop all sausage, bologna and other smoked meats sold in Pittsburg were shipped in from Kansas City. Hull saw an opportunity for increasing his earning by smoking his own meats. But he had neither a smoke house nor money with which to build one worth while. The problem was met by the purchase of a hogshead, which Hull converted into a smoke house and put into operation. Within a short time he was selling home-cured sausage, bologna, hams and bacon. Increased trade forced Hull to secure larger quarters. At this time he was joined by his brother-in-law, Thomas Dillon.<sup>56</sup> In the new, modest, but up-to-date meat market was laid the foundation of the packing plant located, in 1891, west of the city on the banks of Cow creek.

The plant was put into operation in the fall of 1891 and its first kill was ten beeves and thirty hogs.<sup>57</sup> From time to time it was enlarged. During the year 1925 a large addition was made by raising the main building from one story to three stories. Again in 1928, a twenty-thousand-dollar addition was made. The buildings and yards then occupied about fourteen acres. The plant was electrically equipped and the refrigeration system was modern throughout.

56. Interview, Lewis Hull, Pittsburg, Kan. President, Hull and Dillon Packing Company.

57. *Ibid.*



Two government inspectors were stationed at the plant. The duty of one, a veterinarian, was to inspect each animal to be slaughtered. The duty of the other was to inspect the meats and the sanitation of the buildings, yards and equipment.

The value of the plant to the community and surrounding territory is best indicated by its volume of business. The average daily kill for some years has been one hundred hogs and twenty-five beeves. During the year 1928, 30,000 hogs, 7,500 beeves and 200 sheep, all purchased from the farmers and stockmen of the trade territory, were slaughtered. In addition, several hundred head of cattle were bought and shipped to other packing plants. Approximately \$1,187,000 was paid to the producers. Market prices were based on Kansas City markets, less freight differential.

The company employed in the neighborhood of one hundred men throughout the year, with no "shutdowns." Nine salesmen were kept on the road (1930). The business has had a steady growth from year to year. During 1929 the volume of business reached the million-dollar mark, with a payroll of a hundred thousand dollars.

In order to reach its customers as promptly as possible Hull and Dillon instituted truck delivery service in 1918 to all accessible points in its trade territory. With the extension of good roads truck delivery was increased until the entire local territory was covered. In 1915 regular shipments of lard were made to London, England. Some by-products which were not produced in sufficient quantities to justify conversion into finished products were sold to other manufacturing concerns. Since 1920 all hides have been shipped to the International Shoe Company, St. Louis, and all grease has been sold to the Procter & Gamble Company, Chicago.

The company has operated, since 1922, a 1,200-acre grain and stock farm in connection with the packing plant. This farm was secured for the purpose of taking care of all stock that the packing plant could not at once consume. This enabled the company to purchase all cattle offered and to put all unconditioned beeves in condition for local slaughter or shipment to other markets. Several hundred head of cattle have been handled on the farm each year.<sup>58</sup>

In 1918 Lewis Hull bought Dillon's interest in the plant and incorporated the business with a capital of \$150,000. E. D. Henneberry became associated with the company in 1921 and assumed a large part of the management of the business. Lewis Hull con-

<sup>58</sup>. Interview, E. D. Henneberry, Pittsburg, Kan. Vice president Hull and Dillon Packing Company.



tinued to take an active part in the management. His greatest interest was in the killing and curing departments, over which he exercised full personal supervision, despite his seventy-five years. Hull's hobby remained, January, 1930, what it was more than forty years before, curing and smoking hams, bacon and sausage—the three products that played the greatest part in building the Hull and Dillon business.<sup>59</sup>

The management of the Hull and Dillon Packing Company had more than passing interest in the welfare of its employees. After the fall of 1923 night classes for the benefit of the employees were sponsored by the company. These classes were organized by and were a part of the work of the State Teachers College under the Smith-Hughes act. Such classes met at regular intervals for class instruction. The average attendance was about thirty. In this work the regular college professors were aided by several lecturers from Kansas City and Chicago furnished by the Institute of American Meat Packers. Full credit was given by the State Teachers College for all work completed. As a closing exercise for each year's work the packing company gave a banquet to its employee-students. The expense of these night classes from the beginning was borne by the packing company.<sup>60</sup>

The social life of the employees also received consideration and attention. This was furthered by the Hull Club, organized among the employees and sponsored by them. Through this organization many social activities were carried on. The crowning event of the social functions of the year was the annual picnic, given by the company to its employees.

Economic assistance and protection was provided for employees. Group insurance written by one of the large companies was in force for all after 1926. Each employee carried insurance to the amount of \$2,000. Foremen carried \$3,500. Half the cost of the insurance was borne by the company.

It has been the policy of the company to maintain close personal relations with employees. Some of its workmen have been with the concern for more than twenty-five years. In recognition the Institute of American Meat Packers has presented each of these with a silver medal.<sup>61</sup>

59. Interview, Lewis Hull.

60. *Ibid.*, Interview, J. A. Yates, head of Department of Physics and Chemistry, Kansas State Teachers College of Pittsburg.

61. Interview, E. D. Henneberry.

## CLAY PRODUCTS INDUSTRIES.

Since the early nineties Pittsburg has occupied a prominent place in the clay products industries of Kansas and the neighboring states. While some localities have exceeded it in volume, but few, if any, have excelled it in variety of products.

The history of brick making in Pittsburg dates back to the early history of the town. As early as 1878 it boasted of a fairly good plant. The *Girard Press*, January 16, 1879, said: "Steinmetz and Company are still making brick, their first kiln having turned out a complete success. You can count brick making one of the successful industries of Pittsburg, . . ."

The Steinmetz brickyard has long since passed away. It has been almost forgotten by even the oldest settlers of Pittsburg. The buildings for which it furnished the bricks have been replaced. But the economic fact that was established lived on in the vitrified brick plant, in the pottery plant and in the tile factory.

The immediate vicinity of Pittsburg contains extensive areas of clay, or shale, suitable for making a variety of clay products. This fact, combined with a cheap and abundant supply of coal resulted in building up an industry comparable with that of any other locality in the Southwest.

The value of the clay products factories to the community was well expressed by the following statement of facts for the year 1927, the only year for which data were available: Total number of employees, 275; total payroll, \$275,277.25; total value of products, \$826,909.01. During the same year 2,486 cars of the output of the factories were shipped out of Pittsburg.<sup>62</sup>

The Pittsburg Paving and Building Brick Company, better known as the Nesch and Moore Brick Company, was the pioneer modern brick plant of Pittsburg. Previous to its establishment there was little or no real knowledge of the extent or the quality of the clay deposits in and around Pittsburg.

The establishment of this plant was the outgrowth of a casual circumstance. In 1890 John Moore, of Atchison, Kan., through the efforts of the Johnson Brothers, of the Pittsburg Town Company, visited Pittsburg. Moore knew something about clay. He observed that there were seemingly good deposits around Pittsburg. He made a study of the local industry and inspected the buildings

62. Data on file with the Chamber of Commerce (Pittsburg, Kan.) based on reports of individual companies.



that had been constructed of local bricks. He became interested in the possibilities of a modern vitrified brick plant.

When Moore returned to Atchison he took with him sufficient clay for experimental purposes. He produced a few vitrified bricks.<sup>63</sup> These were shown to Robert Nesch, a brick manufacturer of Atchison. Nesch, observing the quality of the sample bricks, at once became interested in Pittsburg clay. As a result, Nesch and Moore went to Pittsburg with the intention of establishing a brick plant if sufficient support was given them by the citizens of the town. They asked the city to agree to pave several blocks with their product. Their proposition was accepted and provision was made to pave some nine blocks with homemade vitrified brick.<sup>64</sup>

Some interesting facts relative to the first paving contract may be gleaned from the records of the city clerk. One is the fact that it authorized the mayor to sign a paving contract with Nesch and Moore before the ordinance authorizing the paving became effective.<sup>65</sup> Just why the city council acted as it did is problematic. Possibly its method was the "Pittsburg way" of securing the location of an industrial plant by means of a bonus paid through the taxing power of the city. Nesch and Moore at once commenced the construction of their plant on a ten-acre tract, a part of which was underlaid by a vein of coal, which was to furnish fuel for the kilns. The original plant was a small one. But the Pittsburg paving attracted so much attention that it soon was necessary to enlarge the plant in order to take care of the increased business. Additions to the plant continued until it attained a capacity of 100,000 paving bricks per day. It was completely equipped with modern brick-making machinery and kilns.

The brick plant enjoyed an exceptionally good trade in paving bricks from the time of the first kiln until brick paving and brick walks were supplanted years later by concrete. With the decline in the demand for paving bricks the plant turned its attention to building bricks, the sale of which met with good success. A market for its output was found throughout Kansas and western Missouri, and especially in Kansas City, Kan., and Kansas City, Mo. Due to the fact that the early paving bricks stood the test of use they went into miles of pavement in Kansas City, Mo., during the late nineties, and 50,000,000 of them went into the Kansas City Stockyards Company pavements.<sup>66</sup>

63. *Pittsburg Kansan*, Aug. 6, 1890.

64. *Records Council Proceedings*, book No. 1, pp. 318-345.

65. *Session Laws*, 1875, chap. 72, sec. 1.



After being operated by the Nesch interests for more than thirty years the brick plant was sold to the United Clay Products Company, 1926,<sup>67</sup> and the business of the local plant was merged with that of the larger corporation. The Pittsburg plant was operated under the new organization for one year, when it was closed down, and has so remained.

The W. S. Dickey Clay Manufacturing Company, better known as the "Tile Factory," was established in 1899. One day in the spring of that year two practical brick and tile makers, W. L. Taylor and Charles Loose, arrived in Pittsburg in quest of a location where clay suitable for making hollow tile building blocks could be had. They were shown several possible sites, the most desirable being one where they thought the quality of the clay questionable. To dispel their doubts they were induced to ship a few bags of it back to Terre Haute to the tile factory with which they formerly had been connected. That was done and the two men soon followed the shipment.

About two weeks later Taylor and Loose returned to Pittsburg and stated they would establish a factory if sufficient local aid could be secured. They proposed to organize a company for making hollow building tile with a paid-up capital of \$25,000, if local citizens would take stock in the amount of \$9,000. As an evidence of good faith they presented a draft in the amount of \$16,000. The stock to be purchased by local men was subscribed for in one day's time by eight business men. A member of the stock-selling committee, who has been a resident of Pittsburg since 1878 and who has been in the real-estate business there for more than forty years, said the establishment of that industry was easier than any with which he had ever been connected.<sup>68</sup>

The general management of the business was placed in charge of a competent and experienced local business man; Loose and Taylor, the two principal stockholders, looked after the manufacturing end of the business. But the business did not prosper as expected. Practically the entire capital of the company was expended for the site and for kilns and other equipment, with but a very limited working capital. The plant earned enough to pay all operating expenses, allowing fair compensation for the three officials in charge; but it earned nothing for the stockholders. To make the business a profit-

66. Interview, J. J. Nesch, Pittsburg, Kan. Son of Robert Nesch, founder of the plant, connected with the brick plant from the early nineties to 1926.

67. *Ibid.*

68. Interview, C. A. Miller, Pittsburg, Kan. Realtor.

able one more working capital was necessary. The local stockholders would not furnish this because they were not getting any returns on their investment. Taylor and Loose could not furnish more capital because they did not have it. As a result, all interested in the plant agreed to sell. A buyer was found in the person of Robert Nesch, then owner of the Pittsburg Vitrified Paving Brick Plant, who took it over at \$25,000.<sup>69</sup> Under the Nesch management the plant was converted primarily into a sewer-tile plant, after which it was sold, 1900, to the W. S. Dickey Clay Manufacturing Company,<sup>70</sup> and became a unit of that larger organization.

Whatever possibilities Nesch and Dickey saw in the Pittsburg plant were realized, at least, in part. The plant was a growing and a successful concern after its transfer to Nesch, and later to the Dickey interests.<sup>71</sup> From a plant of limited capacity it grew into one of 100 tons per day capacity by 1909, when the last addition to it was made.

An interesting fact in connection with the operation of the plant is that after 1920 the kilns were fired with oil, consuming per month the equivalent, approximately, of 773 to 833 tons of coal. Oil was used as fuel not because it was cheaper, but because the uncertainties associated with the coal-mine labor troubles did not enter into the supply of oil.

The products of the plant were sewer tile, hollow tile bricks, flue lining, ornamental flue caps and wall coping. Of these products sewer tile was the principal one after 1900. The company's trade territory was southern and western Kansas, Oklahoma and parts of Arkansas, Texas and New Mexico.

The value of the tile factory to Pittsburg is shown in part by the following facts. In 1929 the plant employed an average of one hundred and twenty-five men, about twenty of whom were skilled clay molders and burners. The annual pay roll approximated \$135,000 and the sales for several years exceeded \$500,000 per year.<sup>72</sup>

The Pottery Plant was established principally as a community enterprise. The success of the other clay products plants suggested the possibility of additional uses for Pittsburg clay. Previous to 1910 numerous chemical and burning tests had been made in a small way with satisfactory results in the laboratories of the local

69. *Ibid.*

70. Interview, A. H. Schlanger, Pittsburg, Kan. Coal merchant.

71. *Ibid.*

72. Interview, W. L. Walter, Pittsburg, Kansas, local superintendent, W. S. Dickey Clay Manufacturing Company.



state school. Also, samples of clay had been sent to kilns in Ohio, where they had been tested and approved.<sup>73</sup>

During the years 1911 and 1912 the problem of securing additional industries for Pittsburg was an important one to many of its citizens. In the latter year the desire to see a pottery plant established took definite shape. A meeting of business men resulted in thirty-one of them agreeing to contribute sufficient money to construct and put into operation a small plant.<sup>74</sup> The contributions amounted to \$20,000, which was spent on a site, a one-kiln plant and a general-purpose building.<sup>75</sup>

The plant was put into operation in 1913,<sup>76</sup> under the management of a capable superintendent, but the first burnings were not a success. This was due, as it was afterwards learned, to faulty construction of the kiln and not necessarily to lack of knowledge on the part of the superintendent. However, the owners set about at once to secure a new manager. In this many difficulties were experienced. Failure seemed evident. Efforts were then made to interest eastern pottery plants in the local plant. The stockholders even offered to back the operation of the plant with their own money, sustaining any losses themselves that might occur, if some successful pottery company would take over and operate the local plant for a definite period. Failing in this, the stockholders finally offered to give the plant to an Ohio concern if it would agree to operate the plant for a definite time. The offer was accepted, but soon rejected.

So much confidence in the project had some of the stockholders that two committees made trips at their own expense to the pottery plants of Ohio and Illinois in quest of a competent superintendent. One was found, as they thought.<sup>77</sup> But his lack of understanding of that particular kiln was a source of trouble for him and for the company. That was not the only trouble that beset the plant. To it must be added serious labor troubles and discriminating freight rates.

For a while the plant struggled along, but in 1915 it went into the hands of a receiver and was closed for three years. It was then sold to a small group of citizens who completely reorganized the business. The first act of the new organization was to reconstruct the original and only kiln, which had been the principal cause of all

73. Interview, Prof. J. A. Yates.

74. Interview, A. H. Schlanger.

75. *Ibid.*

76. *Pittsburg Daily Headlight*, April 30, 1913.

77. Interview, A. H. Schlanger.



the trouble. An aggressive campaign of expansion was entered upon. The plant was enlarged by the addition of three kilns, increased molding equipment and enlarged drying rooms. Happily, the enlargement of the plant and increased production facilities were followed by more favorable freight rates on clay products in that section. A reduction in freight rates, secured only after diligent efforts, enabled the Pittsburg plant to compete with the established plants elsewhere, and to build up a successful business.

The pottery plant produced a large variety of products, such as jugs, water jars, pitchers, measures, milk pans, sun dials, lawn vases, bird baths, garden jars, flower pots, cut-flower vases, jardinieres, etc. For these varied products sale was found in western Missouri, Kansas, western Arkansas, Texas Panhandle and that part of New Mexico on the Santa Fe lines. By 1925 Pittsburg had become such a pottery center for the above territory that the railroad tariffs on pottery goods were quoted from Pittsburg. During the same year truck delivery service was instituted by the pottery company throughout its territory within a radius of 135 miles.

The largest single purchaser of Pittsburg pottery was the Gift Shop and Necessity Company, Kansas City. The first shipment was made to this concern in 1926. Subsequent shipments amounted to thousands of dollars a year. The Gift Shop shipments consisted principally of cookie jars, salad bowls, chocolate jars, lemonade sets, ice-box jars, etc. All these different articles were retouched or re-decorated in Kansas City, and from there shipped to various parts of the United States and to some foreign countries.<sup>78</sup>

78. Interview, M. O. French, Pittsburg, Kan., president, Pittsburg Clay Products Company.

## Book Review

FRANKLIN PIERCE: YOUNG HICKORY OF THE GRANITE HILLS. By Roy Franklin Nichols. (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1931. xvi + 615 pp. \$5.)

A LIFE of Franklin Pierce (President 1853-'57) is an event of major importance in the literature of Kansas history, because hitherto no scholarly biography of the fourteenth President has been available. In Kansas tradition Pierce has received harsh treatment as the result of hostile partisanship based on the single issue of slavery in the territories. The balanced picture has been lacking. The present biography is written by a man who is thoroughly conversant with the period and has written *The Democratic Machine*, 1850-'54 (New York, Columbia University Press, 1923) and "Jeremiah Sullivan Black" in *The American Secretaries of State and Their Diplomacy*, Vol. VI. (New York, A. A. Knopf, 1928.) Doctor Nichols is now professor of history at the University of Pennsylvania.

Franklin Pierce was born in the town of Hillsborough, New Hampshire, in 1804. He graduated from Bowdoin College and then took up the study of law and along with it the practice of politics as a Jacksonian Democrat. His father enjoyed some prominence in New Hampshire and was elected governor about the time Franklin was entering politics, so the rise of the younger Pierce was relatively easy. From 1838 to 1842 he was in congress, first the house and then the senate. During this period he married, and while this brought him much needed aristocratic social connections, it was in many respects unfortunate as his wife was afflicted with illness and a morbid Puritan conscience. Pierce retired from the senate before the expiration of his term and set himself again to the practice of law and local politics. The Mexican War gave him an important military appointment, but he found that glory was elusive. The next three years (1849-'51), Professor Nichols concludes, were his years of greatest effectiveness. He was again in his familiar New Hampshire environment and virtually dictator in his party.

In 1852 Pierce was nominated for President as a dark horse and elected on the platform of the finality of the compromise of 1850. The preparation for his administration was embarrassed by insurmountable problems of peaceful conciliation of factionalism, and the fact that Pierce was not recognized as the real party head. Of

course, the party had no head, but he was not the leader even of an important faction. That was why he was available as a compromise candidate in 1852. Just before the inauguration the Pierces were overwhelmed by the tragic death of their small son in a railroad accident. This was no small factor in the inauspicious opening of the new administration. Professor Nichols tells the story of the next four years from the national point of view, making the story revolve around the White House as the pivot, and narrating the events as they unfolded to Pierce. The President had to balance factional quarrels over patronage, insistent business interests, land questions, the slavery issue, and foreign affairs and out of the conflict hope to insure the success of his administration and the well-being of the nation. Scandals and controversies in the western territories were an old, old story. Minnesota land graft appeared more important than the early stages of the Kansas land quarrels. Even after making allowances for Pierce's weaknesses, he appears primarily as a victim of circumstances; the break-up of the Democratic party, the realignment of political forces which proved to be creating a new political party, and the unscrupulous tactics of some of the antislavery-Republican politicians who were more interested in advancing their political fortunes than in contributing to a peaceful settlement of the Kansas question. This last point Nichols hints at, but does not develop as he might have done from Kansas sources. Pierce tried sincerely to maintain an impartial national administration. After retirement from office, he traveled awhile and then settled down in New Hampshire. The abuse that was heaped upon him during the Civil War period is one of the things which the American people may well wish to forget. He died in 1869.

A biographer has a choice of two general courses in treating his subject. He may write what is essentially a history of the period with the subject as the chief character, or he may confine himself to personal narrative, recording the interaction between the man and his environment, but assuming that the latter is already known to the reader. Professor Nichols has chosen the second course, which has the advantage of permitting a more intimate personal portrayal of the individual, but which is somewhat disappointing in its larger contributions to the solution of historical problems. Professor Nichols has saturated himself in the atmosphere of New Hampshire and Washington and has been able to fill in the personal record so completely that at times Pierce can be followed in detail in his daily routine. Of course, at other times there are unfortunate gaps in the



materials at critical points, which are no fault of the author. Nichols has based his book primarily on manuscript collections and newspaper files, many of which have never been used before for a major historical study. On the personal side of Pierce's career, therefore, a large part of the detail of this biography is new.

The student of Kansas history cannot but be a little disappointed in the book. The balanced picture of the man Pierce and his administration are important contributions, but scarcely any major political problem is solved. It scarcely need be said that Nichols would have had a surer grasp on the Kansas question if he had used the files of Kansas newspapers and the manuscript collections of the Kansas State Historical Society. Governor Reeder's land deals would have been clearer in the light of his own records of holdings in Indian lands and townsite companies. The governor showed no partisanship in accumulating shares in both proslavery and anti-slavery towns.

Pierce's sincere devotion to the Union is one of his outstanding characteristics. He felt that its preservation could be accomplished only by mutual concessions, by moderation and compromise. His public adherence to the principle underlying popular sovereignty dates from 1846 when he assisted in framing the following resolution in the New Hampshire state Democratic convention:

"That the policy to be pursued in reference to slavery rests with the states and territories within which it exists—that whatever parties may profess, it is only as citizens of such states and territories that the members of those parties can influence that policy—and that angry external agitation, by exciting the prejudices of the slaveholding communities, while it may endanger the Union tends rather to fasten than to destroy the bonds of the enslaved."

This is one of the earliest known statements of the idea as applied to the territories and in the light of this resolution Pierce's consistency is clear on the compromise of 1850, the platform of 1852 and the Kansas question.—JAMES C. MALIN.

## Kansas History as Published in the State Press

"Early Days in Oskaloosa," by Francis Henry Roberts, is being published serially in current issues of the Oskaloosa *Independent*.

"A Pioneer Relates of Bison Hunts in the 60's," by John G. Ellenbecker, was the title of an interview with W. M. McCanles published in the *Marshall County News*, Marysville, December 25, 1931.

The story of a furrow plowed by Jos. G. McCoy from the Red river to Abilene was recalled by Frank D. Smith in a brief article in the Coffeyville *Daily Journal*, January 1, 1932. Mr. McCoy used only cattle power to make this furrow as a marker for a new cattle trail.

"Some Experiences of an Amateur Officer of the Law" were recounted by David D. Leahy, former United States marshal located in Wichita, in the January 3, 1932, issue of the Wichita *Sunday Eagle*. "How the Buffalo Hunters Fought a War of Their Own," was the title of a narrative of the Staked Plains war against the Comanche Indians, by Paul I. Wellman in the same issue. Several Kansas buffalo hunters were among the participants in this skirmish in the Texas Panhandle in the spring of 1877. Other stories of the Wellman series which are regular weekly features of the *Eagle* included such names as Gen. George Custer, Crazy Horse, Rain-in-the-Face, Sitting Bull and Kit Carson. A biographical sketch of William Patrick Hackney, an attorney for the vigilantes during the frontier days of south-central Kansas, was another article of historical interest in this issue. It was contributed by Bob Herrick.

The Lincoln *Sentinel-Republican* observed its forty-fourth birthday, January 7, 1932, with a short sketch of the newspaper's history featured in its columns. Supplementary historical data on Lincoln county newspapers as recorded in the *Souvenir History of Lincoln County* (1908), by Elizabeth N. Barr, was published January 28.

At the beginning of its fifty-third year, January 7, 1932, *The Rooks County Record*, Stockton, published several letters from old subscribers telling of their pioneering experiences.

Interviewing celebrities in the "Golden Age of Journalism" was a venturesome task to David D. Leahy. In a two-column article on

"Great Kansans of Past Had Many Humorous Quirks" Mr. Leahy related some of his experiences for the *Wichita Sunday Eagle*, January 10, 1932.

The First Presbyterian church of Arkansas City celebrated its fifty-ninth anniversary, January 12, 1932. Finley Marshall, one of the pioneer members, spoke of the "Little White Church," north of the present edifice, where he and others attended as early as 1877. Historical notes of the church were published in the *Daily Traveler* and *Tribune*.

A sketch of the growth and development of Independence and Montgomery county was given in a talk by Donald W. Stewart, attorney and state commander of the American Legion, at the dedicatory program of Montgomery county's new courthouse January 11, 1932. The speech was printed in the *Independence Daily Reporter*, January 12.

The twentieth anniversary edition of the *University Daily Kansan*, official student publication of Kansas University, Lawrence, made its appearance on January 17, 1932. Early university publications, present occupations of former staff members and historical matter pertaining to the university and its school of journalism were discussed in this issue.

A résumé of the contents of *The Kansas Plainsman*, May 20, 1876, an early Russell newspaper, was published in *The Russell County News*, Russell, January 21, 1932. An issue of the *Russell Hawkeye*, for March 29, 1883, was similarly reviewed in the January 28 issue of the *News*. Names of many pioneers were mentioned in these articles.

The first of a series of Cheyenne county pioneer editions was published by the *Bird City Times*, January 21, 1932. Old settlers' reminiscences were featured, with many pioneers contributing. "Cheyenne County in 1885," by James G. Butler; photographs of Benjamin Bird and Frances L. Emerson, for whom Bird City and St. Francis were named; histories of Wheeler, Kan., and the early county schools were the edition's highlights.

Tales of early Waterville as told to Waterville high-school students by Mrs. F. P. Thorne and "Mike" Delaney, pioneers, were printed in the January 21, 1932, issue of the *Telegraph*.

A series of articles reminiscent of early-day Kansans and other historical figures of the past and present, by Dave D. Leahy, is pub-



lished regularly in the *Wichita Sunday Eagle*. The articles commenced with the January 24, 1932, issue. Sketches include such persons as Sen. Hiram Johnson, William Jennings Bryan, General Weaver and Judge Willis in the January 24 issue; Ernest Thompson Seton, John L. Sullivan, Ned Turnley, January 31; Pat McDonald, Seth M. Tucker, February 7; James Cardinal Gibbons and a discussion of Friar de Padilla, reputedly the first white man to settle in Kansas in 1541, February 14; George Washington, February 21; Col. Henry Watterson, Senator W. A. Clark, February 28, and St. Patrick, March 13.

Reno county celebrated its sixtieth birthday anniversary Tuesday, January 26, 1932, as the opening day's feature of Farm and Home Week, promoted by the *Hutchinson Herald and News*. "The Romance of Reno," a historical pageant representing a decade of development in Reno county, was presented. H. S. Lyman was the oldest settler of Reno county who attended the anniversary festivities. He came to the county in April, 1871. Salt jacks of pioneer times were feted the second day of the week's program. Special recognition was given to Marion Foster, one of the men who drilled the first salt well in Hutchinson. On Thursday, A. W. McCandless, first teacher at Sherman school in Hutchinson in the 70's, was the guest of honor at the pioneer school gathering. The hog callers, cow callers, bullwhackers, cowboys and bone pickers were all afforded opportunities to meet with their contemporaries on this day. Native Kansans of the county celebrated Kansas Day on January 29. Two native territorial Kansans were in attendance. They were John S. Simmons, Hutchinson attorney, who was born in Douglas county in August, 1860, and Mrs. Clara L. Barker, who was born in what is now Chase county on June 28, 1860. The Reno county 4-H clubs sponsored Saturday's finale.

The first radio founders' day program of Kansas State college was broadcast February 16, 1932, from KSAC. The present college was founded as Bluemont college. It was taken over by the state in 1863. *The Kansas Industrialist*, Manhattan, published brief biographical sketches of the founders in its issue of January 27.

How Henry Brown, sheriff of Douglas county, Rev. H. D. Fisher, Methodist minister, and Lawyer S. A. Riggs escaped the vengeance of the Quantrill raiders at Lawrence, August 23, 1863, was told by Lewis Brown, son of the pioneer sheriff, to the *Hutchinson News* January 27, 1932. Mr. Brown was only a few weeks old when the

massacre occurred, and his recollection of the affair came from his parents' description.

A short history of Mayetta as summarized from E. J. Lunger's speech to the Mayetta high school January 22, 1932, was published in the *Holton Signal*, January 28.

More than 100 Russell citizens, all of whom have been residents of Kansas for fifty years or over, were invited as guests of honor at a program sponsored by the Russell Cosmos Club, January 29, 1932. The names and short biographical sketches of a few of these early settlers were included in news accounts published in the *Russell Record*, January 28 and February 1, and *The Russell County News*, Russell, February 4.

Hardships of early-day Kansans were related by Mrs. E. F. Brown in the *Liberal News* of January 29, 1932. Mrs. Brown came to Kansas in 1857, locating near Emporia, and recalls the sacking of Lawrence and other territorial incidents. She removed to Seward county in 1885 and is reputed to be the county's first school teacher.

Residents of Salina who preceded the railroad into the city in May, 1867, were honored by the Saline county chapter, Native Daughters of Kansas, at its annual Kansas Day dinner, January 29, 1932. The names of this historical group published in the *Salina Journal* January 30 were assembled by Mrs. Effie Campbell, secretary of the Saline County Historical Association.

The history of the Mennonites, "their trials, persecutions and triumphs," was briefly sketched in *The Mennonite Story*, a 24-page illustrated booklet issued in February, 1932, by Bethel College, of Newton. Particular note was made of the Kansas settlements. Hundreds of these immigrants were carried across the continent in special trains, settling chiefly in Marion, Harvey, McPherson and Reno counties. The material was compiled by A. J. Graber.

A series of historical sketches of Wabaunsee county and Kansas, by F. L. Hodgson, are featured in current issues of the *Harveyville Monitor*. The first installment was published February 4, 1932. "Trouble With the Indians," "The Theft of Brain's Horse," "Charlie—the Slave," and "A Meal for a Tanning," are characteristic subtitles for these articles.

Mrs. Julia M. Winters, who settled in Sedgwick county on October 16, 1872, told of early-day life in south central Kansas in the *Halstead Independent*, February 4, 1932.



The February 5, 1932, edition of the *Leon News* was edited by members of the Leon Methodist church in connection with the celebration of "Booster Sunday," February 7. Church sketches of a historical nature were featured.

A short history of the Emporia Kansas State Teachers College appeared in the February 12, 1932, issue of *The Bulletin*, the official student publication. The college was founded as the Kansas State Normal School February 15, 1865.

A brief sketch and photograph of the old mill erected by J. M. Piazzek at Grasshopper Falls (Valley Falls) in 1855, was a feature of the *Topeka Daily Capital*, February 14, 1932. C. C. Nicholson was the contributor.

Fifty years ago in the West were recalled by George M. De Tilla in a lengthy newspaper article in *The Western Times*, Sharon Springs, for February 18 and 25, 1932. Mr. De Tilla is a former cowpuncher, stage driver, miner and railroad worker.

*Russian German Settlements in the United States*, written in German by Dr. Richard Sallett, was translated by Judge J. C. Ruppenthal and the parts pertaining to Kansas were reprinted in *The Russell County News*, Russell, in its issues of February 18, 25; March 10 and 24, 1932.

A biographical sketch of Thomas Byrne, a Dickinson county pioneer, written by Mrs. Mary Byrne Clennan, a granddaughter, was published in the *Chapman Advertiser*, February 18, 1932. Other biographical articles followed in succeeding issues. A sketch of the life of Michael Cogan was contributed by Mary Cogan, his daughter, in the February 25 issue; Mrs. Fred Pierce wrote of her pioneering experiences in Kansas in the March 3 edition; a story of Jack Nash was featured March 10, and an account of the lives of Mr. and Mrs. Scott E. Poor, by a son, William Poor, was published March 17 and 24.

"Old Osage Mission" at St. Paul, was the subject of a historical sketch in the *Wichita Evening Eagle* from February 19 to March 3, 1932. Rev. Wm. Schaefer contributed the series.

A brief history of Sod Town, now Stafford, by Helen Akin, appeared in the *Wichita Sunday Eagle*, February 21, 1932. Many early-day settlers were named in the article.

An "Honor Roll of Old Settlers" of Seward county was prepared by Abe K. Stoufer for the *Liberal News*, February 23, 1932.



The *Kingman Journal* took official note of Kingman county's fifty-eighth birthday on February 27, 1932. A short sketch of the county's organization and settlement was published March 11.

The sixtieth anniversary jubilee of the building of the first railroad up the Arkansas valley was observed with a week of festivities in Hutchinson, February 29 to March 5, 1932. Sixty years ago, Hutchinson, Sterling, Dodge City and many other cities of the valley were born. Monday, February 29, the citizens of Hutchinson and their guests buried "Old Man Depression." Tuesday, pioneers of the 70's, later settlers of the 80's and 90's, and youngsters of the 1900's were garbed alike in the costumes of the early settlers. Transportation day on Wednesday brought out everything from the travois of the Indian tribes of the prairie down to the airplanes that soar over the wheat belt to-day on the air lines. The Santa Fe displayed one of the first engines used in the valley in 1872, and placed near it one of the larger locomotives of to-day. The Rock Island also featured a transportation display. Old-time handpump handcars manned by typical crews of Irish paddies, operated on the trolley tracks. Labor and industry celebrated their progress Thursday, and Friday was the official farm and grain day. Saturday was junior jubilee day. The event was well advertised in the newspapers of the valley, particularly in the *Hutchinson Herald and News*.

"Tribulations of an Early Day Editor," by H. S. Givler, was a column feature of the *Western Kansas World*, Wakeeney, on March 3, 1932, its fifty-third birthday anniversary edition. Mr. Givler was editor of the *World* from 1894 to 1919.

The March 3, 1932, seventh anniversary edition of the *Douglas County Republican*, Lawrence, was dedicated to Charles Sumner Finch, Kansas pioneer editor, now a member of the *Republican's* staff. Mr. Finch entered newspaper work in the fall of 1880 with the purchase of a part interest in the *Harper Times*. Since then he has been associated with many newspapers in Kansas and Missouri. The edition contained tributes from his friends and associates.

Prominent citizens of Florence, Peabody and Marion were named by Helen Akin in a three-column historical sketch which appeared in the *Wichita Eagle*, March 4, 1932.

## Kansas Historical Notes

The Wabaunsee County Historical Society was reorganized January 23, 1932, in a meeting at Alma. Officers elected were: Wm. Pringle, president; Dr. H. J. Wertzberger, vice president and curator; O. W. Little, secretary-treasurer.

The first observance of a "Kansas Week" leading up to and following Kansas Day was introduced at Chanute January 25 to 30, 1932. It was intended to emphasize traditions, institutions and natural assets of the state. Under the direction of the late Esther Clark Hill the Chanute library prepared special Kansas displays for its bulletin board. The Chanute *Tribune* published during the week a series of articles by well-known Kansans. On Monday, a letter from Gov. Harry H. Woodring introduced the event. Tuesday, Carl P. Bolmar, artist, sketched the history of art in the state. Kansas flowers, as discussed by William C. Stevens, were featured on Wednesday. Thursday, Kansas newspaper history was reviewed by George A. Root. "A Kansas Chamber of Truth and Beauty" was advocated by William Allen White in the fifth article. And, in the sixth, Kirke Mechem, secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society, wrote of the activities of the Society in preserving historical material.

Washburn College, Topeka, observed its sixty-seventh anniversary February 8, 1932. A special Founder's Day program was held, with Justice John S. Dawson, president of the Kansas State Historical Society, as the principal speaker.

Members of the Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society were entertained at the Chatham hotel, Kansas City, Mo., February 13, by Mrs. Edna Anderson and Mrs. Cora E. Fuller, daughters of Rev. Thomas Johnson, founder of the Methodist Shawnee Mission. Kirke Mechem, secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society, was a speaker.

The First Baptist church of Topeka celebrated its seventy-fifth anniversary the week of March 1-6, 1932. The church was organized March 1, 1857, with six charter members: Jesse Stone, Sarah E. Miller, Charles A. Bliss, Joseph C. Miller, William Jordan and Christopher Fitzgerald. The reading of the church history was featured Thursday night.

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NOTE.—Articles in the *Quarterly* appear in chronological order without regard to their importance.

## Early Kansas Impeachments

CORTEZ A. M. EWING

THE first Kansas impeachments occurred in 1862. Kansas was admitted to statehood in January, 1861, under the Wyandotte constitution, the fourth constitution that had been framed in anticipation of admission.<sup>1</sup> It is not my purpose here to enter into a discussion of the struggle over slavery that dominated the politics of that territory following the passage of the fateful Kansas-Nebraska act. The archives of Kansas history are indeed rich in memoirs and personal accounts of survivors of those bitter days. In addition, historians were quick to perceive that there along the Kaw and the Missouri the Civil War, from point of fact, was waged in miniature, but in no diminished degree of violence, long before the actual firing on Sumter.

The story of "bleeding" Kansas is one of a clash of conflicting political ideas, of different social mores, and of personal aspirations of politicians, scrupulous and otherwise. The histories of the American frontier have failed to stress sufficiently the dependence placed upon political action and ballot solution of problems by those sparsely settled communities. The bitter character of Kansas politics did not vanish when the proslavery supporters became hopelessly outnumbered. The preponderant antislavery majority developed schisms scarcely less acrid than the controversy over slavery. For instance, though the Republican party came to encompass most of the voters of the territory, there appeared two strong factions which struggled for control and leadership of the party. Charles Robinson and James H. Lane were the leaders of these factions; and the rivalry between these leaders, more than anything else, produced the three impeachment trials of 1862.

Charles Robinson was a product of Puritan New England, having been born in Massachusetts in 1818.<sup>2</sup> According to the standards of his time, Robinson received a good education. He attended both the academy and the college at Amherst and, as a matter of fact,

1. These constitutions were named after the towns in which the respective conventions were held, and were, in order of origin, the Topeka (1855), Leecompton (1857), Leavenworth (1858), and Wyandotte (1859).

2. The most exhaustive work on Robinson is Prof. F. W. Blackmar's *The Life of Charles Robinson*. See, also, "Genealogy of Charles Robinson," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. IX, p. 377; F. W. Blackmar, "Charles Robinson," *ibid.*, v. VI, pp. 187-202; F. W. Blackmar, "A Chapter in the Life of Charles Robinson, the First Governor of Kansas," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, 1894, pp. 213-226.

he taught three terms of secondary school before he began the study of medicine. After studying under some of the famous New England doctors, he started his career as a general practitioner in Belchertown, Massachusetts, in 1843. Two years later he moved to Springfield and, in the year following, to Fitchburg, where he built up a large general practice—too large, in fact, for his health failed and he was forced to take a vacation. His vacation plans took him to California in 1849. Others were there for decidedly different reasons. In Massachusetts, Robinson had entered actively into church and school work. In California, his political interests broadened and his cultural interests narrowed. There he took up the struggle which the squatter settlers were waging against the large landholders. Politics proved too engrossing and Robinson was never able to return undisturbed to the practice of medicine.

Robinson was a member of the California legislature in 1851, but later in the same year he returned to Massachusetts. There he entered the field of journalism, and in 1854 he became affiliated with the Emigrant Aid Society and was sent to Kansas to look after the interests of that company. Robinson's part in Kansas politics from 1854 to 1860 have been too well recounted to need recapitulation here.<sup>3</sup> Though always opposing slavery, he consistently advised against the employment of radical offensive measures. His conservatism was not always popular with the rank and file of the anti-slavery settlers; yet, when state officers were chosen under the Wyandotte constitution in December, 1859, Robinson was elected governor.

James H. Lane was a man of entirely different character. Those who knew him and have written of him are far from agreement. Professor Blackmar describes him as one of those who came to Kansas as politicians. "From the beginning to the end of his career in Kansas," he continues, "political ambition was his ruling passion. It did, indeed, cause him to do many brave and noble things, but it also caused him more than once to swerve from the path of justice and right; and finally, disappointed ambition brought him to an untimely death."<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, there were those who followed Lane's leadership with enthusiasm. He was a born leader of men, even though he may have wavered upon principles. John Speer, one of his biographers, proudly quotes Colonel Veale's ap-

3. See Sara T. D. Robinson, *Kansas: Its Interior and Exterior Life*; Chas. Robinson, *The Kansas Conflict*; L. W. Spring, *Kansas*; Eli Thayer, *A History of the Kansas Crusade*; Horace Greeley, *The American Conflict*; the various volumes of the *Kansas Historical Collections* are veritable mines of information concerning the history of territorial Kansas.

4. *Life of Charles Robinson*, p. 18.



preciation of him: "Jim Lane loved his state and his country, and was as true a patriot as ever lived."<sup>5</sup> One of his supporters referred to him as the "Cicero of the United States senate."

The most scintillating characterization of Lane came from the pen of Senator J. J. Ingalls, who wrote that "professing religion, he was never accused of hypocrisy, for his followers knew that he partook of the sacrament [sic.] as a political device to secure the support of the church; and that with the same nonchalant alacrity, had he been running for office in Hindostan [sic.], he would have thrown his offspring to the crocodiles of the Ganges or bowed among the Parsees at the shrine of the sun."<sup>6</sup>

Lane was born at Lawrenceburg, on the Indiana side of the Ohio river, in 1814. His father was the speaker of the first house of representatives of that state. The son's education was, at best, of desultory and unprofitable character. When the Mexican War broke out, he enlisted as a private, but was immediately elected colonel by the regiment. Military advancement was, in those times, unencumbered by seniority or even by the exclusive prerequisite concerning knowledge of the principles of military science. After a triumphant return from the war, he served as lieutenant governor of Indiana and as member of congress. In politics, he was a Democrat. In 1854, he had supported Pierce and Douglas in voting for the Kansas-Nebraska act. He arrived in Kansas in April, 1855. To his surprise, he discovered that the act of 1854 had not solved the slavery issue, and especially not in the territory of Kansas. However, he set to work to organize the Democratic party, relying substantially upon the political apothegms of Jefferson and Jackson to produce reasonableness and constitutional toleration of slave property. This embarrassment in which the northern Democrats found themselves after 1854 irritated greater party leaders than Lane. This infernal intolerance known as abolitionism was destroying traditional political alignment and violating the express provisions of the constitution. Some Democratic leaders, like Pierce, were helpless in their bewilderment, and could only mumble the shibboleths of the sage of Monticello. Others, like Lane, passed through the "black law" way station and finally landed, in a somewhat travel-worn condition, in the headquarters of the new Republican party.

Lane soon revealed consummate cleverness as a politician. Without the assistance of powerful allies, such as Robinson had in the

5. *Life of General James H. Lane*, p. 330.

6. John J. Ingalls, "Kansas.—1841-1891," *Harper's*, 86:696-713 (April, 1893).

Emigrant Aid Society, Lane became one of the leaders of the hosts for freedom. There existed little love and much jealousy between Robinson and Lane; and, although they were thrown together by political exigencies, theirs was little more than a personal truce pending the successful conclusion of the vital questions at hand. Robinson was naturally cautious; Lane caught and reflected the least evidence of political readjustment. When the propitious moment arrived, Lane broke with his rival and led the parade—directly to the United States senate.<sup>7</sup> “On the realization of his long-cherished dream,” remarks a reliable commentator, “a crazy passion for power seized him—an ambition to absorb the entire civil and military functions of the state.”<sup>8</sup> Lane enjoyed the confidence and the patronage of President Lincoln. Armed thusly, he precipitated an unseemly controversy with Governor Robinson over the organization of state troops.<sup>9</sup> Concerning this squabble, Spring says: “Lane, inflamed by old grudges and new provocations, by long-nursed hatreds and obstructions that crossed his plans, broke out into violent hostilities against Governor Robinson and his successor.”<sup>10</sup>

The election of state officers under the Wyandotte constitution took place in December, 1859. On account of the failure of congress immediately to admit Kansas into the Union, these elected officers did not assume office until February, 1861. The unexpected lapse of time created a constitutional question as to the expiration of the two-year terms for which governor and the chief administrative officers had been elected. Opponents of Robinson contended that an election should be held in November, 1861, to select officers for the biennium from 1862 to 1864. Robinson and his supporters interpreted the constitution to mean that the first state officers should serve two-year terms. An election was held in November, 1861, but Robinson refused to permit the canvassing of the votes for governor and principal administrative positions, and, on a petition for mandamus, the state supreme court upheld the governor.<sup>11</sup>

Aside from the political animosities, the first Kansas impeachments resulted from the issuance of state bonds. The state's financial condition was indeed sorry in 1861, when the legislature au-

7. Lane was elected in April, 1861, after a sensational struggle in the legislature. On April 1, thirteen senators, a majority, agreed to expedite the election process. It really represented a campaign pact between Lane and Pomeroy for the senatorships. The bribery period was soon ended, and both were declared elected. For a long time, the election of senators was to be of suspicious character.

8. Spring, *Kansas*, p. 273.

9. See S. M. Fox, “The Story of the Seventh Kansas,” *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. VIII, p. 14.

10. Spring, *op. cit.*, p. 273.

11. *Kansas*, ex rel. *Crawford*, v. *Robinson* (1862), 1 Kan. 17.



thorized the bond issues. Two issues were voted, one known as the "war bonds," the other as the "seven per cent" bonds. Under act of May 7, 1861, the issuance of war bonds to the sum of twenty thousand dollars was approved.<sup>12</sup> The question arose as to whether the "twenty thousand" limit referred to par or actual value of the issue. Since the bonds would sell for less than half of their par value, the administration interpreted the limit to be against the sum of money that was brought into the state treasury through the sale of the bonds. Under this presumption, bonds to the par value of forty thousand dollars were signed by the governor and countersigned by the other two necessary state administrative officers. Thirty-one thousand dollars' worth of these bonds were sold to Robert S. Stevens at forty per cent par value. Was that portion of the sale over twenty thousand dollars par value in violation of the act of May 7, 1861?

The "seven per cent" bonds were issued under authority of an act of May 1, 1861.<sup>13</sup> Messrs. Clark and Stone were, by the statute, empowered to negotiate the sale of these bonds. This plan of disposal was discarded a month later, when the legislature enacted a supplementary law which provided that the governor, auditor, and secretary of state, or a majority of them, could sell, at not less than seventy per cent of the par value, one hundred thousand dollars of these bonds. The money derived therefrom was to be used in the retirement of the outstanding state scrip with which the state had, up until that time, been paying its obligations.<sup>14</sup>

Attempts to sell the "seven per cent" bonds to eastern financiers failed. Those with money for investment in securities of this nature remembered wholesale state repudiations. United States bonds were looked upon as safer investments. In late 1861, J. W. Robinson (secretary of state) and George S. Hillyer (state auditor) went to Washington in the hope of being able to dispose of the bonds. Their attempts were at first unsuccessful. Finally Stevens, who had bought the "war bonds," appeared on the scene. Through the aid of a mysterious Mr. Corwin, who, incidentally, was a brother-in-law of the Secretary of Interior, Stevens was able to dispose of the bonds to the Department of Interior, which bought them with a fund held in trust for certain Indian tribes.

Originally from upstate New York, Stevens came to Kansas as

12. *Statutes of 1861*, pp. 205, 206.

13. *Proceedings in the Cases of Impeachment Against Charles Robinson, John W. Robinson, and George S. Hillyer*, pp. 317-319. Hereafter, this official record will be cited merely as *Robinson Proceedings*.

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 319, 320.



an Indian contractor, furnishing supplies for and constructing buildings and improvements on the Indian reservations. Prior to that time he had been employed in the Department of Interior. Senator Lane, in a head-hunting mood, maliciously declared that Stevens had been expelled from his Washington position "for fear he would steal the stone steps of the Patent Office."<sup>15</sup> It must be remembered that Stevens was, in Kansas, an associate of Governor Robinson in the banking business and that he was being mentioned as a candidate for United States senator to succeed Lane. Stevens had been elected to the state senate in November, 1861. The bonds were sold in December of that year. So, there were political implications of a vital nature in the disposal of the bonds.

If Stevens had offered his services without expense to the state, the impeachments would probably never have materialized; but such charity could scarcely be expected of professional jobbers. Before he would consent to assist in selling the bonds, he presented J. W. Robinson and Hillyer with a contract, by the terms of which Stevens was to receive, as his share in the transaction, all over sixty cents on the dollar that he was able to sell the bonds for. The two officials were unable to dispose of the securities at any price. Kansas needed money, and badly; and as a last resort they agreed to the Stevens offer. Stevens thereupon sold eighty-seven thousand dollars' (par value) worth of the bonds to the Indian Office at eighty-five cents on the dollar. His profit was a mere twenty-five per cent of that sum.

Despite the consummate business acumen of Stevens, the negotiations threatened to break down when Lane temporarily withheld his approval to the sale. Of vital importance to this whole transaction was the fact that Lane enjoyed the confidence of the President. Therefore Lincoln refused to give final endorsement to the purchase unless Lane would advise it. Stevens knew his way about Washington, and he was not to be thwarted. He was not a man completely motivated by selfishness. He would be glad to compensate others for assistance. So, he engaged Lane's secretary in a very private conversation. Lane's signature was quickly forthcoming. In a formal deposition, Lane's memory suffered temporary paralysis. He couldn't recall having ever read the agreement of sale. Though admitting that his name was signed thereto, he could explain it only upon two grounds—that it was a rank forgery or that, as was sometimes the case with him in his busy life in Wash-

15. W. E. Connelley, *An Appeal to the Record*, p. 47.

ington, he signed the paper without reading it.<sup>16</sup> Stevens testified later that he agreed to give Reynolds, the secretary, one thousand dollars if he could induce the "old man" to approve the sale.<sup>17</sup> It seems that Lane did not object so much to the terms of the transaction as to the fact that Stevens would have a considerable amount of money at his disposal with which to popularize his senatorial candidacy with members of the Kansas legislature.<sup>18</sup> That was a vital consideration. No one denies that Lane was thoroughly conversant with the ethics of state legislatures and senatorial elections, and he was obsessed with the desire to be returned to the senate.

The bonds were sold in December; the legislature convened in January; and Lane visited the state. He may have returned to consult his constituents concerning national legislation; and he may not. Anyway, on January 30, the house of representatives adopted a resolution investigating the sale of the bonds. A fortnight later, on February 14, the house passed a resolution formally impeaching Governor Charles Robinson, Secretary of State John W. Robinson, and Auditor George S. Hillyer, for high misdemeanors in office.<sup>19</sup> A house committee of three appeared in the senate on the day following and officially notified that body of the impeachment. Rules for the conduct of the trial were adopted by the senate on February 18. The rules used in the impeachment trial of Judge Jackson by the Missouri senate in 1859 were obviously used as a model.<sup>20</sup>

In brief, the impeachment articles against J. W. Robinson charged:

1. That J. W. Robinson, being empowered with Governor Robinson and Auditor Hillyer to sell state bonds to the sum of \$150,000 at not less than 70 per cent par value, contracted with one Robert Stevens to act as the agent of the state in selling the said bonds, and that Stevens thereunder sold \$87,000 worth of the bonds to the United States Department of Interior for 85 per cent par value, paying the state of Kansas only 60 per cent par value; such sale, approved by Robinson, being in direct violation of the laws of the state; and that the state was thereby defrauded out of its just money with the full knowledge and consent of the said Robinson; and that the state thereby suffered great pecuniary damage wherein Robinson betrayed the trust reposed in him as an officer of the state of Kansas;

2. That he, knowing that the law specified that such bonds could not be sold for less than 70 per cent face value, did secretly enter into the agreement above set forth, so that the state should receive no more than 60 per cent

16. *Robinson Proceedings*, p. 147.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 261.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 351.

19. *Robinson Proceedings*, p. 34.

20. Cf. *Trial of the Hon. Albert Jackson*, pp. 45-48.



face value, even when he knew that Stevens was receiving 85 per cent face value for the bonds;

3. That he permitted Stevens to detach the semiannual interest coupons, payable on January 1, 1862, for the first six months' interest, and presented them to the state treasurer for payment, receiving the amount thereon, for which permission Robinson was guilty of a high misdemeanor in office;

4. That he, in the contract with Stevens, took no security or other guaranty from Stevens when the \$87,000 worth of bonds were turned over to him, constituting another high misdemeanor in office;

5. That he and Hillyer, upon going to Washington, knew that the bonds could be sold for 85 per cent par value, but that they made the deceitful contract with Stevens for the purpose of defrauding the state; and that on the bonds they permitted Stevens to keep no less than \$14,000; and they also permitted Stevens to collect the first interest coupon payment;

6. That he, in printing the banking law prior to the election of 1861, permitted one Cummings, of Wabaunsee county, to publish the same in a non-existent newspaper and to collect money from the state for the same; no such newspaper ever existed; and the publication was effected only to procure the money from the state;

7. That he, entrusted with the duty of countersigning bonds to the sum of \$20,000 (war bonds), actually countersigned \$40,000 worth, thereby committing an high misdemeanor;

8. That he, in conjunction with the auditor and treasurer, were empowered to let the contract for public printing for the year 1861; and they did let such contract to Trask and Lowman, of Lawrence, which successfully low bidder filed the bond as required by law in the office of secretary of state, and that he (J. W. Robinson) later permitted the said company to withdraw its bond and bid, whereby the contract was let to the next lowest bidder, thereby causing the state to suffer great pecuniary damages.

The impeachment articles against Hillyer charged:

1. That Hillyer, with the two Robinsons, contracted with Robert Stevens as alleged in article 1 of the articles against J. W. Robinson, all of which amounted to an high misdemeanor in office;

2. That he knew well that the bonds could not be sold legally for 60 per cent par value, according to state law;

3. That he permitted Stevens to cash the first interest coupons;

4. That he permitted Stevens to take the bonds without giving any sort of security, and thereby failed to protect the interests of the state;

5. That he entered into a conspiracy with J. W. Robinson and Stevens in the illegal sale of the bonds;

6. That he entered into a conspiracy with the above-named persons to cheat the state out of the first interest coupons;

7. That he, by false representations, induced Senator Lane to support the transactions.

The impeachment articles against Governor Robinson alleged:

1. That Governor Charles Robinson, contrary to the law which authorized the issuance of the \$20,000 worth of war bonds, signed and issued such bonds to the extent of \$40,000;



2. That he, together with J. W. Robinson and Hillyer, conspired with Robert Stevens in the fraudulent sale of the seven per cent bonds;

3. That he, and the other two state officers, knew that the bonds could be sold for 85 per cent par value;

4. That he consented to the sale for 60 per cent par value, when he knew that such sale was contrary to the laws of the state of Kansas;

5. That he officially approved the said sale, and thereby committed an high misdemeanor in office.

#### TRIAL OF J. W. ROBINSON.

On February 24 the senate duly resolved itself into a court of impeachment for the trial of J. W. Robinson, and the members were sworn. The secretary of the senate administered the oath to the president and he, in turn, to the members. Counsel for the respondent entered the plea and on the day following the board of managers made replication.<sup>21</sup> The case for the prosecution depended upon the procuring of depositions from persons outside the state, and especially from those in Washington who had participated in the negotiations incident to the disposal of the bonds. Therefore the board of managers, composed of members of the house and the attorney-general of the state, through the latter, moved on February 28 that the impeachment court adjourn until the first Monday of the following June.<sup>22</sup>

The senate court met on June 2, pursuant to the adjournment resolution. The pro-Lane forces proceeded immediately to reorganize the court. On the fourteenth ballot T. A. Osborn was selected as presiding officer.<sup>23</sup> The authority of an impeachment court to select a presiding officer is not questioned, but the court thereupon proceeded to declare seats vacant and to fill those vacancies. From February 28, the time of adjournment of the court, to June 4, when the trial actually began, the pro-Lane members had seated five new members. Three were seated prior to the adjournment of the legislature in March, and I raise no question as to the authority of the senate to do so. That the whole episode was a political trick is admitted by D. W. Wilder, the faithful chronicler of the period.<sup>24</sup> However, when the court met in June, it seated two pro-Lane members. An effort was made to secure the admission of a pro-Robinson member, but the pro-Lane majority were of grave doubt as to

21. No demurrers were offered in any of these three trials.

22. *Robinson Proceedings*, p. 84.

23. Osborn was one of the supporters of Lane in his election campaign before the legislature in early 1861, and he had signed the agreement to terminate the delay and to proceed immediately to the balloting. Three other signers of this pact were members of the Lane bloc in the impeachment court.

24. *Annals of Kansas*, p. 314.

whether a vacancy actually existed in that district. Did anyone know whether Senator Lynde had actually accepted a military commission? An indefinite postponement of the motion to seat Kunkle emphasized the refusal of the pro-Lane leaders to treat so informally this matter of membership in the impeachment court!<sup>25</sup>

The authority of an impeachment court to alter the membership of the senate is of extremely doubtful validity. The court is composed of senators, to be sure, but membership in the impeachment court is only incidental to membership in the senate. If an impeachment court has the authority to qualify and seat new members would the senate be bound to accept those new members at a subsequent legislative session? In most instances, when the impeachment trial is conducted during the legislative session, the problem would not arise. However, in these early Kansas cases, the trials were held in an adjourned session of the impeachment court. The February resolution did not adjourn the senate, the legislative body; it adjourned only the impeachment court. The state constitution expressly provided that each house of the legislature should be the judge of the election and qualifications of its own members.<sup>26</sup> The constitution did not give such authority to any other body. The senate is a legislative body. No political casuistry need be conscripted to define the nature and functions of such a body, for they have long been understood and interpreted by the courts of this country. The concept of the separation of powers clarifies the definition, even though the insistence, as practical means of governmental limitation, on the inclusion of checks and balances produces an opposite result. However, when the senate is trying an impeachment, it ceases to be a legislative body and becomes a judicial one, the highest in the state on offenses of that character. No one would maintain that a law, passed by an impeachment court, had been constitutionally and validly enacted.

By all the rules of logic and legal reasoning, the impeachment court would be forced to accept all members of the senate as members of the court. Otherwise, what would prevent an impeachment court, by a majority vote, from excluding regularly elected senators and replacing them with other persons, who supported the majority viewpoint, in sufficient numbers to effect a two-thirds majority for conviction? If an impeachment court be the sole judge of the election and qualification of its members, what court exists that could

25. *Robinson Proceedings*, pp. 230-234.

26. Article II, sec. 8.



nullify a plain infringement of the constitution? Can an impeachment court disqualify a member of the senate from sitting as a member of the court for the trial of an impeachment? No student of American impeachment precedents would answer in the affirmative. Even though members of the impeachment court may be vitally interested personally in the outcome of the trial, their right to participate has been universally upheld. Did not Senator Wade vote to sustain the articles of impeachment against President Johnson, even though Wade would have been elevated to the Presidency if Johnson had been removed? In the same trial, the President's son-in-law was a member of the court and, it should be noted, he voted against each and every article of impeachment.

Even though the Johnson precedents were established subsequent to the Kansas Civil War impeachments, the action of the Kansas impeachment court cannot be justified on any ground. The only explanation is, of course, that the pro-Lane forces needed additional strength. And, to anticipate somewhat the final decisions in the cases, those illegally seated members did not disappoint those who were instrumental in securing their qualification. In case an impeachment court insists upon its right to alter the membership, the defendants, depending upon the good will of the court members for acquittal, find themselves in an embarrassing situation. Are they in a position to challenge a plain violation of the constitution? When the credentials of John Bayless, first of the new members, were presented, Case, counsel for the respondent, objected to his being sworn in. John J. Ingalls, at that time a young man of twenty-seven, threatened to have Case forcibly ejected from the chamber if "he continues his impertinent and unwarrantable interference with our deliberations."<sup>27</sup> Case persisted and was ejected. These early Kansas trials were certainly informal, though effective.

On June 3 the respondent asked permission to file a paper setting forth his objections to the validity of the proceedings. The objections were: (a) the *sine die* adjournment of the legislature on March 6 formally ended the authority of legislature unless called into legal existence by proclamation of the governor, which had not been done; (b) the power to impeach lies wholly and exclusively in the lower house, and that power cannot be delegated to a board of managers while the house is not in session; (c) there is no constitutional authority for the senate to convene separate and apart from the house

27. *Robinson Proceedings*, pp. 91, 92.



of representatives; (d) the law governing impeachments and their procedure could not apply to this case because it was enacted subsequent to the passage of the impeachment resolution; and (e) the proceedings of this illegally assembled tribunal are unlawful and any decision, either of acquittal or conviction, will be a nullity.<sup>28</sup> During the argument upon these objections, the defense counsel asked permission to file a bill of exceptions that might be used in later quo warranto proceedings in the courts of the state. The court voted eleven to six against filing the paper. Respondent's counsel then remained to "watch the proceedings."<sup>29</sup>

After the opening argument of the managers, the depositions of six persons from without the state were opened and read. These included those of Senators Lane and Pomeroy, Representative Conway, Secretary of Interior Caleb Smith, Indian Commissioner William Dole, and the mysterious Mr. Corwin. Thereafter, fifteen witnesses, including four members of the impeachment court, the secretary *pro tem.*, and Governor Robinson and Auditor Hillyer, gave testimony. Witnesses were not put under the rule, and apparently were free to visit the sessions and listen to the testimony of others. The court experienced some difficulty in maintaining a quorum; on several occasions, the sergeant at arms was dispatched to bring in a sufficient number of members so that the trial might proceed.

One would scarcely characterize this trial as a dignified proceeding. Personalities were frequently flung from counsel to court members and *vice versa*. Rumors persisted that money and politics, rather than equity, were going to determine the court's decision. It was an ugly rumor, and was reflected in the manner in which court members regarded it. On Saturday afternoon, June 7, just before time for adjournment, J. J. Ingalls made his second attack against N. P. Case, counsel for defense. Ingalls thundered: "I am informed, and am prepared to fortify my statements, by the affidavits of eminently respectable gentlemen, members of the bar in this city, that Mr. Case has publicly declared, on the street corners, in the halls and other places of common resort, both before and during the

28. *Robinson Proceedings*, pp. 107, 108.

29. The validity of the whole proceeding came before the Kansas supreme court in 1863. Following their conviction, J. W. Robinson and Hillyer refused to surrender their offices and quo warranto proceedings were brought against them. The court upheld the validity of the adjournment, saying that the *sine die* adjournment of the legislature terminated only the legislative business. The impeachment court could meet pursuant to adjournment, and its convening without the lower house's being in simultaneous session did not violate the state constitution. However, the court did not consider the validity of the court's seating of new members. See *State of Kansas, ex rel. Daniel M. Adams, v. George S. Hillyer*, (1863) 2 Kan. 17.

progress of the trial, that this senate is a jury packed against his client, and that there is but one senator whose verdict cannot be bought with money. No one can be more indifferent than myself to the vulgar assaults of calumny and slander. Personally, I would pass them by as unworthy of the slightest consideration; but this man appears here, in an official capacity, and we are compelled to notice the contempt of which he has been guilty. In insulting us, he insults the great state which we represent . . ."<sup>30</sup> Mr. Case was not present. His colleague expressed great surprise that any shadow of suspicion should have fallen on "this honorable body." When Case appeared at the next session, he suavely withdrew from the case after remarking that "no candid man would be warranted in making assertions of that character in reference to this respectable body." The withdrawal of the attorney did little to stifle the tongue-wagging on the streets and in the barrooms of Topeka. It was generally believed that Lane had packed the impeachment court. A week later the court was to take spectacular, though ineffectual, steps to exonerate its members of the public vilification.

The managers tried assiduously to prove conspiracy on the part of the officials to defraud the state. Being a member of the court, Stevens was sworn in his seat before he testified. He related the whole story of the bond transactions and denied that he had given or promised to give any compensation whatever to the impeached officers. In long arguments, the managers, led by the attorney-general, emphasized the fact that the state officers had made it possible for Stevens to make a profit of nearly forty thousand dollars on the total bond sales. If they were not corrupt, they were negligent or, worse still, mere boobs. Counsel for defense stressed the state's urgent need for money and the lawful discretion of the officers in making arrangements for the disposal of the bonds. No bad faith had been shown, no actual corruption proved. Everything depended upon the interpretation placed upon the three statutes of May and June, 1861.

Without doubt, the learned counsel might just as well have waived the right to present final argument. I doubt if a single vote was changed by either argument or testimony. On June 13 the court proceeded to vote upon the eight articles. The first article was sustained by a vote of 17 to 4. On no one of the remaining seven was a majority of the votes cast for conviction, and on each of the last three, the votes were unanimous for acquittal. Table one records

TABLE ONE<sup>31</sup>*Votes in impeachment of J. W. Robinson*

MEMBER.	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	VII.	VIII.	Dis- quali- fica- tion.	Total.	
										A.	N.
Barnett.....	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	0	8
Bayless.....	A	A	N	A	A	N	N	N	N	4	4
Cobb.....	A	A	A	A	N	N	N	N	N	4	4
Connell.....	A	N	N	A	N	N	N	N	N	2	6
Curtis.....	A	A	A	A	A	N	N	N	N	5	3
Denman.....	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	0	8
Eesick.....	A	N	A	N	N	N	N	N	N	2	6
Holliday.....	A	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	1	7
Hubbard.....	A	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	1	7
Ingalls.....	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	0	8
Keeler.....	A	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	1	7
Knowles.....	A	A	A	N	A	N	N	N	A	4	4
Lambdin.....	A	A	A	N	A	N	N	N	N	4	4
Lappin.....	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	0	8
McDowell.....	A	A	A	A	A	N	N	N	N	5	3
Osborn.....	A	A	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	2	6
Rankin.....	A	A	A	N	N	N	N	N	N	3	5
Rees.....	A	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	1	7
Roberts.....	A	A	N	N	A	N	N	N	N	3	5
Sleeper.....	A	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	1	7
Spriggs.....	A	A	A	N	A	N	N	N	N	4	4
Stevens.....											
Total "A"s.....	17	10	8	5	7	0	0	0	1	47	.....
Total "N"s.....	4	11	13	16	14	21	21	21	20	.....	121

31. Data compiled from *Robinson Proceedings*, pp. 344-348. "A" signifies a vote to sustain the article of impeachment; and "N" to acquit the respondent of the charge. The column under "Disqualification" reveals the votes for and against Robinson's disqualification for future office holding; "A" means to disqualify.



how each member voted on each of the articles and on the motion to disqualify Robinson from further office holding.

Only four members voted for acquittal on each article. By the constitution, a two-thirds majority of the twenty-five elected members was required for removal. Thus the seventeen votes on the first article represented the minimum number by which the necessary majority might have been secured. The last-minute seating of the two members was, in effect, decisive. Both voted to convict. Senator Stevens asked to be excused from voting and his request was granted, though, like the three absent members, his failure to cast a vote for conviction constituted, in effect, a vote for acquittal. The official proceedings offer no explanation as to why the absentees were not required to attend the trial. If the pro-Lane *bloc* had mustered but sixteen votes, an interesting constitutional question might have been raised as to whether absentee, and maybe disqualified, members were "elected members" within the meaning of the constitution.

By a vote of twenty to one, the court refused to disqualify Robinson from future office holding. The decisiveness of this decision leaves some doubt as to the true conviction of the court as to whether Robinson had actually proved false to the responsibilities of his office. Robinson was later appointed as surgeon in the Union army. He died at Fort Smith, Ark., in December, 1863. Upon hearing of his death, D. W. Wilder wrote in his chronicle that "no other Kansas politician had died of a broken heart." Lane was later to contribute another exception to the rule.

#### TRIAL OF GEORGE S. HILLYER

Immediately upon the conviction of J. W. Robinson the impeachment court proceeded with the articles against Hillyer. By agreement of opposing counsel, all evidence offered in the preceding case, except the testimony of Hillyer, was to be considered as legitimate evidence in the case at bar. Only three witnesses were called to the stand, all by the prosecution. Less than three days were required to complete the trial, and most of this time was consumed in an effective investigation of charges concerning the court's integrity.

The rumors regarding the partisan nature of the impeachment proceedings persisted throughout the trials. On June 14 Senator Barnett addressed the court upon the subject of these rumors. It

appeared that a certain senator, in braggadocio, had declared that he could secure the acquittal of J. W. Robinson if given three thousand dollars with which to lubricate the court machinery. The person who had informed the senator (Barnett) had neglected to mention the name of the member who had offered to manipulate the wheels of justice. The judicious members of the court were, of course, duly shocked, especially those who had voted to sustain the articles against Robinson.<sup>32</sup> The charge was a gross insult to the court. The slanderer must be apprehended and exposed: The court thereupon, by resolution, requested Senator Barnett to divulge the name of his informant. He complied. It was Mr. Cummings, the state legislative printer. Mr. Cummings must be taken into custody before he fled the jurisdiction of the court. The sergeant at arms was dispatched post haste under urgent instructions. A short time later, a very wobbly legislative printer was ushered into the presence of the august impeachment court. The average age of its members was thirty-three years. It was youth carrying on, and with all the dignity of nonagenarians.

Mr. Cummings' recollection proved faulty. He was obviously too inebriated to give accurate information, but the court was loath to postpone the inquisition. Mr. Cummings wouldn't name the senator who had started the rumor, but he would say that the senator had admitted that, through the influence of Lane, he could get an office worth two thousand dollars, if he voted to convict J. W. Robinson. The investigation was revealing matters all too important, so Cummings was remanded to the custody of the sergeant at arms. Cummings must be very drunk to give voice to such a base rumor. However, he never sobered up to the calmness necessary for further questioning. At the afternoon session J. J. Ingalls advocated a novel plan for discovering the name of the traitorous court member. Each individual member should be put under oath and asked five very pointed questions relative to his past conversations with Mr. J. F. Cummings. God was conscripted to effect the divulgence of information that had eluded the best efforts of the human inquisitors. Despite these precautions, none of the worthy members admitted the contemptuous attack, and the court, thereby whitewashed of the charges, turned gladly to the testimony of the

32. The solons need not have been so completely demoralized at the report. Memoirs of the period show that bribery and attempted bribery of legislators in the election of United States senators was not an unusual occurrence. See S. J. Crawford, *Kansas in the Sixties*, pp. 346-349; E. C. Manning, "The Kansas State Senate of 1865 and 1866," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. IX, p. 364.

TABLE TWO <sup>33</sup>*Vote in the impeachment of George S. Hillyer*

MEMBER.	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	VII.	Dis- quali- fica- tion.	Total.	
									A.	N.
Barnett.....	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	0	7
Bayless.....	A	N	N	A	N	N	N	N	2	5
Cobb.....	A	A	A	A	N	N	N	N	4	3
Connell.....	A	N	N	A	N	N	N	N	2	5
Curtis.....	A	A	A	A	N	N	N	N	4	3
Denman.....	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	0	7
Essick.....	A	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	1	6
Holliday.....	A	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	1	6
Hubbard.....	A	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	1	6
Ingalls.....	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	0	7
Keeler.....	A	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	1	6
Knowles.....	A	A	N	N	N	A	N	A	3	4
Lambdin.....	A	A	A	N	N	N	N	N	3	4
Lappin.....	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	0	7
McDowell.....	A	A	A	A	A	A	N	N	6	1
Osborn.....	A	A	N	N	N	N	N	N	2	5
Rankin.....	A	A	A	N	N	N	N	N	3	4
Rees.....	A	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	1	6
Roberts.....	A	A	N	N	N	A	N	N	3	4
Sleeper.....	A	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	1	6
Spriggs.....	A	A	A	N	A	A	N	N	5	2
Stevens.....										
Total "A"s.....	17	9	6	5	2	4	0	1	43	.....
Total "N"s.....	4	12	15	16	19	17	21	20	.....	104

33. Data compiled from *Robinson Proceedings*, pp. 392-396. "A" signifies a vote to sustain the article of impeachment; and "N" to acquit the respondent of the charge. The column under "Disqualification" reveals the votes for and against Hillyer's disqualification for future office holding; "A" means to disqualify.



Hillyer trial.<sup>34</sup> Altogether, this represents one of the least dignified episodes in all United States impeachment history.

At the close of the testimony taking, the managers waived their right to argue their case. A defense attorney spoke very briefly. Hillyer was also convicted on the first article, with each member voting as on the first count against J. W. Robinson. On the remaining six articles the respondent was exonerated by decisive votes. The sustention of article one was logical, since Robinson had been convicted on the same charge. If one were guilty, the other was equally so. Mr. Stevens again was excused from voting. And by another vote of twenty to one the court refused to disqualify the officer from further office holding. Table two records how each member voted on the articles and the disqualification motion.

#### TRIAL OF CHARLES ROBINSON.

Hillyer was convicted at the afternoon session of June 16. The case against Governor Robinson was immediately brought up and arrangements concerning the admission of earlier testimony announced. Interest in the case seems to have subsided considerably, for there creeps through the whole proceeding the feeling that the lawyers and the four witnesses were mere marionettes who were scheduled to dance to uninspiring music for a few short hours. The dance was listless, and was completed on the evening of the same day. This remains one of the shortest impeachment trials on record. Counsel for the managers spoke for ten minutes; counsel for Robinson spoke less than half that time. On the balloting, only three votes were cast in favor of conviction.<sup>35</sup> It was a complete and decisive triumph for the governor.

Why was Governor Robinson exonerated by so decisive a margin when the other officers were convicted? There are several factors that should be considered. In the first place, he did not directly participate in the bond sale, but remained in Kansas while J. W. Robinson and Hillyer were peddling the bonds in Washington. His most exhaustive biographer clears him of any collusion in the whole proceeding.<sup>36</sup> In the second place, the reputation of the governor was such, in 1862, as to protect him from even the caprice of politicians. Kansas had known him for eight years, and had followed his leadership during most of that period. In the third place, he had

34. *Robinson Proceedings*, pp. 256-376.

35. Curtis and Lambdin voted against him on the first article, and Essick on the fifth.

36. Blackmar, *Life of Charles Robinson*, p. 287.

at his immediate disposal superior weapons with which to thwart the removal designs of Lane. He controlled the state patronage and, because of the war, there was an unusually large number of desirable political plums to be distributed. His bitterest critic, W. E. Connelley, charges that he and his two confederates, Stevens and Treasurer Dutton, used J. W. Robinson and Hillyer as cat's-paws to rake the chestnuts out of the fire.<sup>37</sup> He also charges the governor with having appointed a number of senators to military office, inferring that he thereby purchased his acquittal.

An investigation of the military appointments of Robinson's administration shows that he appointed only four of the members of the court to later positions. On the other hand, immediately prior to his trial, he placed five senators in important offices. If he had feared conviction he would certainly have deferred appointing these friends until after the impeachment trial. Of course, one cannot conclusively say that his appointments subsequent to his acquittal were not in payment of prior promises, but in the absence of material proof of such trafficking, accusations will be of little weight.

Governor Robinson retired from office in January, 1863. Between that time and his death, in 1894, he served the state in many capacities. The whole impeachment episode remained a brown spot upon his career, and few of his friends and friendly historians have given it much attention. Yet, without seeking to detract from the due respect and reputation that should be accorded Robinson, the trials contribute valuable document upon the almost savage nature of frontier politics. It is an episode well worth studying. It represents or epitomizes politics running amuck. Incidentally, it produced its own antitoxin, for not a single senator who sat as a member of the impeachment court was returned to the senate in the election of five months later.

37. W. E. Connelley, *An Appeal to the Record*, p. 41.

# Defense of the Kansas Frontier 1866-1867

MARVIN H. GARFIELD

1866

COMPARATIVELY speaking, the year 1866 passed rather quietly on the Kansas frontier. Indian depredations were not only less numerous but of a more petty nature than those of the previous years. Early in the year the Southern Cheyennes and Arapahoes sent messengers to their northern tribesmen to persuade those hostiles to make peace. Col. E. W. Wyncoop, former commander at Fort Lyon, was appointed by the War Department to escort the envoys.<sup>1</sup>

Indian outbreaks in Kansas began in May along the Solomon river and near Lake Sibley.<sup>2</sup> Gov. S. J. Crawford at once organized a battalion of militia and sent them to the region. The state troopers soon engaged a band of Cheyennes in a sharp fight in the Lake Sibley neighborhood.<sup>3</sup> In July and August several raids by the Pawnees and Omahas occurred on White Rock and Lulu creeks, tributaries of the Solomon river.<sup>4</sup> In October and November hunters were driven in by Indians on the Solomon, and petty robberies and thefts were committed in Clay, Republic and Shirley counties.

Governor Crawford discovered in August that not only the Pawnees but Osages as well were responsible for recent frontier outrages. He therefore ordered Col. W. F. Cloud of the state militia to visit their reservations and investigate. Gen. W. S. Hancock, commanding the Department of the Missouri, was requested to furnish an escort from Fort Riley for Colonel Cloud.<sup>5</sup>

Overland transportation suffered more than did the frontier settlements during 1866.<sup>6</sup> The Smoky Hill route continued to receive its full share of attention by the Indians. This no doubt was due to the fact that the Union Pacific railroad, eastern division, was moving rapidly westward along the Kaw and Smoky Hill valleys and gave promise of soon threatening the favorite buffalo hunting

1. *Kansas Daily Tribune*, Lawrence, December 12, 1865.

2. "Report of Major General Cloud, K. S. M.," *Adjutant General's Report*, 1866, p. 3.

3. Crawford, *Kansas in the Sixties*, pp. 231-232.

4. Major Cloud's Report," p. 4.

5. Crawford to Hancock, August 30, 1866, Correspondence of Kansas Governors, Crawford, Copy Book, p. 39. Manuscript, Archives, Kansas State Historical Society.

6. Crawford, *Kansas in the Sixties*, p. 231.



grounds of the red men. The Butterfield Overland Despatch, which monopolized traffic over the route, was purchased by the Holladay interests in 1866 and merged with the Platte line into the Holladay Overland Mail and Express Company.<sup>7</sup> On April 20 the new company started a daily schedule from both Topeka and Denver. As fast as the railroad was completed westward the stages were moved to "End of Track."<sup>8</sup>

As a protection to freighters the War Department in February issued an order which required wagon trains to be made up of at least twenty wagons and thirty men before they would be allowed to pass Fort Kearney on the Platte trail, Fort Riley on the Smoky Hill route or Fort Larned on the Santa Fe trail.<sup>9</sup> Stages on all routes were guarded, generally by military escorts, while passing through the Indian country. At each station a noncommissioned officer with a squad of soldiers met the stage and escorted it to the next station.<sup>10</sup>

Throughout the year Governor Crawford exerted tremendous efforts to put down Indian disturbances. The expense of defending the frontier with state militia was so great that the governor hesitated to use them. As a consequence he appealed to the War Department and district commanders to protect the settlements, but received no response.<sup>11</sup> He telegraphed to the Secretary of War for cavalry arms, with which to arm the settlers, but failed to get them. The War Department informed Crawford that a shortage of troops prevented them from properly guarding the border. Crawford replied by offering to raise a Kansas regiment to be mustered into the United States service for the purpose of protecting the frontier until it could be replaced by army regulars. This offer was also rejected.<sup>12</sup> These efforts having failed, the Kansas executive telegraphed to the department commander at Fort Leavenworth stating that immediate action was needed and that, if the department commander would not act, he (the governor) would send Major General Cloud (formerly Colonel Cloud) with militia to pursue the Indians to their reservations, punish them and compel indemnity for their past conduct.<sup>13</sup> This elicited a response from General Hancock who, on August 28, assured the governor that he would coöperate with the state authorities in every possible way. Hancock had sent a scouting party of

7. Root and Connelley, *The Overland Stage*, p. 47.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 55.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 310; *Junction City Union*, March 10, 1866.

10. Root and Connelley, *The Overland Stage*, p. 100.

11. Governor Crawford's annual message, 1867, *Senate Journal*, Kansas Legislature, 1867, p. 35.

12. *Ibid.*

13. *Ibid.*, p. 36.

one hundred cavalymen from Fort Harker to the Solomon and suggested that they operate with the state militia who were already scouting in that region.<sup>14</sup>

In the meantime General Cloud was touring the settlements upon the Republican and Solomon rivers. Here he proceeded to organize the residents into militia companies. He reported that the majority of the settlers were Civil War veterans and possessed guns, but needed ammunition.<sup>15</sup> As a result of his personal observations Cloud recommended to Governor Crawford that the militia be re-organized and that a United States military post be established in the exposed region.<sup>16</sup>

In the latter part of August Colonel Wyncoop, in his official rôle as peacemaker, assembled a group of Cheyenne and Arapahoe chiefs at Fort Harker for a council. The Indians thought that the government had forgotten them, since their promised annuities hadn't been received. Their attitude toward the construction of the railroad up the Smoky Hill was one of resignation to the inevitable. They realized (so they said) that the white man was too numerous to be overcome. Furthermore, they promised to restrain their young men from additional depredations.<sup>17</sup>

At no time in 1866 did the activities of the Indians assume the proportions of a general outbreak such as that of 1864-'65. The strenuous attempts of Governor Crawford to compel the War Department to intervene in behalf of Kansas now seem unnecessary. He accomplished, however, another piece of work which perhaps was more constructive. Having learned from the commander of Fort Harker that most of the outrages and murders committed by the Indians could be traced to alcoholic liquors, Governor Crawford recommended that the state legislature prohibit all liquor traffic in Kansas beyond the limits of the organized counties.<sup>18</sup> The legislature, in compliance with this suggestion, passed House bill No. 105, which became a law on February 23, 1867.<sup>19</sup>

14. *Ibid.*, p. 37.

15. General Cloud to T. J. Anderson, adjutant general, July 5, 1866, Adjutant General's Correspondence. (Kansas.) Archives, Kansas State Historical Society.

16. Cloud's Report, *Adjutant General's Report*, 1866, p. 5.

17. News item, *Junction City Union*, August 25, 1866.

18. *Governor's Message*, Crawford, 1867, pp. 37-38. Liquor traffic was already prohibited by federal law in the Indian country, which included the unorganized counties of Kansas. The law was not being well enforced, however. Crawford felt that enforcement could best be accomplished by state law. He adopted the theory that the state government held jurisdiction over the entire state whether organized into counties or not. In taking this position he differed sharply with the interpretation of the commander at Fort Harker, who held that the federal government had sole jurisdiction over the region.

19. *House Journal*, Kansas Legislature, 1867, p. 929.



Additional evidence that the governor and people of Kansas may have been excessively excited over Indian troubles during the year was furnished by Gen. William T. Sherman, who had been touring Kansas and Colorado in the fall of 1866. Sherman encountered no Indian troubles other than rumors. In referring to the latter he said, "These are all mysterious, and only accountable on the supposition that our people out West are resolved on trouble for the sake of the profit resulting from the military occupation."<sup>20</sup>

1867.

In his personal narrative Governor Crawford stated: "When I returned from Washington in April, 1867, General Hancock was in the field with a handful of United States troops, and the plains of Kansas were swarming with bloodthirsty Indians."<sup>21</sup> Hancock had left Fort Leavenworth early in March upon a campaign designed to bring the Indians into submission. By showing a large force, including artillery, it was hoped that the red men would be frightened into a permanent peace. Hancock with six companies of infantry and artillery marched to Fort Riley, where he was joined by Col. George A. Custer with four companies of Seventh cavalry and one infantry company. At Fort Harker the expedition added two more cavalry troops. With this small army Hancock marched to Fort Larned, arriving April 7.<sup>22</sup>

Cheyennes and Sioux were camped on Pawnee Fork about thirty miles northwest of the fort. When the Indians persistently refused to come in and make a treaty, Hancock decided to march on their encampment. On April 11 the regiment moved forward. Before reaching the camp they were met by a large body of Indians bearing a white flag. The chiefs said they wanted peace instead of war; nevertheless Hancock's troops moved forward and camped near their village. The Indians, fearing another Sand Creek massacre, fled during the night. Custer pursued them the next day, but the Indians, after raiding the Overland Stage Company stations on the Smoky Hill, scattered. Hancock burned the Indian village on Pawnee Fork and then marched to Fort Dodge. After remaining at Dodge several days his troops headed for Fort Hays. Then he returned to Fort Harker, and on May 7 left that place for Leaven-

20. Letter to John Sherman, October 20, 1866, *The Sherman Letters* (Correspondence between Gen. W. T. Sherman and Senator John Sherman, 1837-1891. Edited by Raphael Sherman Thorndike. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1894), p. 277. Hereafter cited as *The Sherman Letters*.

21. Crawford, *Kansas in the Sixties*, p. 251.

22. William E. Connelley, "The Treaty Held at Medicine Lodge," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. XVII, pp. 601-606. Hereafter cited as Connelley, "Medicine Lodge Treaty."



worth. Custer with his Seventh cavalry remained in the field in pursuit of Pawnee Killer and his band of hostile Sioux. "Hancock's War" thus came to a sudden end following an auspicious beginning.<sup>23</sup>

Custer's pursuit of Pawnee Killer extended northward into Nebraska. The hostiles refused all overtures of peace and several times turned on Custer and became the pursuer instead of the pursued. After campaigning throughout the greater part of the summer the expedition returned to Fort Wallace in July, having failed to gain a decisive victory. Lieutenant Kidder and a party of ten men, sent from Fort Sedgwick, Nebraska, with dispatches for Custer, were annihilated by Indians.<sup>24</sup>

Hancock's campaign was unfortunate in its results, since it accomplished little except to incite the Indians to commit further depredations. Indian outbreaks in Kansas had been negligible prior to the expedition up Pawnee Fork. It is possible, therefore, that the war in 1867 was thus precipitated by General Hancock himself. With both the Pacific railroads stretching out through the Indian country, the situation was extremely delicate when the year opened.<sup>25</sup>

Indian depredations in Kansas were centered on the Smoky Hill route and the settlements in the Solomon and Republican valleys. By the middle of July the Union Pacific, eastern division, had reached Fort Harker and the town of Ellsworth. On September 18 the track extended to the 275-mile post at a point within ten miles of Fort Hays.<sup>26</sup>

As early as April 22 Indians were reported swarming along the Smoky Hill route.<sup>27</sup> It was estimated by stage passengers that they numbered from two to three thousand. Possibly a great many of these were the Cheyennes and Sioux whom Hancock had routed a few days previously on Pawnee Fork. The greatest danger point along the route was the stretch between Ellsworth and Fort Wallace. During most of the summer engineering and road-building crews were advancing through this region. On May 23 R. M. Shoemaker, general superintendent of the Union Pacific, eastern division, telegraphed Governor Crawford announcing an Indian attack on workers near Monument station.<sup>28</sup> In June Shoemaker's telegrams per-

23. The narrative of Hancock's War is taken from Mr. Connelley's article.

24. Connelley, "Medicine Lodge Treaty," p. 603.

25. For a criticism of Hancock's judgment see Grinnell, *The Fighting Cheyennes*, p. 239.

26. Letter from B. Marshall to Col. John B. Anderson, September 18, 1867, the John B. Anderson Papers. Personal correspondence of Col. John B. Anderson, prominent eastern financier, Archives, Kansas State Historical Society. Hereafter cited as the John B. Anderson Papers.

27. Dispatch from Denver, April 22, in *Junction City Union*, April 27, 1867.

28. C. K. G., Crawford (telegrams), pp. 42-43. Archives, Kansas State Historical Society.

sistently called upon Crawford for aid. Beginning with a raid west of Fort Harker on June 14, the depredations increased in number and intensity. Shoemaker wired Crawford on June 21 asking for militia. This was followed three days later by an urgent message in which he informed the governor that two workers had been killed and all workmen driven off the line for a distance of twenty miles. Five hundred stands of the best arms and plenty of ammunition were requested. The telegram closed with this statement: "Unless you send us protection our work must be abandoned."<sup>29</sup> On June 24 John D. Perry, president of the Union Pacific, eastern division, appealed to Crawford for immediate aid, stating that in the absence of General Hancock he knew no other one to whom he could turn. Perry explained that Indian depredations extended along the whole line of road, that one thousand laborers on seventy-five miles of line had been driven in, and that his men were practically unarmed.<sup>30</sup> Shoemaker frantically wired Crawford on June 28 announcing more depredations west of Fort Harker and closed with a sweeping declaration that unless the road were promptly protected all the workers would be driven off and all the citizens would be forced to leave the region.<sup>31</sup>

Upon the receipt of Shoemaker's wire of June 21 Governor Crawford acted. His first efforts were directed toward getting arms and ammunition for the railroad workers. On June 22 he appealed to the War Department for two thousand stands of cavalry arms and ammunition.<sup>32</sup> Two days later he again wired Secretary Stanton asking him immediately to direct the commanding officer at Fort Leavenworth to turn the arms and ammunition over to the state.<sup>33</sup> Before sending this message to Stanton the Kansas executive had attempted to get ten thousand rounds of ammunition from Fort Leavenworth.<sup>34</sup> Whether or not the arsenal had refused the request until otherwise instructed by Stanton is not clear. The fact remains that on the same day, by special order No. 136, General Hancock directed the commander of the Leavenworth arsenal to issue ten thousand round of 58-caliber cartridges to the state of Kansas.<sup>35</sup> Many of the guns needed were in possession of the militia; consequently Crawford instructed Capt. John G. Haskell, at Lawrence,

29. *Ibid.*, p. 43.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 134.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 37.

32. Crawford to Stanton, June 22, 1867, C. K. G., Crawford (Telegrams), p. 133.

33. Crawford to Stanton, June 24, 1867, *Ibid.*, p. 133.

34. Crawford to commanding officer at Fort Leavenworth, June 24, 1867, *Ibid.*, p. 135.

35. Adjutant General McKeever to Governor Crawford, June 24, 1867. Adjutant General's Correspondence, 1867 (Kansas).



to call in all the state and Federal arms and ammunition in Lawrence and have one thousand stands packed for immediate shipment.<sup>36</sup> On June 28 the governor wired Capt. J. C. French, at Fort Leavenworth, to ship what arms and ammunition he had as soon as possible.<sup>37</sup> Shoemaker's men were thus provided with plenty of munitions within a few days after the sending of their appeal for protection.

Simultaneously with his campaign to provide arms for the railroad workers, Governor Crawford endeavored to gain permission to organize a regiment of volunteer cavalry for service on the frontier. In his telegram to Stanton on June 24 Crawford volunteered to raise such an organization. To give additional weight to his request the governor inclosed President Perry's dispatch and added his own observation that the railroad west of Fort Harker and all Kansas frontier settlements would have to be abandoned unless prompt and decisive measures were taken. Stanton replied on June 27, referring him to General Grant, commander in chief of the army.<sup>38</sup> Grant naturally turned the matter over to Sherman, who was commanding the military division of the Missouri.

Sherman wired Crawford on June 26, accepting the battalion of mounted volunteers provided that Gen. A. J. Smith, at Fort Harker, deemed them to be necessary. Sherman stipulated that the battalion should consist of six or eight companies to be used for four months.<sup>39</sup> General Smith signified his consent the next day in a telegram to Crawford; however, on June 28 he informed the governor that Sherman had countermanded the order.<sup>40</sup> Shoemaker's message of the twenty-eighth also reported Sherman's change of mind. Crawford accordingly telegraphed Sherman and earnestly requested a reversal of his orders. In his plea the governor said that it was impossible to move against the Indians with militia.<sup>41</sup> As a result of this action General Sherman again reversed his decision and on July 1 gave Crawford permission to raise the volunteer battalion.<sup>42</sup> At once Governor Crawford issued a proclamation calling upon the people of Kansas for volunteers. Thus the Eighteenth Kansas cavalry came into existence.

36. Crawford to Haskell, June 24, 1867. C. K. G., Crawford (Telegrams), p. 134.

37. *Ibid.*

38. Crawford, *Kansas in the Sixties*, p. 256.

39. Sherman to Crawford, June 26, 1867, C. K. G., Crawford (Telegrams), p. 43.

40. General S. J. Smith to Governor Crawford, June 27 and 28, 1867, *Ibid.*, p. 44.

41. Crawford to Sherman, June 28, 1867, *Ibid.*, p. 44.

42. Sherman to Crawford, July 1, 1867, *Ibid.*, p. 45.



Why did General Sherman first consent to the raising of the volunteer cavalry and then countermand the order? Apparently a conflict was going on in Sherman's mind between his personal views of the situation and his desire to coöperate with Crawford and the railroad officials. Sherman had little sympathy with the Indian, whom he considered the enemy of civilization.<sup>43</sup> At the same time he favored government protection for the transcontinental roads.<sup>44</sup> Why, then, should he object to a proposition whereby the Union Pacific, eastern division, should get immediate protection? The answer is that he was heartily opposed to the raising of volunteer troops by any state for the defense of its local interests because all other states and territories that had contact with the Indians would instantly start a clamor to do likewise.<sup>45</sup> It was his personal belief that each of the western states and territories wanted the entire United States army for its own protection.<sup>46</sup> Sherman had stated his views quite plainly in a long telegram to Crawford on June 24. The general tone of his message was a bit of advice to Crawford to act cautiously. The complete text of the telegram is given below:

"Your dispatch of to-day is this moment received. I had already committed myself to be in St. Louis to-morrow from Omaha. I mailed you a circular defining as clearly as I can express how far you can help us to maintain peace on the border. This circular you ought to receive to-day. Until congress gives to the military power the right to say what Indians are at peace and what at war, this conflict of races must go on. In the meantime I must leave to General Hancock to do his best. He is to-day at Denver, will start back on the Smoky Hill on the 27th and should reach Fort Harker and the telegraph in ten days. The Indians thus far seem to confine their attacks to isolated trains and to the roads and are in small bands strung from . . . Minnesota to . . . Texas. Yet almost every Indian agent says his particular Indians are at home and at peace. If you choose to organize a battalion of volunteers, say six or eight companies, and offer them to General Hancock on his arrival at Fort Harker, if he wants them I will approve, but my notion is he has troops enough. If we can only see where the Indians will turn up, which seems impossible, I prefer you deal with General Hancock as he is on the spot all the time."<sup>47</sup>

43. Letter from Sherman to Dodge, January 16, 1867, Grenville M. Dodge, *Personal Recollections of Abraham Lincoln, Ulysses S. Grant, and William T. Sherman* (Council Bluffs, Iowa, The Monarch Printing Co., 1914), p. 196. Hereafter cited as Dodge, *Personal Recollections*. Sherman had referred to the Indian wars as follows: "I want to punish and subdue the Indians, who are the enemies of our race and progress, but even in that it is well sometimes to proceed with due deliberation."

44. Letter to Senator John Sherman, September 28, 1867, *The Sherman Letters*, p. 296. In reference to Senator Henderson's theory that congress had not intended to furnish governmental protection to transportation companies, Sherman emphatically stated that he, himself, had always acted upon the theory that when congress located a road it amounted to a promise to protect that road.

45. Sherman to Dodge, May 27, 1867, Dodge, *Personal Recollections*, pp. 200-201.

46. *Ibid.*

47. Sherman to Crawford, June 24, 1867, C. K. G., Crawford (Telegrams), p. 50.

Having yielded to the insistence of Crawford and the railroad people, however, Sherman came to Kansas immediately in order to be near the scene of action.

When General Sherman reached Fort Harker in July to investigate the Indian situation, railroad construction was advancing at an unusually slow rate up the Smoky Hill valley, while transportation from "End of Track" to Denver on the Smoky Hill Stage line was virtually suspended. Only two stages had passed through to Denver during the month of June, and none had made the attempt in July up to the time of his arrival at the fort.<sup>48</sup> Sherman at once looked into the matter. The result was a startling discovery which, if known sooner, likely would have forced him to withhold permanently his consent to the organization of the Eighteenth Kansas cavalry. Sherman, upon investigation, was convinced that Indian depredations were not the real reason for the suspension either of railroad building or of travel on the Smoky Hill stage line. He contended instead that the railroad was delayed by excessive rainfall, while the stage line did not operate due to selfishness and cowardice on the part of the stage company officials.<sup>49</sup> The general was also led to suspect that Kansas newspapers and citizens were exaggerating Indian rumors. His natural conclusion, accordingly, was that neither Kansas nor the railroad and stage line needed the protection which they had gained as the result of Governor Crawford's persistent efforts.

Following his investigation of the Smoky Hill stage situation Sherman transmitted a telegram to Crawford in which he condemned the stage company in no uncertain terms for its failure to operate.

"I believe there are other causes than Indians why the Smoky Hill stage has not run. The railroad was delayed by high water and not by Indians and the stages have stopped for want of connection and because it is not profitable. I want both railroad and stage companies to prosper, but cannot excuse them from doing their share of service unless they make efforts equal to the occasion. All our posts and intermediate stations to Denver are safe. Trains of wagons go with light escort and even single carriers run from post to post. General Smith has offered the stage company any amount of guard, but they won't go. Keep this to yourself, only help me quiet down unnecessary alarm, which as you can see often does as much harm as real danger, and of course all parties having close contracts avail themselves of the alarm to avoid services and claim compensation and damage."<sup>50</sup>

48. Leavenworth *Daily Conservative*, July 10, 1867.

49. Sherman's assertion that high waters was the chief cause for the delay in railroad construction is substantiated by the fact that the bridges all along the Union Pacific, eastern division, were built too low, thus inviting destruction of the road bed by floods. Statement of B. Marshall to Col. John B. Anderson, September 18, 1867. The John B. Anderson Papers.

50. C. K. G., Crawford (Telegrams), p. 47.



Two days later Sherman informed Crawford that the Eighteenth Kansas cavalry was being mustered in at Fort Harker and that a company each of infantry and cavalry had been assigned to guard Shoemaker's construction trains. He then closed with this statement: "Though I assert that Indians have not delayed the progress of this road one hour. The stage company deserves severe treatment for their efforts to avoid their contract, and they may be the means of breaking up the Smoky Hill line altogether."<sup>51</sup>

The stage company referred to by General Sherman was Wells Fargo & Co., who had bought out the Holladay interests in 1866 and had perfected a merger of several mail, express and stage lines in the West.<sup>52</sup>

Sherman's indictment was not the only one hurled at the company. Senator Pomeroy, of Kansas, while attempting to defend Wells Fargo & Co. before the senate, unwittingly let fall information which supported Sherman's contention. Pomeroy and Thayer, of Nebraska, were denying the oft-repeated accusation of eastern papers that the contractors of the West wanted an Indian war. In the course of debate Pomeroy stated that, due to Indian raids, Wells Fargo was losing money daily in the performance of their United States mail contract, and that they would give a million dollars to get out of it.<sup>53</sup> This in itself is an indication that the company was not overly eager to continue operations on the Smoky Hill route during June and July.

From still another source Sherman's criticism is substantiated. Postmaster General Alex W. Randall, in his report for 1867, mentioned a similar denouncement of Wells Fargo & Co. as follows:

"During the spring and summer months the complaints as to the manner in which the service was being performed, and the great delay in the arrival of mail from the east at Denver . . . were more numerous than at any time since the present route has been in operation. It was charged that the Indian troubles, complained of by the contractor and given by his agents as an excuse for nonperformance of service, were a pretense, and that this was no reason why the mails should not be conveyed regularly and within schedule time."<sup>54</sup>

The postmaster general concluded, on the other hand, that the contractor (Wells Fargo & Co.) was not to blame for the delay in service. The Indian situation on the plains, he decided, was really serious. As proof for this final conclusion, he cited official reports to

51. Sherman to Crawford, July 10, 1867, C. K. G., Crawford (Telegrams), p. 48.

52. Leroy R. Hafen, *The Overland Mail, 1849-1869* (The Arthur H. Clark Company, Cleveland, 1926), p. 319.

53. Senate Debate 1867, *Cong. Globe*, 40 Cong., 1 sess., p. 688.

54. *House Ex. Doc.*, No. 1, 40 Cong., 2 sess., pp. 4-5.



the War Department by General Sherman and other army officers.<sup>55</sup> It is evident that the postmaster general knew nothing of Sherman's revelations to Crawford concerning the refusal of the stage company to resume service even under heavy escort.

Western transportation companies undoubtedly did take advantage of the United States government during this period. By the nature of their contracts they could collect their money whether or not they maintained an unbroken schedule. Regardless of the motive of the stage company, whether it was to make money with a minimum amount of effort, as implied by Sherman, or to keep from losing money, as may be inferred from Pomeroy's statement, the fact remains that service was suspended intentionally for several weeks on the Smoky Hill line.

There is, of course, some evidence to justify the stage company for discontinuing its service. A special correspondent of the Leavenworth *Conservative*, located at Fort Wallace with a railroad engineering expedition, declared that the route was closed because the troops for its protection had been sent to guard the Platte line. The writer was highly indignant because the interests of the Smoky Hill line were sacrificed for those of the Platte. This correspondent, in two separate articles, maintained that the stage stations were being attacked daily and that during the month of June \$100,000 worth of property was destroyed and many lives were lost. An account of an Indian raid at Pond Creek station was also given. Even Fort Wallace was attacked on June 21 by about 300 Indians, according to the writer. The article of July 2 stated that the fort was still besieged.<sup>56</sup> Practically the same assertions were made by Gen. W. W. Wright, chief engineer of the Union Pacific, eastern division, in a report to Pres. John D. Perry on June 29. Wright was commander of the engineering expedition at Fort Wallace.<sup>57</sup>

The truth of the whole matter probably is that during the Indian raids of the latter part of June the stage company officials had reasons for abandoning service; nevertheless in the early part of July, when traffic should have been resumed, they failed to perform their duty.

Another problem with which General Sherman had to contend was that of false reports and rumors of Indian uprising. His personal attitude toward this question was well expressed in his telegram to Governor Crawford on July 8, in which he requested that Crawford

55. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

56. Printed in the Leavenworth *Daily Conservative*, July 10, and 11, 1867.

57. Senate Debate, 1867, *Cong. Globe*, 40 Cong., 1 sess., p. 688.

help him to quiet unnecessary alarm. In a letter to his brother, Senator Sherman, the general denounced the publication of rumors. "Not only real depredations are committed" (by the Indians), he asserted, "but every fear, or apprehension, on whatever it may be founded, is published, and protection claimed and demanded." Sherman furthermore emphasized the fact that the clamor of the western people for protection really weakened the military power in the region since it necessitated breaking up his forces into small groups. This, he declared, prevented the collection of any large army to carry an offensive into the Indians' own country, the Yellowstone and Red river localities.<sup>58</sup>

Sherman's belief that Indian rumors were harmful was upheld by the Fort Harker correspondent to the *Leavenworth Conservative*. In an article to his paper on July 8, 1867, the writer complained about the false propaganda which was being circulated by a rival paper, the *Leavenworth Commercial*. The writer for the *Conservative* denied that there was any truth to the recent stories of Indian raids near Ellsworth. He added that between Harker and Hays all was quiet. Beyond that point he had no information, since, for some reason unknown to the people of his vicinity, the stage had not come through from the west for some time.<sup>59</sup>

After General Sherman had returned to St. Louis the *Republican* of that city printed an article from Fort Harker which reported the massacre near Fort Larned of a party of Catholic priests and nuns. Sherman at once published a reply denying the truth of the incident and rebuking newspaper journalists for publishing unfounded rumors.<sup>60</sup> Later it was proved that the article was false. The story of the massacre had been published by a Leavenworth rival of the *Conservative*. The editor of the *Conservative*, although stating that he had not printed the report, denied that the newspapers of Kansas were publishing exaggerated stories. At the same time he warned his readers to beware of Indian news printed in any rival Leavenworth papers.<sup>61</sup>

Additional proof that one of the Leavenworth papers was guilty of "yellow journalism" comes from an entirely different source. A prominent official of the Union Pacific, eastern division, writing from Leavenworth, Kan., in September, 1867, reported that the

58. Letter to Senator Sherman, July 16, 1867 (written from Fort Harker), *The Sherman Letters*, p. 290.

59. *Leavenworth Daily Conservative*, July 10, 1867.

60. Reprint of Sherman's letter of July 19 to the *St. Louis Republican*, *Leavenworth Daily Conservative*, July 23, 1867.

61. *Ibid.*



town was a great place for the manufacture of news. He also mentioned that a reporter for a Leavenworth publication was filling his paper with startling accounts of Indian raids and horrible murders which were being copied by "all the eastern papers as the true state of affairs in the West."<sup>62</sup>

While the Sherman investigation and newspaper controversy were taking place the Eighteenth Kansas cavalry was organized, mustered into service and baptized with fire. When Governor Crawford issued his call for volunteers on July 1 it was his intention to raise eight companies of cavalry for six months' service. As a matter of fact only four companies were raised and the regiment was required to serve only four months. The reason for this change of plans will soon be apparent.

Recruiting officers found that they could get sufficient men but very few horses. Crawford on July 3 asked Sherman if the government would furnish horses for part of the men. Sherman refused, stating that if eight mounted companies could not be furnished a less number would be sufficient.<sup>63</sup> Telegrams and letters literally poured into the executive offices in Topeka during the next few days. The majority of these were in regard to getting horses. Accordingly, Crawford on July 10 again telegraphed Sherman, inquiring if he would take part of the men unmounted. Sherman again rejected the suggestion, remarking that if the men could not be mounted they were not wanted.<sup>64</sup> This attitude of Sherman was quite disconcerting to certain Kansans who were striving mightily to organize a full eight-company regiment. On July 5 Governor Crawford received the following telegram from A. Green, of Manhattan: "I can get horses if adjutant general will issue certificate of indebtedness. Pottawatomie is best place. I came up with General Sherman. *He would not grieve if you fail.* Come up to-morrow."<sup>65</sup>

According to the terms of enlistment, each volunteer was supposed to furnish his own horse. He was then to be armed, equipped and paid by the United States as were other regular troops. In case a volunteer had no horse and was unable to purchase one the state guaranteed to stand security for the payment.<sup>66</sup> In order to pay all creditors for horses purchased without waiting for a delayed legislative appropriation, the recruits gave their personal notes at the

62. B. Marshall to Col. John B. Anderson, Sept. 18, 1867. The John B. Anderson Papers.

63. C. K. G., Crawford (Telegrams), pp. 136; 47.

64. *Ibid.*, p. 48.

65. *Ibid.*, p. 69; (the italics are mine).

66. Crawford's instructions to Colonel Moonlight, of Leavenworth, July 5, C. K. G., Crawford (Telegrams), p. 136.



time of purchase. The recruiting officer was then instructed to draw the cash pay of each soldier so indebted and transmit it to the creditor until the note was paid in full.<sup>67</sup> The governor assured all questioners that each soldier who furnished a horse would be reimbursed later by legislative appropriation.

With the horse problem once solved the routine of organization went on steadily. By July 15 the Eighteenth Kansas was mustered into United States service at Fort Harker. The battalion was made up of four companies with a total enrollment of 358 officers and enlisted men.<sup>68</sup> That there was a real need for the regiment was revealed by General Sherman in his annual report for the year. The report explained that the Eighteenth was called into service to replace six companies of Seventh cavalry that had been transferred to the Platte in the summer.<sup>69</sup>

Under the able leadership of Maj. Horace L. Moore, of Lawrence, the Eighteenth Kansas performed creditably and was of real service to the state and nation. In addition to fighting the Indians the men faced a far deadlier enemy, cholera, which took a heavy toll of recruits at Fort Harker. On July 24 the regiment was at Fort Larned. Shortly afterwards it was moved to Fort Dodge and finally to Fort Hays on August 15.

While stationed at Fort Hays the Eighteenth performed its most active service. On August 22 part of the regiment participated in the battle of Beaver creek. Following an Indian raid on the Smoky Hill stage line at Big Creek station, Maj. George A. Armes organized an expedition of the Tenth United States and Eighteenth Kansas cavalry and pursued the hostiles north into the Republican valley. While out on a scout for the expedition Captain Jenness, of the Eighteenth Kansas, and a small body of troops were attacked by about 500 Indians. They withstood the onslaught until rescued. The Indians then attacked the entire force. The battle raged for six hours before darkness caused the fighting to cease. Satanta, the Kiowa chief, was reported to have led the Indians.<sup>70</sup> The soldiers' losses were three killed and thirty-five wounded.<sup>71</sup> Meanwhile Major Moore and the remainder of the Eighteenth were campaigning in the same general region. Although neither Indians nor

67. Crawford's instructions to Col. John A. Martin, of Atchison, July 8, *Ibid.*

68. Wilder, *Annals of Kansas*, July 15, 1867.

69. Annual Report of the Military Division of the Missouri, October 1, 1867, *Report of Secretary of War*, 40 Cong., 2 sess., pp. 34-35.

70. "The Battle of Beaver Creek," George B. Jenness, *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. IX, pp. 443-452.

71. General Hancock's report to Governor Crawford, Aug. 24, C. K. G., Crawford (Telegrams), pp. 38-39.

soldiers could claim decisive victories, the campaign had the effect of breaking up the Indian concentration along the Smoky Hill and the Republican. The northern Indians retreated to the north, while the Comanches, Kiowas, southern Cheyennes and Arapahoes headed south, where they met the Peace Commission at Medicine Lodge in October.<sup>72</sup> The Eighteenth continued to serve until October 29, when it was ordered to Fort Harker to be mustered out. On November 15 the final muster took place.<sup>73</sup> It was deemed unnecessary to keep the soldiers in service for six months since there was no need for them during the winter. About ten per cent of the regiment lost their lives during their four months of service.

Throughout the months of July and August reports of Indian depredations had continued to come in. A perfect reign of terror took place in Colorado Territory during the early part of July. Settlers left the country, and there was talk of discontinuing overland travel.<sup>74</sup> One of Custer's scouts, in relating the story of the Kidder massacre and an attack by Indians on Custer's supply train, closed the interview with these words: "If any man thinks there is no war with, or danger from, the Indians, let him make a trip from Wallace to Harker and then he will realize it."<sup>75</sup>

Service was finally resumed on the Smoky Hill route, the first west-bound mail coach reaching Denver July 27, after a ten-day trip from Fort Harker. Indians were numerous between Harker and Monument station, and according to reports were virtually in possession of one hundred miles of the road.<sup>76</sup> Santa Fe coaches, on the other hand, were coming through to Fort Harker unmolested, though many Indians were seen along the route.<sup>77</sup>

Osages dwelling in the southeast section of the state caught the fever of the Indian war on the plains and performed some minor depredations. Governor Crawford paid them a visit in August and called them to account for thieving of horses and other stock from settlers. The Osages promptly returned the property and thereafter remained "good Indians."<sup>78</sup> The governor discovered that Indian traders were daily supplying the Osages as well as the wild plains tribes with arms and ammunition.<sup>79</sup>

72. Crawford, *Kansas in the Sixties*, p. 261.

73. Wilder, *Annals of Kansas*, p. 468.

74. Letter from news correspondent in Denver, *Leavenworth Daily Conservative*, July 18, 1867.

75. Reprint from *Junction City Union*, *Leavenworth Daily Conservative*, July 25, 1867.

76. Reprint from *Denver News* of July 27, *Leavenworth Daily Conservative*, August 4, 1867.

77. *Leavenworth Daily Conservative*, July 27, 1867.

78. Crawford, *Kansas in the Sixties*, p. 280.

79. Crawford to Sherman, August 5, 1867, C. K. G., Crawford (Telegrams), p. 138.



The Indian Peace Commission, which had been appointed in July by act of congress, held a meeting in St. Louis on August 8. As a result General Sherman ordered all department commanders in the division of the Missouri to assume defensive tactics only, thus giving the Indians a chance to receive messages sent out from the Peace Commission and to act on them.<sup>80</sup>

In view of this change of tactics upon the part of the military authorities, matters became somewhat complicated when the Indians again attacked the Smoky Hill route in September. Shoemaker wired Crawford on September 21 informing him that one of the principal contractors and three men had been killed by Indians on September 19. Since Gen. A. J. Smith, at Fort Harker, could give no additional protection the general superintendent asked the governor for an infantry regiment at once to guard the working parties.<sup>81</sup> Crawford replied immediately. "Your dispatch received. Will tender regiment to General Sherman. If he will not accept on behalf of government, I will endeavor to make other arrangements."<sup>82</sup> Governor Crawford then made a speedy trip to Fort Hays to investigate matters and upon his return sent two telegrams to Sherman describing the situation and offering to immediately organize a regiment of volunteers.<sup>83</sup>

Sherman's reply threw cold water on the proposition. The complete telegram follows:

"HEADQUARTERS, MILITARY DIVISION OF THE MISSOURI,  
St. Louis, September 24, 1867.

"*Governor Crawford:* With the present convictions of the Indian Commission to be at Fort Harker the eighth I would not be willing to accept more volunteers. Mr. Shoemaker ought not to push his parties too far out till we meet the Cheyennes.

W. T. SHERMAN, *Lieut. General.*"<sup>84</sup>

Sherman thus remained consistent with his previous position. Crawford, plainly, was out of sympathy with the Peace Commission and considered defense of the railroad paramount. The crux of the matter was whether or not the road actually needed more protection than it was already getting. Considerable light was shed on the question by Mr. Marshall, who was on the scene at Fort Harker as a representative of the railroad's eastern financial interests. Writing from Junction City on September 18, Marshall explained that

80. Sherman's Annual Report, *Report of the Secretary of War*, 40 Cong., 2 sess., p. 37.

81. C. K. G., Crawford (Telegrams), p. 34.

82. *Ibid.*, p. 138.

83. *Ibid.*, p. 138. The two telegrams are similar to content, the first having been directed to Sherman at Omaha, while the second was sent the following day to St. Louis. Crawford apparently wanted to be sure that Sherman would get the message immediately.

84. *Ibid.*, p. 40.



he had just gone up to the end of the track with the railroad commissioners, that a military escort had accompanied the train and that they were not molested. Further on he stated:

"The Indians west of us have been making some trouble lately, but I do not apprehend any trouble with our trains. There have been several attacks made on wagon trains and some stock stolen, and a few men killed, but those things you must expect when you pass over other people's grounds."<sup>85</sup>

The Peace Commission, following its meeting in St. Louis, headed northwest up the Missouri river in order to treat with the Sioux and northern Cheyennes before meeting the tribes in Kansas. Sherman invited Crawford to meet the commission at Fort Leavenworth on August 11.<sup>86</sup> Crawford accepted and presented his views to the commissioners. A Leavenworth daily, reporting the governor's presence in town, had this to say: "The governor will confer with the peace powwow-ists, but is not known to sympathize with their policy. He is for exhorting peace, we guess."<sup>87</sup> In September Crawford further vented his opinion of the commission. "I am waiting patiently," he wrote, "the result of the efforts of this Peace Commission. If they fail to do their duty the state of Kansas will not fail."<sup>88</sup> Sherman, also, was not optimistic about the possibility of peace, although he expressed some hopes. Writing to his brother on September 28, he predicted that the Indian wars were not over, since it would take years for the Peace Commission to fulfill the requirement of the law passed by congress.<sup>89</sup>

In October the Peace Commission arrived in Kansas. Its personnel had been carefully chosen from both military men and civilians. Generals Terry, Harney, Sanborn, and Auger represented the army, while Commissioner Taylor upheld the interests of the Indian Bureau. Senator Henderson, of Missouri, represented congress and Col. Samuel F. Tappan stood for the nation at large. For a month prior to the meeting the Indian Bureau had been assembling a vast amount of material near Medicine Lodge to give the Indians as presents. These stores included coffee, sugar, flour, dried fruits, arms and ammunition and a herd of cattle.<sup>90</sup>

Once the Indians were assembled, the powwow began. Estimates of the number of Indians present vary from five thousand to fifteen

85. Letter to Col. John B. Anderson, the John B. Anderson Papers.

86. Telegram to Crawford, August 10, 1867, C. K. G., Crawford (Telegrams), p. 38.

87. Leavenworth *Daily Conservative*, August 11, 1867.

88. Letter to J. R. Mead, an Indian trader, Sept. 4, 1867, C. K. G., Crawford (Copy Book), p. 57.

89. *The Sherman Letters*, p. 296.

90. Connelley, "Medicine Lodge Treaty," pp. 603-604.

thousand.<sup>91</sup> The tribes represented were the Cheyenne, Arapahoe, Comanche, Kiowa, and Kiowa-Apache. Tall Bull, a prominent Cheyenne war chief, ably stated the Indians' case when he told the commissioners that the red men were on the warpath to prevent Kansas and Colorado being settled by palefaces. He said that the Indians claimed that part of the country as their own, and did not want railroads built through it to scare away the buffalo. At one time during the early stages of the conference it seemed that negotiations would stop and a general massacre ensue. Since there were less than five hundred soldiers present, the commissioners exhibited some uneasiness. Nevertheless, the Indians were kept in awe by a show of artillery, so the powwow continued.<sup>92</sup>

Two treaties were drawn up and signed. On October 21 the commissioners reached their final agreement with the Comanche, Kiowa and Apache tribes. The Cheyennes held off until a week later, when they and their Arapahoe allies came to terms. The two treaties were nearly identical. According to the final arrangement the Indians agreed to—

- (1) Withdraw all opposition to the construction of the Pacific railroads.
- (2) Relinquish their claims lying between the Platte and Arkansas.
- (3) Withdraw to reservations set apart for them.

In return the Indians received the following concessions:

- (1) A large reservation and an enormous amount of supplies. (The Comanches, Kiowas and Apaches were assigned to a reserve north of the Red river. The Cheyennes and Arapahoes were allotted about three million acres in the Cherokee outlet in Indian territory.)
- (2) The right to hunt south of the Arkansas river so long as the buffalo ranged there in such numbers as to justify the chase. No white settlements were to be allowed between the Arkansas river and the southern boundary of Kansas for a period of three years.<sup>93</sup>

Contrary to a general impression which has grown up in the United States, the Medicine Lodge treaty did not bring peace to the frontier. After loading the Indians with guns and ammunition the Peace Commission promised to provide more for them the next spring. This mistaken policy on the part of the commissioners practically undid everything that had been accomplished by the treaty. It remained for the military authorities to bring about peace

91. Connelley says 5,000. Crawford estimated the total number of warriors at 3,000. This would mean a total population of approximately 7,500.

92. Crawford, *Kansas in the Sixties*, p. 277.

93. Terms of the Medicine Lodge Treaty derived from: Sheridan, *Personal Memoirs*, v. II, p. 284; Crawford, *Kansas in the Sixties*, p. 278; Charles J. Kappler, *Indian Affairs, Laws, and Treaties*, v. II, p. 764.

by conquest in 1868.<sup>94</sup> Even from the standpoint of the Indian, the treaty was a failure. "The giving of a few presents and the signing of treaties by a few chiefs would not appease the Indians, whose livelihood, the buffalo, was being destroyed and driven away."<sup>95</sup> The young men of all the tribes bitterly opposed the treaty; hence it could not be expected that the terms of the agreement would be observed.

After the break-up of the great Medicine Lodge encampment the Indians headed south and west, leaving the Kansas frontier in peace during the fall and winter. Sheridan, upon taking command of the Department of the Missouri, reported everything comparatively quiet.<sup>96</sup> At the very close of the year reports reached Topeka of Indian depredations on White Rock creek in Republic county. These proved to be the work of a party of Omahas and Otoes.<sup>97</sup>

The year 1867 was outstanding in the annals of plains warfare. Commencing early in the spring, the war between Indians and whites dragged through a long summer and well into the autumn. While no general massacre of settlers took place, there were over four hundred citizens murdered by the southern tribes in Kansas and Nebraska during 1866 and 1867. Sixteen engagements occurred during the latter year between Indians and United States troops in the Missouri department. So numerous, indeed, were the conflicts on the plains that one writer has credited the summer of 1867 with more actual cavalry fighting than any season in the ten years of plains combat from 1864 to 1874.<sup>98</sup> While this statement may be correct, it is well to add that the conflicts between the military and Indians during the year were not especially bloody. In the entire Department of the Missouri during 1867 nineteen soldiers were killed and fifty wounded, while only ten Indians were sent to the happy hunting grounds.<sup>99</sup>

94. Connelley, "Medicine Lodge Treaty," pp. 604-605.

95. Grinnell, *The Fighting Cheyennes*, p. 266.

96. Sheridan, *Personal Memoirs*, v. II, p. 282.

97. Letter from Thomas Lovewell to Governor Crawford, December 23, 1867, Adjutant General's Correspondence, 1867 (Kansas).

98. James A. Hadley, "The Death of Lieutenant Kidder," *Indian Depredations and Battles*, Clippings, v. I. p. 64., Kansas State Historical Society.

99. *Report of the Secretary of War*, 1867, 40 Cong., 2 sess., Ser. No. 1324, pp. 45, 46.



## Some Famous Kansas Frontier Scouts

PAUL I. WELLMAN

IN THE divers Indian wars which kept the western frontier in a turmoil throughout much of the time between 1857 and 1878 Kansas played a tragic and at the same time a heroic part. Like her sister states of Nebraska and Texas and the Dakota territories she suffered under the scourge of the Indian raiders, and many of her citizens died in the glare of their burning homes in the settlements on the Smoky Hill, the Republican, the Arkansas, the Solomon and elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> Like these other states she sent her sons to avenge the atrocities committed.

Thus far Kansas played a part akin to that of all the other frontier states. But there was one respect in which she outshone all the others. That was in her contribution of great plains scouts to this frontier war, in which she surpassed every other state in the West.

Study the big Indian campaigns between 1860 and 1878—Kansas men were the real leaders in every one. Kansans were the keen-eyed followers of the trail; the canny diagnosers of ambushes; the wise advisors to ward off the duplicity of Indian diplomats; the interpreters at the councils. In a word, more Kansas men qualified as high-class scouts in the Indian wars—and the position of the scout was often far more important than was the position of the commanding officer himself—than qualified from any other state or territory.

Sharp Grover, Billy Comstock, Charlie Reynolds, Billy Dixon, Jack Stillwell, Wild Bill Hickok, Buffalo Bill Cody, William Mathewson—even Kit Carson and William Bent,<sup>2</sup> to mention only a few, received a part or all of their training in plaincraft, in Indian strategy, and in the lessons of hardihood, endurance and loyalty, on the plains of Kansas.

1. Between August 10 and November 25, 1868, there were government records of the killing of 120 people; the capture of seven more; the running off of 619 horses and mules and 958 cattle; the burning and plundering of twenty-one homes; and the destruction of four wagon trains in Kansas, eastern Colorado and the Indian territory. This record covered a period of only three and a half months.—George Armstrong Custer, *My Life on the Plains*, p. 87.

2. Abner T. Grover, 18—-1869; William Comstock, 18—-1868; Charles Alexander Reynolds, 1842-1876; William Dixon, 1850-1913; S. E. Stillwell, 1849-1889; James Butler Hickok, 1837-1876; William Frederick Cody, 1846-1917; William Mathewson, 1830-1912; Christopher Carson, 1809-1868, and William Bent, 1809-1869.

To understand why this should be it must be remembered that the frontier history of the West is divided into three epochs, each significant of the progress of the civilized white man in occupying the land, and of the growing resentment of the savage red man because of that encroachment.

First came the epoch of the trapper and the trader. A wild, daring, irresponsible class of men they were, those forerunners of the pale face's civilization. They little resembled heralds of civilization. More savage in dress, actions and habits were many of them than the very Indians among whom they wandered to wrest their precarious livelihood from the wilderness. Yet they sowed the seeds from which were to spring the beginnings of the new era.

These trappers and traders fared forth with a hardihood and resource absolutely amazing, braved the peril of death by torture, and filtered among the wild tribes of the plains and mountains in search of beaver and other peltries. In this search they penetrated to the uttermost corners of the present United States. They went in search of furs; but they acquired something more important to the nation than that—a priceless knowledge of the geography, people and characteristics of the great unknown hinterland, which, disseminated in the East, probably had greater influence on the quick settlement of the West than any other one factor.

To this period belong men like Kit Carson, the Bent brothers and their partner, Ceran St. Vrain, "Old Bill" Williams, Jim Bridger, "Broken Hand" Fitzpatrick, Jim Beckwourth, Ezekial Williams and others. These were but the better-known typical examples of the hundreds who were cut out of the same piece of cloth, and who could shoot "plumb-center," trail a moccasin track over a bare rock, battle a grizzly bear with a bowie knife, and live off anything in hunger time, from their own leggins to "raw buzzart," as occurred in one traditional case.

They did not go forth as conquerors of the soil, these forerunners of their race. The land meant no more to them than it did to the Indians. They made friends with the red men whenever it suited their capricious purpose; often took wives from among them;<sup>3</sup> and many times took part in their tribal wars.<sup>4</sup> In some cases they

3. William Bent, Kit Carson, Sharp Grover, Ed Curtis, Ceran St. Vrain, and many others had Indian wives.

4. There is even reason to think that some of these white men "gone native" fought against their own race. Thus, at the Beecher Island fight, when all of Forsyth's horses were killed, the men on the island heard a voice announce in perfect English, "There goes the last of their horses, anyway." Besides this, from time to time, the notes of an artillery bugle were heard from the shore. See *Indian Fights and Fighters*, p. 84, by Cyrus Townsend Brady.

wrought remarkable changes in the relations of the tribes. A typical case of this is quoted by Billy Peacock,<sup>5</sup> for years a member of the Cheyenne tribe, by whom he is still known as Numose, "the Left Hand."

After the building of Bent's Fort, according to Peacock, the Bents and St. Vrain, with Kit Carson and Ed Curtis, traded with the Comanches and Kiowas. The Cheyennes at that time—about 1828 or '29—still lived north in the Black Hills country. To increase their trade, Bent and St. Vrain built the trading post on the Canadian river known as the Adobe Walls from the material used in building the fort. This post was not long occupied. Trouble was stirred up among the southern Indians by the "Spanish" traders of Santa Fe, Taos and other New Mexican towns, who were jealous of Bent and St. Vrain. Things reached such a crisis that St. Vrain, who was in charge at the southern post, was forced to use a subterfuge to get away.

The Kiowas and Comanches had run off his stock. He ran up a white flag and invited their chiefs in for a council. As soon as these chiefs entered the stockade he closed the doors and promised them death unless the stock was returned speedily and he was given safe conduct to Bent's Fort. This stratagem was later used by Custer and others, but this is the first time it appears on the plains. It was effective. The mules were returned and St. Vrain was unmolested in his northward journey.

The Indians still refusing to trade with them, William Bent, with true Yankee cunning, looked around for a new source of business. He had dwelt among the Cheyennes and had a Cheyenne wife.<sup>6</sup> He arranged for a meeting with some of the Cheyenne leaders who were hunting in the Arkansas valley, and after a big powwow induced about half the tribe to move their permanent camps from the northern hunting grounds to the vicinity of the fort.<sup>7</sup>

This, according to Peacock, is how the southern Cheyennes separated from the northern Cheyennes, who remained in the North. He insists that although these bands have always been considered different and distinct tribes they are in all essentials the same. History records that they were intermarrying and visiting back and forth

5. William C. Peacock, now 75 years old, is at present residing at Valley Center, Kan.

6. His first wife was Owl Woman. After her death in 1847, he married another Indian woman named Yellow Woman.—George Bird Grinnell, "Bent's Old Fort and Its Builders," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. XV, pp. 46, 47.

7. Grinnell tells a different story. He says that the fort was built after instead of before the conference with the Cheyennes, which took place at the mouth of the Purgatoire in 1826.—*Ibid.*, p. 31.



as late as 1875, when the band of Bull Hump, a northern Cheyenne, returning from a visit to the southern Cheyennes in the Indian territory, was set upon and wiped out by soldiers and buffalo hunters on Sappa creek, in northwestern Kansas.<sup>8</sup> If this story is true, it forms an interesting illustration of how the white men changed the habits, history and habitat of many an Indian tribe.

With the beginning of settlement in the eastern part of Kansas and Nebraska began a second epoch. Discovery of gold in the mountains and in California brought a rush of emigrants. The slavery question caused thousands to move into Kansas with the purpose of making it proslavery or antislavery, and thus it was discovered that the "Great American Desert," so-called, was really a fertile and productive territory.

Naturally the Indians resented this high-handed incursion. Beginning in 1857, when Sumner campaigned against the Cheyennes<sup>9</sup>, the frontier was always in danger of a raid, and the youths of that frontier were reared in the art of Indian fighting, taught the secrets of woods and plains craft, and schooled in all the fine arts of combating at their own game the fierce nomads of the wilderness. This was the period when most of the Kansas scouts got their training and fitted themselves for their strenuous and important adventures, which occurred in the third epoch, the epoch of the real Indian wars.

In 1858 gold was found in Colorado and a new rush of emigrants started up the Santa Fe and Platte trails. The passage of thousands of white men with their stock and their families up these trails, frightening away the game, excited and angered the Indians.<sup>10</sup> Trouble soon broke out. There were brushes with the red men on the overland trails, and then sporadic raiding began against isolated settlements. In the main, however, the tribes kept the peace until 1863, when minor depredations increased to a point where they resembled a general war, and the government, in the throes of civil war, decided it must do something to put an end to these troubles. There were several minor fights with the Indians, and on November 29, 1864, occurred the massacre of Black Kettle's village on Sand

8. For an account of this fight see *Buffalo Days*, pp. 99-112, by Col. Homer W. Wheeler. See, also, William D. Street's "Cheyenne Indian Massacre on the Middle Fork of the Sappa," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. X, pp. 368-373.

9. An excellent account of this campaign is contained in an article by R. M. Peck, who was a soldier in Sumner's command, in *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. VIII, p. 484.

10. According to Grinnell, the Cheyennes at first thought these gold miners insane, because they wandered about aimlessly seeking for gold.—*The Fighting Cheyennes*, footnote, p. 119. During the month of May, 1859, not less than 10,000 persons went up the Republican river route alone, and Bancroft estimates 150,000 went up the Platte and Arkansas routes in the spring of 1859.—George Bancroft, *History of Colorado*, p. 457.

creek by Chivington,<sup>11</sup> which set the whole Indian country into a blaze of hatred.<sup>12</sup>

The chief theater of war was in Wyoming and the Platte valley of Nebraska during 1865 and 1866. In 1867 occurred the campaign by General Hancock in southern Kansas and present-day northern Oklahoma, which resulted in nothing except to give the Indians renewed confidence.<sup>13</sup> The following year, 1868, saw the red men receive three stunning defeats—the repulse of Roman Nose’s band by Col. G. A. Forsyth’s command at Beecher’s Island; Gen. George A. Custer’s winter attack on Black Kettle’s village on the Washita; and Gen. Eugene A. Carr’s defeat of Tall Bull’s band at Summit Springs. In each case the leading chief was killed.

After that the Indians subsided until 1874, when, maddened by white buffalo hunters who ignored the Medicine Lodge peace treaty, they flamed into revolt again.<sup>14</sup> For the next year the troops were kept busy pursuing the hostiles, and the bloody battles of Adobe Walls,<sup>15</sup> Palo Duro Canyon and elsewhere, together with scores of massacres and raids, painted the frontier a gory hue.

Scarcely was this war brought to an end, in 1875, when the Sioux to the north went on the warpath. In the year which followed, Reynolds was defeated on the Powder river, Crook was defeated on the Rose Bud, and Custer and all his immediate command were wiped out on the Little Big Horn. The Sioux were finally subdued and the Northern Cheyennes were rounded up and moved to the reservation of the Southern Cheyennes in the Indian territory, which precipitated Kansas’ last real Indian raid—the Dull Knife raid of 1878.

11. Col. J. M. Chivington, First Colorado cavalry.

12. Concerning this massacre there was almost universal condemnation of Chivington. Gen. Nelson A. Miles, greatest of all the Indian fighters, said of it: “The Sand Creek massacre is perhaps the foulest and most unjustifiable crime in the annals of America.”—*Personal Recollections*, p. 139. The Indian Peace Commission of 1868, which reviewed the case, said in its report: “It scarcely has its parallel in the records of Indian barbarity. Fleeing women, holding up their hands and praying for mercy, were shot down; infants were killed and scalped in derision; men were tortured and mutilated in a manner that would put to shame the savages of interior Africa. No one will be astonished that a war ensued which cost the government \$30,000,000, and carried conflagration and death into the border settlements. During the spring and summer of 1865 no less than 8,000 troops were withdrawn from the effective forces engaged against the Rebellion to meet this Indian war.”—George W. Manypenny, *Our Indian Wars*, p. 165. An excellent description of the Sand Creek massacre may be found in J. P. Dunn’s *Massacres of the Mountains*, pp. 396-437.

13. “Hancock had threatened to chastise these Indians most severely if they made any trouble, but having now driven them to hostilities he found it impossible to strike them at all, as they moved much more rapidly than his troops.”—George Bird Grinnell, *The Fighting Cheyennes*, p. 244.

14. One provision of the Medicine Lodge treaty was that the white men should not molest buffalo or other game south of the border between Kansas and the Indian territory.

15. This fight took place near the site of the old Bent-St. Vrain fort by that name, on the banks of the Canadian. Traces of the ancient adobe walls were still visible. The fort, built by the buffalo hunters and traders, was of logs, set picket fashion, with one sod house (Hanrahan’s saloon), but it was named “Adobe Walls” for the older structure.



That campaign, resulting in the death of scores of Kansans in the path of the desperate Cheyennes, ended Indian troubles in this state, although in other states, notably in Colorado during the Ute uprising, in Arizona and New Mexico during the Apache wars, and in the Dakotas during the Ghost Dance outbreak, there was plenty of bloodshed and bitter fighting before the red warriors were convinced that, whether it was right or not, might held the winning hand.

Now let us glance at the part the Kansas scouts played in this panorama of warfare.

One of the best and bravest of them was Charlie Reynolds. Born in Kentucky in 1842, he came to Kansas when only a boy of sixteen, by way of an emigrant train bound for California. The train was attacked by Indians on the Platte and most of the emigrants were killed, but Reynolds escaped to become a Nemesis to the race which had done that deed. After some wandering he came to Atchison county, and at the opening of the Civil War enlisted in and served in a Kansas regiment for three years, chiefly as a scout.<sup>16</sup>

At the end of the war he went on a trading expedition and again ran afoul of the Indians when his party was attacked on the Smoky Hill. Reynolds' fellow trader was killed, but he took refuge in a wolfer's dugout and stood the Indians off until nightfall, when he escaped and finally reached Santa Fe in safety.<sup>17</sup>

During the summer of 1866 Reynolds hunted buffalo in western Kansas and eastern Colorado, where he earned such a reputation as a plainsman that he was appointed an army scout. He accompanied the troops north in 1873 and was Custer's chief of scouts in the Black Hills expedition in 1874. Reynolds it was who discovered that Rain-in-the-Face, the Sioux chief, was guilty of the murder of Doctor Honzinger, a veterinarian, and Balleran, a sutler, during the Black Hills expedition. He also helped in the arrest of the chief.<sup>18</sup>

Reynolds was chief of scouts in the ill-fated expedition to the Little Big Horn. He died trying to stave off the rush of the Sioux warriors who were shooting down the soldiers of Major Reno as they tried to retreat across the Little Big Horn river. He is buried,

16. Brininstool, E. A., *A Trooper With Custer*, p. 204.

17. He was on his way to New Mexico at the time.

18. Rain-in-the-Face, the Sioux chief, said that Reynolds recognized him at the time he killed the two civilians. In his story of the Little Big Horn fight and the events preceding it, published in the magazine *Outdoor Life*, March, 1903, and quoted by Cyrus Townsend Brady, he says: "Charlie Reynolds knew me (he was seen after the killing) and told Long Yellow Hair who did this brave deed." He was mistaken, because Reynolds got his information much later, while Rain-in-the-Face was undergoing the Sun Dance tortures. To keep up his courage he boasted of his exploits, this being one of them. Reynolds, a witness of the Sun Dance, heard him and reported it.—Brady, *Indian Fights and Fighters*, footnote on p. 283.



and a tablet shows where he died bravely fighting, on the field of the Little Big Horn.<sup>19</sup>

Another excellent scout and daring fighter was Sharp Grover. He is said to have been a "squaw man," having lived as a member of the Sioux tribe and been married to a Sioux wife.<sup>20</sup> When Colonel Forsyth organized his famous expedition for the Beecher Island campaign Grover went along as chief of scouts.

That was a real distinction in that group, for most of them were veteran plainsmen in their own right. They were all Kansas men, too—trappers and hunters and ranchers and ex-soldiers, many of them former members of the Confederate army. In this hard-bitten and efficient detachment Grover still managed to stand out, and his commanding officer later wrote of his high opinion and trust of him.<sup>21</sup> He could speak Sioux, and was also expert in sign talk, the universal language of the plains. Moreover, he was a finished plainsman.

Largely through his guidance, Forsyth trailed and overtook the Cheyennes and Sioux under Roman Nose and fought the almost disastrous battle with them on Beecher's Island. It was Grover who pointed out a huge Indian as Roman Nose himself,<sup>22</sup> and Grover is reputed to have killed this Indian, although the Cheyennes later denied that this was Roman Nose. Still, Roman Nose was killed in this battle, and Grover should have known him from personal acquaintance. It is the writer's opinion that he was correct in his identification.<sup>23</sup>

At the time he scouted for Forsyth, Grover was suffering from a still unhealed wound in the back which he had received when his friend Billy Comstock was treacherously killed by Sioux Indians, in August, 1868, on the Solomon river. This occurred only a month before the Forsyth expedition, yet the painful hurts did not prevent

19. Reynolds' grave is marked with an iron tablet.

20. Wheeler, Col. Homer W., *Buffalo Days*, p. 246.

21. "My guide was Sharp Grover, a plainsman . . . who had passed his life in hunting and trapping along the western border. . . . He was well posted on Indian craft, spoke the dialect of the Sioux and knew many of them personally. A keen eye, a good shot, and a cool head made him a valuable man. . . . He (William Comstock), Dick Parr, Grover and William Cody (Buffalo Bill) were . . . a strong quartet of able and competent plainsmen, bred to their work by years of service, and men to be relied upon under all circumstances.—"A Frontier Fight," by Gen. G. A. Forsyth, printed in *The Beecher Island Annual* (1917), p. 8.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

23. The Cheyennes present at this fight told George Bird Grinnell that Roman Nose was killed on the evening of the first day, instead of early in the fight, as related by Forsyth, Custer and others. Says Grinnell: "As the most famous of the northern Cheyennes, Roman Nose was regarded as the hero of this fight on the Indian side, yet it is clear that no one in Forsyth's command knew Roman Nose. General Forsyth states that the scout Grover identified Roman Nose, but while Grover had some intercourse with the Sioux he did not know the northern Cheyennes."—Grinnell, *The Fighting Cheyennes*, p. 281.

him from riding, fighting and scouting as daringly and as intelligently as at any period in his life.

Grover was killed in a shooting affray at Pond Creek, Kan., in the year following this campaign. He was shot by a man named Moody in a saloon brawl. Grover was not armed, having delivered his pistols to the barkeeper, but Moody was allowed to go free as he claimed he had shot in self-defense, thinking Grover armed, when the latter, drunk, started toward him with a flow of abusive epithets.<sup>24</sup>

The name of Billy Comstock has been mentioned above. He was another Kansas scout who stood high in the esteem of the officers with whom he associated. In General Custer's book, *My Life on the Plains*, he is referred to as "a host in himself" when fighting against the Indians.<sup>25</sup>

Billy Comstock was born in Wisconsin, but came west at an early age, living on the frontier by preference. He was one of the original pony express riders, at the time when Wild Bill Hickok and Buffalo Bill Cody were similarly employed.<sup>26</sup>

In the winter of 1867 he got into trouble in a fight with a cheating wood contractor who had agreed to pay him a certain sum of money if he would show him where a good supply of wood for the post at Fort Wallace could be found. Comstock lived up to his part of the agreement, but the contractor failed to pay.

This man posed as a bad man and boasted of having been a member of the Quantrill raiders, but that made no difference to Comstock. He met his defrauder on the porch of the post trader and shot him dead. His arrest followed and he was taken to Fort Hays for trial. Arraigned before a judge there, he was asked how he would plead.

"Guilty, sir," Comstock replied.

The astonished judge asked him if he wished to alter his plea.

"No, sir," said Comstock, who did not know what it was to lie.

"In that case I discharge you for want of evidence," said the judge, who seems to have known Comstock's late adversary.<sup>27</sup>

24. Wheeler, *Buffalo Days*, pp. 247-248.

25. *My Life on the Plains*, p. 63. In the same book, Custer gives this typical Kansas scout the following tribute: "Thoroughly reliable in his reports, brave, modest and persevering in character, with a remarkable knowledge of the country and the savage tribes infesting it, he was the superior of all men who were scouts by profession with whom I have had experience."—p. 100.

26. *Buffalo Days*, p. 244.

27. Colonel Wheeler also hints that the judge thought that Comstock's friends intended to help him to escape and decided that to dismiss the case was the easiest way out of the affair.—*Ibid.*, p. 245.



In 1868, when the Indian war broke out, Gen. Phil Sheridan sent for Comstock for the purpose of employing him as chief of scouts. Comstock refused to come at the summons, for fear he was to be rearrested for the killing of the wood contractor, so Sheridan, emulating Mahomet in the incident of the mountain, went to him and offered him the position.

He accepted and left his ranch, never to return to it. It was during this service that he met Custer. He was chief scout for that officer during the campaign which resulted in the massacre of Lieutenant Kidder and his men, and also in the fight of Colonel Cook with the hostiles between Fort Wallace and Fort McPherson.<sup>28</sup>

Comstock's tragic death has been mentioned. With Grover he was out on a scouting expedition to see if he could discover any traces of hostiles. About fifty miles from Fort Wallace they found the friendly village of Sioux under Turkey Leg, on the banks of the Solomon river. Grover knew these Indians well, as his wife was a member of the band.

Turkey Leg informed them that Roman Nose and his Cheyenne dog soldiers were in the vicinity. Taking the warning, Comstock and Grover started for the fort. Comstock had a beautiful ivory-handled six-shooter. A young Indian had tried to trade him out of it, but he refused. On the way to the fort the two white men fell in with several young braves and were conversing with them in a friendly manner when two or three suddenly whipped their rifles out and fired, killing Comstock instantly and wounding Grover. The latter defended himself with a rifle, driving the Indians off. Wounded as he was he made his way to the nearest railroad station, where he was brought to the post. General Bankhead sent out an expedition which brought in Comstock's body and gave it Christian burial.<sup>29</sup>

Jack Stillwell, whose real Christian name was Charles, was another member of the Forsyth expedition who later became famous as a scout. At the time he enlisted with Forsyth at Fort Hays he was just a boy, only nineteen years old, but already an experienced hunter and plainsman. He took part in the Beecher Island fight, and, with Pierre Trudeau, was the first to volunteer to get through the Indian cordon when night fell and go for help.<sup>30</sup>

The pair managed to get only a short distance when daylight

28. Custer, *My Life on the Plains*, pp. 64-67. See, also, pp. 75-77.

29. *Buffalo Days*, p. 247.

30. Two of the better known accounts of this exploit are Gen. G. A. Forsyth's "A Frontier Fight," *Harper's* (June, 1895), pp. 42-62, and Brady's *Indian Fights and Fighters*, pp. 97-100.



came and they hid all day in a small washout, in full view of the Cheyenne camp. Fortunately no Cheyennes investigated the place and when night fell again they resumed their journey. This time daylight caught them in an open plain, with nothing better to hide in than a buffalo wallow. The story of what followed has been disputed, but it is given for what it is worth:

Soon after they took refuge in the wallow a band of Cheyennes came up and dismounted about fifty yards away. At almost the same moment, a rattlesnake made his appearance, crawling down into the wallow toward the two men. They were in a fearful dilemma. If they killed the snake the noise would be heard by the Indians who were almost on top of them. If they did not kill it, it would be almost sure to bite one or both of them. Stillwell solved the problem in an unexpected way. He was chewing tobacco and as the reptile approached he expectorated a mouthful of tobacco juice all over its head and eyes. That routed the unwelcome visitor, which turned tail and crawled dejectedly away. Soon after the Indians also left and the men were free to continue, eventually reaching Fort Wallace with news of the fight.<sup>31</sup>

After that, Stillwell's reputation as a scout was made. He served with distinction under Custer and was guide for the Nineteenth Kansas during its winter campaign in 1868.<sup>32</sup> He also served during the campaign of 1874, and made a daring ride from the Darlington agency to Fort Sill, seventy-five miles alone through hostile country, to bring news of the outbreak and get help. Later he was a scout for Gen. "Black Jack" Davidson.

At the close of the war he acted for a time as a deputy United States marshal, and later was a United States commissioner at Anadarko. He spent his last days on the Wyoming ranch of Buffalo Bill Cody.<sup>33</sup>

The name of Billy Dixon is known wherever the Indian war of 1874 is recalled. He was probably the outstanding single figure of that struggle, being an individual hero at the battle of Adobe Walls and at the Buffalo Wallow fight, and serving with distinction as a scout.

Dixon was born in West Virginia, but came west to Missouri at the age of twelve to live with an uncle. Two years later he went

31. Trudeau died the next spring as a result of his fearful exertions during this journey. He was buried at Fort Sill.—Miles, *Personal Recollections*, p. 149.

32. "John McBee's Account of the Expedition of the Nineteenth Kansas," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. XVII, pp. 363-365.

33. Miles, *Personal Recollections*, p. 149, and *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. XVII, p. 364.

"on his own" to Kansas and the plains. At Leavenworth he obtained a job as a bullwhacker for a wagon train operating between that city and Fort Scott. Later he freighted between Leavenworth and Fort Collins, Colo., and drove a wagon for the government peace commission to the treaty of Medicine Lodge in 1867.<sup>34</sup>

From bullwhacking he drifted into wolf hunting, and then into buffalo hunting, in which he engaged from 1870 to 1874, hunting buffalo first in western Kansas, then gradually drifting south into the Indian territory and finally the Texas panhandle. In this work he became a wonderfully proficient rifle shot; in fact, he was one of the most expert ever seen in the Southwest.

During the summer of 1874 he was hunting in the vicinity of the old Adobe Walls location of Bent and St. Vrain, when the Indians, without warning, suddenly went on the warpath. They killed a number of hunters and made a surprise attack on the hunter's stockade at Adobe Walls, where Dixon with twenty-five other men and a woman, the wife of one of them, were headquartering at the time. They were nearly all Kansans, most of them being from Dodge City, then the buffalo-hide capital of the world.<sup>35</sup>

In the bloody fight which followed Dixon and his fellow hunters beat off the Indians with heavy losses and held them at bay until help came from Dodge City. During this siege Dixon made one of the most celebrated shots in the history of the West. At a distance of nearly a mile from the fort which the buffalo hunters were defending, is a steep bluff. Observing some Indians watching them from the top of this acclivity, Dixon decided to try a shot at them. He took careful aim, and pulled the trigger of his big "50" buffalo gun. Incredible as it may seem, the bullet struck its target and an Indian fell from his pony, to be carried away by his friends. In later years a state surveyor measured the exact distance from the bluff to the fort, and found it was 1,538 yards, not far from seven-eighths of a mile.<sup>36</sup>

A few months later Dixon, while traveling with a small party with dispatches from Gen. Nelson A. Miles, then camped on McClellan creek, to Fort Supply, was surrounded by a war party of approximately 100 Kiowas and had to fight for his life in a buffalo wallow. In the party were Amos Chapman, another scout, and four

34. Authority for the incidents in Dixon's life related here is contained in the *Life of Billy Dixon*, his autobiography, dictated to his wife.

35. The records show that the A. T. & S. F. railroad shipped 459,453 buffalo robes in the years 1872, '73 and '74. Dodge City was the chief shipping point.—E. A. Brininstool, *Fighting Red Cloud's Warriors*, pp. 212-213.

36. Dixon always modestly said this was a "scratch shot."



soldiers. One of the soldiers was killed and every man in the party was wounded more or less seriously, but they succeeded in repulsing the Indians and holding them off until help came. Dixon rescued his friend Chapman from under the very guns of the Indians during the fight. Every member of the party received congressional medals of honor for their bravery.<sup>37</sup> Dixon died in 1913. He had taken up ranching near the scene of the Adobe Walls fight and was successful. His widow, who is the author of his spirited biography, still resides at Amarillo.<sup>38</sup>

James Butler (Wild Bill) Hickok was another Kansas product. Although his chief fame arises from his exploits as a gun-fighting marshal in various frontier towns, he was long a scout and a good one, too. He had an adventurous experience as a scout in the Union army during the Civil War and later on the plains. Custer speaks of him with high praise.<sup>39</sup>

Wild Bill was born in Illinois, but like the others described in this article, came early to Kansas, then the very focus of adventurous frontier life. He served as an attendant at a stage station, during which time the much publicized "McCanles gang" fight is said to have taken place.<sup>40</sup> Whether or not this fight occurred exactly as has been told, the fact remains that Hickok became one of the greatest of plains celebrities.

After his Civil War experience he returned to Kansas and spent most of the remainder of his life in the state. He scouted for Hancock and Custer, and then was marshal of several successive towns, including Abilene, Fort Hays and Dodge City, finally being shot down from behind at Deadwood, S. Dak., in 1876.

Another Kansas scout about whose career there is much controversy was William F. Cody, known to hundreds of thousands as "Buffalo Bill." Whether or not he killed the numerous Indians he claims to have slain in his autobiography, it is certain that he was employed as a scout by many officers, including Carr,<sup>41</sup> Sheridan,<sup>42</sup>

37. Miles, *Personal Recollections*, pp. 173-174.

38. Mrs. Olive K. Dixon, of Amarillo. Gifted and interested, she has done much to perpetuate the history of the Southwest, not only by her writings, but by her activity in promoting the recognition and marking of historic spots.

39. Custer, *My Life on the Plains*, pp. 83-84.

40. The usual story, that Wild Bill, in a hand-to-hand fight, killed ten desperadoes who made up the McCandless or McCanles gang, is denied by Edwin L. Sabin. His version is that there were only three in the gang, that Hickok shot the leader, Dave McCanles, from behind a curtain with a rifle, and finished his two companions with a revolver.—Sabin, *Wild Men of the Wild West*, pp. 234-235.

41. Brady, *Indian Fights and Fighters*, p. 170.

42. *Ibid.*, p. 308. Also, Richard J. Walsh's *The Making of Buffalo Bill*, p. 127.



and Miles,<sup>43</sup> and therefore must have been efficient and able in that line. Cody was reared near Leavenworth, and rode pony express before his scouting and buffalo-hunting days.<sup>44</sup> He became world-famous as a circus man and probably will always remain an almost legendary character of the frontier.

Comparatively little is known about William Mathewson, although he was an associate and friend of Kit Carson and did many highly important scouting services for the government. Mathewson, of Scotch descent, trapped all over the Rockies in the days before there was any thought of settlement. Later he traded among the Indians in western Kansas for years. In 1853 he established a post known as the Cow Creek ranch on the great bend of the Arkansas.

It was here that Mathewson earned the Kiowa name Sillpah Sinpah, signifying "Long Bearded Dangerous Man," from his treatment of the celebrated chief, Satanta, who attempted to help himself to a part of Mathewson's trade stock without paying for it. Mathewson gave the Indian a terrific beating with his fists and ended by kicking him and his friends out of the store room. Strangely the incident made a life-long friend out of Satanta, who rode hundreds of miles to warn Mathewson when the Kiowas went on the warpath in 1864.

On June 20, 21, 22, 1864, Mathewson and five employees in the Cow Creek ranch fought a three-day battle with an overwhelming force of Kiowas who surrounded them. Finding they could not carry the fort, the Kiowas turned their attention to a wagon train which came into the vicinity, bound for New Mexico, laden with government ammunition and guns. Mathewson had been notified of the approach of the wagon train and its freight several days before. But for some reason the 150 men and boys in the train did not know they were carrying munitions.

When the Indians attacked they at first could scarcely defend themselves from lack of arms, but Mathewson, seeing their danger, leaped upon his horse, and rode right through the Indian lines into the wagon inclosure. Under his direction some of the boxes of guns and ammunition were opened, and the hostiles soon were made to realize that they had better retreat.<sup>45</sup>

43. In the article "The War With the Messiah," by Gen. Nelson A. Miles, in the September, 1911, issue of the *Cosmopolitan* magazine, there is printed an interesting picture on page 522 of Miles and Cody together reconnoitering a hostile Indian village.

44. Visscher, William Lightfoot, *The Pony Express*, pp. 49-62.

45. *Portrait and Biographical Album of Sedgwick County, Kansas* (Chapman Bros., Chicago, 1888), p. 172.

In 1864 Mathewson rode as a scout for General Blunt's expedition. Later he did much to bring the Indians together for the Little Arkansas treaty which preceded the great Medicine Lodge peace council.

When the government wished to treat with the Indians and move them out of Kansas into the Indian territory it was Mathewson who went out at the risk of his life and visited band after band and induced them to attend the council. His son, William Mathewson, Jr.,<sup>46</sup> told the writer that Mathewson's chief danger in this perilous work was that he would be shot before he could identify himself to the Indians. Once he was known to them he was always received gladly, because his reputation among them as an honest and generous trader was universally accepted.

In approaching a village Mathewson made a practice of creeping up close to it, so that when he suddenly revealed himself he was close enough to be recognized, his son says. Largely through his efforts the great concourse of tribes was gathered at Medicine Lodge, with the results which history has recorded.

It was Mathewson, incidentally, who first bore the title of "Buffalo Bill," due to his prowess in killing buffalo for starving settlers in 1860.<sup>47</sup> This title was later conferred upon Cody through the "generosity" of Ned Buntline, the dime-novel writer, who came west to write his particular type of lurid literature. In an interview printed in a newspaper now in the possession of William Mathewson, Jr., Cody acknowledged that Mathewson was the "original" Buffalo Bill.

Among Mathewson's exploits was the rescue of the two Kirkpatrick girls, Helen and Louisa, from captivity among the Indians. Through his influence with the savages he is said to have made arrangements for the release of no less than fifty-four women and children during his years on the frontier.<sup>48</sup>

Mathewson's extreme reticence and modesty were such that he never would talk to newspaper men or relate his adventures except on rare occasions. He is deserving of a much greater place in history than he has thus far received.

These are only a comparative few of the Kansans who won fame as Indian scouts. Even the great Kit Carson got much of his experience in this state. His first Indian fight was in Kansas, and

46. William Mathewson, Jr., is a Wichita oil and real-estate broker at the present time.

47. *Portrait and Biographical Album of Sedgwick County, Kansas*, p. 160.

48. *Ibid.*, p. 173. The names of the rescued persons, except for the Kirkpatrick girls, are not given.

Pawnee Rock is said to have been named by him in honor of a brush with that tribe which took place there.<sup>49</sup> He spent much time at Bent's fort, almost on the present Kansas-Colorado border, and made many trading trips into Kansas.<sup>50</sup> On one occasion, with two other trappers and three Delaware Indians, he was surrounded by Comanches in the southwestern corner of the state, and there fought one of his most spectacular battles.<sup>51</sup>

Ben Clark, Amos Chapman, California Joe, Billy Peacock, John Cook—all spent some part of their lives in Kansas. And so it was with many others. Kansas furnished the scouts who formed the vanguard in the wars which brought civilization to the West.

49. Stanley Vestal in his *Kit Carson*, p. 22, calls this story apocryphal, and declares that Carson never had a fight there.

50. Carson was employed as post hunter. During the construction of the fort, according to Grinnell, he was in charge of a party of woodchoppers.—*Kansas Historical Collections*, v. XV, p. 33.

51. Vestal, Stanley, *Kit Carson, the Happy Warrior of the Old West*, pp. 107-113.



# The Leavenworth Board of Trade 1882-1892

LELA BARNES

THE proceedings of the Leavenworth, Kan., Board of Trade, running from April, 1882, to June, 1892, comprise part of the H. Miles Moore collection of manuscripts<sup>1</sup> now in the possession of the Kansas State Historical Society. Moore served as secretary of the organization during the greater part of this period. The records are interesting in that they offer a detailed account of the industrial growth of Leavenworth during the ten years of the organization's existence; and they are significant in setting forth the conditions and circumstances which surrounded the builders of a thriving frontier city fifty years ago.

With the chartering of the Union Pacific railroad in 1862, its completion in 1869, and the subsequent building of other great routes to the west, a feverish activity pervaded the entire trans-Missouri region. United States census reports for the period 1870-1880 show amazing percentages of increase in population in the states of Kansas, Nebraska, Iowa, Minnesota and Dakota Territory. Kansas had an increase of 173.4 per cent, despite the fact that the state formed a part of the Great American desert, that vast area looked upon until a short time before as unfit for human habitation. This misconception regarding soil and climate in the plains region was dissipated by the intensive advertising campaigns of the railroads and state and local organizations. A great westward movement of population set in during the late seventies, and by the middle eighties had assumed all the aspects of a boom which rolled along, after the manner of booms, gathering impetus, sending land prices to absurd heights, and bringing thousands of bewildered settlers into the region until the sky, seemingly, was the only limit to projected development.

1. This collection has taken its name from the donor, H. Miles Moore, a citizen of Leavenworth from 1854 until the year of his death, 1909. Moore was born in the village of Brockport, N. Y., September 2, 1826. He was educated in the schools of the state and was admitted to the bar in 1848, going shortly thereafter to Louisiana, where he engaged in the practice of law. During his residence there he owned slaves and at the time of his removal to Weston, Mo., in 1850, his sympathies were with the south in its attitude toward slavery. He was one of the organizers of the Leavenworth Town Company in 1854 and prepared the original agreement, which was signed by the thirty-two members. From the beginning of his residence in Kansas Moore took a leading part in the free-state cause; he was a delegate to the Topeka constitutional convention in 1855 and was elected attorney-general under that constitution. He represented Leavenworth county in the legislature in 1857 and was returned in 1868. For many years he served as secretary of the Democratic state central committee, and the Moore collection contains many records of this work. In his law practice he represented numerous commercial agencies, including Bradstreet's. The collection contains approximately 15,000 pieces and covers the period 1837-1904.

During this period the towns of Atchison and Leavenworth, Kan., and Kansas City, Mo., were rivals for supremacy in the trade area of Kansas and the Southwest. All were located on that great artery of the West, the Missouri river. Leavenworth, at that time, had the largest population. The town was built upon a spot of unusual natural beauty, and its growth had been due in part to its situation, adjacent to Fort Leavenworth, which had assured protection during the troubled territorial period. By 1870 Kansas City had forged ahead and Leavenworth had twice received serious setbacks. Headquarters of the Union Pacific, eastern division, were removed from that city to Wyandotte in 1863, and subsequently a branch railroad from the Hannibal & St. Joseph at Cameron, Mo., was brought to the east bank of the Missouri river at Kansas City in spite of the frantic efforts of Leavenworth to secure the line. These losses were among the determining factors in the ultimate ascendancy of Kansas City. However, the great activity of the late seventies undoubtedly gave fresh hope to Leavenworth. The year 1880 found her still the largest city of Kansas, still pushing ahead, humming with trade and manufacturing, her citizens eager to develop the many possibilities for growth, bigger business and increased population which were considered then, as now, the highest of all possible goals for an industrial community. The builders of the city saw that new markets were opening up in the far West and Southwest; that manufacturers of the East were looking for desirable locations west of the Mississippi; that the state was progressing as a grain-producing region and manufacturing center. The town itself was producing a wide variety of commodities ranging in size and character from steam engines to watches. Her factories were turning out wagons, furniture, stoves, barrels, tinware, boilers; her mills were producing flour and corn meal of excellent quality. The discovery of bituminous coal in 1870<sup>2</sup> had opened a large field of employment,

2. In 1854 Maj. F. Hawn, while engaged in making a geological survey of the state of Missouri, became convinced that there was coal underneath Leavenworth. Afterwards he made a complete geological survey of Leavenworth county, and gave it as his opinion that coal would be found in the city at a depth of a little more than 700 feet. In 1858 he organized a company with Thomas Ewing, Jr., W. H. Russell and others, and obtained from the government the right to sink a coal mine on twenty acres of government reservation adjoining the city on the north. Major Hawn was in favor of sinking a shaft, but the company concluded that it would be more practical to drill down first and ascertain whether there was coal. Work was commenced with a drill of the most primitive construction, with an old horse for the motive power. It was not many weeks until funds were exhausted and work abandoned. Hawn and those interested with him did not, however, give up the idea of finding coal. In 1863 work was again commenced, but for the second time funds were exhausted and the work came to a standstill. In 1866 the Leavenworth Coal Company was organized, and in 1870 the first coal from a Leavenworth mine was put on the market. The coal was reached at a depth of 713 feet; the vein was twenty-one inches in thickness, of superior quality and easily worked. It was estimated that there were at least four hundred square miles of coal in the locality, containing 1,920,000,000 tons. In 1870 twenty men were employed in the mines. By 1880 there were 200, and in 1888 1,100, producing 36,000 bushels a day. From actual tests it was found that a ton of Leavenworth coal would run a locomotive engine thirteen miles farther than any coal in the western market.—Pamphlet, *Coal Resources of Leavenworth, Kan.*, by E. Jameson, 1888, pp. 3-4.



given fuel for factories and mills, and provided a valuable commodity. There was need for coöperative effort to find markets for these products and to develop transportation facilities; and with growth of population and expansion of business as goals, it was necessary to bring to the city as many industries as could be secured.

Responding to a call issued by Mayor W. M. Fortesque and published in the Leavenworth papers of April 21 and 22, 1882, "a large and enthusiastic meeting of citizens . . . assembled in the Academy of Science rooms for the purpose of organizing a board of trade."<sup>3</sup> Temporary officers were chosen, a committee was appointed to report on permanent organization, and the following resolution was adopted: "Resolved that it is the sense of this meeting that in organizing a board of trade, no political question or issue shall be allowed, either directly or indirectly, to enter into the deliberations or actions in any way whatever."<sup>4</sup> The provision of this resolution was later incorporated into the articles of association.

Following the meetings under temporary organization, the first regular meeting of the board was held on July 13. Seventy-nine subscribers had signed the articles of association and had paid the membership fee of twenty dollars. Alexander Caldwell<sup>5</sup> was chosen president. Directors were elected and instructed to prepare by-laws. Section 8 of these by-laws is of special interest. It is as follows: "If any member of this board of trade is found guilty of fraud, misrepresentation or deception in trade or business, or guilty of any dishonorable conduct unbecoming a business man, he may be fined, suspended or expelled, at the pleasure of the board of trade after trial."<sup>6</sup> The proceedings of the body contain no record of any such trial.

The first matter brought up for consideration was the threatened removal of the United States signal service station from Leavenworth. The station had been established May 21, 1871.<sup>7</sup> One phase of its work was the maintenance of a river gauge for the benefit of

3. Proceedings of the Board of Trade of the City of Leavenworth, Kan., p. 1. Hereafter cited as Proceedings.

Corporations, State of Kansas, show that from July, 1878, until May, 1882, charters were issued to boards of trade or organizations of similar purpose in the following towns: Wichita, Atchison, Lawrence, Wyandotte, Concordia, Newton, Osage City, Topeka, Winfield, Marion Center, Florence, Wellington.

4. Proceedings, p. 2.

5. Alexander Caldwell, United States senator March, 1871, to March, 1873, served as president of the board of trade continuously from its organization until June 14, 1888. He was four times elected over his protest. His successor, in June, 1888, was H. D. Rush, who was followed in June, 1889, by J. M. Graybill. Upon Graybill's resignation the next year, W. M. Todd was elected. He was serving at the time of the reorganization in July, 1892.

6. Proceedings of the directors of the board of trade of Leavenworth, Kan., p. 3.

7. The first meteorological observation was made on May 24, 1871.—Statement by G. E. Kumpe, colonel, signal corps, March 29, 1932.



navigation on the Missouri river, which was still playing a part in transportation.<sup>8</sup> It is not known to just what extent the efforts of the board to retain the station were effective, but its operations under the signal corps continued until June 30, 1891.<sup>9</sup> At this first meeting it was decided to submit interrogatories to manufacturers and business men of Leavenworth to obtain statistical information regarding numbers of employees, importation of raw materials, selling fields, volume of business, etc. The information thus secured was later used in the preparation of the first annual report of the board. What may be termed a motif was announced at this first meeting. It was the need for transportation facilities. Whatever else assumed importance from time to time, this theme was dominant and runs through the entire history of the organization.

The scope of the work of the board, as it developed through the years, is indicated in the appointment of committees. But four committees were organized in the beginning: railroads and transportation; trade and commerce; finance; and manufacturers. As need arose, others were formed.

Attention centered during the first months on the railroads, the desirability of securing new factories and industries, facilities for the storage and milling of grain, mail and express service, and city improvements. Replies to the questions submitted to business men and manufacturers had indicated a general need for additional transportation; in particular there was call for a branch of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe railway by way of Olathe. The first efforts of the committee on railroads and transportation were directed to an investigation of this situation. Among the industries for which it was felt there was special need were a pork-packing plant, wholesale dry-goods house, and a glass factory. It is interesting to note, however, that the first industry sponsored by the organization served a cultural rather than a utilitarian purpose. It was an organ factory.

One project of considerable importance to the city was begun in this first year—the securing of a federal building. At a special meeting held in July, 1882, plans were formulated for urging the necessary appropriation in congress. The board pledged itself to lend all possible aid to Representative John A. Anderson. The story of the building is long and involved and runs through several years

8. Steamboat travel and river tonnage began to decline with the coming of the railroads to Leavenworth from Chicago and St. Louis. In 1886 not more than 500 tons of freight were received by river, and only about 100 tons were shipped out. During that year 450,000 tons were received by rail, and 425,000 tons were sent out.—Interrogatory, May 10, 1887, H. Miles Moore collection.

9. Statement by G. E. Kumpe, colonel, signal corps, March 29, 1932.

of the proceedings. Members of the board worked tirelessly to bring the project to a consummation. Contracts were not let until 1886, and in the fourth annual report, January 1, 1887, was the happy prediction that the building would be ready for occupancy the following year.

In September, 1882, the board took the first definite step to advertise abroad the resources of Leavenworth, its promising industrial outlook and need of certain industries. A series of advertisements appeared in the *American Manufacturer* of Pittsburg, Pa., of which the following is a typical example:

"LEAVENWORTH, KANSAS.

"MANUFACTURERS AND CAPITALISTS, ATTENTION !

"We offer you one of the most desirable locations for the successful investment of capital in manufacturing in the western country. We have various reasons for making this statement:

"First: Because the city of Leavenworth is underlaid with coal in inexhaustible quantities, as has been practically demonstrated, 20,000 bushels of the shining mineral being brought to the surface daily. Second: Our location as a distributing point is unexcelled, and can be proven by consulting any man engaged here in manufacturing or in the jobbing trade. Third: We have the best system of water-works in the West, furnishing an abundance of water for all manufacturing purposes. This is already the largest manufacturing center in the Missouri valley. The most extensive glucose works, wagon factories, steam engine and boiler works, stove manufactories, furniture factories, organ factory, and many other enterprises too numerous to mention are already in successful operation, and capable of being expanded into indefinite proportions. Fourth: The cost of living is cheaper than in eastern cities. Fifth: Business locations can be obtained for much less than in any city east of us containing the same number of inhabitants. Sixth: Our railroad facilities for reaching the large territory naturally tributary to Leavenworth are first class, and the prospect for other railroads, soon to be completed to this point, justifies us in saying that the year 1883 will see us without a rival on the Missouri river as a distributing point. There are many other satisfactory reasons which could be given, but we hope the above will be sufficient to justify you in giving our city your attention, either in person or by letter to our board of trade. The city of Leavenworth joins the military reservation of Fort Leavenworth on the south, the most extensive, the most useful and the most beautiful military reservation in the United States.

"We want a first-class oil mill; a novelty ironworks in connection with malleable iron castings; a paper mill and glass works, and an institution for manufacturing all kinds of agricultural implements.

"Flax seed is raised here in great abundance, and the quality of it is such as to command the highest market price. This product is now being shipped out of this town daily to eastern mills.

"As an argument in favor of ironworks, or malleable iron-works, there is a firm here will contract for \$30,000 worth of this commodity annually.



"As a point for a paper mill it must be very apparent to any man of ordinary intelligence that no better location can be found west of the Mississippi river. The crude material is here in great abundance, the cost of which would be but little more than the price of hauling to market; and as a point for the successful manufacture of agricultural implements we defy the United States to offer a better location.

"We shall be glad to answer all letters of inquiry. If you visit our city—whether you wish to invest or not—make yourself known, and we will take pleasure in making your stay among us as pleasant as possible.

A. CALDWELL, *President Board of Trade.*

H. MILES MOORE, *Secretary Board of Trade.*"

Inquiries began to pour in at once from manufacturers who desired a midwestern location for the production of a wide variety of articles—car wheels, steel, brass and iron castings, fruit evaporators, silk, castor oil, etc. It was found necessary to withdraw from the advertisement appearing in the *American Manufacturer* the following phrase which had undoubtedly been given a too literal interpretation by some of those making inquiries: "The city council, board of trade and business men generally stand ready and willing to render you material aid if you will come here and engage in any of the above enterprises or any other business you may wish to engage in." The matter of just how much aid should be extended by the board was a moot question at all times. The proceedings show that some sites were secured for factories and that much stock in various enterprises was sold by board members to citizens of Leavenworth.

Before the end of 1882 several other major projects were launched, including the improvement of the road to the State Penitentiary and a new railroad and wagon bridge across the Missouri river. The macadamizing of the penitentiary road was announced as a completed enterprise in the report of January, 1887, but the story of the bridge spreads over many years. The bill authorizing its erection became a law on June 21, 1884. The correspondence supplementing the proceedings of the board shows persistent effort on the part of that organization, working with Representative E. N. Morrill and Senator Preston B. Plumb, to secure the passage of the measure. Following the granting of the charter, surveys, soundings and estimates of cost were made for construction at different points on the river. But agreements could not be reached with the railroads entering Leavenworth from the east to use the bridge sufficiently to warrant building it. Some years later the Burlington railway, desiring means of receiving and delivering freight at Leavenworth, expressed a willingness to build or lease terminals in the city and to pay rent



for the use of a new bridge across the river if one were constructed in the proper location for entering the business section of the city. The charter of 1884, presumably, had lapsed or run out and a new charter was thought to be necessary. In the meantime a pontoon bridge—of which more later—had been chartered and constructed, but had proved somewhat uncertain in the accommodation of traffic. It was deemed expedient to amend this charter to provide for a wagon and railroad bridge and arrangements were made to this end. The act was approved July 25, 1890. Again plans and surveys were made and finally approved by the Secretary of War. At this time the Rock Island railroad also opened negotiations for bridge rights and in 1892 contracted for the use of the bridge and terminals. Sufficient earnings were thus assured to pay interest on the sum necessary to cover costs of construction, and the probable earnings from wagon traffic appeared sufficient to care for maintenance and operation. Preparations for building were begun in July, 1892, and dikes were started the following November. The bridge was opened to traffic on January 2, 1894, with a celebration that lends color to the history of Leavenworth.<sup>10</sup>

A comprehensive report on the progress and outlook of Leavenworth was compiled by the board's secretary, H. Miles Moore, at the beginning of 1883. In a foreword to the report President Caldwell said:

"The year just closed has been a prosperous one for Leavenworth. There has been a large increase in business. Many buildings have been erected, and large additions have been made to our population. . . . Leavenworth has already attained much prominence as a manufacturing center. There are 10,000 wagons manufactured here each year, on which is stamped the name Leavenworth. As they go rolling on, over hill and dale, mountain and plain, from the Mississippi river to Puget Sound, they are traveling advertisers that silently but effectively give evidence of the skill and energy of our artisans.

"In almost every town and hamlet in the states and territories west of the Mississippi river you can get a meal cooked on a Leavenworth stove, and eat bread made from the flour of Leavenworth mills. In the far West, even to the Pacific, you will find in first-class hotels furniture from our factories, and can rest your weary frame on a Leavenworth bed.

"In the mines and mills of Colorado, and in the forests of the Rocky Mountains, may be heard the shrill whistle of Leavenworth's steam engines performing their part in developing the riches of the great West.

"Hundreds of thousands of men and women are tramping their way through life, safely shod in Leavenworth's boots and shoes.

"Our immense glucose factories are rapidly distributing their sweetness everywhere.

10. The Leavenworth Times, January 2, 1894.

"Even in the cities of the silent dead may be seen grave stones and lofty shafts which are no less monuments to the dead than they are to the skill and enterprise of our manufactories. In fact, the products of our numerous factories are rapidly being distributed all over our vast country, and the name of Leavenworth is becoming a household word. No manufacturer has ever failed in our city, and the great success of those now engaged in business will be sufficient warrant for others to embark in similar enterprises. . . . Our progress in the future will be much more rapid than in the past . . . and Leavenworth may continue to be, as she is now, the Pittsburgh of the Missouri valley."

Leavenworth assuredly was getting on. Here were tangible evidences of strides toward the established goals. Here, also, was the determined optimism of American business at work, overriding obstacles, bolstering hesitant spirits, acknowledging no bounds.

The report contained statistics on the manufacturing, wholesale and retail trade of Leavenworth for 1882. The total volume of manufacturing was \$10,103,320. Wholesale trade amounted to \$14,926,997 and retail trade totaled \$14,224,595. The report presented a complete survey of the city's institutions, industries, organizations, etc. There were four daily papers, five weekly papers and three monthly publications. Nearly all church denominations were represented and the community enjoyed a "high moral condition of society." Public and private schools, business colleges, and musical and fine-arts academies filled educational and cultural needs. Secret societies and orders maintained "large lodges, chapters, asylums, and encampments in the city"; all brethren in good standing found "some one to extend the hand of welcome and relief (if necessary)." Telephone and telegraph companies expedited the transaction of business. There were two opera houses, "the old opera house, as contradistinguished from the new, [was] used as a public hall for political and other meetings, and the new opera house, one of the neatest, coziest and best-arranged opera buildings in the whole country [was] used for operas, theatrical entertainments, concerts, and lectures . . . seating 800 persons comfortably, besides about 200 in the aisles." There were military companies, hotels and cemeteries. There was a well-equipped and efficient fire department whose horses were trained for their special duties and were kept constantly harnessed. There were banks, hospitals and omnibuses. Was there anything to be desired? Apparently there was, for in the list of needed enterprises may be noted an agricultural implement factory, paper mill, car wheels and malleable ironworks, stockyards and packing houses, grain elevators and a candy-bucket factory (presumably to aid in the further distribution of sweetness).



Though the second year of the board started with railroads again heading the list of projects under consideration, affairs of an entirely different character appeared upon the program. The bonded indebtedness of both city and county, the necessity for the improvement of city walks and streets, the need for a union station, the excessive rates of fire insurance, damage to the Missouri river below Fort Leavenworth by erosion, the growing need for grain and stock inspectors, inadequate hotel accommodations, a city sewage system—all came up for investigation. In line with this widened scope of activity was the appointment of additional committees. The following standing committees were added to the original four: Insurance, arbitration for grain inspection, meteorological, and grain inspection, the latter consisting of but one man.

Among the new projects that came before the board during this second year, probably those receiving the greatest attention were the union station, fire insurance rates and the erosion of the river bank. In April, 1883, the need for the union station was presented to the board by Mayor Shaw F. Neely, who stated: "There is no doubt we can have a new union station if the board of trade will take hold of it." A committee was appointed to look into the situation, and from that time until late in 1888 the union station was an issue before the organization. Even after the completion of the building in September, 1888, a special meeting was called to consider how to force the station company to open it, the railroads having been unable to reach an agreement on the apportionment of expenses. It was decided at this meeting to place the whole affair before the State Board of Railroad Commissioners. The station was opened shortly thereafter. From a study of the proceedings one may fairly assume that the board of trade should be given considerable credit for securing the station for the city.

In June, 1883, a committee was appointed to look into the prevailing rates for fire insurance, which it was felt should be reduced because of the lessened risk brought about by the installation of an excellent water system. The investigations of the committee resulted in much interesting information regarding the operation of the so-called board and nonboard companies; in other words, those companies belonging to a pool and pledged to charge certain fixed rates, and those on the outside, operating independently. In October, 1884, following an investigation of rates in Atchison, St. Joseph, Kansas City and Lawrence, the committee made an extensive report. It had been learned that Leavenworth rates had been raised by



board companies during the dull years while no improvements were being made and many business houses were vacant. This increase was made on account of the moral risk or hazard of property decreasing in value. After the installation of the water system, rates were reduced 15 per cent, but this cut was felt to be insufficient inasmuch as the cost of insurance had been, before the cut, from 30 to 50 per cent higher than in other cities of the Missouri valley. It was pointed out that rates on stocks had even been increased after the installation of the waterworks by reason of possible damage by water. The committee recommended "that good nonboard companies receive the patronage of the business men of Leavenworth, at least until an adjustment of the rates is made by the board companies to meet the just demands of our citizens and of this board of trade."<sup>11</sup> In April, 1885, the committee was able to report that a new basis of insurance was practically completed and would be presented at an early meeting. It recommended that business men continue to give a percentage of their risks to nonboard companies to keep up the competition inaugurated through the action of the board.

During the summer of 1883 it had become evident that the bank of the Missouri river at Fort Leavenworth was being rapidly worn away by erosion, and that immediate action was necessary to prevent further damage. The board placed the matter before Senator Plumb, asking him to direct the attention of the chief engineer of the Missouri river improvement to the condition. It was not until 1886, however, that the river and harbor improvement bill was enacted by congress, appropriating \$375,000 for work on the Missouri river from its mouth to Sioux City, Iowa.<sup>12</sup> Senator Plumb and Representative Morrill worked untiringly in the interests of Leavenworth.

Under the general head of railroad affairs coming before the board during the second year may be mentioned the need for more adequate switching facilities in the city yards, for more trains to move stock and grain, for better passenger service and lower freight rates. The board called the attention of the State Board of Railroad Commissioners to the failure of the Leavenworth, Lawrence and Galveston railroad to build and operate the road from Lawrence to Leavenworth, thus failing to fulfill the terms upon which the charter had been granted; also to the lack of adequate passenger service

11. Proceedings, p. 130.

12. *U. S. Stat. L.*, 49th Cong., 1 sess., ch. 929, p. 327.

on the Leavenworth, Topeka & Southwestern between Leavenworth and Topeka. Said President Caldwell, describing the latter: "There is no passenger train at all on the road and but one train a day for freight; to this freight train there is attached a coach which goes dangling along behind the hogs, cattle and other freight. Passengers are thus jerked and bumped back and forth from Leavenworth to Topeka, the cattle and the hogs getting in first."<sup>13</sup> Daily passenger service on this line was secured within six months.

The growth of Leavenworth and its industries, unquestionably given great impetus by the work of the board of trade, was set forth fully in the report compiled by the secretary at the close of its second year. The note of optimism was again sounded by President Caldwell, who stated in his foreword: "The wonderful progress of our city during the year just closed is as surprising as it is gratifying, and must serve to impress the 'chronic croaker' of the past with the certainty of the bright future dawning upon Leavenworth." The note was taken up by the secretary:

"We believe that Leavenworth has at last awakened from her long commercial sleep, has aroused herself and shaken off her garments of quiet rest and slothfulness, and once more girded herself anew, and, like a young athlete, has again entered the list in the mighty race of western towns, for manufacturing and commercial supremacy.

"The most sanguine hopes of her truest and best friends, on the 1st of January, 1883, have been fully realized in her rapid increase in wealth and population, her magnificent development in trade and manufactures, her general advancement all along the line of general improvement. . . . Our prospects for 1884 are even brighter and more prosperous than they were one year ago to-day. There are no laggards or drones in this busy hive of progress. . . . We have the handsomest city west of the Mississippi river and will act harmoniously in building it up."

During the year 1883 more than 600 houses were erected, representing in the aggregate a million dollars; mills, elevators and factories were constructed and enlarged; real estate advanced 25 to 50 per cent; new subdivisions were laid out; the city's population was increased by 5,000; the new E. V. White mill, with a capacity of from 300 to 500 barrels a day, was about ready to begin full operation; fruit and lumber took on added importance; a new bank was opened; wholesale trade increased 25 per cent, and retail trade from 10 to 30 per cent; manufactures totaled \$20,000,000, an increase of \$8,000,000 over the year 1882; a sewage system was installed. There was but one discordant note in the report: "The . . . railroads now seem fully to realize that Leavenworth is

13. Proceedings, p. 84.



deeply in earnest, and that business is daily increasing in every avenue of trade and commerce, and they must bestir themselves, and that right speedily, to meet and accommodate this new and increasing demand upon their energies." The report contained a special article on coal, soon to become a major issue before the board.

About this time came the first call upon the board to take part in national movements for the furtherance of certain projects. Late in 1883 requests were received, followed later by many others, to lend aid in the work to secure enactment of a uniform bankrupt law. Early in 1884 an invitation was received to send representatives to a convention at Washington to consider improvement of the Mississippi river and its tributaries. President Caldwell and Mayor Neely were chosen to represent Leavenworth. In May of the same year the National Industrial Congress, meeting in Chicago, asked for representatives.

Early in 1884 the need for a new coal shaft became a major consideration. It had been estimated that the supply of coal contained in the beds underlying the region was practically inexhaustible and that there was a market to the north and northwest which, if properly developed, would absorb twenty times the amount of fuel being produced by the shafts of the Leavenworth Coal Company and the penitentiary. The board now began its program of development of coal resources. By 1885 outside capitalists had become interested in the possibilities of the Leavenworth field and the following year the Riverside Coal Company commenced a shaft. Coal was struck on September 17, 1886. The Kansas City market for coal had been shut off from Leavenworth on account of the high rates charged by the railroads for transportation. The Riverside company sent coal to Kansas City by barge at a cost of only fifteen cents per ton. By 1888 four additional mining companies had been organized. The stock of the Home Coal Mining Company was held by Leavenworth business men who planned to supply coal to new factories at the lowest possible margin of profit. Their lands were on the river bank and coal was to be shipped by rail or river. The Brighton Coal Company bought 1,600 acres of land about three miles south of the city. The owners were nearly all Germans, residents of Kansas City. The Enterprise and Equitable mining companies were sponsored by citizens of Leavenworth. Both bought lands south of the city.<sup>14</sup>

14. Pamphlet, *Coal Resources of Leavenworth, Kan.*, by E. J. Jameson, p. 9.



An act authorizing the building of a branch home for disabled volunteer soldiers and sailors, to be located in one of seven middle western states, including Kansas, was passed by congress in July, 1884. The sum of \$275,000 was appropriated for the work. A committee was at once appointed by the board of trade to act with a committee from the city council in presenting the advantages of Leavenworth as a location. Within a few months the board of managers of the Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers announced the selection of Leavenworth as the location for the new branch.

The next year natural gas was among the subjects up for discussion. Early in 1885 resolutions were sent to the Kansas legislature requesting an act to authorize a thorough geological survey of the state. A report to the board, by President Caldwell, on the use of gas in Pittsburgh, Pa., stimulated the interest of the organization in its use for heating and lighting. The enthusiasm probably cooled, or perhaps attention was diverted to other more pressing affairs. At any rate, there is little in the proceedings relating to natural gas beyond this one mention. The refunding of the county debt, the advisability of bringing in outside capital—referred to in the minutes as cheaper money—for improvements; such lesser matters as the cleaning up of the city, the keeping of vital statistics—these received the consideration of the board at this time, with transportation, as usual, the dominant subject running concurrently with all others. Two new standing committees were created, one on city and county government, and one on retail trade. A complaint had been voiced by the retailers of the city, who were beginning to feel that all of the board's efforts were being directed toward the improvement of conditions for the manufacturers and jobbers. The new committee was to work for the benefit of the retailer. A report, submitted in November of 1886, gives an interesting account of its efforts:

"We find upon inquiry that the C., R. I. & P. railroad bridge<sup>15</sup> has not been completed, but we have the assurance of the agent of the company that they are doing all they can for the comfort and convenience of the traveling public. In case of disagreeable weather, if preferred, a carriage will be provided to take passengers to the east end of the bridge without extra charge. Special attention is given to ladies who are in our city shopping in making transfers at the bridge. The railroad company assures us that it will only be a short time before it is completed.

15. The old "Fort" bridge, as it used to be called, was the second bridge to span the Missouri river. It was begun in 1871 and was opened as a toll and railroad bridge in 1872. It was used by the Rock Island railroad until about 1892. One disaster followed another and it was finally abandoned by the railroads upon completion of the new bridge in 1894.—*Kansas City Star*, July 26, 1925.

"The committee further finds that the putting on of the passenger train on the L., T. & S. W. railroad has already proved of benefit to our retail trade. If, in so short a time we can feel a benefit, we are assured that the future will develop a much greater one.

"We would suggest that the secretary be authorized to call the public's attention to the effort that Mr. Baker, superintendent of our street railway, is putting forth to meet the wants of the public, and that we should all give him as hearty a support as in our powers. Mr. Baker, we find, is having the track put in a first-class condition and is running cars on schedule time, which is something that has not been done heretofore. . . . In regard to our citizens buying goods away from Leavenworth, would say that we have carefully investigated this matter and find that a large amount of merchandise in every branch of trade is bought away from here. Taking the basis of one month it will amount to about \$125,000 or \$150,000 a year. Since the last meeting of the board, about one month, fifty-one ladies, by actual count, have gone to Kansas City and returned with packages of dry goods, clothing, etc. Most of these ladies were the wives of our wealthiest and most prominent business men, who get their support from Leavenworth, and a good many the wives of the members of the board of trade. We think if the members would take some action in this matter it could be stopped to a great extent."

History fails to record whether or not this vicious practice was stopped, but one hazards the guess that the ladies continued the trek to the city across the river.

In November, 1886, a serious charge was brought against the city government and was voiced before the board—that of incompetency and irregularity. Mayor Neely at once invited an investigation by the board's committee on city and county affairs, and in January, 1887, a detailed statement by this committee was given to the board and published in the *Leavenworth Times* for January 23. The report covers a thorough investigation of the expenditure of city funds, work of various departments, need for legislation and sundry items.

Statements were prepared showing that the sum expended for general city expenses and special improvements during the nine years previous to Mayor Neely's administration was \$408,658.95. The amount spent during three years and seven months of the Neely regime was \$474,373.90. There was apparent carelessness in drawing appropriation ordinances. A law defining the manner of expenditure for street work had been disregarded. The police force was felt to be insufficient to cope with the steady flow of discharged criminals from the state and government prisons. Records showed more arrests during the three-year period under investigation than in any other city of equal population in the West. The fire department was inadequate for protection of property; only seven men were employed, who, in case of two fires occurring simultaneously,



would have had to let one burn without relief from the department. The salary of the city treasurer had been raised by the council, an action prohibited by law. Complaints of citizens regarding irregularities were cited, but not verified in all cases. An error had been made in computing interest on city funds. Neither the bank acting as depository, nor the committee chairman in charge, had detected the mistake. Although the city council had authorized the investigation by the committee and had agreed to pay the costs, financial support was withdrawn before the survey had been completed. The committee made recommendations for various acts to safeguard the expenditure of city funds and insure better administration of city affairs, and closed its report with this statement:

"We have no apologies to make for so lengthy a report. We have endeavored without fear or favor to carry out to the letter the instructions received from this board of trade authorizing a thorough and searching investigation, and in the brief time allotted us have done so to the best of our ability, and while we have criticized officers of the city for what we conceive to be violations of the law, we would do less than our duty should we fail to remind you that in more than one instance money has been appropriated by the city council without sanction of the law for some public enterprise on the recommendation of this board of trade, and we believe the recommendation will be sanctioned by each member present that we provide by legislation a fund out of which on the recommendation of the board of trade the city council may legally appropriate money for public enterprise."

The report of January, 1887, recapitulates the achievements of a year and expresses confidence in the future of the city. Two new railroads had been secured—the Leavenworth, Northern & Southern, and the Leavenworth & Olathe; factories and mills had been started; long-delayed projects, such as the macadamizing of the State Penitentiary road, were brought to completion; extensive city improvements had made of Leavenworth a more attractive and desirable place of residence; and it was confidently felt that the next ten-year period would show an increase of 500 per cent in manufactures, due, in large part, to the cheap and abundant fuel from the vast source of supply underlying the city.

However, even in the face of such large planning, the board concerned itself with the smaller affairs. There was a resolution asking that the mayor install drinking fountains for "man and beast"; a protest to the railroad companies against the manner of designating Leavenworth on their maps; the planning of excursions by which buyers were brought to the city; the entertainment of conventions, quite in the modern manner, except that visitors were conducted



about the city in horse-drawn vehicles; trade trips, also in the modern mode, to adjacent cities.

The need of advertising the city again came before the board. It was decided to confine the advertising, this time, to the columns of the local papers and to pamphlet publications. The *Evening Standard*<sup>16</sup> and the *Sun*<sup>17</sup> arranged for special editions setting forth facts regarding the city. Five thousand copies of each were mailed out by the advertising committee. One hundred daily papers were mailed each day over a period of a year to reading rooms, boards of trade and hotels. Pamphlets on coal, trade and industries were widely distributed. Probably as a result of this campaign inquiries about Leavenworth came from many sections of the country and many manufacturers expressed an interest in locating in the city. But they expressed, generally, a hope of securing a subsidy from the city in the form of sites, stock purchases, etc.

The proceedings for this period indicate that dissension was raising its head insidiously within the ranks. The following constituted part of a report to the board by the committee on advertising, March 8, 1888:

"Capitalists are looking towards this city. They desire to come and help us to enjoy our prosperity, that is, if we intend to have any, which is a matter entirely with ourselves, and this committee believes the time has come when it is better to speak out plainly. There seems a disposition among our people to talk. Every man has a pet scheme of his own, and he stays at home and takes care of it. The letters that have come in response to our advertising have been handed by the secretary to committees that exist and were appointed by the board of trade, but no action has ever been taken by said committees. . . . The board of trade at the present time is the laughing stock of the city. It is neither use nor ornament."

A special meeting was called at which there was a general airing of grievances. Probably the relief afforded by this opportunity to speak out in meeting enabled disgruntled members to settle down again, temporarily, to the consideration of such matters as street paving, taxes, the development of clay beds and new coal shafts. It was becoming increasingly evident, however, that the board had come upon dull and profitless days. New blood was needed, new incentives, and, incidentally, more money. Hoping to attract to its membership a large number of the younger business men of the community, the fee was at this time (May, 1888) reduced to ten dollars.

16. The *Evening Standard*, Leavenworth, was published July 24, 1881-1903.—Kansas Historical Society, *History of Kansas Newspapers*, 1916, p. 223.

17. The *Sun*, Leavenworth, was published October 4, 1887-1890.—*Ibid.*, p. 223.

A last glimpse is had, about this time, of an institution that was soon to pass into the limbo of outmoded transportation. Consideration was given to the suggested purchase by the city of the ferry boat, "Willie Cade." The original charter for this ferry had been granted by the territorial legislature in 1855; it was later amended and renewed. The "Willie Cade" had plied between Leavenworth and the Missouri side for many years, charging toll for persons, wagons and teams, and earning a fair profit for its owner, Capt. Al Cade. Although ferry receipts in 1887-1888 had been satisfactory, the captain wanted to retire and was eager to dispose of his boat and privileges. But apparently the board took no action, for the ultimate fate of the "Willie Cade" is not disclosed in the minutes.

There also came before the board the subject of a pontoon bridge, proposed by Vinton Stillings as a practical plan for linking the east and west banks of the Missouri river. Stillings had applied for a franchise in 1885, but had met with opposition. Those in control of the railroad bridge did not want a rival bridge leading into the heart of the city. Owners of a ferry operating between the Missouri side and a point one and a half miles below Leavenworth also fought the project. The War Department objected on the ground that the Missouri was a navigable stream and that the proposed bridge would interfere with river traffic. However, upon examination of the model, which showed that provision had been made for opening the bridge when necessary, a charter was granted. Inasmuch as the old Kansas and Missouri bridge, built in 1871, had never been of much benefit to Leavenworth because of its location three miles above the city, the board responded with interest to Stillings' plan, and sent a committee to Nebraska City to investigate a pontoon bridge in operation there. Another committee investigated the feasibility of the plan for Leavenworth. Both committees reported favorably and resolutions were passed asking for bids on construction. Despite the support of the committees, opposition developed, and in the end the bridge was financed entirely by Stillings. The *Kansas City Star*, April 5, 1925, thus describes the official opening:

"On an August morning in 1889 a pair of quivering horses with distended and snorting nostrils squatted on their haunches at the foot of Cherokee street, in Leavenworth. Behind the horses was hitched a fire engine of the type used in that day, black smoke pouring from its stack. Stretching away across the yellow tide of the Missouri river floated a slim ribbon of pine boards. The driver on the seat of the fire engine coaxed the horses and slapped his reins. Patrick Burns, chief of the Leavenworth fire department,



talked to the horses and patted their shaking flanks. Suddenly the horses leaped forward and went galloping across the flimsy-looking structure. A great shout went up from the thousands of spectators massed on the water front as the fire engine rocked its way across. At the Missouri end of the bridge the driver wheeled his team and trotted them proudly back. The first pontoon bridge to span the lower reaches of the Missouri was declared officially opened."

It is recorded that Mayor D. R. Anthony had not favored the bridge and that on the morning of the opening he sent the police wagon to the scene to take celebrants, returning from the Missouri side, to the station. The bridge did a thriving business until 1893. A village sprang up at the eastern end and flourished as long as Platte county was "wet" territory. The story of the pontoon bridge has in it something of the passing of an era, the flavor of the old West giving way to the new.

A new phase of the coal situation arose during this period. It was felt that the mining of coal at the State Penitentiary shaft for any use other than by the state was harmful to labor. However, in the investigation of the matter by the board, it was quite clearly brought out that whatever in the situation worked hardship upon miners wrought equal hardship upon workmen in other industries also maintained by the penitentiary. The following resolution was passed:

*"Resolved, That the legislature of the state of Kansas be respectfully requested to enact a law prohibiting the manufacturing of any articles or using any of the convicts in any manner that shall come in contact with either skilled or unskilled labor."*

Early in 1889 the financial affairs of the board became a disturbing element. Fees had not been paid regularly and expenses had mounted. The restoration of the original cost of membership, twenty dollars, did not entirely relieve the situation. It is recorded that in November of that year "an animated and interesting discussion . . . took place, in which each member of the board of trade took part, as to the necessity and importance of maintaining the board of trade intact and infusing into it new life and vigor, [because of] the great good it had accomplished for our city in years past and the work still before it. It was unanimously resolved to maintain it."

Of significance during the period 1888-1892 are the many national projects which the board was asked to support. Among them were: the centennial celebration; the Torrey bankrupt law; the deep harbor at Galveston; opposition to the Conger lard bill; Nicaragua



canal; opening of the Oklahoma Indian lands; opposition to the Butterworth bill; western states commercial congress; trans-Mississippi congress. The breaking down of sectional barriers, the coming together of the parts into the whole, is suggested in these national movements.

No particularly important project is set forth in the proceedings from 1889 until the end. There are, however, two gaps of several months each for which there are no records. At the close of the fiscal year in June, 1892, President Todd called a joint meeting of board members and other interested citizens for the purpose of reorganizing the board and defining a more comprehensive program of work. It was felt that the organization had served its purpose and had worked as efficiently as possible in view of inadequate support. Leavenworth was surely entering upon a new era of prosperity and the time had come for a "live and pushing organization."

It is difficult to point to the causes that led ultimately to the discontinuance of the board. There are indications that personal gains were not always forgotten in the larger issues and that indifference, at the last, supplanted the enthusiasm of the first years. Income did not always keep pace with obligations and debts accumulated. It became increasingly difficult to secure unified effort. Probably there was a deeper cause, a current that was rushing along towards a vortex, into which was to be sucked much that had been built up during the ten years of building and expansion. The dark days of 1893 were but a little way off.

Though goals and methods may be questioned in the light of fuller understanding after fifty years, much achievement may be fairly credited to the board during the ten years of its work. Manufacturing was stimulated, resources and markets were developed, population was increased, and the city was made a place of greater charm. And all of this work went on, though the Leavenworth board of trade came to an end. Out of the general reorganization came the commercial exchange, quite similar in character and purpose and equally imbued with a determination to build a greater, fairer city.

# A History of Kansas Child-Labor Legislation

DOMENICO GAGLIARDO

TWO studies of Kansas legislation affecting children have already been published by the Kansas State Historical Society. The first of these, by Nina Swanson, is almost entirely devoted to a study of legislation regarding agencies caring for children, education, protection of health of mothers and children, and children in need of special care.<sup>1</sup> Only three pages are devoted to child labor, and in these the major developments in legislation are barely outlined. There is no discussion of either the movement leading to legislation or of the administration of the laws.

The second study, by Edith Hess, considers labor legislation affecting both women and children.<sup>2</sup> Relatively little concerns child labor, and most of this consists of an analysis of the provisions of laws enacted. Very little data are given regarding the administration of child labor laws. Furthermore, in making her study Miss Hess did not use the session laws, but relied completely on compilations. Numerous inaccuracies as to dates appear in the work.<sup>3</sup>

These two studies do not therefore satisfactorily discuss the history of child-labor legislation in Kansas. In this article the writer describes the nature and extent of child labor in Kansas, records the development of this legislation, and discusses its administration.

## EXTENT AND NATURE OF CHILD LABOR.

The problem of child labor has never assumed really formidable proportions in Kansas. No doubt the principal reason for this is that agricultural and industrial operations in Kansas have not been generally adapted to the use of child labor. Tables I and II will give some notion of the nature and extent of the problem, although the data given are not strictly comparable and are not at all useful

1. Nina Swanson, "The Development of Public Protection of Children in Kansas," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. XV, pp. 231-277.

2. Edith Hess, "State Regulation of Woman and Child Labor in Kansas," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. XV, pp. 279-333.

3. For example, the date given for the first mining law regulating the employment of children is 1901, while the accurate date is 1883. See *Laws of Kansas*, 1883, ch. 117. The commissioner of labor is said to have been given authority to bring about the enforcement of labor laws in 1901. This law was really enacted in 1898. See *Laws* 1898, ch. 34, sec. 3. There are other errors of this kind. The writer apparently assumed that the laws were enacted as of the date when they first appeared in a volume of *Compiled Laws* or *General Statutes*.

in showing trends. Yet they do reveal certain striking features of the child-labor situation in this state.

TABLE I.—*Total children of each sex 10 to 15 years of age gainfully occupied in Kansas, 1880 to 1920.\**

YEAR.	Total number in age group.	Total gainfully employed.	Males.	Females.
1880.....	138,317	14,447	13,225	1,222
1890.....	201,209	21,679	19,706	1,991
1900.....	200,810	22,489	20,304	2,185
1910.....	200,794	18,730	16,997	1,733
1920.....	211,706	7,270	6,224	1,046

\* From United States census reports.

Perhaps the most important conclusion to be drawn from these tables is that the number of children gainfully employed in Kansas has never been great. Less than 14,500 children from ten to fifteen years of age were returned as gainfully employed in 1880; the largest number reported was somewhat less than 22,500 in 1900; and for 1920 the figure was 7,270. This does not, of course, accu-

TABLE II.—*Number of children of each sex 10 to 15 years of age engaged in each class of occupation in Kansas, 1900 to 1920. (a)*

OCCUPATION.	1900.		1910.		1920.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Agriculture.....	17,292	261	14,345	440	3,613	142
Mining.....	(b)	(b)	184	0	99	3
Manufacturing and mechanical.....	891	152	592	46	566	155
Transportation.....	683	76	181	65	266	155
Trade.....	(c)	(c)	752	107	949	150
Professional and public service.....	10	18	18	16	38	17
Domestic and personal service.....	1,458	1,678	192	926	241	426
Clerical occupations.....	108	33	362	44	452	82

a. From United States census reports.

b. Included under "Manufacturing and Mechanical."

c. Included under "Transportation."

rately represent the decrease in child labor from 1900 to 1920. Nor is the proportion of employed children 10 to 15 years of age large, compared with the total number of children in that age group, the percentage having never exceeded 12. Furthermore, most children gainfully employed are males. Of the total number the percentage



represented by males exceeded 90 for each decade of the period, and for 1920 exceeded 86.

It appears clearly from the data given in Table II that the majority of children gainfully occupied in Kansas are in agricultural employments. In 1900 more than 78 per cent, or 17,553 out of 22,489, were returned as agricultural laborers. The percentage thus returned in 1920 fell to slightly more than 53, or 3,755 out of a total of 7,270. But the census of 1920 was taken during a very dull agricultural season, when large numbers of children who would normally have been at work were attending school. Even so, the proportion returned as agricultural workers in 1920 is large. The

TABLE III.—*Distribution of children 10 to 17 years of age engaged in agriculture in Kansas in 1920, by type of work and sex.\**

TYPE OF WORK.	Total.	Male.	Female.
Dairy farm laborers.....	55	48	7
Farm laborers (home farm).....	7,189	6,959	230
Farm laborers (working out).....	3,103	3,068	35
Garden, greenhouse, orchard and nursery laborers.....	102	92	10
Stock herders, drivers and feeders.....	133	129	4
All other occupations.....	36	27	9
Total.....	10,618	10,323	295

\* From United States census reports.

type of agricultural work performed by children is shown in Table III. Farm labor is the occupation reported for practically all of them. Most of the children working in agriculture, forestry and animal husbandry are employed on the home farm. In the census of 1920, of a total of 10,618 children between ten and seventeen years of age, 7,419, or almost 70 per cent, were returned as thus employed. And while it does not appear from the data given above, yet it is true that most of those returned as working out were undoubtedly employed on the farms of neighbors and relatives. The situation regarding child labor in agriculture has not changed materially in recent years.

The number of children employed in other occupations listed in the census reports is small. This is especially true of public service, professional service, and mining. No figures are given for the building trades, but here also the numbers are small. At no time in the history of Kansas have many children been employed in these occupations. Moderate numbers are employed in manufacturing, trans-

portation, trade, domestic and personal service, and in clerical occupations. But the numbers are not, and have not been, formidable.

The remainder of this study is concerned with the employment of children in occupations other than agriculture. For there has been but little direct regulation of the labor of children in agriculture. Some indirect regulation has been achieved by means of school-attendance laws, and this is touched upon in the study. It does not appear, however, that the conditions under which children are employed in Kansas agriculture are such as to necessitate immediate and direct regulation except in the sugar-beet and berry industries. It is well to face the fact, nevertheless, that direct regulation would be practically impossible.

#### EARLY CONDITIONS.

In 1890 the commissioner of labor statistics, at the suggestion of the federal labor commissioner, made an investigation of the extent and conditions of child labor in Kansas.<sup>4</sup> Satisfactory data bearing directly on the extent of the employment of children were not secured. Conditions of labor in mines, workshops, and factories, although not intolerable, considering the date, were found to be not satisfactory. The typical working day was ten hours, beginning at 7 a. m. and ending at 6 p. m., with an hour off for lunch. Weekly wages were in many cases quite low, and averaged about \$3.50. The situation, while not alarming, was becoming worse. Foreigners coming from countries where their lot as children had been hard and marked by unremitting toil were accepting this same destiny for their children in America. And the commissioner was perhaps justified in his statement that, "A visit to our coal mines, and to our large manufacturing establishments, reveals the fact that as a whole the volume of child labor is increasing, and that the time is rapidly approaching when legislative interference will become necessary to regulate and protect it."<sup>5</sup> No data were given regarding conditions of labor in agriculture.

#### DEVELOPMENT OF CHILD LABOR LEGISLATION.

##### APPRENTICESHIP.

The earliest Kansas law relating to the employment of children was an apprenticeship act passed by the first territorial legislature in 1855. This was modified in 1859 and again in 1868.<sup>6</sup> No further

4. Kansas Bureau of Labor, *Sixth Annual Report*, pp. 8-66.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 8. A law prohibiting the employment of children under 15 in mines, factories and workshops was favored by 56 out of 58 county school superintendents in 1890.—*Ibid.*, p. 34.

6. *General Statutes of 1868*, ch. 5.

changes have been made since 1868. All three of the acts are almost identical, even to the language used.<sup>7</sup> Children may be bound in apprenticeship with the consent of the father; or if he is dead, a family deserter or habitual drunkard, with the consent of the mother; or of a guardian. Orphans without guardians may bind themselves, with the consent of the probate court. Any poor child who is a beggar, or who may become a county charge, whose parents are poor, whose father is an habitual drunkard, or, if he has no father, whose mother is of bad character, may be bound an apprentice by the probate court. Orphans or minors with estates insufficient for their maintenance may be bound by their guardians.

The master's duties, as defined by law, are few. He—

"Shall cause such child to be taught to read and write, and the ground rules of arithmetic, the compound rules and the rule of three, and at the expiration of his time of service shall give him or her a new Bible and two new suits of clothes, of the value of forty dollars, and ten dollars in current money of the United States."<sup>8</sup>

To guard against abuse, the probate court is given power to see that the terms of the indenture are fulfilled and that the apprentice is not ill-used. Complaints by apprentices against their masters of immoderate correction, insufficient food, clothing or lodging, want of trade instruction, or violation of the indenture, are received and heard by the probate court. No master may remove an apprentice from the state. If necessary, an apprentice may be discharged by the court.

Certain conduct on the part of the apprentice is made punishable: desertion without good cause; misconduct or ill behavior. Willful desertion without cause is especially frowned upon. In such cases the probate court may assess the apprentice ten dollars a month for each month absent, to be collected after the apprentice becomes of age. Furthermore, the master is given a right of action against the apprentice for any damages he may suffer from willful desertion without cause, judgment to be effective after the apprentice becomes of age. Anyone who counsels, persuades, entices or assists an apprentice to desert is liable to damages of \$20 to \$500, to be sued for and recovered by the master. And any person knowingly enter-

7. *Statutes Kansas Territory, 1855*, ch. 6; *General Laws, 1859*, ch. 13. The law of 1855 contains the following, which was omitted in 1859: "When an apprentice is a Negro or mulatto, it shall not be the duty of the master to cause such colored apprentice to be taught to read or write, or a knowledge of arithmetic; but he shall be allowed, at the expiration of his term of service, a sum of money in lieu of education, to be assessed by the probate court." Sec. 10. Under the act of 1855, the period of indenture was till the age of twenty-one, or for a shorter time. In 1859 the indenture for girls was made to expire at age sixteen. In 1868 the boys' indentures were made to expire at age eighteen.

8. *General Statutes, 1868*, ch. 5, sec. 8.



taining, harboring or concealing a runaway apprentice forfeits to the master one dollar for each day he does so, this also to be sued for and recovered.<sup>9</sup>

#### CHILDREN AND THE MINING ACT OF 1883.

The first legal enactment directed specifically against the employment of children came in 1883, as an amendment to the coal-mining law.<sup>10</sup> The employment of children under twelve years of age in coal mines was absolutely prohibited. Minors between twelve and sixteen could be employed only if they were able to read and write and furnished a certificate from a school teacher to the effect that they had attended school at least three months during the year. It was made the duty of agents employing minors to see that these provisions were not violated, and "willful" violation on the part of any agent was made punishable by a fine not to exceed \$50 for each and every offense. This law was undoubtedly a step forward, but it was a faltering step. Its chief virtue was that it recognized the problem of child labor in coal mines, while its chief weakness was its lack of machinery for enforcement. Experience of other states has shown conclusively that an act bearing a penalty only for "willful" violations cannot be enforced. Yet the commissioner of labor, in 1888, expressed the hope that the provisions of the mining act would be extended to factories and workshops.<sup>11</sup> In 1894, however, the impossibility of enforcing the law was recognized. In that year the commissioner said: "It is extremely problematical whether this law is very rigidly enforced."<sup>12</sup>

#### ACTS TO PROTECT MORALS OF CHILDREN.

A second direct restriction of child labor came in 1889, as part of an act for protecting the morals of children.<sup>13</sup> It was made unlawful to employ any child under fourteen years of age as an acro-

9. Another early law provided that a payment made to a minor on a contract for labor made with him alone could not be collected again by the minor's parent or guardian.—*Compiled Laws of Kansas, 1862*, ch. 146.

10. *Laws, 1883*, ch. 117, sec. 17.

11. Kansas Bureau of Labor, *Fourth Annual Report*, p. 38. The following child-labor law was proposed in 1887: "In all manufactories, workshops and other places used for mechanical or manufacturing purposes, the time of labor of children under the age of eighteen years, and women employed therein, shall not exceed eight hours in one day; and any employer, stockholder, director, officer, overseer, clerk, or foreman, who shall compel any woman or any such child to labor exceeding eight hours in any one day, or who shall permit any child under fourteen years of age to labor more than ten hours in any one day in any such place, if he shall have control over such child sufficient to prevent it; or who shall employ at manual labor any child under twelve years of age in any factory or workshop, where more than three persons are employed, or who shall employ any child of twelve and under fourteen years of age in any such factory or workshop for more than seven months in any one year, shall be punished by fine not less than five nor more than fifty dollars for each such offense." It failed of passage.—Kansas Bureau of Labor, *Third Annual Report*, p. 325.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 27.

13. *Laws, 1889*, ch. 104, secs. 1, 48c, d and f.

bat, gymnast, contortionist, circus rider, rope walker, "or in any exhibition of like dangerous character," or as a beggar, mendicant, pauper, street singer or street musician. The penalty for violation was a fine not to exceed \$250, or imprisonment not to exceed a year, or both. Any duly incorporated society whose object was the protection of children and who maintained a trustworthy and discreet agent to carry out its object, could have this agent appointed as a special police officer, to enforce this law. Furthermore, it was made the duty of sheriffs, deputy sheriffs, and police officers in counties and cities to aid such societies in enforcing all laws for the protection of children, and they were given the power to arrest without warrant for any violation. And it was made the duty of county attorneys to prosecute cases arising under this act. But in cases where complaints were filed by a society for the protection of children, that society's attorney could, with the consent of the court or magistrate, carry on the prosecution, and for this purpose he was granted all powers conferred by law upon county attorneys. The machinery for enforcing the act was certainly far superior to that set up in the mining act. And this machinery was in all probability effective, due largely to the nature of the labor concerned, which has always been frowned upon as being cruel and tending to immorality.<sup>14</sup> An extension of the provisions of this act was made in 1903 when the employment of children under eighteen as practitioners or subjects in public, open exhibitions, seances or shows of hypnotism, mesmerism, animal magnetism or so-called psychical forces was prohibited.<sup>15</sup>

#### THE SCHOOL LAW OF 1903.

Compulsory school attendance dates in Kansas from 1874, when it was required that children between eight and fourteen be sent to school for at least twelve weeks in the year, six of these to be con-

14. An attempt was made in 1898 to secure the passage of a fairly good child-labor law. The following was introduced and its passage recommended by the committee on manufactures and industrial pursuits, but it failed to pass: "No child under fourteen years of age shall be employed at any time in any factory or workshop or about any mine. No such child shall be employed in any mercantile establishment nor in the service of any telegraph, telephone, or public messenger company except during the vacation of the public schools in the school district where such child is employed. No person under sixteen years of age shall be employed at any occupation nor at any place dangerous or injurious to life, limb, health, or morals, nor at any labor of any kind outside of the family of such person's residence before six o'clock in the morning nor after seven o'clock in the evening, nor more than ten hours in any one day, nor more than sixty hours in any one week, except in accordance with the following express permission or condition, to wit: Children not less than fourteen years of age may be employed in mercantile establishments on Saturdays and for ten days each year before Christmas until ten o'clock in the evening: *Provided, however,* That this permission shall not be so construed as to permit such children to toil more than ten hours in any one day nor over sixty hours in any one week."—Kansas Bureau of Labor, *Fourteenth Annual Report*, p. 258.

15. *Laws*, 1903, ch. 219.



secutive.<sup>16</sup> Exemption was allowed if the parent or guardian was too poor to clothe the child properly.<sup>17</sup> In 1903 this law was modified, and children between eight and fifteen were required to attend school during the period it was in session.<sup>18</sup> But children of fourteen or more, if employed for their own or for their dependents' support, and if they could read and write English, were required to attend only eight consecutive weeks; and for those graduated from the common schools and those mentally or physically incapacitated, no attendance was required. This was an improvement over the previous law in that the period of attendance was increased, but the poverty clause weakened the act. A further amendment, made in 1907, authorized boards of education to permit temporary absences from school of children between eight and fifteen "in extreme cases of emergency or domestic necessity."<sup>19</sup> This provided another large loophole, and one which is said to have been regularly used in the sugar-beet regions of western Kansas.<sup>20</sup>

### THE LAW OF 1905.

A distinct step forward was taken in 1905, when the first comprehensive Kansas child-labor law was enacted.<sup>21</sup> The employment of children under fourteen in factories, packinghouses or in or about mines was absolutely forbidden, and no child under sixteen could be employed at any occupation or in any place dangerous or injurious to life, limb, health or morals. Before employing children, employers, whenever possible, were required to secure age certificates from school authorities.<sup>22</sup> When a certificate could not be obtained, a statement from the parent or guardian, verified under oath administered by an authorized officer, would suffice, except where the employer had actual knowledge that the child's age was below the legal minimum. Certificates and statements were to be kept on file, and factory and mine inspectors were charged with the

16. *Laws*, 1874, ch. 123. A short summary of the development of Kansas school laws concerning children was made by Nina Swanson: "The Development of Public Protection of Children in Kansas," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. XV, pp. 241-249.

17. The labor commissioner was of the opinion that this law was never adequately enforced and was of no help in regulating child labor. "So far as the law is concerned, a child over eight years of age may be required to work every day in the year, so that he attends a night school for twelve weeks of the time; if the parents or guardians show that they are not able to clothe him properly, no education whatever is required, and the child is permitted to grow up in utter ignorance."—*Sixth Annual Report*, pp. 11, 34.

18. *Laws*, 1903, ch. 423.

19. *Laws*, 1907, ch. 317.

20. Court of Industrial Relations, *Third Annual Report*, p. 123.

21. *Laws*, 1905, ch. 278.

22. The form of certificate prescribed was as follows: State of Kansas, county of \_\_\_\_\_; \_\_\_\_\_ city or district. This certifies that \_\_\_\_\_, according to the records of this school and from all knowledge that I can obtain, was born at \_\_\_\_\_, in \_\_\_\_\_ county, and \_\_\_\_\_ city, of the state of \_\_\_\_\_, and is now under \_\_\_\_\_ years of age.

(Signed) \_\_\_\_\_



duty of inspecting the certificates, examining the children for violations of law, and of filing complaints. Complaints filed were to be prosecuted by county attorneys. The penalty for violation, or for permitting or conniving at violation, was a fine of \$25 to \$100 or imprisonment for 30 to 90 days.

This act marks a distinct advance in the regulation of child labor in Kansas. First of all its scope was fairly broad, including many of the occupations—except agriculture—where children were likely to be employed for long periods under bad conditions. It should be noted that all mines, not merely coal mines, were included. In the second place, the age limit was set fairly high. Here again it should be noted that the age limit for coal mines was raised from twelve to fourteen years, although the corresponding section of the mining law was not specifically repealed. Lastly, the administrative features were an improvement over those set up under all previous laws. The chief weakness in the act was that its regulatory features were inadequate. No child under sixteen could be employed in any occupation or place dangerous or injurious to life, limb, health or morals, but little more specific than this was provided. Such general provisions usually were well enforced only where there was well-organized machinery manned by aggressive officials. Unfortunately, such was not generally the case in Kansas at the time, nor for the next ten years.<sup>23</sup>

Apparently the law of 1905 was needed. A special investigation made by the department of labor in 1906, covering 15 of the more important manufacturing counties, showed that 1,951 children were taken out of factories in those counties when the law first went into effect.<sup>24</sup> The operation of the child-labor and compulsory education laws together is said to have put in school, for the state as a whole, about 5,000 children.<sup>25</sup>

Despite this good showing, the child-labor problem was not solved. The commissioner of labor complained in 1907 that the law did not "place any restriction upon the length of day's work of the children coming under its regulation."<sup>26</sup> Furthermore, he found that the law's scope was not inclusive enough, covering "not more than one-half of the child-labor employment that should be regulated."<sup>27</sup> He

23. The Kansas commissioner of labor thought this provision quite important. "Kansas has a child-labor law second to none in the United States, especially on account of the provision which prohibits all children under sixteen years of age from being employed at any place or at any occupation that is dangerous or injurious to life, limb, health, or morals." Kansas Bureau of Labor, *Twenty-eighth Annual Report*, p. 137.

24. *Ibid.*, *Twenty-second Annual Report*, p. 144.

25. *Ibid.* School authorities have always coöperated reasonably well in enforcing the child-labor law.

26. *Ibid.*, *Twenty-third Annual Report*, p. 127.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 142.

therefore recommended that the scope be enlarged to include workshops, and that mercantile establishments, telephone and telegraph offices, and the work of public messengers also be included, except during school vacation. As another improvement, he recommended a maximum day of ten hours, and a maximum week of sixty hours.<sup>28</sup> The following year it was recommended that the scope of the act should be widened by including workshops, theaters, and the operation of elevators, and that data on age certificates should be based only on school records.<sup>29</sup>

A general movement to improve the child-labor law developed in 1908, led by the State Society of Labor, the State Federation of Labor, a child-labor committee consisting of representative leading educators and professional workers, and the Federation of Women's Clubs. A bill was drafted embodying the recommendations of the commissioner of labor, and going somewhat beyond them. This bill would have prohibited the employment of children under fourteen in any factory, workshop, theater or packing house, in the operation of elevators, in or about any mine, and in any business or service whatsoever during school hours. Children under sixteen in these employments, and in the distribution or transmission of merchandise or messages, would not have been employed between 6 p. m. and 7 a. m., and not for more than eight hours daily and forty-eight hours weekly. The age at which children could be employed at any place dangerous or injurious to life, limb, health or morals was raised to seventeen. Work permits based on school census records, with a prescribed form, were provided for. Provisions for enforcement and penalties remained unchanged.<sup>30</sup>

#### AMENDMENTS OF 1909.

The 1909 legislature adopted some of the changes suggested.<sup>31</sup> Two important amendments were made. Children under fourteen could no longer be employed in any factory or workshop "not owned or operated" by the child's parent, and not at all in a theater, packing house, or as an elevator operator, or in or about a mine, and no child under fourteen could be employed in any business or service whatever during school hours. The provision prohibiting employment of children under sixteen where body, health or morals were endangered, was retained. Thus the scope of the act was broadened.

28. *Ibid.*

29. *Ibid.*, *Twenty-fourth Annual Report*, 1908, p. 91.

30. *Ibid.*, pp. 93-94.

31. *General Statutes of Kansas*, 1909, secs. 5,094-5,098.







to carry out this policy and the administration of the act was put in its hands. Under the authority of this law the welfare commission did regulate the wages, hours and conditions of many minors in Kansas.<sup>36</sup>

#### THE KANSAS LAW AND THE FEDERAL ACT OF 1916.

The federal child-labor act of 1916 prohibited the shipment in interstate or foreign commerce of the products of mines or quarries situated in the United States if children under sixteen were employed in them at any time within thirty days prior to the removal of that product from the mine or quarry, as well as the product of any mill, cannery, workshop, factory or manufacturing establishment similarly situated if thirty days prior to its removal from the place of its production children under fourteen were employed, or children between fourteen and sixteen were employed for more than eight hours a day, or for more than six days a week, or between 7 p. m. and 6 a. m.

At that time the Kansas act fell somewhat short of the federal standards thus set. This stimulated local interest in the state law, and recommendations looking to its improvement were made by the commissioner of labor almost at once.<sup>37</sup> These recommendations, however, went beyond the federal standards in some respects. They were as follows: A sixteen-year limit for mines and quarries, factories, canneries, packing houses and all dangerous or extra-hazardous work places; the commissioner of labor to be authorized to add to this list; age certificates for children between fourteen and eighteen; work permits for those between sixteen and eighteen, upon proof of age, physical fitness, completion of sixth grade, and employment; an eight-hour day, forty-eight hour week, with no work between 6 p. m. and 7 a. m. for those under eighteen years of age.

#### AMENDMENTS OF 1917.

Amendments were made in 1917 to bring Kansas into line with the federal standards.<sup>38</sup> The field in which the employment of children was specifically prohibited was slightly extended. The provision of the 1909 law which allowed children under fourteen to be employed in factories and workshops owned or operated by their par-

36. A detailed analysis of this work has been made in a separate study dealing with minimum wage legislation for women and minors, which the author expects to publish later.

37. Kansas Department of Labor and Industry, *Combined Thirty-first and Thirty-second Annual Reports*, pp. 228, 229.

38. *Laws*, 1917, ch. 227.

ents was repealed. The age for the employment of children in mines was raised to sixteen, and this was made to extend to quarries. Prohibition of night work and work for more than eight hours daily and forty-eight hours weekly, provisions found in the 1909 act, was extended to include hotels, restaurants and mercantile establishments.

Important changes were made in the matter of certificates for children under sixteen. Work permits were to be issued by the superintendent of schools or his representative, or by the judge of a juvenile court, but only after certain papers had been duly executed. The first of these was a written statement from the employer or his representative stating the occupation at which the child was to be employed. Second, a school record showing the completion of the elementary course was required; or when this information was not available a statement showing a successful examination over an equivalent course of study. Permits could be issued to children under sixteen who had not completed the elementary course or its equivalent, but only for the time during which school was not in session. Third, evidence showing that the child was fourteen years of age was necessary, the form of this evidence to be prescribed by the commissioner of labor and to comply substantially with the requirements laid down in this respect by the federal child labor law of 1916. Information as to name, sex, date and place of birth, etc., was also required. An important innovation in the matter of permits was designed to make it possible to keep an accurate record of the number of children employed in the permissible vocations. Permits were to be made out in duplicate, one retained by the employer, the other going to the commissioner of labor. When employment terminated, the employer was required to return his copy to the officer issuing it, and he in turn to the commissioner of labor. The commissioner of labor was authorized to revoke a permit improperly or illegally issued, or when by so doing the physical or moral welfare of the child would best be served. Provisions for inspection and enforcement and penalties for violation were not changed.<sup>39</sup>

After the 1917 amendments to the labor law there appears to

39. When the new federal child labor law was enacted, the Internal Revenue Department immediately accepted the Kansas work-certificate standards and system and put Kansas on the list of states whose certificates were accredited. But shortly after this Kansas was removed from the list because of the carelessness of the probate judge of Wyandotte county, in which many packing houses are located, in issuing permits contrary to the provisions of the federal law.—Kansas Department of Labor, *Thirty-fifth Annual Report*, p. 49. The duplicate permit system was not well observed, "partly due to the carelessness and misunderstanding on the part of the employers, who insist upon retaining the original permit, thinking that it may serve as a protection at some future time."—*Ibid.*, p. 48.



have been a conflict between the school and labor laws. The school law made attendance compulsory until the fifteenth year, while under the provisions of the labor law a child under sixteen could not be granted a work permit while school was in session, unless he had completed the elementary school course. This conflict caused some confusion, and it is said that because of it the enforcement of the child labor law was hindered.<sup>40</sup> To eliminate this difficulty it was recommended that the attendance age be raised to sixteen.<sup>41</sup> An attempt was made by those administering the labor act to reconcile this conflict pending proposed legislation by accepting fifteen years as the age, after which no work certificate was required. But this practice was soon discontinued.<sup>42</sup>

The 1919 legislature raised the compulsory school attendance age from fifteen to sixteen.<sup>43</sup> But the "poverty" clause, excusing children at fourteen if regularly employed for their own or their dependents' support, was retained. This provision also caused much confusion, and became a "loophole which almost annulled the enforcement of the higher standards of the two laws."<sup>44</sup>

#### CHILDREN'S CODE COMMISSIONS.

A movement to revise, organize and bring up to modern standards the laws concerning children, which ultimately led to the elimination of the conflicts between the labor and compulsory education laws, began in 1918 with the establishment of the Kansas Children's Code Commission.<sup>45</sup> No attempt was made by this commission to develop comprehensive revisions and recommendations. It contented itself with drafting and presenting six bills to the 1919 legislature. Three of these, none dealing with child labor, were passed. Nothing more was done by this commission.

A second children's code commission was established in 1919.<sup>46</sup> It grew out of a central group known as the Kansas Woman's Com-

40. Kansas Department of Labor, *Combined Thirty-third and Thirty-fourth Annual Reports*, 1917-1918, p. 13. See, also, *Thirty-fifth Annual Report*, p. 56.

41. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

42. Court of Industrial Relations, *Second Annual Report*, p. 96.

43. *Laws*, 1919, ch. 272.

44. Kansas Department of Labor, *Thirty-fifth Annual Report*, p. 56. The bars were let down some in 1919 by the commissioner of labor, on his own authority. During school vacation children between twelve and fourteen were allowed to work, without permits but not in certain industries—factory, workshop, theater, mill, cannery, packing house, creamery, elevator, mine, quarry, and in a telephone exchange, laundry, restaurant, hotel, or place where soft drinks are sold.

45. This body was established by Lieutenant Governor Huffman, at the request of Dr. Lydia Allen DeVilbiss, chief of the Division of Child Hygiene of the State Board of Health.—"Proposed Child Welfare Legislation," *Report of the Kansas Children's Code Commission*, January, 1921, (Topeka), p. 6.

46. Largely at the request of Dr. Florence Brown Sherbon, successor to Doctor DeVilbiss. Kansas Department of Labor, *Thirty-fifth Annual Report*, p. 56.



mittee on Child Welfare, representing groups and organizations and certain state departments such as the Division of Child Hygiene and the Industrial Welfare Commission. A Kansas Child Welfare Survey was made. "The survey revealed a very general disregard of the Kansas child labor law."<sup>47</sup> On the basis of the information acquired in this and in other ways, a preliminary report was made, tentatively recommending certain legislation.<sup>48</sup> Twenty-one bills covering various phases of child welfare were drafted and presented to the legislature of 1921.<sup>49</sup> Two of these, one dealing with compulsory education and the other with child labor, are of interest here. The compulsory education bill provided that the ages of compulsory school attendance be from eight to eighteen, unless the high-school course were completed before eighteen; that children of fifteen or more actively and regularly employed according to the provisions of the child-labor law be required to attend continuation schools for two hours daily and four days weekly while school was in session, unless they had completed the tenth grade; and that children of fourteen who had completed the eighth grade be allowed to work provided they attended continuation school as above. The child-labor bill provided that no child under fifteen be employed except at odd jobs around the house or farm, this employment not to interfere with school attendance; that children of fourteen who had completed the eighth grade be allowed to work provided they attended continuation schools; that the list of prohibited industries be extended and that the commissioner of labor be authorized to add to this list; that a weekly maximum of six days be set; and that various changes be made in the matter of age certificates and work permits. Only three of the twenty-one bills presented were passed, and neither of the above two was included.

The commission was reorganized again in the spring of 1922. An executive secretary<sup>50</sup> was appointed to take charge, and the commission then proceeded to work on a code. In its report to the legislature of 1923 it recommended twenty-one bills pertaining to various aspects of child welfare.<sup>51</sup> These recommendations were largely based on those set up by the international conference held at Washington in 1919, but fell short in many particulars.

47. "Proposed Child Welfare Legislation," p. 17.

48. *Ibid.* The plans of the survey are published as *Bulletin No. 2* of the Kansas State Board of Health, February, 1920.

49. These will be found described in the preliminary report of 1921, referred to above.

50. Mrs. H. Mayfield, of Kansas City.

51. Pamphlet published by Crane & Company, Topeka.

The amendments to the child-labor law suggested were practically identical with those suggested by the previous commission, except that the age limit was reduced from fifteen to fourteen. The same is true of the compulsory education bill. It should be pointed out in this connection that this bill would have abolished the "poverty" clause, together with the "emergency or domestic necessity" clause then in force. Neither of these bills was passed. But both the "poverty" clause of the 1903 act and the clause of the 1907 law authorizing temporary absences from school of children in cases of emergency or domestic necessity were repealed.<sup>52</sup> Children under sixteen who have not completed the eighth grade are now required to attend school, the minimum term of which is by law eight months, unless they are mentally or physically incapacitated. Thus the conflicts between the compulsory school attendance and labor laws have been eliminated. A street-trades bill was recommended, but was not introduced, although it appeared that child labor was increasing in these trades.<sup>53</sup>

#### ADMINISTRATION.

The first step forward in the administration of child-labor laws was taken when their enforcement was placed in the hands of the state commissioner of labor in 1898.<sup>54</sup> The same act provided that the commissioner should succeed to this office by virtue of being secretary of a worker's organization known as the State Society of Labor and Industry. An arrangement of this kind would seem to be especially desirable in so far as the enforcement of labor laws is concerned. But experience proved that in this respect it was not very successful. Nevertheless, for the first time, a central authority with some power was charged with the duty of seeing that the law was enforced. The law of 1913, which provided for a woman factory inspector, while not strictly a child-labor law, was also of some importance in this connection, for among the results of this law was the gathering of data concerning wages, hours and conditions of children, and a somewhat more rigid enforcement of the child-labor law.

In 1921 the office of state labor commissioner was abolished and the duties pertaining to that office were consolidated with those of the industrial court. Similarly, the industrial welfare commission was made a part of the court. The administration of the child-labor

52. *Laws*, 1923, ch. 182, sec. 2.

53. Court of Industrial Relations, *Fourth Annual Report*, p. 123.

54. *Laws*, 1898, ch. 34, sec. 3.



law was thus vested in the industrial court. For a short time this work was carried on under the supervision of the woman factory inspector, but in October, 1921, the industrial welfare and the child-labor work were united to form a woman's division under the supervision of the court.<sup>55</sup> Better results were anticipated from the consolidation. "With closer correlation between the child-labor, industrial welfare, and industrial court laws, some developments may be possible in child-labor work which could not be brought about under the former organization."<sup>56</sup> But no great improvement in enforcement resulted. When in 1925 the industrial court was abolished and its duties transferred to the Public Service Commission, the woman's division was retained as an integral unit in the commission. The child-labor law was administered by this body until 1929, when an industrial commission was created and charged with this duty.

In general, the child-labor law has not been well enforced by any of these different agencies. Lack of funds for inspection and prosecution, and a lack of public interest in enforcement, have combined to bring about this result. When, in 1918, the first federal child-labor law was declared unconstitutional, Kansas "felt keenly the loss of the moral support" which this law gave to local enforcement.<sup>57</sup>

Official figures on the number of work permits issued are not satisfactory. Such figures as are available, however, are given in Table IV. Some of these should be commented upon. The great decrease in regular permits issued in 1921, from 374 to 193, and in school vacation permits from 617 to 116, does reflect some decrease in the employment of children. This decrease is attributable to lessened business activity due to depression, to the more rigid enforcement of the federal child-labor law, and to better enforcement of the state law, for which purpose there was available a larger body of state factory inspectors. It is not at all improbable, however, that the depression in business was the most important factor. The decrease in school vacation permits was due, however, almost wholly to a change in the interpretation of the law, which allowed children to work without permits in occupations not listed in the law. In these occupations there was an increase in the number of children employed.<sup>58</sup> The further

55. Court of Industrial Relations, *Second Annual Report*, 1921, p. 88.

56. *Ibid.*, p. 96.

57. Kansas Department of Labor, *Combined Thirty-third and Thirty-fourth Annual Reports*, pp. 12-13.

58. Court of Industrial Relations, *Second Annual Report*, 1921, pp. 97, 99. "Little girls twelve and thirteen years of age are found employed in restaurants, and boys ten and twelve years of age are found in the messenger service when the protection of the work-certificate system is removed," p. 99.



drop in 1924 was due almost wholly to a change in base to the calendar year. Improvements in the school laws are given some credit by the industrial court for this decrease, but it seems reasonable to suppose that these exerted but little influence.<sup>59</sup> A thorough checkup of the industries in Kansas City, Kan., in which a large number of children were employed, is given as the reason for the increase in the number of regular work permits issued in 1926.<sup>60</sup> This last statement brings out clearly the general unreliability of the figures. They do not give an accurate picture of child labor in Kansas.

TABLE IV.—*Regular and school vacation permits issued to children between 14 and 16 in Kansas from 1918 to 1930, by years.*

YEAR.*	Regular permits.							School vacation permits.
	Manufacturing.	Mercantile.	Messenger.	All others.	Totals.			
					Males.	Females.	Grand total.	
1918.....	158	160	69	114	262	140	502	790
1919.....	85	132	67	94	285	113	378	577
1920.....	178	110	31	55	191	183	374	617
1921.....	76	60	49	28	117	76	193	116
1922.....	75	60	22	34	110	81	191	162
1923.....	81	21	28	39	106	63	169	158
1924.....	20	11	26	37	64	30	94	67
1925.....	28	6	14	22	57	13	70	57
1926.....	54	15	42	10	83	38	121	43
1927.....	30	16	76	2	107	17	124	57
1928.....	47	19	60	12	101	27	128	82
1929.....	78	27	63	.....	145	25	170	37
1930.....	29	17	47	.....	79	14	93	30

\* September 1 to September 1 for 1918 to 1923 inclusive, and calendar year from 1924 to 1929, inclusive.

Prosecutions for violations have never been numerous. This in itself is not a criticism, for this method of enforcement is not necessarily, or even generally, the best possible. Enforcement comes best through coöperation and education, and these means were largely used in Kansas. However, there are times when prosecution is necessary, and at those times it should be applied vigorously. But in Kansas prosecutions appear to have been inadequate in number and, what is worse yet, appear to have been misdirected. Rarely ever

59. *Ibid.*, *Fifth Annual Report*, p. 100.

60. Public Service Commission, *Eighth Biennial Report*, p. 595.

were prominent individuals or firms prosecuted; and in not a few instances it appears that those in charge hunted out small employers against whom there was perhaps already some local public prejudice and prosecuted them; or some traveling theatrical company would be pounced upon with much show and apparently with great glee. Figures showing the number of prosecutions and convictions obtained are given in Table V. Apparently there have been no prosecutions since 1920, at which time the administration of the law passed first to the industrial court, then to the Public Service Commission and finally to the Commission of Labor and Industry.

TABLE V.—*Prosecutions and convictions for violation of child-labor laws in Kansas, 1906 to 1920, by years.*

YEAR.	Prosecutions.	Convictions.
1906.....	21	15
1907.....	0	0
1908.....	1	1
1909.....	0	15
1910.....	21	15
1911.....	0	0
1912.....	0	0
1913.....	7	6
1914.....	3	3
1915-'16.....	*14	*12
1917-'18.....	0	6
1920.....	6	6

\* Prosecutions and convictions for violations of all labor laws.

If factory inspection figures were comprehensive enough, and comparable, they would afford some indication of the effectiveness of the administration of the child-labor law. Kansas figures are comprehensive enough in so far as the total number of workers covered is concerned, but the data gathered by factory inspectors concerning the employment of children are not satisfactory. The establishments inspected at different periods have varied considerably. Inspections were conducted at different seasons of the year, and what is more important still, inspectors displayed varying degrees of zeal in discovering child labor. All this leads to the conclusion that the data available are unsatisfactory. They are given, nevertheless, in Table VI.

TABLE VI.—*Number and percentage of children between 14 and 16 employed in Kansas industrial and mercantile establishments inspected, 1901 to 1920.\**

YEAR.	Wage earners covered by inspection.	Children between 14 and 16.	
		Number.	Percentage.
1901-'02.....	18,873	775	4.61
1903-'04†.....	23,410	205	0.87
1905.....	35,410	729	2.06
1906.....	27,143	909	3.35
1907.....	37,719	625	1.66
1908.....	40,303	595	1.48
1909.....	47,256	491	1.04
1910.....	55,224	139	0.25
1911.....	43,074	48	0.11
1912.....	21,322	67	0.31
1913.....	42,104	135	0.32
1914.....	40,658	114	0.28
1915-'16†.....	37,405	71	0.19
1917-'18†.....	57,484	211	0.37
1920.....	59,986	45	0.07

\* Official reports of the Kansas Bureau of Labor.

† Averages.

Despite the fact that the data are not satisfactory, it would seem to be reasonable to infer from the figures given that the number of children between fourteen and sixteen years of age employed in industry has declined appreciably since 1905. It has been estimated that the law of 1905 took approximately 5,000 children under sixteen out of industry and put them back in school.<sup>61</sup> This statement may well be doubted. Nevertheless, child-labor and school-attendance laws have had some effect in reducing the number of children in industry. A general increase in the real wages of Kansas workers has no doubt led to some diminution in the number of children working for wages.

#### DEFECTS OF THE PRESENT LAW.

As compared with the labor provisions of the minimum standards for child welfare, set up by the federal Children's Bureau,<sup>62</sup> the Kansas law shows some defects. The standards suggest a sixteen-year minimum for any occupation, while the Kansas law has a

61. Kansas Department of Labor, *Thirteenth Annual Report*, p. 28.

62. Publication number 62, pp. 3-5.



fourteen-year minimum for factories, workshops, packing houses, elevators, mills, canneries, and theaters, and, with certain exceptions, for all occupations during school hours. During school vacations the standards recommend a sixteen-year minimum for all occupations except agriculture and domestic service, where a fourteen-year minimum is suggested until schools are continuous throughout the year, while the Kansas law sets a fourteen-year minimum for specified occupations, but has come to be interpreted as requiring no age minimum whatever for occupations not specified in the act.<sup>63</sup> For hazardous employments the standards set a lower limit of eighteen years for mines and quarries, and twenty-one years for special-delivery service in the post office and for girl telegraph messengers, and would prohibit altogether the employment of minors in "dangerous, unhealthy, or hazardous occupations or at any work which will retard their proper physical or moral development,"<sup>64</sup> while the Kansas act sets a sixteen-year minimum only for mines and quarries and for occupations and places dangerous or injurious to life, limb, health, or morals;<sup>65</sup> but there are no restrictions on the employment of girls as telegraph messengers in Kansas except during school hours or after 6 p. m., according to the present interpretation of the law.

The educational minimum set by the standards is that children should be required to attend school at least nine months annually from their seventh to their sixteenth years. Kansas requires attendance only during the period when school is in session, which is now a minimum of eight months, and only from the eighth to the sixteenth year.<sup>66</sup> No exceptions are allowed for in the standards, but the Kansas law excepts mentally and physically defective children, without providing special training for them, and excepts also children between fourteen and sixteen who have completed the eighth grade. Furthermore, part-time and continuation schools suggested in the standards are not found in the Kansas law.<sup>67</sup> Physical examinations upon entering employment and annually

63. Court of Industrial Relations, *Second Annual Report*, p. 99.

64. Publication number 62, p. 3.

65. Laundries and telephone exchanges were declared to come under this provision. Court of Industrial Relations, *Second Annual Report*, 1921, p. 99.

66. *Revised Statutes*, 1923, 72-5002.

67. It is suggested in the standards that children between sixteen and eighteen who have completed the eighth grade but not the high-school grade, and who are legally and regularly employed, shall attend continuation schools at least eight hours a week; and children between sixteen and eighteen who have not completed the eighth grade or those who have and who are not regularly employed, must attend full-time schools. Occupational training for the mentally subnormal is suggested. For all children, vacation schools, "placing special emphasis on healthful play and leisure-time activities," are recommended.

thereafter, included in the standards, are not to be found in the Kansas law.

In the matter of hours of employment the Kansas law is also deficient. For those under twenty-one the standards set a day of eight hours, and forty-four hours per week, without the special provisions that the maximum working day for children between sixteen and eighteen be shorter than the legal working day for adults, and that the time spent by children under eighteen in continuation schools count as part of the working day; night work between 6 p. m. and 7 a. m. to be prohibited. The Kansas law limits the hours of those under sixteen to eight daily and forty-eight weekly. Provision for night work is the same as in the standards, but applies only to those under sixteen.

Perhaps the Kansas provisions as to minimum wages are, on paper, fairly satisfactory. A wage based on the "necessary" cost of proper living as determined by a minimum wage commission or other similar official board; apprenticeship and learning wages to be based on "educational principles only," are recommended in the standards. Power to regulate the wages of minors is now vested by the Kansas law in the Commission of Labor and Industry. But this law has been a dead letter ever since the regulation of the wages of adult women was declared unconstitutional. A central agency to deal with all juvenile placement and employment problems, recommended in the standards, is not provided for in Kansas.

The administrative features of the Kansas child labor law are also inferior to those set up as model. Instead of issuing employment certificates to all children between sixteen and eighteen, and to those between fourteen and eighteen for agricultural employments during vacation, the Kansas act requires them for children between fourteen and sixteen only in specified occupations. No certificate of physical fitness is required in Kansas. In other details of the certificate system, such as promise of employment, evidence of age and completion of eighth grade, standardized report forms, etc., the Kansas law is up to standard. Compulsory school attendance provisions are weak in Kansas. Instead of full-time attendance officers and state supervision of enforcement, there is local supervision and there are very few full-time attendance officers. So it is, also, with factory inspection. There is an inadequate number of factory inspectors, and no provision for a staff of inspectors to examine working children annually.

The bills prepared by the Kansas Children's Code Commission

embodied numerous improvements over the law as it then existed, and as it exists now. Fourteen years was the age limit proposed for all employments, including commercialized agricultural work, and sixteen years for all hazardous work. The list of what constitutes hazardous work was greatly extended, and power to declare any specific occupation hazardous was vested in the industrial court. A work week of six days was the only improvement proposed in the matter of hours; the day of eight and week of forty-eight hours, with no night work between 6 p. m. and 7 a. m., were retained. Work certificates were to be required for all employments, other features of the certificate system being retained and some brought up to standard. For children between fourteen and eighteen there was to be part-time school attendance until the completion of the tenth grade. Physical examinations were to be required of all children upon entering employment. But the proposals of the Children's Code Commission dealing directly with child labor have not been accepted by the legislature. No change has been made in the prohibitive or regulatory provisions of the child-labor law since 1917. Even the proposed child-labor amendment to the federal constitution was rejected, in 1925.<sup>68</sup> The attitude of those in power appears to be one of indifference. A deaf ear has been turned to all attempts at improvement.

68. *Laws*, 1925, ch. 191.



## Kansas History as Published in the State Press

A series of historical articles on Americus and vicinity has been conducted in the *Americus Greeting*, starting with the issue of November 4, 1931. The items have been taken from the diary of D. C. Grinell.

The snowstorm of April 13, 1873, was recalled by old-timers in the *Clyde Republican*, January 21 and 28, 1932. Fred French was one of the pioneers interviewed.

"The Black Pioneer," a history of the founding of Nicodemus by the Negroes in 1877-'78, by W. L. Sayers, was published in the *Bogue Messenger*, February 18, 25, and March 3, 1932.

The seventy-fifth anniversary edition of the *Leavenworth Times*, issued March 6, 1932, contained much early-day information. The *Times* was first published March 7, 1857. On May 5, 1871, the newspaper was purchased by Col. D. R. Anthony and has remained in the control of the Anthony family since that date.

"In Osborne Forty-eight Years Ago" the *Osborne County Farmer*, March 10, 1932, recalled the last effort to operate a saloon in that city. Since Kansas was already under a liquor prohibitory law the adventure was able to survive only three days.

Historical sketches of Bucklin's clubs and churches were featured in the *Banner* March 10, 1932. The edition was sponsored by the city's Business and Professional Women's Club.

A historical and pictorial edition of the *Garden City News*, published March 10, 1932, contained biographies and pictures of prominent Garden City women.

Early days in Kansas were recalled by W. S. Rees in the March 10, 1932, issue of the *Lincoln Sentinel-Republican*. Mr. Rees arrived in Lincoln in November, 1872.

The *Leon News*, in its issue of March 11, 1932, published a short letter from the late Thomas Dixon, pioneer of Butler county, which had been sent to his parents, then residents of England. Mr. Dixon homesteaded in Little Walnut township, Butler county, in 1874.

The *Beloit Gazette* on March 16, 1932, issued its sixty-first anniversary edition. A short biographical sketch of the city's first mayor,

Timothy F. Hersey, was published. Other features included the history of the *Gazette* and excerpts from several issues of the *Mitchell County Mirror*, founded on April 5, 1871, as the county's first newspaper. Pioneer names prominent in the edition were: J. E. Laff, J. B. Hyde, C. R. Herrick, Chas. W. Cooke, Herman Kendall, John Mahaffa and G. W. Port.

An article entitled "The Story of Abilene High School," by Phyllis Dentzer, was published in the *Abilene Weekly Reflector* in the issues of March 17, 31 and April 21, 1932. The complete history was illustrated and republished in the *Abilene High School Booster*, May 13.

Summerfield history was briefly reviewed by Helen Smith in the *Sun* of March 18, 1932.

A brief historical and industrial sketch of Topeka was published in *The Merchants Journal*, Topeka, March 19, 1932.

Reminiscences of early Rooks county, by Edward T. Taylor, United States representative from Colorado, were featured in *The Rooks County Record*, Stockton, March 24 and 31, 1932. Mr. Taylor settled on Elm creek in Rooks county, March 17, 1872.

Edmund B. Tarvin, a Civil War veteran, was interviewed by Byron E. Guise for the *Marshall County News*, Marysville, March 25, 1932. Mr. Tarvin recalled his war experiences, the grasshopper invasion of 1874 and many other incidents of pioneer life.

The killing of Jack Ledford, early Wichita hotel proprietor, was described by Manly Wade Wellman in the *Wichita Sunday Eagle*, March 27, 1932. A column historical sketch of Conway Springs, by Helen Akin, appeared in the same issue.

Dave D. Leahy, in his regular *Wichita Sunday Eagle* feature entitled "Random Recollections of Other Days" recalls many stories of interest in the Southwest's history. Subjects treated during the past three months were: Early Caldwell lynchings, March 27, 1932; Batt Carr and other Caldwell figures, April 3; Judge William P. Campbell, southern Kansas jurist, May 1; a Lisbon, Okla., election in the town's infancy, May 22; incidents of forty years ago in Wellington during one of southern Kansas' worst storms, May 29; scattering events during the opening of Oklahoma territory, June 5; and the growth of Enid, Okla., to a population of 5,000 within ten minutes, shortly after the opening of the Cherokee strip, June 12.

Biographical sketches of Dickinson county pioneers featured recently in the *Chapman Advertiser* include: Mr. and Mrs. George Russell Barnes, March 31, 1932; Mr. and Mrs. Ralph Scherer, April 7; Martin J. Schuler, April 14; George Tyler Winters, April 21; Michael Nicholson, April 28; James Nash, May 5; the family of Simeon Levi Graham, May 12; Robert Kenney, May 19, and addenda to biographies published previously, June 2.

Special Coffeyville and Pittsburg historical sections were featured by *The Kansas Knight*, St. Paul, in its issue for April, 1932.

A biographical sketch of David L. Payne was contributed by John C. Nicholson to the *Hutchinson Herald*, April 3, 1932.

Hard times in the middle seventies were recalled by J. M. Satterthwaite in the *Douglass Tribune*, April 8, 1932.

A brief history of the Methodist Episcopal Church of Paola was published in *The Western Spirit*, Paola, April 8, 1932. The church was organized in 1858.

Pony express days of the West were described by Milton Tabor in the *Topeka Daily Capital*, April 10, 1932. The express was started April 3, 1860.

The sixtieth anniversary edition of the *Baxter Springs Citizen*, issued April 14, 1932, republished many articles of historical interest from old newspaper files.

John W. Suggett, early-day mail carrier, was interviewed by Byron E. Guise for the *Marshall County News*, Marysville, April 15, 1932. Mr. Suggett came to Marysville in 1859, and carried mail for two years from Guittard station over the Oketo cut-off to Big Sandy, Neb.

A brief historical and industrial sketch of Hillsboro, by Helen Akin, was published in the *Wichita Eagle*, April 16, 1932.

Incidents in the life of William Mathewson, compiled by J. G. Masters, was published in a Sunday edition of the *Omaha World-Herald* and republished in the *Lyons Daily News*, April 19, 1932.

Names of leading Butler county citizens were featured by Helen Akin in a historical sketch of the county published in the *Wichita Eagle*, April 19, 1932.

The sixty-seventh anniversary of the granting of a charter to Ottawa University was celebrated April 20, 1932. The original charter was granted in 1860 to an association known as Roger



Williams University. A new state charter was issued in 1865, to Ottawa University. Historical articles were published in the *Ottawa Campus* and the *Ottawa Herald*.

"Reminiscences of a Home Missionary's Daughter," by Mrs. R. R. Hays, was published by the *Osborne County Farmer*, Osborne, April 21, 1932. Mrs. Hays was a speaker at the Woman's Home Missionary Society's thirtieth anniversary celebration, April 7.

The razing of Salina's "Upper Mill," built some time before 1870, inspired the *Salina Journal* to a review of the city's early milling activities in its issue of April 21, 1932.

Reminiscences of John Fisher, a Neosho county resident in 1869, were published in the *St. Paul Journal*, April 21, 1932.

Wellington history was featured in the *Wichita Sunday Eagle*, April 24, 1932. Paul V. Jefferies and Helen Akin contributed the article.

A column-length historical article on Mound Valley township, as written by B. P. Oakleaf for the *Mound Valley Herald*, April 27, 1882, was republished in the *Mound Valley Times-Journal*, April 21, 1932.

Life in Sumner county in the seventies was described by J. A. Seitz for the *Wellington Daily News*, April 27, 1932. The Seitz family settled two miles southeast of present-day Anson on the old cattle trail from Texas.

On the occasion of the fifty-sixth annual meeting of the Order of the Eastern Star, of Kansas, the *Pittsburg Sun* and *Headlight* of April 27, 1932, published brief histories of the organization.

Stafford county's first destructive tornado in the memory of the white settlers occurred fifty years ago last April, and was the subject of an article by Al McMillan in the *Macksville Enterprise*, April 28, 1932. The story was republished in the *Stafford Courier*, May 5.

"The Oakley House," Oakley's first hotel, was the subject of an illustrated historical sketch by Laura Dell Zeigler in the *Oakley Graphic*, April 29, 1932.

A biographical sketch of O. M. Dannevik, president of the Port Landis Town Company, was published in the *Norton Daily Telegram*, April 29, 1932. Port Landis, an extinct town, once was located

about one-half mile west of what is now Edmond, to which place the post office was moved about 1880.

The building of the Soule irrigation canal and a railroad from Dodge City to Montezuma were described by Dorothy Dallin for the Topeka *Daily Capital*, May 1, 1932.

Some of the troubles of an early-day liquor prohibition crusader were recalled by Frank M. Stahl, of Burlingame, in an interview with Margaret Whittemore for the Topeka *Daily Capital*, May 1, 1932.

Wichita's first schools were discussed by Victor Murdock in an interview with J. L. Mead for the *Evening Eagle*, May 3, 1932.

Doniphan county history from 1837 to 1932 was published in the eighteen-page illustrated seventy-fifth anniversary edition of *The Kansas Chief*, Troy, May 5, 1932. The *Chief* was first issued by Sol Miller at White Cloud under date of June 4, 1857, and was moved to Troy July 4, 1872.

"Interesting Spots Around Shawnee" was the title of a newspaper article appearing in the *Northeast Johnson County Herald*, Overland Park, May 5, 1932. A brief description of the Dutch cemetery located at First street and Fisher road was a feature.

The fiftieth anniversary of the Tonganoxie *Mirror* was observed, May 5, 1932. Special illustrated historical articles were printed.

Humorous incidents in fifty years of Ottawa history were recounted by Phil Gover in the *Ottawa Herald*, May 6, 1932.

Life in Mankato during the late eighties was reviewed by Jay Gould Keyes, of West Gowanda, N. Y., for *The Jewell County Monitor*, Mankato, May 6, 1932.

A brief history of the Mariadahl community as read by F. S. Gustafson before the Kiwanis club community meeting at Mariadahl, May 3, was published in the *Manhattan Morning Chronicle*, May 8, 1932.

In the opinion of Billy Peacock, frontiersman, Gen. George Armstrong Custer was only a "grandstander." To substantiate his belief Mr. Peacock reviewed the events leading up to the tragedy of the Little Big Horn for Paul I. Wellman, who recorded the interview in the *Wichita Sunday Eagle*, May 8, 1932, as a highlight in his series of weekly stories on Indian battles of the West. Mr. Peacock was

made a member of the Cheyenne tribe years ago and had personal contact with many of the foremost scouts on the western plains.

District school number 20, located two miles east of Falun, celebrated the sixtieth anniversary of its organization, May 7, 1932. A brief history was published in the May 10 issue of the *Salina Journal*.

"Thayer in 1876" was the title of an article written for the Neosho County Historical Society in November, 1931, by Mrs. Abby Howe Forest, and was published in the *St. Paul Journal*, May 12, 1932.

A series of new tales of pioneer life, relating the experiences of Rea Woodman in five early schools of Wichita, were commenced in the *Wichita Democrat*, May 14, 1932.

Incidents in early-day Kansas were recalled by C. W. Horr for the *Lawrence Daily Journal-World*, May 19, 1932. Mr. Horr came to Kansas in 1854 and has been a resident of the state since that time.

"Memories of Days Gone By," from the souvenir edition of 1898, is a historical feature in the *Overbrook Citizen*. The series commenced with the issue of May 19, 1932.

The oldest house still standing in Gove county is located ten miles east and one mile south of Gove City, according to John Norton, in a statement to the *Gove City Republican-Gazette*, May 19, 1932. The house was cut and framed in Chicago by the Kansas Pacific Railway Company and was shipped to Collyer in 1869. It was moved into Gove county in 1898. Another house, the property of Mrs. Anna Van Marter, situated about eleven miles northwest of Gove City, was mentioned. Part of the original building, constructed in 1879, still remains.

Reminiscences of the days when the Indians roamed over Washington county were briefly related by W. C. Hallowell, of Fort Morgan, Colo., in the *Washington County Register*, Washington, May 20, 1932.

David L. Payne, pioneer of Harvey county, was the subject of a biographical sketch in the *Topeka Daily Capital*, May 23, 1932, by John C. Nicholson.

The *Sterling Kansas Bulletin* of May 26, 1932, issued an illustrated historical edition commemorating the forty-fifth anniversary of Sterling College. The college was opened November 1, 1887, un-



der the acting presidency of A. N. Porter. Thirteen students were enrolled for the first term.

Fury of the cyclone which demolished Wellington, May 27, 1892, was described and illustrated in the *Monitor-Press*, May 26, 1932.

In observance of the fiftieth anniversary program of the Morrill Free Public Library of Hiawatha the *Daily World* for May 27, 1932, published a historical sketch of the institution. Rebecca D. Kiner, a former librarian, contributed the article.

The sixtieth anniversary edition of the *Wichita Eagle* was observed May 29, 1932, with a special historical section. The issue featured a story of the city by Manly Wade Wellman, and a résumé of the *Eagle's* activity since April 12, 1872, when the first issue appeared.

Topeka Typographical Union No. 121 observed its golden jubilee in May, 1932, with the issuance of an eighty-eight page illustrated booklet entitled *Fifty Years of History*. The union was first organized in Topeka in 1869, but in 1874 the charter was permitted to lapse. The present organization was effected on May 19, 1882. A year-by-year history of the local union, biographical sketches of well-known state and local printers, histories of the city's leading newspapers and the state printing plant were features of the edition. Dwight Thacher Harris and Clifford V. Souders were the compilers.

Letters from C. Q. Chandler, of Wichita, and Tom McNeal, of Topeka, recalling early Barber county history were features of the sixth annual home-coming edition of the *Hazelton Herald*, June 3, 1932.

Early historical notes of McPherson county, when "buffalos drank the Smoky Hill river dry," were published by the *McPherson Republican*, June 3, 1932. The information was obtained from an 1883 atlas of the county, compiled and written by H. B. Kelly.

A selection of the late Tom Tilma's editorials and articles was republished in the thirteenth anniversary edition of the *Wichita Plain-dealer*, June 3, 1932, the labor newspaper formerly edited by Mr. Tilma.

The descendants of the pioneers composing the Beecher Bible and Rifle Company, who founded Wabaunsee in 1856 and settled the surrounding farm land, organized May 30, 1932. A brief history of the

original colony was printed in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Times*, June 4, and was republished in the *Wamego Reporter*, June 9.

Sixty years of McPherson history were reviewed briefly in the *McPherson Republican*, June 6, 1932. The city was organized in 1872 and was named in honor of Gen. James B. McPherson.

A revised publication of J. C. Ruppenthal's translation from the German, of *Russian-German Settlements in the United States*, by Dr. Richard Sallett, was begun in *The Ellis County News*, Hays, June 9, 1932. Mr. Ruppenthal's translation was published in part in *The Russell County News*, Russell, in February and March.

The proposed reunion of former students of Central Normal College at Great Bend prompted Kent Eubank, Wichita *Eagle* reporter, to publish a history of the now defunct institution in the *Sunday Eagle*, June 12, 1932. The college was first opened in 1888 and passed out of existence in 1902.

A brief history of Burchfiel community church, Harper county, was published in the *Anthony Republican*, June 16, 1932.

A short history of Mountain Slope Masonic Lodge, No. 186, and A. C. Furman's reminiscences of the McKague family, were features of the fifty-third anniversary edition of the *Oberlin Herald*, June 16, 1932, announcing the dedication of the new McKague Memorial Masonic Temple.

The golden jubilee of Immanuel Lutheran Church, situated west of Linn, was observed June 12, 1932. A special illustrated history of the organization was published in the *Linn-Palmer Record*, June 17, 1932.

## Kansas Historical Notes

The rock garden and lily pool which were presented to Shawnee Mission by the Shawnee Mission Floral Club were dedicated April 3, 1932. Gov. Harry H. Woodring accepted a Washington elm in behalf of the state and Kirke Mechem, secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society, accepted the rock garden for the mission.

A monument to Dodge City's "cow town" history was unveiled on Boot Hill June 6, 1932. It is estimated that seven million Texas longhorns came over the trails from Texas to Dodge City during the seventies and eighties.

The Scott County Historical Society met in the Scott County State Park June 13, 1932. The following officers were elected to head the association for the ensuing year: J. K. Freed, president; W. S. Manker, vice president; Mrs. Clarence Dickhut, secretary; Elmer Epperson, reporter; Mrs. Daisy Elrod, librarian.

Stories of early-day life in Manhattan and community were told June 18, 1932, at a meeting of the Pioneers' association of Riley county.

Relics of interest to Harvey county and Kansas are being collected by the Bethel College museum at Newton.

*Bing; the Story of a Tramp Dog* (New York: Wm. Morrow & Co., 1932), by Dr. Thomas C. Hinkle, of Carbondale, is a recent book of interest to young Kansans. The locale of the story is laid near Junction City during the cattle- and sheep-herding days of the early eighties.

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### ORDER OF THE PURPLE HEART AWARDED TO GENERAL METCALF.

Gen. Wilder S. Metcalf, of Lawrence, president of the Kansas State Historical Society in 1919, recently was awarded the Order of the Purple Heart by the War Department, in recognition of his services on February 23 and March 29, 1899, while serving as a major in the Twentieth Kansas volunteer infantry in the Philippines.

The Order of the Purple Heart was established by Gen. George Washington as a permanent decoration at Newburgh, August 7, 1782, for the performance "of any singularly meritorious action, instances



of unusual gallantry and extraordinary fidelity and essential service in any way." It is believed that only three awards of the decoration were made at this time. Subsequent to the Revolution the award of the decoration was forgotten, and was not revived until February 22, 1932, the 200th anniversary of the birth of Washington.

General Metcalf has been a resident of Kansas for many years. During the Spanish-American War he succeeded Gen. Frederick Funston in command of the famous Twentieth Kansas regiment of volunteers, and during the World War he served as a brigadier-general in command of Camp Beauregard, La. He has been active in the American Legion, and was the state commander in 1921-'22. He has served on the national executive committee, and has been chairman of the national finance committee of the Legion for almost ten years. At two different times he has served as the commissioner of pensions in Washington. He has also been a member of the national militia board, and recently retired from active service in a Topeka life insurance company of which he had served as president.





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NOTE.—Articles in the *Quarterly* appear in chronological order without regard to their importance.

## The Military Phase of Santa Fé Freighting, 1846-1865

WALKER D. WYMAN

THE Mexican War brought a great and rapid change in the traffic on the Santa Fé trail. Over this highway moved troops, traders, expresses, and hundreds of wagons belonging to the quartermaster's department. The northern province of Mexico, having been economically a part of the United States for several years, fell before this avalanche of guns and goods, which was a part of the Army of the West.

Official hostilities between the United States and Mexico began May 12, 1846. Stephen W. Kearny's Army of the West was en route to Santa Fé in detachments by the end of June. Col. Sterling Price's regiment and the Mormon battalion followed later in the summer.

The problem of supplying the army was of no small import. Reports from New Mexico indicated a grain shortage in that country. Reliance upon that area for a food supply was impossible. The alternative was to send all subsistence overland, in wagons pulled by mules or oxen. Grave doubts were expressed concerning the food supply for approximately 6,000 Americans who would be in New Mexico. The Santa Fé trail ran through a land of hostile tribes. Santa Fé was 873 miles from the government depot at Fort Leavenworth. Kearny realized the precarious position in which his army would be placed, and demanded supplies for twelve months. This was a demand impossible to meet. One spectator said that 250 wagons accompanied Kearny, and another said that sufficient provisions for six months were to leave with the army.

Captain Turney of Colonel Kearny's staff arrived in St. Louis from Fort Leavenworth on June 12 with instructions "to furnish necessary provisions, baggage, trains, etc.," for the contemplated trip to New Mexico. It was estimated that 900 wagons, 1,000 teamsters, and about 10,000 oxen and mules would be required. Government agents operated actively in St. Louis and vicinity, buying mules, horses, wagons and provisions, and in contracting for the manufacture of wagons, knapsacks and various other articles necessary for the army. Thousands of barrels of pork at \$10 per barrel and thousands of pounds of "clear bacon-sides" at five cents per pound were purchased in St. Louis and sent by way of steamer to

Fort Leavenworth. Agents of the commissary department penetrated Missouri and near-by states for mules, paying \$100 apiece for all they could get. An incomplete report of the quartermaster general shows that 459 horses, 3,658 mules, 14,904 oxen, 1,556 wagons, and 516 pack saddles were used by the government in the fiscal year of 1846-1847.<sup>1</sup>

All the supplies were shipped to Fort Leavenworth. Provisions came faster than wagons, accumulating on the banks of the river. By June 20, just six days before the last of Kearny's army left the fort, a provision train was on the trail and "others are being loaded and started every day." Provisions for 1,300 men to last three months were in the wagons going across the plains. Soldiers not yet dispatched performed what they called "fatigue duty" in loading wagons, and they did it with "utmost cheerfulness," some one observed. When a steamer brought a deck load of wagons, they were immediately loaded and sent off in groups of seven or eight, and instructed to wait for Kearny at the crossing of the Arkansas river. Even far-away Pittsburgh supplied wagons. Steamers seemed to be afflicted with a wagon epidemic or eczema, being literally covered with them. The St. Louis *New Era* skeptically advised the government to send a few wheelwrights and blacksmiths ahead of these wagons "to secure their arrival at the place of destination."

The wagons accompanying the army were poorly distributed. Tents and utensils were not always with the proper company. The instances of intense hunger on the part of some companies were not rare. Undisciplined volunteers assaulted one train and used the contents regardless of the objections of the drivers who said it was a "through" train, not to be opened until its arrival. Even Kearny had to call a wagon train back upon one occasion.

All provision trains which did not accompany the army to New Mexico were sent by mistake to Bent's Fort.<sup>2</sup> The effects of this surprising blunder were both immediate and far-reaching. Even Kearny's army suffered en route. At Bent's Fort the army was placed on half rations. Before their arrival in Santa Fé part of them were existing on one-third rations. From August 1 until the last of September they had no sugar or coffee and but one-half ration of flour. The march of the day before they reached Santa Fé was made "without a morsel of food." Even the cooking uten-

1. This report was given November 24, 1847, in *Senate Executive Documents*, 30 Cong., 1 sess., v. 1, s. n. 503, Doc. No. 1, p. 545.

2. The teamsters refused to drive their oxen beyond Bent's Fort, maintaining that their articles of agreement did not require them to go farther. See *Senate Executive Documents*, 30 Cong., 1 sess., v. IV, s. n. 506, Doc. No. 23, p. 4.



sils had not yet arrived. Dough was wound around a stick and baked over an open fire. The first night that American sentries paraded the public plaza in Santa Fé, hungry soldiers went from door to door trying to buy food. These conditions were not remedied for some time—as late as November 14 a soldier wrote that he had beef and bread for breakfast, bread, beef and coffee for dinner, and for dessert twice each week rice soup was served. This beef, he said, was boiled six hours from “a not-being-able-to-walk-any-longer disease” (sic) cattle. At least one New Mexican was under contract to deliver beef in Santa Fé. This beef, if one is to believe the above testimony, was of questionable value as an article of nourishment. Native flour was purchased, being “a miserable stuff—exceedingly coarse, and operates on the bowels of many persons.” However, in spite of the murmurings on the part of soldiers, the commissary general reported on November 17, 1846, that there had been “no official complaint of either quality or quantity of subsistence furnished to the armies. . . .”

To remedy the precarious condition of the troops in Santa Fé and vicinity, soldiers were sent to Bent's Fort to aid in forwarding supplies. In early November one soldier wrote that the ten wagons of provisions which he had the pleasure of bringing from Bent's Fort were pretty well exhausted; there had been no other arrivals “nor do we know when we shall have. . . .” By the latter part of October wagons were being forwarded from Bent's Fort at the rate of thirty per week. Some commissary trains were going straight through, but even these went the long route by way of the fort. There were about one hundred forty tons of provisions stored at Bent's Fort on October 30, and only about a dozen wagons were en route there from Fort Leavenworth. The quartermaster reported that no wagons were to leave the states after September 8, but there is reason to believe that some were dispatched at a later date. Many wagons, mules and oxen were kept in Santa Fé to accompany troops to the south and to the Indian country. Upon the arrival of wagons in Santa Fé the quartermaster had the tires reset, and immediately sent them on their return trip.

The Mexican War may have been planned some time before the shedding of blood on American soil, but the method of supplying its army shows lack of deliberation. Wagon trains were dispatched without guard in a country through which few could hope to pass without attack by roving bands of mounted Indians. Inexperienced drivers were employed. As high as fifteen cents per mile per pound

was paid by sutlers. Goods were sent to a fort on the Arkansas river while an army was in need of food. The cost of all this was excessive. Pork was purchased in St. Louis for \$10 per barrel. The cost of it transported from Fort Leavenworth to Bent's Fort was more than \$32 per barrel. From there to Santa Fé the cost was \$18 per barrel. By adding the original price to the cost of transportation, a barrel of pork cost \$50 in Santa Fé.<sup>3</sup> As the St. Louis *New Era* commented, "the dear people pay."

The new and quite abnormal traffic in the bustling days of 1846 demanded scores of teamsters and wagons. Wagons came from Pittsburgh, St. Louis, and were also purchased from anybody who had one to sell. Many young men who had rushed to the frontier for the purpose of enlisting in the Army of the West found that source of enlistment closed, hence they joined the ranks of the army teamsters.<sup>4</sup> This type of service paid from \$25 to \$30 per month, including subsistence, while ordinary soldiers received but \$7 for the same period of service on regular duty. Oftentimes soldiers were given "extra duty" at the salary of \$14.90 per month. These teamsters became foot soldiers of a wagon train subject to dangers far more perilous than those faced by many of the regular soldiers. These men were not accustomed to handling several yoke of oxen or teams of mules over a desolate plain, contesting the right of way with Comanche or Pawnee. Neither did they know how to care for the animals. Lieut. J. W. Abert complained that teamsters mistreated cattle and wagons. The road from Fort Leavenworth to Santa Fé was strewn, it was said, with "about \$5,000,000 worth of U. S. government supplies; the bones of cattle, and in many places the drivers, lie side by side—a melancholy result, brought about alone by inexperience." Innumerable wagons lay amidst a "grievous waste of provisions." Near Santa Fé in December, 1846, Lieut. Abert saw many carcasses of oxen. "Some were half-devoured by the wolves and ravens, others had not been dead long, for the birds of prey had only torn out their eyes."

The supply trains, as a rule, were dispatched without military guard but were given ammunition with which to protect themselves from the Indians. A writer from Bent's Fort complained that only two rounds of ammunition were given to some of the trains. The *Missouri Republican* remarked that unless Colonel Price, who left Fort Leavenworth in latter July, did not "give the Indians a drubbing, all provision wagons are in danger of being cut off, and the

3. *Niles' Register*, August 8, 1846, quoting the *Missouri Republican*.

4. *Senate Reports of Committees*, 30 Cong., 2 sess., s. n. 535, No. 291.



army left to starve. There is gross neglect in failing to send military guard."

Further distress was expected because of lack of grass for animals. The season had been dry and there was great scarcity of water. Fires had destroyed much of the grass. The troops had driven the buffalo far from the trail. Private traders, anticipating a lack of provisions, took an additional supply with them. A returned soldier reported on October 30, 1846, that the grass was "very indifferent and very scarce . . . and extremely dry weather [had caused] . . . much suffering from want of water for the teams."

In the winter of 1846-'47 the trail was covered with snow. Overland freighting was hazardous. Two hundred miles of the trail were covered with two feet of snow. The ravines were impassable. A few government trains tried to go through. One Mr. Coons, a private trader who made the trip from Santa Fé in December and January, saw a government train which had left Santa Fé on December 8. The teamsters were in "a very destitute condition, twenty of them having subsisted for ten days on the meat of a government mule."<sup>5</sup> Eight teamsters were seen one hundred miles from Bent's Fort in January, 1847. They were all afoot and nearly out of provisions. Some of them had frozen hands and feet. Captain Clary found two dead men at the foot of a tree, the bark of which had been eaten all around. By the middle of March it was supposed that approximately fifty government employees had perished on the trail. Lieutenant Abert, while returning to the states in the first part of the year, had his mules stolen by the Indians. His men pulled one of the wagons for a while. A thirty-six-hour storm covered them with five feet of snow at Turkey Creek, Kansas, and in that snow they left their bedding, provisions, guns, and utensils. A twenty-seven-mile walk brought them to Cottonwood Fork, where they met a wagon master with plenty of provisions.<sup>6</sup>

During 1847 commissary trains and troops continued to ply back and forth between New Mexico and Fort Leavenworth. The volunteers had enlisted for a year. The romance of the war being over, most of them refused to serve again. In small groups, usually with wagon trains, many of them returned to Missouri. More troops rode across the plains to fill the fast-depleting ranks. Some one in Santa Fé who remembered the drunken brawls and the flagrant

5. The experiences of Mr. Coons are given in the *St. Louis Reveille*, February 26, 1846, and quoted in the *New York Tribune*, March 10, 1847.

6. Abert's account is a classic. It is given in the *St. Louis Union*, March 9, quoted in the *New York Tribune*, March 19, 1847; also given in *Senate Executive Documents*, 30 Cong., 1 sess., v. IV, s. n. 506, Doc. No. 23, p. 4.



violation of civil rights which existed when General Price was in command, wrote that "we almost dreaded the arrival of new troops, fearful lest the scenes of last year were about to be enacted again."

Commissary wagons made their way across the plains, but none arrived in Santa Fé before July 5. The commissary department had experienced some anxious weeks, for private trains had been arriving since June. John Dougherty contracted to take 550 head of cattle across to Santa Fé at the rate of \$2.50 per hundred pounds. The cattle and a large train of government wagons and private traders were protected, in a sense, by a company of dragoons. In the meantime prices were high in Santa Fé. Crushed wheat could be purchased only in limited quantities. Sheep weighing thirty pounds sold from \$1.50 to \$2. Mules reputed to be worth \$35 sold for \$60 each; oxen "worth \$30 in Missouri" brought \$70; and corn to feed them was offered at \$3.50 per bushel. Some one on the commissary staff remarked that "we have freely paid them, rather than levy forced contributions." Only specie would talk to the native of New Mexico.

According to the *Reveille* (June 3, 1848) the Indians attacked almost every train that crossed the plains in 1846 and 1847. A man from Bent's Fort wrote that the "Pawnees are playing the deuce with the provision wagons . . . [they have] killed men, burned several wagons . . . and I am glad of this because now, perhaps, Uncle Sam, the old fool, will punish these Indians who have so long committed outrages upon the traders with impunity." The commissioner of Indian Affairs in his annual report of 1847 exonerated the Indians north of the Arkansas by saying that, with the exception of the Pawnee, no plains Indians had attacked any wagon trains. However, property, "which was no doubt plundered from trains, has been found in the possession of two or three tribes [of the plains] . . . but they alleged having received it in trade. . . . They all cheerfully gave it up . . . except the Pawnees, who were compelled to do so."<sup>7</sup>

The chief depredations were committed between the Cimarron river and Pawnee Fork at the bend of the Arkansas. The Comanches told that they were advanced large droves of horses and mules as well as considerable money by the Mexicans. In return they were to kill Americans and destroy all their property.<sup>8</sup> The penetration of the Indian territory by the various trails and the

7. *Senate Executive Documents*, 30 Cong., 1 sess., v. I, s. n. 503, Doc. No. 1, pp. 742, 743.

8. This explanation was given in the *St. Louis Reveille*, August 30, 1847.

rapidly diminishing buffalo upon which the Indian relied to supply physical wants, may explain the attitude of the Indian more sympathetically, perhaps more scientifically. Facing their approaching doom, and having once tasted the plunder of the caravans, the plains Indians gathered at the Arkansas crossing each year to harass the passing wagon trains. Mounted on horses, armed with bows and arrows, spears, and guns, few travelers were free from their attack or their night prowlings. Cattle were speared and the tails cut off close for trophies. Scalps were lifted from many heads. As Col. Alton Easton's regiment filed across the prairies in June and July, 1847, great herds of buffalo were driven in close to the trail by the Indians, for the purpose of decoying troops away from the main body. Great piles of fuel at various points on the south side of the Arkansas succeeded in luring men away upon one occasion. Eight men paid for this venture with their lives.<sup>9</sup>

One government train was surrounded by a horde of Indians. Three hundred sacks of flour were cut open, so the story goes, and scattered "to the four winds of Heaven. The prairie for miles around . . . is said to have been as white . . . as snow. The villainous rascals, immediately upon getting possession of the wagons, set to work powdering themselves and the color of their yellow skins was soon changed to one of snow whiteness. The sport of snowballing each other with hands full of flour they enjoyed to a great degree; . . . they bedecked themselves out in the sacks, and in this garb several were seen by the men who returned to Fort Leavenworth . . . two or three days after the robbery. One fellow had modeled his sack into a turban, and the brand U. S. was immediately in front. The letters were quite unintelligible to them, but they seemed to prize them quite highly, as in all the breech clothes made of them the U. S. was . . . in front." These Indians, according to the story, besides having their fun, did the conventional thing of carrying away the arms, clothing, and fifty head of mules.<sup>10</sup>

A Delaware Indian came in from the plains in June, 1847, and told of the assault of 1,000 Indians upon thirty government wagons. The teamsters were driven from the saddle and massacred. The wagons, stores, and mules were taken.

These incidents are not rare. Col. William Gilpin estimated the total losses from Indians in 1847 to have been 47 Americans killed,

9. *Ibid.*, August 7, 1847.

10. This tale is given in the *St. Louis Era*, quoted in the *New York Tribune*, December 4, 1847. The incident is typical in general nature, if not in detail.



330 wagons destroyed, and 6,500 head of stock plundered.<sup>11</sup> The greater amount of these losses was sustained by government trains, Gilpin believed, since "no resting places, depots, or points of security exist between Council Grove and Vegas, a bleak stretch of 600 miles." These losses evidently caused the government to heed the demand for military protection. On November 30, 1846, an Indian agent had been appointed for the Indians between the Platte and the Arkansas.<sup>12</sup> Small forts on the Arkansas had been temporarily used by soldiers. Wagon trains had banded together as many as 180 at a time. The troops which went across in 1847 carefully sheltered accompanying wagon trains. In September, 1847, Gilpin was placed in command of a battalion to be used in guarding the Santa Fé trail. These troops were organized at Independence and St. Louis and outfitted at Fort Leavenworth. Including the teamsters there were 519 in this battalion; 70 wagons carried provisions for 100 days; 856 horses, mules, and cattle completed the force. The last of this detachment left on October 6, the whole force concentrating at Fort Mann, on the Arkansas. Gilpin left three companies to rebuild the fort, and he proceeded up the river to winter among the Cheyenne and Arapahoe. Supplies were drawn from Santa Fé and Taos. Horses lived on dead grass. After an expedition to the south the Indians retreated from the Arkansas for the first time in several years. He then concentrated his troops on the eastern part of the trail. In early 1848 troops were divided, Captain Pelzer was in command at Fort Mann, and Gilpin at Bent's Fort. It was reported that the troops were in a "disgraceful state of insubordination, officers doing as they pleased."

In 1848 wagons loaded with pork and flour continued to creak along on the Santa Fé trail. The plains Indians did not wreak their vengeance on the oxen and their drivers in that season. Some trains and a herd of beef cattle were escorted by troops en route to New Mexico. Gilpin and his little band of soldiers stayed at their posts on the Arkansas. Thomas Fitzpatrick, a confirmed cynic in the matter of a peaceable relationship existing between white man and the Indian, tersely stated that Gilpin had acted only in the defensive. He did not succeed in that, he said, "as the Indians took by force many of their horses." However, he did admit that Indian attacks were less frequent, but this may be attributed to the fact that the marauders had "secured so much

11. *House Executive Documents*, 30 Cong., 2 sess., v. 1, s. n. 537, Doc. No. 1, p. 137.

12. Leroy R. Hafen, "Thomas Fitzpatrick and the First Indian Agency of the Upper Platte and the Arkansas," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, v. XV., pp. 374-384.



booty . . . and have been luxuriating in and enjoying the spoils."

The peace treaty with Mexico was confirmed by the senate in May. Eight hundred seventy-five troops were retained in the seven posts of New Mexico. Santa Fé continued to be the army depot to which government wagons came with supplies. According to a gentleman who arrived in the latter part of August, 400 public wagons were on the trail in August. Gilpin estimated that 3,000 wagons, 12,000 people, and 50,000 head of live stock passed over the trail in the last year of this period of conquest. The first army contractor, James Browne, of Independence, made several agreements in May and June to deliver government stores to Fort Union, New Mexico. In one of his contracts he agreed to buy a number of wagons, ox yokes, and chains from the quartermaster's department. This indicated that the government was slowly withdrawing from the freighting business.<sup>13</sup>

The conquest of northern Mexico had been made, the political transfer merely consummating what had been done economically several years before. It was the uncompromising nature of our new wards, the Apache Indians, that made necessary the establishment of a permanent military frontier. The barren nature of the country made reliance upon local food supplies somewhat precarious at all times, and undesirable most of the time. Hence Missouri river towns settled down to the booming business of freight depots, connecting the steamer (and the railroad) with the prairie schooner, the old world with the new. The "contract system," or the employment of private freighting firms by the government to transport supplies for a fixed sum per mile per pound, became the accepted means of furnishing "Navaho Land" with food. To these lonely posts, located in the fastnesses of the marauding red man, wagon trains pulled by oxen and manned by bullwhackers, made their toilsome way.

These "forts," which were to make up the Ninth Military Department's defense system, were scattered throughout the territory. In 1849 there were 987 soldiers occupying seven posts. Ten years later sixteen posts accommodated over 2,000 troops.<sup>14</sup> However,

13. These contracts are given in *Senate Executive Documents*, 31 Cong., 1 sess., v. VI, s. n. 554, Doc. No. 26, p. 12; *House Executive Documents*, 31 Cong., 1 sess., v. VII, s. n. 576, Doc. No. 38.

14. A complete survey of all the forts and posts occupied, the time of the construction and excavation, is given in *House Executive Documents*, 35 Cong., 2 sess., v. IX, s. n. 1008, Doc. No. 93, pp. 21, 22. The distribution of the troops for various years is given in *Senate Executive Documents*, 31 Cong., 2 sess., v. I, s. n. 587, Doc. No. 1, p. 110; *Ibid.*, 32 Cong., 2 sess., v. II, s. n. 659, Doc. No. 1, p. 56; *Ibid.*, 33 Cong., 2 sess., v. II, s. n., 747, Doc. No. 2, p. 6; *Ibid.*, 34 Cong., 3 sess., v. III, s. n. 876, pp. 244, 245; *Ibid.*, 36 Cong., 1 sess., v. II, Part 2, s. n. 1024, Doc. No. 2, pp. 606, 607; *House Executive Documents*, 40 Cong., 2 sess., v. II, Part 1, s. n. 1324, Doc. No. 1, p. 40.

the presence of uniformed men did not subjugate the Indian. In the years 1846-1850 the people suffered the loss, according to contemporary reports, of 150,231 sheep, 893 horses, 758 mules and asses, and 1,254 cows.<sup>15</sup> Treaties were made only to be broken. Implements, rugs, and calicoes were brought from California and Missouri to bribe them.<sup>16</sup> Troops marched and countermarched. The Indian agent of the territory complained that such conditions were a result of a combination of circumstances—the wild, desert, and mountainous country and the “savage and untamed habits of most of the Indians who roam over it.” More troops were demanded by citizens in Santa Fé. Thomas Fitzpatrick, in reply, accused the traders who “live and thrive on the expenditures of the troops” of being the loudest in asking for protection. They care less about protection than they do about augmenting and increasing the expenses of the general government . . .<sup>17</sup> Even Mexico advised the United States to remember her treaty obligations and stop depredations on the boundary. The government slowly acquiesced and troops marched down the Old Trail to protect a bulging frontier.

Thus the Indian gave rise to the necessity of feeding troops located several hundred miles from the military frontier of the Mississippi valley. The *Missouri Republican* pointed out that one-seventh of the army was in New Mexico trying to protect one-twentieth of our frontier.<sup>18</sup> Santa Fé was the headquarters of the army and the depot for supplies until 1851. In that year Fort Union, located some 100 miles northeast of Santa Fé, became the military depot. Freighters transported goods to this place for distribution, or freighted the goods directly to the scattered posts in that district. Forage and fuel were purchased in the territory, as a rule. In the latter part of the decade the expenses of overland freighting were decreased by purchasing beans and vinegar from merchants of Santa Fé or near-by towns.

During the Mexican War the quartermaster's department transported most of the supplies for the troops in New Mexico. Perhaps it was the waste and inefficiency of this war-time experience which caused the government to make greater use of the contract system for overland transportation. In 1848 James Browne, of Independence, Missouri, agreed to transport 200,000 pounds of goods

15. *Senate Executive Documents*, 32 Cong., 1 sess., v. III, s. n. 613, Doc. No. 1, p. 271.

16. *Ibid.*, 36 Cong., 1 sess., v. I, s. n. 1023, Doc. No. 2, p. 173.

17. *House Executive Documents*, 31 Cong., 2 sess., v. I, s. n. 595, Doc. No. 1, p. 58.

18. *Missouri Republican*, September 6, 1850.

and other "such government stores as may be delivered to him" at \$11.75 per hundred. To aid the government in converting its freighting equipment into capital he offered to buy the surplus wagons, ox yokes, etc."<sup>19</sup>

In 1849 the era of government contract freighting properly began. The freighters, James Browne and William H. Russell, contracted to transport such stores as could be delivered to them at \$9.88 per hundred.<sup>20</sup>

Between July 8 and October 2, 1850, 278 wagons left Fort Leavenworth for Santa Fé and El Paso. The contractors were Joseph Clymer, David Waldo, James Browne, "Brown, Russell & Company," and Jones & Russell. Brown, Russell & Company were the principal freighters, with 135 wagons. Rates ranged from \$7.87½ to \$14.33½, depending on the destination and the time of the year. The average rates were \$8.87½ to Santa Fé and \$13.47½ to El Paso. There were no contracts to the other posts.<sup>21</sup> In the spring of 1850 Fort Leavenworth was literally flooded with barrels which had been shipped up the river from St. Louis. Since there was no warehouse, the nine-pin alley, company quarters, and two "leaky blockhouses" served as temporary places of deposit until the freighters loaded them for the plains. Later in the year a public warehouse was built out of the proceeds from the sale of unserviceable horses and wagons, the "whole of which might have been given away with advantage."

George McCall, inspector general of the War Department, gave a few helpful suggestions for freighting bacon and hard bread. Since the bacon sides were cut in squares, when packed in the round whisky barrels they left large "interstices." In addition to that, the round barrel left much unused space in the wagons. He recommended square boxes for both bacon and bread. Freighting a barrel which weighed one-half as much as the contents seemed a costly procedure, so he asked why a baker could not be sent. However, his suggestions were not followed—soldiers of the adobe forts continued to eat hard bread while contractors prospered.<sup>22</sup>

19. This contract is given in *Senate Executive Documents*, 31 Cong., 1 sess., v. VI, s. n. 554, Doc. No. 26, p. 12.

20. *House Executive Documents*, 31 Cong., 1 sess., v. VII, s. n. 576, Doc. No. 38.

21. An elaborate report of freighting for the years 1850 and 1851, including the dates of departure of the wagons, the number of wagons, the number of pounds, the exact destination, and the rate for each contract, is given in a report by Asst. Quar. E. A. Ogden, of Fort Leavenworth (October 4, 1851). See *Senate Executive Documents*, 32 Cong., 1 sess., v. I, s. n. 611, Doc. No. 1.

22. This full report is given in *Senate Executive Documents*, 31 Cong., 2 sess., v. I, s. n. 587, Doc. No. 1, Part 2.



In 1851 contractors made long pilgrimages to Santa Fé, El Paso, Albuquerque, Doña, Taos, Las Vegas, Fort Union, and Rayado. Jones & Russell sent 131 wagons from Fort Leavenworth in May. Clymer, who seems to have been the only other contractor, sent one train of thirty wagons. Freight rates were lower than in the previous year, the highest being \$12.84.<sup>23</sup>

It is fair to assume that some of the goods, upon delivery, were in a deplorable condition. The long drive of 800 or 1,000 miles, during the summer months, had unfavorable effects on meat, in particular, as well as on other food products. At the post of El Paso from October 1, 1849, to July 31, 1851, these goods were condemned: Three barrels and 68 pounds of pork; 58,561 pounds of bacon; 7,088½ hams; 36 barrels and 172 pounds of flour; 394 pounds of hard bread; 3 bushels and 7 quarts of beans; 517 pounds of rice; 96 pounds of coffee; 183 pounds of sugar; 12 pounds of candles; 4 quarts of salt; and 114 gallons of pickles.<sup>24</sup> However, not all of these goods had come from Missouri.

In 1851 an experiment was tried in supplying the troops in the southern part of the district from San Antonio.<sup>25</sup> The total cost of \$22 per hundred made it prohibitive as a regular source of supply. The quartermaster decided that the Santa Fé trail was the cheaper route. The continued use of whisky barrels in shipping bacon and hard bread was the cause of the commissary general's report that flour would be more convenient to pack and "generally preferred by the men." A trial had been made in the use of the "meat biscuit" in the hope that it could form a part of the soldiers' rations. But the commissary general thought the reports gave "reason to believe that it cannot be used as a substitute for the bulkier parts of the rations."<sup>26</sup>

Alexander Majors and J. B. Yager were the principal contractors in 1853.<sup>27</sup> Rates had increased to \$16. In that year the commissary department, perhaps moved by the humanitarian spirit as much as by the scientific, experimented on salt cures for pork. The possibility of spoiled meat was somewhat lessened when J. C. Irwin drove 2,000 cattle down the trail to New Mexico to be used as a source of fresh meat.<sup>28</sup> This probably did much to solve that calory problem.

23. *Ibid.*, 32 Cong., 1 sess., v. I, s. n. 611, Doc. No. 1 (see footnote No. 21).

24. *Ibid.*, p. 252.

25. See a detailed report of the quartermaster general of November 22, 1851, given in *Senate Executive Documents*, 32 Cong., 1 sess., v. 1, s. n. 611, Doc. No. 1, pp. 219 *et seq.*

26. *Ibid.*, p. 336.

27. *House Executive Documents*, 33 Cong., 1 sess., v. I, s. n. 721, Doc. No. 63, p. 33.

28. *Wichita Beacon*, March 11, 1928, as given in *Trails Clippings* (compiled by the Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka), v. II, p. 198.

Supplies were freighted to El Paso, Fort Fillmore, Albuquerque, and Fort Union, directly from Fort Leavenworth, in 1854. The cost of transportation had decreased; but the system of contracting for the goods to be delivered at Fort Leavenworth began to cause some trouble. The contracts were given to the lowest bidder and were "let" nine months before delivery. In 1850 some had been defaulted because of the rise in prices. In 1856 Comm. Gen. George Gibson complained that the provisions were not of a good quality and "consequently the decay is greater. The contractors as a general rule are not dealers in articles, but speculators, without the same inducement to produce good articles as a regular dealer." He concluded that in his thirty-eight years of experience he had failed to find a single benefit to the government in the contract system, "whilst its evils have increased. . . ." <sup>29</sup> In 1857 no bids to supply the troops were accepted. Supplies were purchased outright as needed.

In the freighting season of 1857 Majors & Russell contracted to transport 5,000,000 pounds of supplies from Fort Leavenworth or Fort Riley to Fort Union, intermediate points, or New Mexico posts.<sup>30</sup> Other contracts were made during the year. They virtually had a monopoly, and were well on their way toward becoming towering figures among the freighters of the West and Southwest.

On January 16, 1858, Russell, Majors & Waddell agreed to receive all supplies turned over to them in 1858 and 1859, and to deliver these goods to posts in Kansas, New Mexico, and the Gadsden Purchase. The aggregate each year was to be from 50,000 to 10,000,000 pounds. Freight charges varied from \$1.25 to \$4.50 per hundred pounds per hundred miles with an additional 10 per cent for hard bread, bacon, pine lumber, and shingles.<sup>31</sup> This firm was the principal contractor in 1860 and 1861, being engaged at both ends of the terminals, Fort Leavenworth and Fort Union, in forwarding supplies.<sup>32</sup>

The quartermaster general in 1865 reported that his department had no statistics to show the extent of overland freighting in the number of wagons engaged. The total cost of transporting stores to Fort Union and posts in New Mexico and along the trail was \$1,439,538. While the policy had been long adopted of having the troops as self-sufficient as possible, the cost of grain transported

29. *House Executive Documents*, 33 Cong., 1 sess., v. I, Part 2, s. n. 711, Doc. No. 1, p. 141.

30. *Ibid.*, 35 Cong., 1 sess., v. IX, s. n., 955, Doc. No. 57, p. 8.

31. *Ibid.*, 35 Cong., 2 sess., v. VII, s. n. 1006, Doc. No. 50, pp. 4, 5.

32. *Ibid.*, 36 Cong., 2 sess., v. VIII, s. n. 1099, Doc. No. 47, pp. 8-10.

to New Mexico in that year was \$697,101.69. A bushel of corn purchased at Fort Leavenworth and delivered at Fort Union cost \$9.44.<sup>33</sup>

Two forces were at work in the first half of the decade of the sixties—the railway and the farmer. By 1865 the lines of survey crossed the trails at all angles. Farmers began to fence in their “160’s” according to “the unyielding lines of his rectangular boundaries.” The homestead act of 1862 made the Santa Fé trail a meandering line, not following the ridges as of old, but often leading through wet, low land to avoid some farmer’s corn field or shocks of wheat.<sup>34</sup>

The railroad put an end to the government contractor. The Kansas Pacific pushed westward. A government inspector advised against shipping from the terminal of the railroad in 1866, since there were no warehouses at the end of the line.<sup>35</sup> In 1867 the railroad transported goods to Fort Harker, thus saving the contractor 215 miles. From that point John E. Reeside agreed to transport the stores to forts in Kansas, Colorado, and to Fort Union. Mitchell and Craig freighted from Fort Union. Military posts in Arizona required one-fourth of the total supplies consumed in the Ninth Military District.<sup>36</sup> However, some of the public trains came overland from California.

When the shrill whistle of the Kansas Pacific was heard in Denver, the death knell of the Old Trail was sounded. The branch south from Bent’s Fort was all that was left of the most famous trail in the Southwest. The great business of government freighting was never again to be of great importance to the men with ox teams. Many of the cattle were fattened and shipped back over the road in a box car to serve as an article of food in the Mississippi valley. The trail, the unbroken prairies, the roving Indian became a memory. In a few years the soldier moved to the border, while the Indian took up agriculture. The railroad spanned the plains and solved the food problem of the Army of the Southwest. Isolation, that factor which had given character to a type of transportation and which had given the frontier its uniqueness, vanished before the impact of the industrial revolution. The Old West was no more.

33. *Ibid.*, 39 Cong., 1 sess., v. III, Part 1, s. n. 1249, Doc. No. 1, pp. 112-114; also *Ibid.*, p. 750. Corn was sent to New Mexico in 1863, 1864 and 1865 because of a drought in some places, devastation from insects throughout the territory, and because of a flood on the Rio Grande which destroyed the crops.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 113.

35. Report of Brig. Gen. James F. Rusling in *House Executive Documents*, 39 Cong., 2 sess., v. VII, s. n. 1289, Doc. No. 45, pp. 8-16.

36. *Senate Executive Documents*, 40 Cong., 2 sess., v. II, s. n. 1317, Doc. No. 74, p. 2.



# The Emigrant Aid Company in Kansas

SAMUEL A. JOHNSON

A GENERATION ago a favorite indoor sport among Kansas writers was arguing who saved Kansas to freedom. Partisans of Jim Lane, John Brown and the Emigrant Aid Company engaged in all but mortal verbal combat in defense of the claims of their respective heroes, while literary kill-joys bluntly declared that Kansas was saved by the unsung farmers from the Ohio valley. There is no purpose in the present discussion to continue that wordy battle, but whatever may be said for or against the contention that the Aid Company saved Kansas, the fact remains that the story of that organization is entangled inextricably in the history of territorial Kansas. It may be argued, as it was by the late W. E. Connelley,<sup>1</sup> that the Aid Company did more harm than good to the free-state cause, but for better or for worse this company played a part in the making of the state, and common honesty demands that it be given a place in narrating the state's history.

It would be outside the scope of the present discussion to recount in detail the origin and aims of the Emigrant Aid Company. Anyone interested in that phase of the subject is referred to the *New England Quarterly* of January, 1930.<sup>2</sup> As applied to Kansas, however, the project may be briefly summarized. The New England Emigrant Aid Company, incorporated as a stock company after the first few months of its operation, was a queer combination of philanthropic venture and money-making scheme. Its promoters and managers were genuinely anxious to make Kansas a free state, and believed that everything they did would contribute to that end. At the same time they expected to capitalize the rise in land values which would come with the growth of settlement, and from this source to repay the capital invested with a considerable profit. The plan of operations was, first, to disseminate information and encourage migration to Kansas; second, to assist eastern emigrants by securing reduced railway and steamboat fares and by organizing them into conducted parties; third, to invest all the capital that

1. Connelley, W. E., *An Appeal to the Record* (Topeka, Crane & Co., 1903), p. 128.

2. Johnson, Samuel A., "The Genesis of the New England Emigrant Aid Company," *New England Quarterly*, January, 1930.

could be raised in mills, hotels and other local improvements in Kansas in order to attract settlers from all parts of the North.

Theoretically the plan was a perfectly feasible one, but it met with obstacles at every turn. First of all, its success was contingent upon the securing of capital in large amounts. The stock of the company was attractive neither as an investment nor as a speculation. One of the most active managers of the concern, Amos A. Lawrence, although he put many thousands of dollars into the enterprise, never expected the stock to pay out, and advised prospective subscribers to invest no more than they could afford to lose or were willing to contribute to the cause.<sup>3</sup> The total amount of money raised throughout the period of activity was less than \$140,000.<sup>4</sup> Thus the project was handicapped from beginning to end by lack of financial means.

The propaganda work was done almost too well. Eli Thayer, the originator of the idea, spent most of his time during the first year of the company's existence lecturing in New England and New York, and was assisted by Edward Everett Hale and other lecturers of lesser note.<sup>5</sup> A document written by Thayer and Hale in the early summer of 1854, and given wide publicity, indicated that \$5,000,000 was to be raised and spent in Kansas and that 20,000 settlers were to be sent at once.<sup>6</sup> Horace Greeley, of the *New York Tribune*, William Cullen Bryant, of the *New York Evening Post*, and Thurlow Weed, of the *Albany Journal*, backed the enterprise editorially. Leading newspapers (as the *New York Times*) carried fanciful tales of the extent of the Aid Company activities, even asserting that the company was establishing a line of packets to bring settlers from Europe.<sup>7</sup> The company issued various tracts, including a pamphlet of information for Kansas emigrants, and encouraged the publication of such books as Hale's *Kanzas and Nebraska* and Mrs. Robinson's *Kansas: Its Interior and Exterior Life*, to stimulate migration, while Whittier wrote his well-known *Song of the Kansas Emigrant* to aid the cause.

Emigration started off with a bang. A "pioneer party" of twenty-nine left Boston even before the promoters had succeeded in forming an organization. Five other parties who went out before the freezing

3. Letters of Amos A. Lawrence about Kansas Affairs (bound typewritten volume in archives of Kansas State Historical Society, hereafter cited as Lawrence Letters), p. 148.

4. The account books of the company show \$138,775.16 received from stock subscriptions and donations.

5. Minutes of the Trustees and of Executive Committee of the Emigrant Aid Company.

6. "Organization, Objects and Plan of Operations of the Emigrant Aid Company; also a Description of Kansas" (issued as a pamphlet, Boston, 1854), quoted in Eli Thayer's *A History of the Kansas Crusade* (Worcester, Mass., F. P. Price, 1887), pp. 27-29.

7. The *New York Daily Times*, October 13, 1854.

of the Missouri river closed migration for the fall brought the total for 1854 up to about 450.<sup>8</sup> The following spring seven parties took about 800 more. But the excitement in Kansas and the success of the Proslavery party in organizing the territory had a depressing effect on prospective emigrants. Many were deterred by the stories sent or brought back by persons who had been out to Kansas expecting to find fully developed communities with up-to-date conveniences and plenty of work at high wages. So, while the effort to organize weekly parties continued on through 1857, after June, 1855, the parties were small and irregular, and the number of settlers included in each is not always stated in the record. Beginning in 1857 and continuing through 1859, the company offered individual tickets to persons wishing to migrate to Kansas, but no record has come to light of the number of such tickets sold.<sup>9</sup> It is thus impossible to tell with any definiteness the total number of persons who came to Kansas under the auspices of the Emigrant Aid Company, but it was probably under 2,000, of whom a considerable number, probably a third, returned.

Besides those who came under the direct auspices of the company, there were many persons who were influenced in various ways. First of all, there was an indeterminate number, not large, but including such noteworthy individuals as D. R. Anthony and Dr. John Doy, who joined the Aid Company parties en route.<sup>10</sup> Thayer asserted, without much substantiating evidence, that the parties often doubled before they reached the territory.<sup>11</sup> Then there were those who came to Kansas under the auspices of organizations formed as subsidiary to or in imitation of the New England Emigrant Aid Company. Most notable of these was the group sent by the American Settlement Company of New York, which founded Council City (Burlingame). Other groups were sent by similar organizations in Ohio, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin. Then there were some—who can never know how many—who came entirely on their own initiative, but who were influenced in a greater or less degree by the Aid Company propaganda and by the belief that the company was spending \$5,000,000 in Kansas.

But even when we add to the most liberal estimate of those who migrated under Aid Company auspices, a reasonable allowance for

8. Minutes of Trustees and Executive Committee.

9. Letter of Thomas H. Webb, secretary of the Emigrant Aid Company, to Moses Emery, June 25, 1857, Aid Company Letters (bound letter-press copies), Book C, pp. 62-63.

10. Doy, John, *The Narrative of John Doy* (New York, Thos. Holman, 1860).

11. Thayer, *Kansas Crusade*, p. 54.



persons influenced, the number, as compared to the total population of Kansas according to the federal census of 1860, is not impressive. One must agree with those who have published independent studies of the subject that, numerically speaking, the emigrant aid movement was at best a minor factor in the peopling of Kansas.<sup>12</sup> But numbers aside, the effort was important in several ways. In the first place, the Aid Company effort centered largely in the first and most critical year of Kansas settlement; the company pioneered the movement to fill the territory with free-soilers and gave moral support to those who came independently. E. L. Craik was of the opinion that at the time of the greatest crisis in 1856 more than a third of the free-state strength was from New England, with nearly another third from the middle Atlantic states in which the Aid Company influence was felt.<sup>13</sup> In the second place, the Aid Company colonists were largely town founders, and, as Hale pointed out, the towns were the centers of free-state activity and defense.<sup>14</sup> Finally, those who maintained an active association with the company exercised an influence out of all proportion to their numbers. This was obvious in cases like that of Robinson, agent of the company and foremost leader of the free-state movement. The fact may not be without significance that of the first state officers chosen under the Wyandotte constitution, Robinson, the governor, Pomeroy, one of the two senators, and Conway, the representative in congress, had all been agents of the Emigrant Aid Company; that the subsequent records of these men left something to be desired is another story.

Another way in which the company contributed to the building of Kansas and the furtherance of the free-state cause was in the launching of towns. The three communities which loomed largest as centers of free-state activities, Lawrence, Topeka and Osawatomie, were all, in greater or less degree, creations of the company and its agents. Lawrence, the very heart of the free-state movement, was preëminently an Aid Company town, and was often referred to in territorial days as the "Yankee settlement." The first group to occupy the site was the company's "pioneer party," about August 1, 1854. They were joined a month later by the second party, numbering 114, piloted by Robinson. It was this second party that organ-

12. Craik, E. L., "Southern Interest in Territorial Kansas," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. XV, 348 ff.; Miller, W. E., *The Peopling of Kansas* (Columbus, O., Heer Press, 1906).

13. Craik, *loc. cit.*

14. Speech of Edward Everett Hale, Bismarck Grove (Lawrence, Kan.) Old Settlers Reunion, September 16, 1879, in C. S. Gleed (ed.), *The Kansas Memorial* (Kansas City, Ramsey, Millet & Hudson, 1880), pp. 146-148.

ized the Lawrence Association and launched the town project, naming the prospective city in honor of Amos A. Lawrence, treasurer of the Aid Company, who had advanced all funds in the company treasury down to that date. These easterners found a number of claims staked out partly overlapping the townsite; out of this grew the inevitable land dispute, without which no frontier project was ever complete, with its usual charges and counter charges of claim jumping.<sup>15</sup> Throughout the period of conflict Lawrence remained the chief center of free-state activities, and the chief objective of proslavery attack. It was recognized by friend and foe alike as the foremost outpost of the Aid Company effort in Kansas.

The case of Manhattan is almost as clear-cut and is in some respects similar. A party of colonists was organized by the Aid Company in Boston in the spring of 1855 under the leadership of "Professor" Isaac T. Goodnow. Goodnow proceeded to Kansas a week ahead of his party and, in conjunction with Pomeroy, selected the site at the mouth of the Blue river. The colony soon arrived, piloted by Luke P. Lincoln, and, as in the case of Lawrence, dispossessing prior claimants without too much regard for "squatter rights," formed a town association and launched the "Town of Boston." A month later the steamboat *Hartford*, bearing a group of colonists from Cincinnati, calling themselves "The Cincinnati and Kansas Land Company," ran aground just below the mouth of the Blue. The Cincinnati party had been financed by persons in New York City and were pledged to call their settlement "Manhattan." To induce them to cast in their lot with the Aid Company settlement, the Boston Town Association agreed to change the name of their settlement to Manhattan.<sup>16</sup> On the way back down the Kansas river the *Hartford* was burned, and the Aid Company bought the boiler to run its Lawrence sawmill.

The company's part in the launching of Topeka was less direct. The town association was formed in December of 1854 by nine men, seven of whom had come from New England, presumably under Aid Company auspices. Among the group was Charles Robinson, agent of the company, and the original articles of association provided for granting to the company one-sixth interest in the town in return for a promise to locate a sawmill, build a school-house and make other improvements.<sup>17</sup> While the Aid Company

15. Cordley, Richard, *History of Lawrence, Kansas* (Lawrence, *Journal Press*, 1895), pp. 4-14, 17-22.

16. Goodnow, I. T., "Reminiscences," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. IV, pp. 244-253.

17. Giles, F. W., *Thirty Years in Topeka* (Topeka, Crane & Co., 1886), pp. 20-22.



never took the interest in Topeka that it did in Lawrence, company agents continued to direct settlers to the place and it was known throughout the territorial period as an Aid Company town.

Osawatomie was projected by a group of three proprietors: Orville C. Brown (the original "Osawatomie Brown"), William Ward, of New York (who never migrated to Kansas), and S. C. Pomeroy, who was admittedly acting on behalf of the Emigrant Aid Company, and who later quitclaimed all his "right, title and interest" in the town project to the company. Thus the Aid Company was in reality one of the original proprietors of Osawatomie and held a one-third interest in the town.<sup>18</sup>

The Aid Company can claim a large share of the credit for the founding of Wabaunsee and Hampden (Burlington), and apparently had some part in the establishment of Humboldt, Zeandale, Mapleton and Milford, but none of these played a conspicuous part in early Kansas history. It later acquired extensive interests in Quindaro and Atchison, but it had no part in their founding.

Of far more importance to the early settlers than the founding of towns, though it appears less spectacular in retrospect, was the establishment of mills in Kansas. This was the activity upon which the Emigrant Aid Company concentrated its major efforts. The most urgent need of any isolated frontier community was a means of sawing lumber for building and of grinding grain for food. No better means could be found of encouraging the development of a community and of inflating the value of its real estate (from which the Aid Company hoped to derive a profit) than by locating in it a sawmill or grist mill. The company is known to have located nine mills in Kansas—at Lawrence, Topeka, Manhattan, Osawatomie, Burlington, Wabaunsee, Atchison, Batcheller (Milford) and Claffin (Mapleton), and there is some evidence that one or two others were sent out only to be lost or destroyed. All of these were steam-operated, and all but the one at Atchison were primarily sawmills. At Osawatomie, Manhattan, Wabaunsee and Milford, however, grist mills were established in connection. The cost of mills placed in operation varied from two or three thousand dollars to nearly ten thousand in the case of the Atchison mill.<sup>19</sup> Nine or ten small mills do not appear to be a very great contribution to the building of a state until one compares it with the total milling facilities available to the Kansas settlers. Prof. H. A. Richardson, formerly of the

18. Minutes of Trustees and Executive Committee.

19. *Ibid.*; also account books of company.



department of economics of the University of Kansas, made an extensive study a few years ago of early milling in Kansas. In a very thorough search of the records he was able to discover only twenty-four mills of all kinds established in Kansas prior to 1860 in addition to those belonging to the Emigrant Aid Company. Of these, five belonged to the federal government (located at military posts) and two to Indian missions. Of the seventeen remaining, several were small affairs that operated only for a short time.<sup>20</sup> Hence, it would probably not be far wrong to assert that about half the mills actually accessible to the settlers of territorial Kansas were sent out by the Emigrant Aid Company.

Another activity by which the company set great store was the establishment of hotels for the accommodation of settlers and sojourners. In the summer of 1854 Robinson purchased for the company the old Gillis house in Kansas City. For about a year the company operated it through lessees as the American hotel. In the summer of 1855 a contract of sale was made with S. W. Eldridge. Eldridge, who resold to an irresponsible party from whom he was never able to make collections, failed to complete his payments, so that the title to the building remained in the hands of the company until the final closing out of the real estate in 1862.<sup>21</sup> Throughout the period of the Kansas conflict the American hotel was the chief stopping place of free-state settlers on their way to Kansas, and it served as a sort of general headquarters for free-state people when in Kansas City.<sup>22</sup>

At Lawrence temporary huts were provided by the agents of the company to serve as boarding houses until a hotel could be built.<sup>23</sup> Work on the Free State hotel was begun in the summer of 1855, but such were the delays in construction (due chiefly to lack of funds) that it was just ready for opening when it was destroyed by Sheriff Jones' "posse" May 21, 1856. The building had been erected at a cost of approximately \$20,000, and friends of the company asserted that it was the finest hostelry west of St. Louis.<sup>24</sup> Preparations were begun at once to rebuild. The rubbish was cleared and a new basement built. But the work was slow, money was scarce, the crusading spirit had spent itself and there was little likelihood of

20. Richardson, H. A., *A History of Milling in Kansas* (Bulletin of Bureau of Business Research, University of Kansas, Lawrence, 1928), ch. I.

21. Minutes of Trustees and Executive Committee.

22. Testimony before Howard Congressional Committee, "Report of the Special Committee Appointed to Investigate the Troubles in Kansas," No. 200, *House Reports*, 34 Cong., 1 sess. (called Howard Report), pp. 837, 844-846, 850, 884-885.

23. Cordley, *History of Lawrence*, p. 13; minutes of Executive Committee.

24. No. 29, *Senate Miscellaneous Documents*, 37 Cong., 2 sess.

pecuniary returns. November 11, 1857, the hotel basement was sold to S. W. Eldridge for \$5,000.<sup>25</sup> The present Hotel Eldridge stands on the site.

When the company purchased an interest in Atchison in 1857 it acquired, along with other properties, a small hotel there. This building was enlarged and improved, and was operated through lessees until the company closed out its affairs in 1862. Considerable efforts were made through 1857 and 1858 to induce the company to build hotels in Manhattan, Osawatomie and Topeka. It finally did underwrite, to the extent of a few hundred dollars in each place, projects for the building of hotels by private individuals in the first two of these localities, but it never held a major interest in them.<sup>26</sup>

Another activity in which the company was repeatedly urged to engage was the establishment of newspapers. Its only major venture in this field was the *Herald of Freedom* at Lawrence. In the fall of 1854, George W. Brown, a Pennsylvanian proposing to found a free-state paper in Kansas, sought and eventually secured a loan of \$2,000 from the company with which he purchased his press and other equipment, giving the company a bill of sale of his press as security. The loan dragged on until 1859, when it was finally paid in Quindaro town shares which soon became worthless. In the meantime A. A. Lawrence repeatedly referred to Brown's press as Aid Company property.<sup>27</sup> While neither Brown nor the company officers would openly avow such a relationship, the *Herald* was universally regarded both in Kansas and in the East as the official organ of the Emigrant Aid Company. It invariably supported the company against all detractors, while the company office in Boston acted as general subscription agency for the *Herald* for all New England. Many people, both at the time and since, have believed that the *Herald*, because of its radical tendencies and the tactlessness of its editor, did more harm than good to the free-state cause. Nevertheless, it was a powerful propaganda agency in the East, and for better or for worse, it was the mouthpiece of the Emigrant Aid Company.

The only other newspaper in which the Aid Company is known to have had a direct financial interest was a German-language sheet, *Die Kansas Zeitung*, first published in Atchison in 1857 by Dr. Charles F. Kob, and later removed by a subsequent proprietor to

25. Minutes of Executive Committee; also, file of copies of quit-claim deeds.

26. Minutes of Executive Committee.

27. Lawrence Letters, pp. 64-65; also shown in account books.

Leavenworth. The Aid Company advanced the funds for the purchase of type and other equipment; the *Zeitung* did not own a press.<sup>28</sup> Herbert Flint, who made a study of journalism in territorial Kansas in 1916, was of the opinion that the Emigrant Aid Company owned virtually, if not actually, the Atchison *Freedom's Champion* (the old *Squatter Sovereign*, renamed after it passed into free-state hands) and the Quindaro *Chindowan*.<sup>29</sup> The former was owned for a time by Pomeroy while he was agent of the company, and the latter by Robinson after he had ceased to be an agent. An inspection of the records of the company reveals that the executive committee declined to purchase the *Champion* when it bought into Atchison, whereupon Pomeroy purchased it himself (to fulfill the agreement with the Atchison Town Association) and resold it at the first opportunity. There is nothing in the records to indicate that the company ever had any interest, other than a purely sentimental one, in the *Chindowan*.

In the realm of what might be called more definitely social service activities, the company as such did something, and individuals associated with it did more. One of the aims avowed in all of the Aid Company advertising was the encouragement of schools and churches. Rev. S. Y. Lum, sent by the Home Mission Board of the Congregational Churches, accompanied the second Aid Company party to Lawrence, arriving September 1, 1854. His letters tell of the active coöperation of Doctor Robinson as Aid Company agent in organizing the religious life of the young community. Plymouth Congregational Church was organized October 15, 1854, in the "Pioneer Boarding House," a "hay tent" built by the agents of the company to serve temporarily as a hotel. S. C. Pomeroy served as secretary of the meeting and wrote out the articles of association.<sup>30</sup> Amos A. Lawrence, treasurer of the Aid Company, gave funds for the building of a "combination church and schoolhouse" in Lawrence, which was used for a time by the Plymouth church,<sup>31</sup> and subsequently gave \$1,000 toward a permanent house of worship for the congregation.<sup>32</sup> Robinson, E. B. Whitman and others connected with the Emigrant Aid Company had a considerable part in the launching of the Unitarian church in Lawrence and in securing in Boston the

28. Minutes of Executive Committee.

29. Flint, Herbert, *Journalism in Territorial Kansas* (M. A. thesis, University of Kansas, 1916. Bound typewritten copy).

30. Cordley, *History of Lawrence*, pp. 13, 17.

31. Lawrence Letters, pp. 28-34.

32. Lawrence to S. N. Simpson, August 7, 1856, Lawrence Letters, pp. 164-165.



funds and equipment for a building.<sup>33</sup> The company, as such, donated a building lot to the Lawrence Episcopalians.<sup>34</sup> The minutes of the executive committee of the company abound with requests for aid for territorial churches, and while few of the requests could be acceded to the committee showed a willingness to coöperate by passing these appeals on to individuals, mission boards, and Sunday school boards, and by offering the facilities of the company for the sending out of all such supplies; in numerous instances the minutes and correspondence mention sending out, through company channels, communion sets or other church supplies donated by individuals. During the first year of activities Doctor Webb, secretary of the company, collected several boxes of books for an Atheneum and Sunday School Library at Lawrence, and sent them out.<sup>35</sup> Later he sent at least one such box to Topeka. The company gave the use of a room in its office building in Lawrence for a subscription school, the first opened in the territory,<sup>36</sup> and in 1857 built a two-story brick schoolhouse in Topeka at a cost of about \$2,000, of which the community had the use practically rent free.<sup>37</sup>

The Emigrant Aid Company may claim some share, too, in the origin of the institutions which were to become the University of Kansas and Kansas State College. In the fall of 1854 Lawrence wrote to Robinson suggesting the establishment of an academy for boys in Lawrence. Before the end of the year he had placed \$10,000 in the hands of Robinson and Pomeroy as trustees for the founding of a "monumental college" on Mount Oread.<sup>38</sup> Eventually, after several religious denominations had failed in attempts to establish the proposed college, the fund passed to the State University and was used to build Old North College, the first building on the campus.<sup>39</sup> In Manhattan, just as soon as the town had begun to take form, Goodnow, who had been a school man in Massachusetts, began to project a college. There were two Manhattan town associations, one composed of the New England colony, the other of the Cincinnati group. The former, the Aid Company settlers, at once donated fifty towns shares (100 lots) to the project; the latter predicated its

33. Letter of Rev. W. M. Backus, Pastor Unitarian Church, Lawrence, Kansas, November 27, 1930. (In possession of author.)

34. Minutes of Executive Committee and record of quitclaim deeds.

35. Letter of Webb to Robinson, November 20, 1854, Aid Company Letters, Book A, p. 59.

36. Morehouse, G. P., "Probably the First School in Kansas for White Children," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. IX, pp. 231-233.

37. Giles, *Thirty Years in Topeka*, pp. 161-162.

38. Lawrence Letters, pp. 205-207, 214-216, 231-232.

39. Snow, F. H., "The Beginnings of the University of Kansas," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. VI, pp. 70-76.

gift upon the college first obtaining property to the value of \$100,000. During 1857 and 1858 Goodnow and other solicitors raised a sufficient sum of money in the East to inaugurate the college.<sup>40</sup> After repeated solicitations the executive committee of the Aid Company voted to turn over to the college a number of town lots in Manhattan to be sold with the understanding that one-half of the sum realized from the sale should go to the college, the other half to be paid to the company. The copies of quitclaim deeds among the company's effects show that nineteen lots were thus disposed of, netting each party \$785.<sup>41</sup> In the fall of 1860 "Bluemont Central College" opened its doors with Rev. Joseph Dennison, one of the original Aid Company settlers, as its first president. Three years later Bluemont was adopted by the state and became Kansas State Agricultural College.

In the relief movement of 1856, when money and supplies were being sent to Kansas to relieve the destitution of the settlers, the Emigrant Aid Company took a prominent part. Not only did the company officers participate in the formation of the national Kansas committee and coöperate actively with the Massachusetts state and Boston committees in the general efforts, but it appears to have assumed virtually the whole responsibility for collecting and sending clothing from the Boston area. In October, 1856, Doctor Webb reported that he had shipped 175 boxes and barrels of clothing to Kansas, besides sending considerable money to be spent locally by company agents and volunteer workers in the relief of destitution.<sup>42</sup>

The exact relation which the Aid Company bore to the free-state movement in Kansas is not altogether clear, and probably never will be. At the time it was asserted by all proslavery advocates that the Emigrant Aid Company was responsible for all the trouble in Kansas. Such was the burden of the testimony before the Howard congressional committee,<sup>43</sup> and such was the view advanced by Stephen A. Douglas in the United States Senate,<sup>44</sup> and by President Franklin Pierce in two messages to congress.<sup>45</sup> Whether or not, as asserted, it was primarily the pronouncements of the company and the arrival of its parties that incited the invasions of the Missouri-

40. Walters, J. D., "The Kansas State Agricultural College," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. VII, pp. 167-188.

41. Minutes of Executive Committee, and record of quitclaim deeds.

42. Webb to S. N. Simpson, October 25, 1856, Aid Company Letters, Book B, pp. 417-420.

43. Howard Report, pp. 929, 996, 1114.

44. No. 34, *Senate Reports*, 34 Cong., 1 sess., v. I; *Congressional Globe Appendix*, 34 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 280-289.

45. Richardson, J. D., *Messages and Papers of the Presidents* (Congressional Ed., Washington, 1899), pp. 354-355, 404-405.

ans can be answered only on the basis of prejudice or personal opinion; there seems to be little room to doubt, however, that the Aid Company propaganda and activities were one factor in arousing the Missourians. It is obvious, too, from the preserved correspondence, that the Aid Company agents, Robinson and Pomeroy, who were among the most active founders of the Free-state party, were constantly keeping the officers of the company informed of their plans and activities, and were receiving advice and financial aid from Boston.<sup>46</sup> The company must stand convicted, also, of arming the free-state settlers. This matter was worked out twenty-five years ago by W. H. Isely,<sup>47</sup> and a careful retracing of his investigations has verified his conclusions, namely, that the rifles, while not authorized by official company action nor paid for out of the company treasury (so that the officers of the company were technically correct in asserting that no weapons or munitions were furnished by the company), were purchased by the directors of the Emigrant Aid Company and distributed through company channels. Furthermore, the company engaged in an extensive propaganda effort on behalf of the free-state movement. Lawrence corresponded with President Pierce,<sup>48</sup> and on more than one occasion lobbyists were sent to Washington.<sup>49</sup> When a delegation of the Free-state party went East to campaign in the election of 1856 they made the Aid Company office their headquarters, their speaking tours were arranged by the secretary of the company, and they were usually accompanied by Aid Company agents or lecturers.<sup>50</sup> While it is extremely dangerous to draw too definite conclusions regarding the company's relations to the local free-state organization, it would seem safe to say that in addition to its material contributions to the young territory the company was a very real factor in the Kansas conflict.

Whatever may be the judgment of history, the participants in the emigrant aid movement were firmly convinced that their efforts had saved Kansas to freedom. Discounting the extravagant claims of such zealots as Hale, Thayer, Robinson and G. W. Brown, it is noteworthy that conservative men of affairs like A. A. Lawrence, John Carter Brown and Horace Claflin, who had lost thousands of

46. Lawrence Letters; Aid Company Letters.

47. Isely, W. H., "The Sharps Rifle Episode in Kansas History," *The American Historical Review*, April, 1907.

48. Lawrence Letters, pp. 126-128, 152.

49. Aid Company Letters, Book A, p. 195; Book B, pp. 57, 67, 219.

50. Minutes of Directors and Executive Committee, Book 2.



dollars in the enterprise, asserted that they felt amply repaid for their loss by seeing freedom triumph. And yet, if the average Kansan is asked to-day what he knows about the Emigrant Aid Company he will say that he never heard of it. Of course Kansas would have become a state ultimately if the Aid Company had never existed. In all probability it would have been a free state in any case. But certainly Kansas would not have developed in exactly the way it did, and would not be exactly the same to-day, had it not been for the activities of this organization.

# Diary of Samuel A. Kingman at Indian Treaty in 1865

## I. INTRODUCTION.

ON July 27, 1853, the United States negotiated a treaty with the Kiowa and confederate tribes, the Comanche and Apache, to the end that constantly increasing travel and traffic could move with greater safety over the Santa Fé trail. Raiding and marauding did not cease, however, with the making of this treaty, and at the close of the Civil War it became necessary to treat again with these wild plains tribes. The Indians themselves had expressed a desire for peace, and a commission was sent to the mouth of the Little Arkansas in August, 1865, to make preliminary agreements and arrange for a later meeting. Accordingly the commissioners again met the tribes in October, and on the fourteenth day of that month a treaty was made with the Cheyenne and Arapahoe, with the Apache on the seventeenth and with the Kiowa and Comanche on the eighteenth.<sup>1</sup> By the terms of these treaties the Apache were detached from the Kiowa and Comanche and attached to the Cheyenne and Arapahoe, who agreed to removal from their reservation in southeastern Colorado to one in Kansas and the Indian territory. The Kiowa and Comanche agreed to relinquish all claims in Colorado, Kansas and New Mexico and to remove to a reservation in southwestern Indian territory and the region of the Staked Plains in Texas. These two tribes surrendered five white captives.<sup>2</sup>

The short diary which follows is a record of the trip from Atchison, Kan., to the mouth of the Little Arkansas for the meeting with the tribes, as it was set down in a small pocket notebook by Samuel A. Kingman<sup>3</sup> who, in 1865, was a partner of John James Ingalls in the

1. A marker commemorating the treaty of October 18, 1865, has been placed on the meeting ground by the Daughters of the American Revolution. The site is seven miles north and one mile west of present Wichita, Kan.—*Topeka Capital*, April 15, 1925.

2. *Seventeenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, 1895-'96, Part 1, "Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians," by James Mooney, p. 180.

3. Samuel A. Kingman was born in Worthington, Mass., June 26, 1818. He was educated in his native town; began teaching school in his seventeenth year, and when nineteen went to Kentucky, where he taught school and studied law. For three years he was a member of the legislature from Livingston county in that state. He assisted in forming a new constitution for Kentucky. In 1856 he removed to Marion county, Iowa, and in the spring of the following year to Kansas. He spent six months in Leavenworth and then took up a claim in Brown county, near the site of present Horton. In the summer of 1858 he removed to Hiawatha and resumed the practice of law. He was a delegate from Brown county to the Wyandotte constitutional convention which convened July 5, 1859, and upon the organization of the state was elected associate justice of the supreme court. He was nominated for the same position on the Union Republican ticket in 1864, but was defeated.

practice of law at Atchison. Kingman states in the first entry that he accompanied the party in the employ of Thomas Murphy, one of the commissioners, who was superintendent of Indian affairs for Kansas. The nature of Kingman's duties is not stated. The other commissioners were Gen. John B. Sanborn, Gen. William S. Harney, noted Indian fighter, Kit Carson, frontiersman, William W. Bent, Indian trader, Jesse H. Leavenworth, agent for the Kiowa and Comanche, and James Steele.

## II. THE DIARY.

Atchison, Sept. 21, 1865. Left Atchison this morning in the employ of Tom Murphy for the council ground on the Arkansas where he with other com[missione]rs are to treat with the Comanches, Kiowas, Arapahoes, Cheyennes and Apaches. We are to await at Leavenworth the arrival of other com[missione]rs until Monday, the 25th.

Monday. Neither money, instructions or com[missione]rs having arrived, Murphy determines to wait.

Thursday, 28. Col. Leavenworth & Mr. Steele having arrived, we started in 3 ambulances & a baggage wagon. Reached Ozawkie 35 m.

Friday, 29. Reached St. Mary's mission<sup>4</sup>; made sure that one of the passengers in Steele's ambulance is a woman in men's clothes. Distance made, 40.

30. At 30 miles passed the Blue, dining at Manhattan. 18 M. with Capt. McClure to Ft. Riley.

1st Oct. Left the Fort late, reached the Republican & Junction City in 3 miles. Stopped an hour making the last purchases. One mile further reached the Smoky Hill. The baggage wagon which had gone ahead missed the road & detained the train an hour or two.

Crossing Smoky Hill we started up Lyons creek southwardly & kept up the creek in same direction till night, making 22 miles in all

In 1866 he was elected chief justice of the supreme court and was returned to the office in 1872. He resigned on account of ill health in 1876. He served for a time as state librarian and was the first president of the Kansas State Historical Society. His death occurred on September 9, 1904. His opinions as supreme court justice are regarded by lawyers of Kansas as models of judicial expression.—*Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 9, pp. 46, 47, 60.

4. In 1837 a band of 150 Pottawatomie Indians came from Indiana to Linn county, Kansas, settling near the headwaters of Big Sugar creek, four miles northwest of the present site of Centerville. A church was built and a school opened. Other groups of Indians joined the original band and by 1840 a larger church and a separate school for girls became necessary. The whole settlement was given the name of St. Mary's Mission. On June 17, 1846, this reservation was sold to the government and a new reservation was given to the Pottawatomies. This was situated on the Kaw river, 28 miles west of Topeka, where the present town of St. Marys stands. The original village in Linn county disappeared when the tribe went to its new home, and no legend has come down as to its fate.—Wm. Ansel Mitchell in *Linn County History*, p. 37.



that day. At 8 miles from Junction met Capt. Lowe with 100 mounted infantry, having gone out as an escort for Gen. Sanborn. Our escort started at daylight & we have traveled so slow we have not seen them since. The creek is settled all the way up as far as we have got with occasional farms. Pat Burns, Jas. Carroll, Martin Cobas are the drivers.

Oct. 2d. Got breakfast and all ready to start at daylight, still following the creek; at 18 miles crossed the Santa Fé road at Lost Springs, 30 miles west from Council Grove, the Santa Fé road running between the heads of Cottonwood & Lyons creek. Near this crossing are a number of sulphur springs. 5 miles further on struck timber of Cottonwood & still 5 miles further passed Mr. Wise's farm, a well cultivated place with good looking women about. They have been there 5 years. Camped at night at Marion Centre. 36 miles made to-day. Grass three feet high all day as fine as any I ever saw. Marion Centre consists of a cabin covered with punch-eons & dirt on which large weeds are growing. Have not yet got up with our escort which is with Col. Leavenworth.

Company roll

Com[missioner] Steele } Washington

O. T. Atwood }

Thos. Murphy, Wm. P. Murphy

S. A. K., Atchison

Capt. Gaylord of the escort

3 servts. Alex, Henry and Willis with 4 drivers,

making 14 in all and making quite a sensation through this section little frequented by travelers—road good but little used.

This point is 50 miles west of Emporia on Muddy<sup>5</sup> a branch of Cottonwood. The owner of the cabin is Mr. Snow formerly from Brown county near Padonia. Besides the persons enumerated above is the mysterious personage dressed like a man & looking like a—

Oct. 3, 1865. Traveled 40 miles most of the way through a vast prairie without timber in sight, and away from water. Camped on a small creek with a few willow trees, having 35 miles passed civilization. This morning we were met by Lieut. Fiske & 20 men who accompanied us as an escort. One of the escort saw an elk. This was the only incident of the day, except good weather. The roads are gone, a slight mark only indicating the course we are to take, which is so dim that we twice missed the road in the day. Grass

5. Mud creek, sometimes spelled Mudd, joins Clear creek at Marion, Kan., the latter stream flowing into the Cottonwood a short distance beyond.

lighter. Prickly pear in patches with occasional indications on the last 10 miles of alkali.

Oct. 4. An early start brought us in 10 miles to the camp on the little Arkansas, 5 miles from its mouth. All the other com[missione]rs are already here & will wait a few days to see if the Indians will not come over here to treat as Gen. Sanborn and Harney both think it would be bad policy to cross the Arkansas at this season as we would be liable to be detained for weeks by high water. So we have a week's loafing in comfortable anticipation.

Oct. 11. We have been here one week. The monotony of camp life is growing intolerable. The same faces, the same ideas & the same routine of daily sensations and occupations soon become tiresome. Eating, smoking, talking and sleeping make the whole day. Below us a few miles are the villages of several bands of refugee Indians. They have raised small crops of corn, pumpkins, beans & watermelons. They are destitute, dirty, half-clad beggars—fine physique. The men all lazy, the women all lewd. They visit camp in great numbers daily. The Osages also visit us. They are like the others save that they do not beg, are better clad & the men shave the head all but the scalp lock. They are a stalwart brawny set of men and the squaws like all the others. So one day is like another. A great many fish—a few catch them. Some hunt but bring in little game. We change camp, have a storm—pretend we suffer for our country. Evening. The prairie is covered with Indians. Arapahoes & Cheyennes in addition to those previously gathered here. They have come to treat and are considered the best Indians of the plains. Tomorrow the council will begin. The goods that were to have started the day after we did from Ft. Leavenworth have not yet arrived. Some fears are entertained that they have become the spoil of Kansas patriots. Gen. Sanborn has sent out two parties to look for them and all are growing anxious for \$50,000 is a great temptation in this country.

Oct. 12. The council met this morning & lasted 4 hours. Only the Arapahoes & Cheyennes were represented & these tribes only partially. The commission propose to treat with them first. It is apparent that these tribes have always been our friends until driven by the Sand creek massacre<sup>6</sup> into hostilities, and the com[missione]rs will treat them gently & use them liberally. The com[missione]rs

6. See footnote 8.

are Gen. J. B. Sanborn, president, Gen. Harney, James Steele, Thos. Murphy, J. H. Leavenworth, Kit Carson & Col. Wm. W. Bent.

Oct. 14. The treaty with the Arapahoes & Cheyennes was completed & signed today. It is very liberal in its terms to the Indians, probably more so than will be sanctioned by the senate. 31 sections of land outside of the reserve in fee simple, a reserve large enough for their use with presents, back pay, and large annuities for 40 years. \$20 per capita now & \$40 per capita after they go upon their reserve.<sup>7</sup>

The consultations were harmonious & friendly, the commissioners being conciliatory and the Indians apparently frank and friendly. They will probably keep the terms if we do. Some of their speeches were eloquent, especially in reference to the massacre of Sand creek. Black Kettle,<sup>8</sup> when he spoke of the desolated wigwams, murdered braves, squaws & children on that occasion, sent a thrill throughout the whole of the Indians present & even in translations touched every heart there. The speeches were all reported in full and all proceedings of council copied into the record. The general manner of conducting proceedings has been often and correctly described. While everything is sober and orderly, the bare legs and bodies of the chiefs & braves destroy all idea of dignity & tend to destroy the romance of the affair.

October 15, Sunday. This day of rest to the toiling members of

7. The treaty as proclaimed Feb. 2, 1876, provided in article 2 that the following district of country, or such portion of same as might be designated by the President of the United States for that purpose, be set apart for the use and occupation of the tribes who were parties to the treaty, viz., commencing at the mouth of the Red creek or Red Fork of the Arkansas river; thence up said creek or fork to its source; thence westwardly to a point on the Cimarron river opposite the mouth of Buffalo creek; thence due north to the Arkansas river; thence down the same to the beginning. Article 5 allots thirty-one sections of land in fee simple to individuals related by blood to the Cheyenne or Arapahoe. Article 6 makes reparations for outrages perpetrated at Sand creek, Colorado territory, Nov. 29, 1864, and article 7 provides for the payment of annuities over a period of 40 years, \$20 per capita until such time as the Indians shall be removed to the reservation, \$40 per capita thereafter.—*A Compilation of all the Treaties between the United States and the Indian Tribes*, 1873, pp. 122-127.

8. Black Kettle, famous Cheyenne chief, was born near the Black Hills of South Dakota about 1803. When his tribe separated into northern and southern divisions he chose to go with the latter and his name appears as ranking chief on the treaty negotiated with the Cheyenne at Fort Wise, Colo., in 1861. In September of 1864 he visited Governor Evans at Denver at the head of a delegation of Cheyenne and Arapahoe chiefs to ask for peace. The two tribes had warred with the whites during the preceding summer. Evans, who was also superintendent of Indian affairs for Colorado territory, refused the request. Black Kettle and his fellow chiefs then took a large band of their people to Fort Lyon, Colo., where they surrendered to the commander, Maj. E. W. Wynkoop, giving up their horses and arms as a pledge of good faith. Wynkoop was relieved of his command shortly thereafter and his successor returned the horses and arms to the Indians and asked that Black Kettle remove his people to a point on Sand creek. With confidence in the military authorities, the Indians acceded. Somewhat later an expedition was organized by Col. John M. Chivington, district commander at Denver, for the purpose of exterminating the surrendered Indians. The attack was made at daybreak on November 29, 1864, and the camp was destroyed; 161 out of 600 were killed, including many women and children. Despite all of this, Black Kettle continued to place his trust in the whites, although some of the Cheyenne made war against them. He moved his people to the valley of Washita, Indian territory, in 1868. This unfortunate move resulted in his death on November 27, 1868, in an attack by the Seventh U. S. cavalry under General Custer.—*National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, v. 19, pp. 308, 309.



a civilized community presents no feature of distinction in a place where indolence is the prevailing characteristic. Listless & lazy, tame and monotonous alike are the people, the scenery and the weather and so the day. Soldiers & civilians Indians & animals all alike harmonize and such a life has its charms soothing and quieting the whole man. The nervous men are condemning it as false life, making the common error of constituting themselves as the test by which the problem of life for others is to be solved.

A black man from Texas comes in today & reports that he has redeemed his wife & two children from the Comanches, giving therefor 7 ponies. That in the trade a Mrs. Fitzpatrick, about 40 yrs. old, and her granddaughter, were to have also been delivered up, but on getting the ponies the Indians refused to give up the others. Mrs. F. he represented as the widow of a Union man who was hung because he would not join the rebels. The child is about 4 years old. I hope no treaty will be made till all prisoners are delivered up.

October 16. The council met today. The President addressed the council in conciliatory manner being extremely liberal in his promises which will probably never be realized. It is estimated that the Cheyennes & Arapahoes number over 4,300. If they remain the same in number & do not go upon their reserve for 5 years, the amt of the annuities is \$6,450,000. This with back annuities, presents and compensation making over \$100,000 more is a large price to pay for peace. Besides 19,840 acres of land are granted in fee simple to half breeds and over 5,000 to the survivors of the Sand creek massacre. Comanches estimated at 10,000. Kiowas 2,500. Apaches 200. Cheyennes & Arapahoes 4,300, of which the Cheyennes are somewhat the more numerous.

October 17, 1865. The council met again & the terms will probably be agreed on & the treaty prepared by the next meeting.

It is a singular fact that no person not born in the tribe ever yet learned the Kiowa language. It is very harsh and guttural in its sound & barren in its words. Even conversation among each other is mostly conducted by signs. This fact of the inability to learn the dialect is attested by Cols. Bent & Carson, and all the interpreters on the ground, & Gen. Harney speaks of it as a fact long & well understood upon the plains. The weather is cold & windy and the awning under which the councils meet being on the open prairie, the bare backed and bare legged orators are compelled to be short in their discourses. As to prolixity they seem much like the whites, given to much repetition.

Oct. 18. The water froze in the bucket last night one-half inch thick. This is the first frost that has fallen here & the boys complain of sleeping cold. The soldiers have very comfortable quarters in the bank showing a great variety of designs as well as ingenuity in their construction. The cold weather scares me & I am tired of the whole thing. Hope something will be concluded today. Believe I could have closed the job in one day. Treaty with 4 bands of the Comanches concluded & signed. The other 5 bands are not represented in the council and it is said have not been engaged in hostilities. Quien Sabe?

Two councils were held with the Osages today with a view to obtain a relinquishment of that part of their reservation west of the Arkansas river. They declined alleging that they had twice before sold parts of their land but had not yet seen any of their money. "Heap talk no money." They concluded to wait & see if they got any money for what they had sold & then have another talk when the grass is green.

It was determined not to sign a treaty with the Kiowas until they had delivered up their prisoners. The terms are agreed on & the treaty drawn up ready to sign. The prisoners are in the hands of those who do not wish peace and it is doubted whether they can be got. Not for some days yet. A runner from the Wichitas came in saying that 4 members of that tribe had died from starvation in the last 4 days. They won't work & their food is light and does not give them strength enough to stand a chill. These 7 refugee bands are in a bad condition. This winter will likely finish them up. If it does not then they propose returning to their old homes in & about the Wichita mts. next spring.

The work being done I start for home tomorrow with Cols. Bent & Carson. The com[missione]rs wait a few days to hear from the Kiowas.

Oct. 19. Shook hands & left camp without regret. The Cheyennes, Arapahoes & Apaches had all left yesterday, the Osages & Comanches this morning. Our German friends Van Horn & Holstein also leave so that the life of the camp will grow still more wearisome. I have had my curiosity gratified & leave as willingly as I did the prairie dog village a few days ago.

A very late start only enabled us to make about 30 miles & reach camp about dark. This makes 20 nights I have slept out of a house & I don't like the prospect for tonight. Have my weak longings for home, house and a feather bed.

Oct. 20. Started at daylight and traveled 20 miles to breakfast. Bless the widow Strawhecker for she gave us a good breakfast. The first approach to civilization. The house had no floor. The roof was puncheons covered with earth on which was a good crop of weeds showing a rich soil and careful culture. Here I left Kit Carson's ambulance & took Col. Bent's having a whole one to myself with a good mattress in it. The warm day after a cold night holds out fine inducements for ague. The land on Cottonwood lies well & the grass looks fine. The widow's farm however shows her state. Her husband died in 6 weeks after she arrived here from Indiana, so her sister Hoops informed me, & left her with an only son and small hopes of consolation. After a short drive we camped for night near a dry creek. After the others had done supper Mrs. W. & myself sat sipping our coffee in the twilight and in the confidence which such an hour begets she told the story of her life—Twas fine; tis pitiful. Daughter of John Prince, [?—illegible] widow of Fitzpatrick & Wilmarth, the creature of many loves, the subject of many sorrows. After supper while the drivers cared for their stock, we took our pipes & the chat ran on, interweaving itself with the wreaths of smoke taking on many forms and being nearly as unsubstantial. But there was a bed in the ambulance which I alone was to occupy. After three weeks of the ground the anticipation was delightful. No broken slumbers, no aching bones, weary of their contact with the solid earth. So I early mounted the ambulance to bed. Delightful luxury. I stretched myself, turned over, spread out. Ah, this is grand; all it needs for perfect happiness is the company of one to say "how nice." So I felt as I lay for an hour listening to the chat of the rest of the company. At 9 o'clock all was quiet in camp & I slept, little dreaming how short my enjoyment would be. Shortly after 10 Lieutenant Tanhause came into camp and said that he must up and away. That Bent's train had passed Lost Springs that day & he wanted the ambulance to go on with it. So hitching up both teams we started and about 1 o'clock reached Lost Springs, the ambulance to go west and I east. I stuck to the bed till 5 but had to divide with the Lieut. whose breath was redolent of whisky and onions, so different from the breath I had sighed for the night before.

Oct. 21. Starting at daylight we drove 10 miles to Six Mile creek for breakfast. There again overtook Carson & Bent. Do not find a heavy wagon as comfortable as an ambulance nor is the widow as interesting as by twilight. We have today the advantage of an old road to travel on. Six miles farther on we passed Dia-



mond Springs.<sup>9</sup> The remains of 3 buildings of stone 2 stories high tell their own story of violence. A good monument for the builder. A small room used as dramshop is all left fit for use save a large stone corral surrounding 5 or 6 acres with a small supply of hay. 6 miles further on stopped for dinner on Elm creek, thence 8 miles brings us to Council Grove and within the range of stage travel and severs me from those with whom I have been more or less associated for the last month.

Their characters are severally written on their faces and impressed on my mind. Their fate as com[missione]rs will be that they died of too large views.

9. Diamond Springs, Morris county, Kansas, was a well-known stage and relief station during the years of the great movement along the Santa Fé trail. The settlement, composed of several large two-story stone buildings and a stone corral, was built upon the site of a spring that had been known by the Indians and plains animals long before its discovery by the white man. Santa Fé traders camped upon the spot as early as 1804. The buildings, corral and sheds were the most pretentious of the kind between Council Grove and Santa Fé. The place was the scene of several encounters between Indians and whites and in May, 1863, was raided by Dick Yeager, one of Quantrill's officers, and a band of Missourians. The raiders murdered inhabitants, burned and destroyed property and left a scene of desolation and destruction.—*Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 14, pp. 794-800.

## Defense of the Kansas Frontier 1868-1869

MARVIN H. GARFIELD

1868.

INDIAN affairs in Kansas remained unusually quiet in the spring of 1868. Nothing of note happened until the early part of June when the Cheyennes raided Council Grove. Minor depredations occurred during July, followed by an invasion of the Saline and Solomon valleys in August. On August 23 Gen. Philip H. Sheridan ordered the Indians out of the state. While a volunteer battalion patrolled the frontier districts, Sheridan organized his regulars and carried on a fall and winter campaign into the Indian's stronghold in the Indian territory and Texas. The result was the complete subdual of the Cheyenne, Arapahoe, Comanche, and Kiowa tribes. Sheridan's forces were ably assisted in this campaign by the Nineteenth Kansas volunteer cavalry.

Before entering into a discussion of the Sheridan campaign it is necessary to explain in detail the events which led up to that final crushing of the plains tribes of the Southwest. In the spring of 1868 the nomadic Indian tribes went into camp near Fort Larned and Fort Dodge, where they proceeded to draw rations from the government until the buffalo migration reached the Kansas plains. The Kiowas, Comanches and part of the Cheyennes located at Larned, while the Arapahoes, Apaches and the remainder of the Cheyennes chose Fort Dodge.<sup>1</sup> During this period General Sheridan endeavored to establish a more friendly basis for Indian relations. In an effort to explain further the terms of the Medicine Lodge treaties special agents had been sent among the tribes the previous autumn. William Comstock and Abner S. Grover had gone to the Cheyennes and Richard Parr to the Kiowas and Comanches. For a time it seemed that success would crown their efforts, but by the time spring arrived it became apparent that the Cheyennes were not to be reconciled so easily.<sup>2</sup> Comstock and Grover were treacherously attacked, Comstock losing his life as a result. General Sheridan powwowed with the Indians at Fort Dodge, but gained little satisfaction. The young men were extremely dissatisfied with

1. S. J. Crawford, *Kansas in the Sixties*, p. 287.

2. C. C. Rister, *The Southwestern Frontier*, p. 106.

the Medicine Lodge arrangements and were in an ugly mood. Warriors, chiefs, medicine men, all the tribal leaders, united in a demand for arms and ammunition.<sup>3</sup>

The problem involved was a thorny one which had remained unsolved from the previous year. In January, 1867, Gen. W. T. Sherman had ordered Gen. W. S. Hancock to stop the practice of Indian agents' selling arms to the Indians. All sales by law were to be under the rigid control of the commanding officers of posts within the Indian districts. The law was being flagrantly violated, however. Sherman had threatened, consequently, to withdraw United States troops from the plains region altogether unless the unlimited and unlicensed sale of arms was stopped.<sup>4</sup> Sherman appealed to Ulysses S. Grant, who in turn addressed the Secretary of War urging the abolition of civil Indian agents and licensed traders.<sup>5</sup> Grant also had seconded Sherman's threats to withdraw the troops from the frontier. Since the arms question involved a conflict between the War Department and the Interior Department, which contained the Indian Bureau, congress became the final authority. On February 1, 1867, Sec. E. M. Stanton transmitted to the house committee on Indian affairs a letter from Major Douglas, commander at Fort Dodge. Douglas had reported that a large trading business had grown up at the fort between traders and Indians, that Butterfield, the former head of the Overland Despatch, had the largest investment of all the traders, and that several cases of arms had been sold by Butterfield to the Cheyennes and Arapahoes. "Between the authorized issue of the agents and the sales of the traders," said Douglas, "the Indians were never better armed than at the present time." Continuing, the letter related that the Indians were openly boasting of their preparedness for war in the spring. Further incriminating statements were made by Major Douglas:

"The agents have no real control over the traders; in fact, they are accused by many, both Indians and white men, of being in league with them, and of drawing a large profit from the trade. The anxiety of the Indians at the present time to obtain arms and ammunition is a great temptation to the trader. For a revolver an Indian will give ten, even twenty times its value in horses and furs."<sup>6</sup>

It developed that Butterfield had consulted experienced Indian agents before selling arms to the Indians. William W. Bent, E. W.

3. Crawford, *Kansas in the Sixties*, p. 288.

4. *House Miscellaneous Documents*, No. 40, 39 Cong., 2 sess., Sherman to Hancock, January 26, 1867.

5. *Ibid.*, Grant to Stanton, February 1, 1867.

6. *Ibid.*, No. 41, 39 Cong., 2 sess.



Wyncoop, and Col. J. H. Leavenworth had addressed a circular letter to the new trader informing him that he was authorized to sell arms or ammunition to any Indians that were at peace with and receiving annuities from the United States.<sup>7</sup> Feeling that he had received official consent, Butterfield accordingly had gone ahead with his sales, since the Cheyennes and Arapahoes were receiving annuities and so were technically at peace.

While congress was debating the question in committee, the practice of evading the law had continued. Gov. S. J. Crawford, while in Washington in April, 1867, visited the Interior Department and roundly denounced it for supplying the Indians with arms and ammunition to be used against frontier people. The secretary promised that arms would not be issued to the tribes that were on the warpath. This promise was then immediately broken.<sup>8</sup> Indian supplies were sent to Atchison in July consigned to the Cheyennes and Arapahoes who were on the warpath. Hearing of the presence of the supply train in Kansas, Governor Crawford telegraphed General Sherman and threatened to have it burned unless the War Department prevented the supplies from reaching the Indians. Sherman therefore ordered the cavalry from Fort Riley to capture the train and store the supplies in Fort Larned. There they remained until October, when the Peace Commission distributed them to the Indians at Medicine Lodge.<sup>9</sup>

His indignation once aroused, Governor Crawford was relentless in his persecution of Indian traders and agents. Having learned that one of Colonel Leavenworth's traders at Wichita was supplying the Kiowas and Comanches with arms and ammunition, the governor made a public statement denouncing such practices. The trader, J. R. Mead, then wrote Crawford in an aggrieved tone, denying everything. Crawford sent a scorching reply on September 4, 1867. Extracts from the letter follow:

"You, I am informed, are one of his (Leavenworth's) traders. If such be the fact, it is doubtless to your mutual interest to coöperate with each other in explaining and covering up as far as possible the damnable outrages committed by agent traders and Indians during the present year."

The governor then proceeded to tell Mead that arms and ammunition had been passing into the Indian country all summer by way of the mouth of the Little Arkansas. Crawford warned Mead not to

7. This letter was inclosed by Sherman to Grant.—*Ibid.*, No. 40, 39 Cong., 2 sess.

8. Crawford, *Kansas in the Sixties*, pp. 249, 250.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 251.

ship any more arms to the Indians, and closed with this: "The Kiowa or Comanche Indian who has committed most fiendish outrages in Kansas is no worse than his agent who represents him as at peace, or the trader who furnishes him with supplies which enable him to execute his designs."<sup>10</sup>

With this history of the previous year as a warning, General Sheridan refused to deliver more arms to the Indians in the spring of 1868.

The month of June, 1868, brought the biggest Indian scare that Kansans ever witnessed. On June 3, citizens of Marion county and vicinity received warning that a large band of Indians was approaching. Settlers from miles around flocked into Marion Centre for protection. The Indians appeared, some three hundred strong, but passed by the frightened town without molesting it. Farm houses were ransacked and stock killed by the invaders.<sup>11</sup> The objective of this Cheyenne raid was the Kaw Indian reservation at Council Grove. On June 5 the Cheyennes, led by Tall Bull, arrived and attacked the Kaws. After a long-drawn-out battle in which few fatalities occurred the Cheyennes were driven off and headed westward, committing petty outrages as they went.

Instantly the entire east-central portion of the state was aroused. Armed bodies of citizens collected in Morris, Lyon, and Chase counties, but the men were entirely without organization and recognized no one as commander.<sup>12</sup> Not knowing where the Indians would strike next, the suspense was terrible to the people in the region. Efforts to allay their fears were made by the newspapers. It was soon discovered that the Cheyenne raid was aimed only at the Kaws, and that the motive back of it was retaliation for the death of seven Cheyennes at the hands of the Kaws the previous summer.<sup>13</sup>

The chief result of the raid was that the state government, in coöperation with the federal military authorities, evolved a more effective system of frontier protection. As an emergency measure General Sheridan dispatched cavalry from Forts Harker and Riley to the Council Grove vicinity.<sup>14</sup> On June 8 the general ordered that fifteen thousand rounds of ammunition be shipped to Governor

10. Correspondence of Kansas Governors, Crawford (Copy Book), pp. 54-57. Archives, Kansas State Historical Society. Hereafter cited C. K. G., Crawford (Copy Book).

11. Bulletin from Cottonwood Falls, June 3, 1868, in *Kansas State Record*, Topeka, June 6, 1868.

12. *Ibid.*, June 7, 1868.

13. *Ibid.*, editorial.

14. Sheridan to Crawford, June 5, 1868, C. K. G., Crawford (Telegrams), p. 75.

Crawford for distribution among the frontier settlers.<sup>15</sup> Four days later J. B. McAfee, adjutant general of Kansas, left Topeka in order to distribute the ammunition and arms provided by Sheridan. McAfee also had instructions to organize a company of reserve cavalry.<sup>16</sup>

For permanent protection of the western border Sheridan decided to organize a cavalry patrol by establishing temporary camps in the exposed region. Prior to the raid a cavalry company had been stationed at the mouth of the Little Arkansas.<sup>17</sup> On June 20 Sheridan informed Crawford that another company had been posted at the Kaw crossing of the Santa Fé trail on the Cottonwood river near Marion.<sup>18</sup> The two companies in coöperation with the troops at Fort Harker thus patrolled the border from Fort Harker south to Wichita.

These precautions were in line with the demands of the settlers of the region and did much to relieve their anxiety. The War Department also aided by issuing an order directing the commanders of departments to use their own judgment in issuing ammunition to state and territorial authorities for frontier protection.<sup>19</sup> It suited the people of Kansas to have this power in the hands of General Sheridan rather than the War Department, since they had great confidence in the good judgment and coöperative spirit of "Little Phil."

Tall Bull's Council Grove raid proved costly to the Cheyennes because it prevented them from collecting their annuity, arms and ammunition for a time. By the middle of July, however, the Indians appeared in large numbers at Fort Larned and threatened to storm the fort and take the arms by force.<sup>20</sup> Had not General Sully maintained a bold front the hostiles might have carried their threats into action.<sup>21</sup> Finally the tribes deserted the fort, but the general impression among the military officers was that they intended to return after placing their women and children in positions of safety.<sup>22</sup> Shortly afterwards the Indians came back. This time, by astute diplomacy, they were able to get the desired arms. They promised

15. *Ibid.*, Sheridan to Ward Burlingame, June 8, 1868, p. 76.

16. *Daily Kansas State Record*, Topeka, June 12, 1868.

17. Sheridan to Crawford, May 27, 1868, C. K. G., Crawford (Telegrams), p. 73.

18. Telegram, Sheridan to Crawford, cited by the *Daily Kansas State Record*, June 20, 1868.

19. Letter from War Department to Sen. E. G. Ross, of Kansas, June 19, 1868, Adjutant General's Correspondence, 1868 (Kansas), Archives, Kansas State Historical Society.

20. *Daily Kansas State Record*, July 21, 1868.

21. *Atchison Daily Free Press*, July 27, 1868.

22. *Ibid.*



to use the arms for hunting purposes only, claiming that they needed more ammunition in order to hunt on their way south in the autumn. Gen. Alfred Sully was completely hoodwinked by their fair promises, and accordingly issued the arms. By August 3 the last of the arms were distributed. Immediately the Indians left for parts unknown.<sup>23</sup>

At the first hint of trouble, Col. Thomas Murphy, superintendent of Indian affairs for the Central Superintendency, had gone to Larned to investigate the situation. He found the Indians irritable and sullen because of the nondelivery of arms and ammunition. When he left conditions were quiet. Colonel Murphy therefore was able to announce to the press on August 5 that an Indian outbreak was unlikely to occur and that the Indians were convinced of their own inability to continue hostilities against the whites.<sup>24</sup> While the colonel was publishing this statement a band of approximately two hundred Cheyennes was on the warpath under the command of the Dog Soldier chief, Red Nose, and The-man-who-breaks-the-marrow-bones, a prominent member of Black Kettle's band. Nearly all the Cheyenne bands were represented in this war party.<sup>25</sup> Beginning on the Smoky Hill valley and Kansas Pacific railroad, the Indians swept northward to the Saline and thence to the Solomon and Republican valleys. In the course of a few days they had killed at least a dozen settlers, outraged several women, some of whom were carried into captivity, burned and ransacked houses, stolen stock, driven hundreds of settlers from the region and paralyzed the citizens of northern Kansas with fright.<sup>26</sup>

First news of the raid reached Topeka on August 15. Colonel McAfee and Governor Crawford at once hastened to the exposed regions in order to make preparations for arming and organizing the settlers for defense. Fortunately for the Asher creek settlement, Colonel McAfee had delivered them a shipment of arms before the raid. They were thus able to drive the Indians away. McAfee toured the settlements for several days, organizing, arming and providing for the destitute.<sup>27</sup> All attempts at pursuing the raiders

23. Major Wyncoop, Indian agent at Fort Larned, has stated that the arms were delivered on August 9. He also maintained that the war party which committed the Saline-Solomon raid left Larned before the arms were issued. Not knowing of the issue they were angry because the government had not given them their promised weapons. See correspondence upon this subject in *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1868, p. 70. See, also, Sheridan, *Personal Memoirs*, v. II, p. 289; Rister, *The Southwestern Frontier*, p. 107.

24. *Atchison Daily Free Press*, August 5, 1868.

25. Testimony of Edmund Guerriere, half-breed Cheyenne, *Report of the Secretary of War*, 41 Cong., 2 sess., p. 47.

26. *Daily Kansas State Record*, August 15-19, 1868.

27. *Ibid.*

failed. Governor Crawford hastily organized a volunteer company at Salina, but it was too late to accomplish much.<sup>28</sup> On August 17 Crawford appealed to President Johnson for aid. In his message the governor asked not only for assistance but requested: (1) That the Kiowas, Comanches, Arapahoes, Cheyennes, and Apaches be driven from Kansas; (2) That the President keep the Indian Commission at home; (3) That the government stop issuing arms and ammunition to the Indians. Crawford promised the coöperation of Kansas in any effort to drive the Indians from the state. His message was referred to General Sherman who ordered immediate action.<sup>29</sup> Regular troops were rushed to the scene of the raids by command of General Sheridan. Troops stationed on the Little Arkansas and detachments from Forts Riley and Harker were at once transferred to the Saline and Solomon region.<sup>30</sup> Sheridan then ordered General Sully to erect block houses on the Saline, Solomon, and Republican. These forts were garrisoned with infantry while the region lying between the posts was patrolled by cavalry.<sup>31</sup> On August 21 Sheridan informed Crawford that he would order all the Indians to their reservations. The order was issued two days later.

After a week of intense excitement Kansas realized that the worst was over. Settlers accordingly returned to their claims, and life went on as before. One beneficial result of the raid was that the settlers and the military became better prepared to withstand future Indian depredations in the region. By October the inhabitants of north-central Kansas were so destitute as a result of Indian raids and crop failures that it became necessary to send them financial relief. Various organizations in the eastern part of the state put on campaigns and raised funds to enable these pioneers to remain on their claims through the winter.<sup>32</sup>

Governor Crawford's appeal to the President evidently produced results. The War Department was given a free hand to prosecute the Indian war to a finish. Even the Commissioner of Indian Affairs approved of punishing the guilty.<sup>33</sup> The Indians in September resumed their depredations in earnest. Comanches and Kiowas made a dash at Fort Dodge on September 3, killing four

28. Crawford, *Kansas in the Sixties*, p. 290.

29. *Ibid.*

30. *Adjutant General's Report*, 1868 (Kansas), p. 7; *Daily Kansas State Record*, August 19, 1868.

31. Sheridan to Crawford, August 21, 1868, C. K. G., Crawford (Telegrams), p. 69.

32. *Daily Kansas State Record*, October 8, 1868.

33. *Ibid.*, August 26, 1868.

soldiers and wounding seventeen before being driven off.<sup>34</sup> A Mexican wagon train was attacked on the Santa Fé trail near Fort Dodge by Cheyennes and Arapahoes. Sixteen of the Mexicans were reported killed and scalped.<sup>35</sup> Farther north, along the Smoky Hill and South Platte, the Cheyennes pursued their methods of previous years. Great excitement prevailed in Denver, and Gov. A. C. Hunt, of Colorado, organized a volunteer company to protect the stage lines.<sup>36</sup>

On September 7 Sheridan ordered General Sully to invade the region south of the Arkansas river to make war on the families and run off the stock of the Cheyennes and their allies. At nearly the same time Col. George A. Forsyth was ordered to operate against the Cheyennes in the vicinity of Fort Wallace. Forsyth headed an organization of frontier scouts which was formed on August 24 by authority of General Sheridan. The scouts were all experienced plainsmen and buffalo hunters who had been recruited at Forts Harker and Wallace by Lieut. Fred Beecher.<sup>37</sup>

Scouts had reported to Sheridan that a band of Indians not exceeding two hundred fifty was encamped on the western frontier of Kansas. The Indians attacked a wagon train near Sheridan, on the Smoky Hill route, and fled northward. Forsyth's company at once left Fort Wallace in pursuit of the raiders. After six days marching they camped on Arickaree creek in northeastern Colorado. On the morning of September 17 the camp was attacked by a large force of Cheyennes and Sioux. For six days the little band withstood both the warriors and slow starvation until rescued by Col. John C. Carpenter and the Tenth cavalry.<sup>38</sup> The conflict is generally known as the Battle of Beecher's Island, in honor of Lieut. Fred Beecher, who died there.

Numerous contradictory accounts have been written of this battle. Estimates of the number of Indians vary from four hundred fifty to two thousand, while statistics on the number of Indian dead and wounded have been similarly divergent. Forsyth numbered the Indians at approximately four hundred fifty and reported that at least thirty-five were killed and many more wounded.<sup>39</sup> Governor Craw-

34. *Ibid.*, September 8, 1868.

35. *Ibid.*, September 10, 1868.

36. *Ibid.*, news dispatch from Denver, August 29, 1868.

37. Winfield Freeman, "The Battle of the Arickaree," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. VI, p. 347.

38. Crawford, *Kansas in the Sixties*, pp. 295, 296.

39. Forsyth to Colonel Bankhead, commander at Fort Wallace, September 19, 1868. Cited by Mrs. Frank C. Montgomery in "Fort Wallace and Its Relation to the Frontier," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. XVII, pp. 189-283.



ford estimated the Indians at eight hundred.<sup>40</sup> Newspaper accounts of the battle stated that there were from six hundred to seven hundred Indians well armed with Spencer carbines and heavy rifles. Stories written by participants in the battle differ considerably, although all agree that the Indian casualties were heavy. Tom Murphy, one of Forsyth's scouts, writing years afterwards, said that it was impossible to tell in the confusion of battle how many Indians fell. In 1870 Mr. Murphy met Phil McClosky, a trader to the Comanches, who had been with the Indians before and after the battle and had heard them discussing it. McClosky told Murphy that three hundred sixty Indians were killed on the Arickaree.<sup>41</sup> Another scout, Louis McLaughlin, believed that the Indian death rate must have been heavy since sixty-eight Cheyenne bodies were found by Carpenter's troops on their way to rescue Forsyth. McLaughlin stated that more Sioux than Cheyennes participated in the battle and that they lost more heavily than did their southern allies.<sup>42</sup> The highest statistics encountered were printed in a Kansas newspaper of comparatively recent times. This paper placed the number of Indians engaged in the battle at two thousand and estimated the dead at seven or eight hundred.<sup>43</sup> Standing alone against this array of figures is George Bird Grinnell's account. Mr. Grinnell has suggested that stories of the battle written by the white participants are colored by their own imaginations and is of the opinion that the Indians' accounts to him are much more reliable. According to the Cheyenne version, which Grinnell relates, there were about six hundred Indians in the battle and only nine killed. The Cheyennes have even gone so far as to name the Indians who fell.<sup>44</sup>

While it seems almost impossible to decide between such conflicting statements, a bit of logic may help solve the problem. Obviously the Indians must have numbered between four hundred fifty and eight hundred since most of the estimates range thereabouts. It is infringing upon a person's credulity, however, to state that several hundred Indians fell in the conflict. Equally ridiculous is it to maintain that fifty sharp-shooting plainsmen, armed with seven-shot repeaters, could kill only nine Indians in six days of battle and siege. As a consequence, until some better proof to the contrary can be

40. *Kansas in the Sixties*, p. 294.

41. Indian Depredations and Battles (Clippings), v. III, p. 16, Kansas State Historical Society.

42. *Topeka State Journal*, September 8, 1907.

43. *The Kinsley Graphic*, December 13, 1928.

44. Grinnell, *The Fighting Cheyennes*, pp. 281, 282.

furnished, the official report of Colonel Forsyth sounds most plausible. The chief value of Forsyth's victory is that it broke up a large concentration of Indians which otherwise might have done considerable damage to overland travel and the frontier settlements in Kansas, Nebraska and Colorado.

While Forsyth and his men were on the march toward the Arickaree, preparations were being made in Kansas for a strong offensive against the Indian strongholds to the south. In order to invade the Indian country with any sizable force it was necessary to relieve many of the regulars who were engaged in patrol and scout duty. To meet this need the First Frontier battalion was organized from the militia of Kansas. For some time Governor Crawford had been urging General Sheridan to accept a battalion of militia for frontier duty, but up to September 11, 1868, his offers had been rejected.<sup>45</sup> On September 9 Sheridan had sent a long telegram to Crawford announcing Sully's movements south of the Arkansas and once more refusing the militia battalion. Sheridan said that he was not yet convinced there was a necessity for such troops, but that if he discovered his regulars were insufficient he would call upon Crawford for aid. In the meantime he asked that the people of Kansas have more patience and their Indian troubles would be settled permanently. It was impossible, Sheridan added, to protect every house and person on the frontier. Small parties of whites who carelessly exposed themselves to danger would have to take the consequences.<sup>46</sup>

Sheridan apparently changed his mind about the militia battalion following fresh Indian disturbances, since he finally acquiesced to Crawford's plan. On September 11 the governor had telegraphed Sheridan as follows:

"Will you issue to me five hundred stand of Spencer carbines with accoutrements and ammunition? If so, and you will supply rations, I will at once organize a battalion of picked men well mounted to guard the border from the Republican to the Arkansas."<sup>47</sup>

In his acceptance Sheridan stated that Crawford's proposition would enable him to use seven companies of regulars who had been patrolling the frontier.<sup>48</sup> Adjutant General McAfee on September 15 informed Governor Crawford that Sheridan would order the

45. Possibly Crawford was influenced by a letter from Major Armes, of Sheridan's staff, who secretly informed him that Sheridan was short of regulars and needed the aid of Kansas volunteers.—Armes to Crawford, September 8, 1868, C. K. G., Crawford. (Incoming letters.)

46. C. K. G., Crawford. (Telegrams), p. 98.

47. *Ibid.*, p. 154.

48. *Ibid.*, p. 97.

guns from Fort Leavenworth and sixty days' rations from Fort Harker to be sent immediately to Salina, where the battalion was to organize. He added that Sheridan wanted the battalion in the field as soon as possible, since the seven companies of regular soldiers were needed on the plains at once.<sup>49</sup>

The next day Governor Crawford issued his proclamation for volunteers. Instructions were also telegraphed to recruiting officers. Organization plans called for five companies of cavalry to enlist for three months' service with possibilities of only sixty days' service required. Each recruit was expected to furnish his own horse. Guns and ammunition were to be supplied by the United States through General Sheridan.<sup>50</sup> After assembling at Salina, the headquarters for arms, supplies, and enlistments, the companies were ordered to their respective stations. One company each was stationed in the following localities: Lake Sibley, Solomon Valley, Salina, Marion Centre, and Topeka.<sup>51</sup> The Topeka company was evidently held in reserve to reinforce the troops at other points.

The period from the sixteenth to the twenty-eighth of September was spent in preparation. Before the battalion was fully recruited and outfitted a call came from Sheridan to send the first company organized to the southwest frontier. Reports had reached Sheridan that a war party of Cheyennes and Arapahoes had crossed the Arkansas east of the Great Bend.<sup>52</sup> Shortly afterwards Crawford was notified by Sheridan that the supposed Indian raid was a false report.<sup>53</sup> On September 26 Sheridan wired Crawford to relieve his troops on the Saline and Republican as soon as possible.<sup>54</sup> Two days later the first militia company marched away to the southwest. The other soon followed, and they assumed their respective positions along the line of patrol which extended from Nebraska south to Wichita. Good work was performed by this frontier battalion. No Indian depredations were committed during its sixty days of service except for one small raid on the Solomon in which four men were killed, one wounded, and a woman taken captive.

After sixty days' rations had been consumed, Adjutant General McAfee asked Sheridan if he wanted the battalion disbanded. Sheridan replied that he would ask authority for more rations.

49. *Ibid.*, p. 82.

50. Crawford's instructions to recruiting officers, *ibid.*, p. 149.

51. *Daily Kansas State Record*, Topeka, September 16, 1868.

52. Sheridan to Crawford, September 21, 1868, C. K. G., Crawford (Telegrams), p. 83.

53. *Ibid.*, p. 84.

54. Adjutant General's Correspondence, 1868 (Kansas).



Soon after, however, he left Fort Hays to take the field against the Indians. Upon referring the question to General Sherman, McAfee received a refusal; consequently the Frontier battalion was ordered home by Colonel McAfee in the latter part of November. Many of the soldiers were wholly destitute of winter clothing and both horses and men were near starvation when mustered out.<sup>55</sup> It was really unnecessary to keep the men in service any longer, since by November the Indians had practically withdrawn from the state and Sheridan was carrying the war to them in a winter campaign. Many of the men in the battalion, however, seemed to think otherwise. On November 26, Gov. Nehemiah Green, who had succeeded Crawford, received a petition from members of the battalion near Salina. Permission was asked of the governor to retain one hundred men for a period of thirty more days with authority to drive all Indian hostiles outside the state. The petition further requested that they be rationed by the state and allowed to retain their arms. The reason given for this desire to extend their time of service was that four hundred Cheyennes and Arapahoes were in the Saline valley.<sup>56</sup>

Colonel McAfee, in order to fulfill this request, called upon the post adjutant at Fort Harker to issue more rations. His suggestion was promptly rejected by the adjutant, who stated that the issuance of rations to state militia was unauthorized and could not be complied with.<sup>57</sup> State officials seemed willing to keep the militia out as long as the United States government furnished the rations. On the other hand, when the burden of rationing the troops fell to the lot of the state treasury the Indian danger at once became negligible and the militia was withdrawn.

It is extremely doubtful if the Indians reported on the Saline were Cheyennes and Arapahoes. It is even possible that there were no Indians in that region at the time. One month previous, Maj. George B. Jenness, of the Frontier battalion, had reported that the only hostile Indians remaining in northwestern Kansas were the Sioux on the Republican river, all Cheyenne and Arapahoe bands having gone into winter quarters.<sup>58</sup>

The last big Indian fight of the year in Kansas occurred on October 18, when Colonel Carpenter and the Tenth cavalry ex-

55. *Adjutant General's Report*, 1868, pp. 9, 10.

56. *Adjutant General's Correspondence*, 1868 (Kansas).

57. *Ibid.*, letter from Post Adjutant Gardner to Colonel McAfee.

58. Major Jenness to Colonel McAfee, October 26, 1868, C. K. G., Crawford (Incoming letters).

changed blows with a large party of Cheyennes and Arapahoes near Buffalo Station, sixty miles west of Fort Hays. Nine Indians were killed and thirty wounded. Carpenter's losses were three wounded.<sup>59</sup> On October 30 Indians derailed six cars of a Kansas Pacific excursion train near Grinnell, Kan., but no one was hurt. Colored troops charged on the Indians and drove them away.<sup>60</sup>

Sheridan's winter campaign against the Cheyennes had been foreshadowed on September 11 when he called upon Governor Crawford for the Frontier battalion. It was also predicted by General Sherman in the following prophetic statement: "When winter starves their [the Indians'] ponies, they will want a truce and shan't have it, unless the civil influence compels me again as it did last winter."<sup>61</sup> General Sully's September campaign south of the Arkansas had not succeeded in crushing the Indians. In fact, Sully himself was hard pressed before he managed to get back to Fort Dodge. Gen. W. B. Hazen at Fort Larned attempted on September 19 and 20 to come to terms with the Kiowas and Comanches, but he failed to secure either peace or their removal to their reservation.<sup>62</sup> The Indians "worked" Hazen, as they previously had hoodwinked Sully, and obtained arms and ammunition with which they promptly took the warpath.<sup>63</sup> Continued Indian depredations after Sheridan had ordered the Indians out of Kansas exasperated the military authorities, Sherman finally authorizing Sheridan to proceed on a winter offensive.

On October 8 Sheridan informed Governor Crawford of his recent orders and called upon Kansas for a regiment of volunteer cavalry to serve six months.<sup>64</sup> The Indian Peace Commission having sustained the war policy, military preparations could go forward without fear of interruption.<sup>65</sup> Sheridan's plans for the Kansas volunteers were that the cavalry should muster in Topeka and march overland to Camp Supply, in Indian territory, where they were to unite with Sheridan's forces from Fort Hays and Fort Dodge. Upon receipt of Sheridan's request Governor Crawford issued a proclamation calling for volunteers.

59. *Daily Kansas State Record*, Topeka, October 24, 1868; *The Times and Conservative*, Leavenworth, October 27, 1868.

60. *The Times and Conservative*, October 31, 1868.

61. W. T. Sherman to Sen. John Sherman, September 23, 1868, *The Sherman Letters* (edited by Raphael Sherman Thorndike), p. 322.

62. Sheridan to Crawford, October 8, 1868, C. K. G., Crawford (Telegrams), p. 87.

63. Crawford, *Kansas in the Sixties*, pp. 318, 319.

64. Sheridan to Crawford, October 8, 1868, C. K. G., Crawford (Telegrams).

65. Sheridan to Crawford, October 9, 1868, *ibid.*, p. 88.

The response was instantaneous. Letters and telegrams came from all over the state offering services of officers and men.<sup>66</sup> On October 20, 1868, company A was mustered in at Topeka. Other companies were rapidly added to the ranks until the regiment was complete. On November 4 Governor Crawford resigned his office to take command of the expedition.<sup>67</sup> The next day the Nineteenth Kansas cavalry began the long trek across the plains to meet Sheridan. The regiment reached Camp Supply on November 26, after suffering great hardships. Freezing weather and lack of food killed many of their horses; consequently nearly half the regiment finished the campaign as infantry. Before the Nineteenth arrived Gen. George A. Custer, with his Seventh cavalry, had advanced southward to the Washita river and destroyed Black Kettle's Cheyenne village.<sup>68</sup>

Custer's work on the Washita was but a part of the campaign plan of Sheridan. The entire plan called for the concerted operation of three separate columns of troops from Fort Hays, Kan., Fort Lyon, Colo., and Fort Bascom, New Mex. Col. A. W. Evans, with six cavalry troops and two infantry companies, was to leave Fort Bascom and work down the Canadian river. Gen. E. A. Carr and seven troops of Fifth cavalry were scheduled to march southeast from Fort Lyon to the North Canadian. Sheridan, with the main force, expected to strike the Indian villages along the Washita river. The three columns planned to converge and punish the Indians in a series of decisive engagements. The aims of the campaign were to force the Indians on their reservations and, if that failed, to show them that they would have no security winter or summer unless they respected the laws of peace and humanity.<sup>69</sup>

The battle of the Washita has received so much publicity that only the main facts of the affair need be told. On the morning of November 27, after having followed the trail of a returning war party, Custer's men surrounded the sleeping village. At dawn the charge was sounded and the cavalry swept down upon the surprised Indians, driving them from their tepees. The Cheyennes never had a chance and were badly beaten. Black Kettle, their chief, fell at

66. Governor Crawford's correspondence in the archives of the Kansas State Historical Society contain seventy-four letters from men in twenty-three different counties all of which were offers to serve in the Nineteenth Kansas Volunteer cavalry.

67. Crawford responded to a popular demand on the part of the officers and men of the regiment. Many of his personal friends advised him against taking the position.—*Daily Kansas State Record*, Topeka.

68. Crawford, *Kansas in the Sixties*, p. 325.

69. Sheridan, *Personal Memoirs*, v. II, pp. 307-309; *Report of the Secretary of War*, 41 Cong., 2 sess., p. 45.



the first onslaught. Custer's men destroyed the village and killed the captured pony herd. Unknown to Custer, the entire valley below the Cheyenne village was full of Indians—Arapahoes, Kiowas and Comanches. These Indians, hearing the sounds of battle, came to the rescue of their Cheyenne friends. Seeing such overwhelming numbers arriving, Custer very prudently withdrew and marched back to Camp Supply. Statistics of the battle are greatly at variance. In his report Custer stated that one hundred three warriors were killed and fifty-three women and children captured. The Indians themselves told Gen. B. H. Grierson in 1869 that the Cheyenne loss was thirteen men, sixteen women, and nine children.<sup>70</sup> Custer's own losses were nineteen killed and thirteen wounded.<sup>71</sup>

Much controversy has existed since the Washita battle as to whether or not Black Kettle's band deserved what befell them. Sheridan himself thought that Black Kettle deserved what he got since he had freely encouraged the Saline and Solomon raids, even though he did not personally participate in them.<sup>72</sup> In his report to the Secretary of War Sheridan referred to the Cheyenne chief in the following uncomplimentary fashion:

"Black Kettle, . . . a worn-out and worthless old cypher, was said to be friendly; but when I sent him word to come to Dodge before any of the troops had commenced operations, saying that I would feed and protect himself and family, he refused, . . . He was also with the band on Walnut creek, where they made their medicine, or held their devilish incantations previous to the party setting out to massacre the settlers."<sup>73</sup>

Other references to Black Kettle have been more kindly. William Windom, of Minnesota, during debate in the house of representatives, mentioned "Black Kettle and his friendly band."<sup>74</sup> George Bird Grinnell has cited Black Kettle as a fine example of a patriot and has eulogized him in these words: "Black Kettle was a striking example of a consistently friendly Indian, who, because he was friendly and because his whereabouts was usually known, was punished for the acts of people whom it was supposed he could control."<sup>75</sup>

J. R. Mead, writing in the *Wichita Eagle* many years after the battle, called the Washita affair a massacre of innocent Indians. The writer declared that Black Kettle was not a hostile and never

70. Grinnell, *The Fighting Cheyennes*, p. 289.

71. Sheridan, *Personal Memoirs*, v. II, p. 314.

72. *Ibid.*, p. 318.

73. *Report of the Secretary of War*, 41 Cong., 2 sess., p. 47.

74. *Congressional Globe*, House proceedings, 1869, 40 Cong., 3 sess., p. 683.

75. *The Fighting Cheyennes*, p. 298.

had been, that General Hazen had given the chief a letter guaranteeing him and his band protection, and that when William Griffenstein, a friendly trader and afterwards mayor of Wichita, accused Sheridan of striking a camp of friendly Indians he was ordered out of the Indian territory by Sheridan and threatened with hanging if he returned.<sup>76</sup>

The best statement on the mooted question has been offered by George Bent, the half-breed Cheyenne. Bent said that Black Kettle himself was friendly, but that the Cheyenne raiders on the Saline and Solomon joined Black Kettle's camp, making it appear that the band was hostile.<sup>77</sup> Little Raven, an Arapahoe chief, testified on April 9, 1869, before General Grierson that the Cheyennes and Arapahoes did not understand where their reservation was located. The Arapahoe chieftain thought Custer's attack was due to the fact that the Indians were off their reservation.<sup>78</sup>

On December 7 Sheridan's entire force left Camp Supply and advanced to the Washita. Upon their approach the Indians broke camp and fled, the Cheyennes and Arapahoes retreating southward while the Kiowas and Comanches headed for the Wichita mountains. Sheridan followed the latter group after having thoroughly explored the site of the Washita battlefield.<sup>79</sup> The expedition overtook the fleeing Indians on December 17 near Fort Cobb. While preparing to strike the Kiowa village, Sheridan was stopped by a message sent from Fort Cobb by General Hazen. The latter informed Sheridan that the Indians had surrendered to the Interior Department and that they were not hostile.<sup>80</sup> Once more the conflict of authority between the War and Interior Departments prevented decisive military action. Sheridan was very angry at Hazen for interfering because he believed that the Kiowas richly deserved a severe trouncing.<sup>81</sup> Hazen, of course, was acting under orders, since he had been detailed by both the War Department and the Indian Bureau to take charge of the arrangements for bringing about peace and putting the Kiowa and Comanche Indians on their reservation. The difficulty was that Hazen's and Sheridan's instructions were not in harmony. Hazen had regarded the Cheyennes and

76. The Wichita *Daily Eagle*, March 2, 1893. (It is of interest to know that the writer of this article, J. R. Mead, was the Indian trader at Wichita who was accused by Governor Crawford in 1867 of having sold arms and ammunition to hostile Indians.)

77. "Forty Years With the Cheyennes," *The Frontier*, March, 1906.

78. Report of the Secretary of the Interior, *House Executive Documents*, 41 Con., 2 sess., v. III, p. 524.

79. Crawford, *Kansas in the Sixties*, pp. 326-328.

80. Sheridan, *Personal Memoirs*, v. II, p. 323.

81. *Report of the Secretary of War*, 41 Cong., 2 sess., p. 49.



Arapahoes only as being hostile. He had therefore refused to allow them to come in to Fort Cobb and make peace, although Black Kettle and a delegation had appeared for that purpose shortly before Custer's attack.<sup>82</sup>

Although professing friendship, the wily Kiowas and Comanches endeavored to escape Sheridan and flee southward. By a bit of stratagem Sheridan prevented this and managed to accomplish a complete surrender. Sheridan's method was quite simple but effective. It consisted of capturing Satanta and Lone Wolf, the principal Kiowa chiefs, and threatening to hang them.<sup>83</sup>

The backbone of the Indian rebellion was broken on December 25 when Colonel Evans completely crushed the last hostile band of Comanches on the Canadian river. This had its effect upon the Cheyennes and the Arapahoes who were still at large. At midnight on December 31 a delegation of chiefs from these tribes came into Fort Cobb begging for peace. They reported that their tribes were in mourning for their losses . . . their people starving, ponies dying, dogs all eaten up, no buffalo. Sheridan accepted their unconditional surrender and decided to punish them justly. "I can scarcely make error in any punishment awarded, for all have blood upon their hands," he firmly asserted.<sup>84</sup>

The year thus ended with fair prospects of the Indian wars in Kansas soon coming to a close. In the meantime Governor Green of Kansas had appealed to General Sully to place a permanent patrol of troops on the Saline and Solomon. Sully answered by sending one hundred fifty regulars to the region and promised to keep men there in the future.<sup>85</sup> No outbreaks occurred in that section until the following spring. The close of the year found the Nineteenth Kansas cavalry in good condition with forty-six officers and 1,112 men on duty.<sup>86</sup>

1869.

Throughout the winter months of the new year Sheridan's campaign continued. By the end of March the Indians had all been forced upon their reservations and the war was practically over so far as the southern tribes were concerned. There still remained in

82. On this occasion Black Kettle and the other chiefs said they wanted war with Kansas but peace at Fort Cobb; i. e., war in summer and peace in winter.—Hazen's report to Sherman, June 30, 1869, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1869, p. 390.

83. Sheridan, *Personal Memoirs*, v. II, p. 335.

84. News dispatch of Sheridan's report to Sherman dated January 16, 1869, printed in the *Kansas State Record*, Topeka, January 20, 1869.

85. *Kansas State Record*, Topeka, December 30, 1868.

86. *Ibid.*



Kansas the danger of depredations from the Sioux, Northern Cheyenne and Dog Soldier bands, who usually spent part of each year hunting buffalo along the Smoky Hill and Republican. As a consequence, renewed outbreaks occurred and Governor Harvey was compelled to follow the example of Crawford in calling out a militia battalion for frontier duty. Pawnees and Osages also gave some trouble. In general, though, the Indian raids were much less serious than those of 1864 to 1868.

Sheridan remained camped at Fort Cobb for several weeks, after which he moved farther south to the Wichita mountains. Near the latter he established Fort Sill. The Cheyennes had not remained true to their peace pledge. Part of them and nearly all of the Arapahoes gave themselves up, but Little Robe and the remainder of the tribe refused to come in. With this band were two captive white women, victims of the Saline-Solomon raids of the previous summer. Sheridan and Custer were especially anxious to recover these unfortunate captives.

On March 2, 1869, the Seventh cavalry and the Nineteenth Kansas cavalry left Fort Sill under the respective commands of Gen. Geo. A. Custer and Col. Horace L. Moore, who had succeeded Governor Crawford in February. The object of the expedition was to recapture the captive women and force Little Robe's band into submission. After an exhausting pursuit the Cheyennes were overtaken near the Staked Plains of Texas. Instead of destroying the Indians, as could easily have been done, Custer used diplomacy in order to recapture the women. By a repetition of Sheridan's "hang man" stunt, Custer frightened the chiefs into ordering the release of the women. Little Robe's band then surrendered and returned to Camp Supply.<sup>87</sup>

This affair closed the winter campaign. General Sheridan was called to Washington to become commander of the Military Division of the Missouri in place of Sherman, who had been appointed general in chief of the United States army upon Grant's vacating that office for the presidency. In his report of the campaign Sheridan was able to say that all objectives had been accomplished. This meant that punishment had been inflicted, property destroyed, the Indians disabused of the idea that winter would bring security, and all tribes south of the Platte forced upon their reservations.<sup>88</sup>

87. Sheridan, *Personal Memoirs*, v. II, pp. 344, 345; Horace L. Moore, "The Nineteenth Kansas Volunteer Cavalry," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. VI, pp. 44-47; Crawford, *Kansas in the Sixties*, pp. 330-335.

88. Moore, *op. cit.*

When Gen. J. M. Schofield succeeded Sheridan as commander of the Department of the Missouri on March 20, 1869, the winter campaign had practically ended and the troops were en route to their usual stations.<sup>89</sup> The Nineteenth Kansas was ordered to Fort Hays on March 31, and was mustered out April 18. Only one man of the regiment was killed in service.<sup>90</sup>

Indian affairs by this time were fairly well settled. The Arapahoes were located at Camp Supply in complete submission. The Comanches, Kiowas and Apaches were on their reservation. The Cheyennes had promised to make their submission in a short time, but dissension was rife in their ranks. The Dog Soldier bands under Tall Bull refused to make peace, whereas the majority of the tribe had tasted enough of war and favored accepting the reservation. As a consequence the tribe divided, Tall Bull and 250 warriors with their families joining the Sioux and Northern Cheyennes on the Republican, while Little Robe and the greater part of the tribe remained in Indian territory and were ultimately provided with a reservation in the vicinity of Camp Supply.<sup>91</sup>

Tall Bull and his cohorts on the Republican were not content to let matters rest. On May 21, 1869, Sioux and Cheyennes made a raid in Republic county, killing thirteen persons and taking two women and a child captive.<sup>92</sup> On May 29 Indians attacked the Kansas Pacific railroad near Fossil creek. Two miles of track were torn up, a train was ditched and traffic held up for nearly a day.<sup>93</sup> The next day the Saline valley was victim of a raid nearly identical to that of May 21. Thirteen people were killed and wounded and two more women were captured.<sup>94</sup>

General Custer immediately left Fort Hays in pursuit, but failed to catch the Indians. It remained for Major General Carr to administer the final blow to Tall Bull's band. Carr with his Fifth cavalry had been operating under Gen. C. C. Augur in the Platte division of the Department of the Missouri. On July 11, Carr with seven companies of cavalry and one hundred fifty Pawnee scouts under Major North, completely destroyed Tall Bull's village at Summit Springs, Colo. Tall Bull was killed and his band nearly

89. Schofield's report to the Secretary of War, October 23, 1869, in *Report of the Secretary of War*, 41 Cong., 2 sess., p. 67.

90. Wilder, *Annals of Kansas*, p. 502.

91. Schofield's report, pp. 67, 68.

92. Wilder, *Annals of Kansas*, pp. 502, 503.

93. Indian history (miscellaneous collection of MSS, Archives, Kansas State Historical Society).

94. *Adjutant General's Report*, 1869 (Kansas), p. 7.



annihilated.<sup>95</sup> Hearing of this, the Cheyennes in Indian territory hastened to Fort Supply to make peace. The remnants of Tall Bull's tribe drifted in later and begged for peace. As a result there were no hostile Indians left on the plains of Kansas and Colorado.<sup>96</sup>

While the Nineteenth cavalry had been pursuing Little Robe's band in Texas, Indian affairs in Kansas were not entirely quiet. In January General Sully warned Gov. James M. Harvey that hostile Indians had recently been seen near Hays. Sully believed that the exposed settlers should be warned. He added that all of his spare cavalry was engaged in patrol duty on the Saline and Solomon, but that more had been applied for.<sup>97</sup> Indians also were reported in February on the Smoky Hill west of Junction City.<sup>98</sup> Governor Harvey accordingly warned the settlements and ordered various frontiersmen to raise squads of scouts for defense. Colonel McAfee hastened towards the frontier to make arrangements for supplying these scouts with rations.<sup>99</sup> Adjutant General McKeever, of Fort Leavenworth, on February 27 issued three thousand rounds of ammunition to Governor Harvey for distribution among frontier settlers.<sup>100</sup>

The Kansas state legislature took action in February and passed two measures for frontier protection. The first of these authorized the governor to call into immediate active service not more than two hundred state militia to be stationed at the most exposed points. To meet the expense of supplying this group of militia an act was passed providing for the issuance and sale of state bonds. Both of these acts were approved by Governor Harvey on February 26.<sup>101</sup>

After the Indian raids of May and June, the militia was again called into service. Four companies and a detachment were mustered in during July and stationed on the northwestern frontier. The Second Frontier battalion, as it was called, served until November 20, 1869, when the final muster out occurred. Although originally organized with a roll of eleven officers and three hundred enlisted men, the number was gradually reduced as the Indian danger diminished. Only one hundred fifteen remained at the final muster.<sup>102</sup>

95. George Bird Grinnell, *Two Great Scouts and Their Pawnee Battalion*, pp. 196-202.

96. Schofield's report, *Report of the Secretary of War*, 41 Cong., 2 sess., p. 68.

97. Sully to Governor Harvey, January 18, 1869, Adjutant General's Correspondence, 1869 (Kansas).

98. *Kansas State Record*, Topeka, February 3, 1869.

99. *Ibid.*, January 20, 1869.

100. Order from McKeever to commander at Fort Leavenworth, Adjutant General's Correspondence, 1869 (Kansas).

101. *House Journal*, Kansas State Legislature, 1869, pp. 722, 784, 786, 866, 917; *Laws of Kansas*, 1869, p. 169.

102. *Adjutant General's Report*, 1869, p. 7.



The four companies were located as follows: Company A at Spillman creek, Saline valley; Company B at Plum creek, Solomon valley; Company C at Fisher creek, Solomon valley; Company D at the forks of Beaver creek and Republican river. The troops patrolled the border line effectively, but never came into contact with any large numbers of Indians. This was the last militia battalion ever called out to defend the Kansas frontier.<sup>103</sup>

Before the organization of the Second Frontier battalion Adjutant General Moorehouse had called into service several companies of regular militia. These were ordered by Governor Harvey to cooperate with the United States cavalry on the Solomon river following an Indian attack near Minneapolis in June.<sup>104</sup> Light artillery from Fort Riley was also mounted and armed as cavalry at the request of the governor. The artillery men performed quite efficiently.<sup>105</sup>

In addition to its troubles with the savage plains tribes Kansas suffered at the hands of its own reservation Indians. Numerous complaints reached Governor Harvey concerning petty depredations of Pawnees, Otoes and Osages. One Junction City citizen wanted the "scalawag Pawnees and Otoes" to be warned to keep clear of all settlements during times of Indian hostility because all Indians looked alike to white men and many of these "friendlies" were being killed as a result.<sup>106</sup> Cowley county settlers petitioned Harvey to protect them from Osages, who had driven off stock, burned a store, confiscated settlers' claims, and in general acted arrogantly toward the white men in the region.<sup>107</sup> Osages were also driving settlers off the Osage neutral lands during the year.<sup>108</sup>

In order to repay in a measure the Kansas settlers who had suffered at the hands of the Indians, the state legislature in 1869 passed an act providing for a commission to investigate and allow claims of citizens for damages done by Indians in 1867-1868.<sup>109</sup> The commission visited Ellsworth, Saline, Ottawa, Cloud and Mitchell counties and allowed a total of one hundred twenty claims

103. A. T. Andreas, *History of Kansas*, p. 211.

104. Governor Harvey to Colonel Moorehouse, June 13, 1869, Adjutant General's Correspondence, 1869 (Kansas).

105. Ward Burlingame to General Pope, May 20, 1870, C. K. G., Harvey (Letterpress books), Archives, Kansas State Historical Society. (Burlingame mentioned the use of artillerymen as cavalry in 1869 and wanted Pope to permit it again in 1870.)

106. S. D. Houston to Governor Harvey, February 19, 1869, C. K. G., Harvey (Incoming letters).

107. Petition of fifty-five settlers of Cowley county, Adjutant General's Correspondence, 1869.

108. Letter from Joe M. Culver, citizen of Montgomery county, *ibid*.

109. *Laws of Kansas*, 1869, pp. 201-204.

for an aggregate of \$58,944.34. The number of offenses charged to various Indian tribes were as follows: Cheyennes, seventy-seven; Sioux, thirty-four; Pawnee, fifteen; Kiowa, nine; Arapahoe, seven; Comanche, one. In its tour of investigation the commission found many claims abandoned and fields deserted. In concluding its report the commission urged that all Indian tribes be excluded from the state, adding that until such measures were taken there could be no permanent feeling of security on the frontier.<sup>110</sup> The claims audited by the commission were referred to congress for final payment.

Kansas in addition carried on some relief work in coöperation with the United States army. In February General Sully rationed the destitute settlers of the Saline and Solomon regions and then informed Governor Harvey of his investigations.<sup>111</sup> General Sherman also sent an inspector to the locality, who in turn reported to the Kansas governor. In this report Gen. N. H. Davis, assistant inspector general of the Department of the Missouri, announced that the government had provided for the immediate wants of the settlers by issuing food and clothing. The settlers, however, were in great need of seed wheat, which the military authorities were unable to furnish; consequently he appealed to Governor Harvey to furnish it.<sup>112</sup> As a result the Kansas state legislature on March 1 passed an act authorizing the governor to purchase and distribute \$15,000 worth of seed wheat to the destitute frontier citizens. The counties affected by the act were Clay, Cloud, Ellsworth, Lincoln, Marion, Mitchell, McPherson, Jewell, Ottawa, Republic, Saline and Washington.<sup>113</sup>

War Department statistics for the years 1868-1869 indicated that these two years were the worst in the history of plains warfare in the Department of Missouri. Indian depredations for the period ran as follows: One hundred fifty-eight people murdered; sixteen wounded; forty-one scalped; fourteen women outraged; one man, four women, and seven children captured; twenty-four houses attacked and burned; twelve stage coaches attacked and impeded; four wagon trains destroyed; and eighteen Indians killed in these attacks. Statistics on conflicts between the Indians and the military were as follows: Number of engagements, eleven; total number of

110. Report of the commission to Governor Harvey, August, 1869, *House Miscellaneous Documents*, No. 20, 41 Cong., 2 sess.

111. Sully to Harvey, February 12 and 18, 1869, C. K. G., Harvey (Incoming letters).

112. Davis to Harvey, February 25, 1869, *ibid.*

113. *Laws of Kansas*, 1869, pp. 262-264.

soldiers killed, thirty-five; total number of soldiers wounded, forty-nine; Indians killed, two hundred ninety-one; Indians wounded, two hundred fifty.<sup>114</sup> With the close of this period the worst Indian troubles in Kansas had ended, although the years that followed brought their toll of death and destruction to the venturesome pioneers of the Jayhawk state.

114. *Report of the Secretary of War*, 41 Cong., 2 sess., v. II, Part I, pp. 52-55.



## Kansas History as Published in the State Press

Historical notes of early Stockton were published in a column entitled "In the Days of Old," in the *Rooks County Record*, Stockton, December 17, 1931, and succeeding issues. The notes were gathered from an early newspaper file by F. E. Young.

Interesting records gleaned from account books kept by Peter Robidoux, a storekeeper at Fort Wallace, were published in the *Hoisington Dispatch*, December 17, 1931. The story, a reprint from the *Oakley Graphic*, named many early-day personalities who had accounts with Mr. Robidoux.

Brief historical sketches of each of Kansas' 105 counties provided a daily feature for the Kansas City (Mo.) *Journal-Post*, starting with its issue of March 24, 1932. A page story of Jacob Achenbach, builder of the Kiowa, Hardtner & Pacific and the Beaver, Meade & Englewood railroads, is also of interest to Kansans. It was published by the *Journal-Post* May 8.

"Wichita From 1717 to 1900," by E. V. Long, is published serially in the *Wichita Independent*. The first installment appeared May 17, 1932.

The *Protection Post*, starting with its issue of May 26, 1932, and the *Wilmore News*, commencing with its issue of June 3, published weekly the reminiscences of J. W. Dappert, an early-day surveyor in Comanche county.

Emanuel Lutheran congregation of Hepler celebrated its fiftieth anniversary May 29, 1932. A history of the organization was contributed by Rev. R. Hildebrandt to the *Girard Press*, June 2.

An interview with "Our Doctor Mary" Bennett, now 80 years old, pioneer woman physician of Kansas, was published in the *Greensburg News*, June 2, 1932. The article was written by A. B. MacDonald and first appeared in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Star*.

The St. Paul's Evangelical Lutheran church of Alta Vista celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary June 12, 1932. A brief history of the church was published June 9 in the *Alta Vista Journal*.

Early Washington county history was republished by the *Washington County Register*, Washington, June 10, 1932. The material

was taken from an old state history. On June 24 the *Register* recorded the history of its post office. In the issues of August 5, 12 and 19 the editor featured the names of prominent citizens active in various county organizations which had been in existence before 1886. The papers had been preserved in a cornerstone box of the Washington county courthouse, which was recently razed.

Stories of travel over "Old Trails of the Southwest," by India H. Simmons, have been printed in the Dodge City *Daily Globe*, commencing with the issue of June 21, 1932.

Reminiscences of prairie schooner days of the West, by Harry Johnson, were published in the Colony *Free Press*, June 23, 1932.

Disastrous fires in Parsons' history were recalled by Walter Buel, fire chief, in the Parsons *Sun*, June 23, 1932.

Scott county historical notes have provided the Scott City *News Chronicle* with material for a regular front-page feature. The series started June 23, 1932, under the supervision of Elmer Epperson, director of the Scott County Historical Society and editor of the *News Chronicle*. Letters from pioneers and short paragraphs relating county facts are published.

Impressions received by Finlay Ross, Ellsberry Martin and Dave D. Leahy on revisiting Caldwell, a city they visited many times a half century ago, were recorded by Leahy in his column "Random Recollections of Other Days," appearing in the Wichita *Sunday Eagle* June 26, 1932. Life at old Runnymede was featured in his *Eagle* column July 10, and an article "Anecdotes of Barber County," inspired by an interview with Tom McNeal, was published September 4.

Two interviews which W. W. Graves read at a meeting of the Neosho County Historical Society June 23, 1932, have been published in his St. Paul *Journal*. One, an interview with the late Francis M. Dinsmore, was published June 30. Mr. Dinsmore settled in East Lincoln in 1865. The other, an interview with Stephen C. Beck, early resident of St. Paul, who told of the founding of Erie, appeared July 21.

At the death of James J. Peate, June 23, 1932, the Lincoln *Sentinel-Republican* and the *Lincoln County News*, Lincoln, in the issues of June 30, recalled his part in leading rescuers to Gen. George A. Forsyth and his band besieged on Beecher's Island at the battle

of the Arickaree. Mr. Peate came to Kansas in 1866 and engaged in scouting duty. He later settled at Beverly, where he resided until his death. A memorial address was dedicated to Mr. Peate at the annual Beecher's Island reunion, September 18.

The fiftieth anniversary of the founding of Everest was observed with a community picnic, August 13, 1932. The Everest *Enterprise* published historical editions June 30 and July 7, commemorating the event.

"The Story of Hutchinson and Reno County, Year by Year," by Ed M. Moore, staff historian, was published in a 32-page illustrated historical supplement commemorating the sixtieth anniversary of the Hutchinson *News*, July 2, 1932. First settlers of Reno county, first churches, first hotels, first trains, first flour mill, first gas franchise, first electric street lights, Reno county's "ghost" towns, names of pioneers still living in Reno county and a full-sized reproduction of the first edition of the *News* issued on July 4, 1872, were features of the supplement.

A history of the Wichita *Beacon* was published July 3, 1932, as a part of the fourth anniversary edition commemorating its purchase by Max, Louis and John Levand. The *Beacon* was first established by F. A. Sowers and D. C. Millison on October 18, 1872.

"The 'Cowboy' Struts Again in Dodge City" was the subject of a radio address by Henry L. Carey over KGNO recently. The address, in part, was published in the Dodge City *Daily Globe*, July 6, 1932.

"Early History of Cowley County," by Nadina Carr, was a weekly feature of the Winfield *Independent-Record* from July 7 through August 25, 1932.

The story of the founding of Utica was told in the Hutchinson *Herald*, July 10, 1932, by Mrs. Ella Ferrell, one of the first settlers on the original townsite. The Utica *Star-Courier* reprinted the article on July 14.

A two-column history of Alexander, Rush county, was published in the Alexander *Booster*, July 12, 1932. The first settlement was made by Alexander Harvey.

The fifty-fourth anniversary edition of the Kingman *Leader-Courier* was published July 15, 1932, featuring pictures and stories



of early-day Kingman. The *Leader-Courier* was founded as the *Kingman Mercury*, June 14, 1878, and took its present name in 1889.

Salina's history was reviewed briefly by George T. Woolley in *The Merchants Journal*, Topeka, July 16, 1932, and was reprinted in the *Salina Journal*, July 18. Mr. Woolley came to Salina in 1867.

A description of the breastworks at Battle Canyon, and the death of Col. Wm. H. Lewis, were recalled by Henry Howell in a letter published by the *Scott City News Chronicle*, July 21, 1932.

Excerpts from the diary of the late Mrs. Z. N. Jackson, a Civil War nurse, were published in the *Olathe Mirror*, July 28, 1932. Although a resident of the South, Mrs. Jackson took up her duties with the Union forces while her husband fought with the Confederates. They were reunited after the war and settled in Kansas in 1868.

"The Story of Our Shawnee Mission," by William C. Scarritt, was published in *The Northeast Johnson County Herald*, Overland Park, July 28, 1932. The article was a résumé of an address given by Mr. Scarritt at the dedicatory services of the Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society, held in Shawnee Mission last June.

A Royal buffalo hunt in 1872, in which Grand Duke Alexis of Russia figured, was described by Sue Carmody Jones for the *Topeka State Journal*, August 6, 1932. The story was based on the manuscripts of James Albert Hadley and "Chalk" Beeson, now in the possession of the Kansas State Historical Society.

Fifty "lost" towns of Kansas were recalled by the *Kansas City (Mo.) Journal-Post* in a half-page feature article August 7, 1932.

"When Times Were Really Hard in Kansas" was the title of a feature story published in the *Wichita Sunday Eagle*, August 14, 1932. The article was based on a series of letters written by the late J. Hout Minnich from El Paso, Kan., covering the period from June 3, 1872, through 1874.

A diary kept by the late Capt. J. H. Baker, of Palo Pinto county, Texas, recording a cattle drive to Wichita in 1869, was featured in the *Wichita Sunday Eagle*, August 21, 1932. The story was reprinted from an article by E. B. Ritchie in the *Fort Worth (Tex.) Cattleman*.

A special pictorial supplement commemorating the sixtieth anniversary of the *Newton Kansan-Republican* was published August 22, 1932. The edition featured Newton newspaper history.

"Some Early Lawrence History" was the title of a column appearing in the *Lawrence Democrat*, August 25, 1932, which recalled Quantrill's raid on the city in 1863.

A brief interview with L. J. H. Wooden, one of the first editors of the *Dighton Herald*, was published in the *Herald* August 25, 1932.

"Historical Sketches from the Scrapbook of James J. Peate" is the title of a column appearing serially in the *Lincoln Sentinel-Republican*. The series started with the issue of August 25, 1932, and reviews many incidents of interest to Lincoln county pioneers.

Names of the early residents of northwest Kansas who registered at the old settlers' picnic at Oberlin August 26, 1932, were published in the *Oberlin Herald* September 1. Speeches by W. S. Langmade, of Oberlin, C. C. Andrews, of Norcatur, and John S. Dawson, of Topeka, president of the Kansas State Historical Society, were features of the occasion.

A brief sketch of the Clearwater schools, as contained in a history of education in Sedgwick county, by Mrs. C. R. Rankin, was published in the *Clearwater News* September 1, 1932.

The experiences of Albert J. Beveridge in Dighton and Lane county were published by the *Dighton Herald* September 1, 1932, from a recent issue of the *Literary Guild*.

"An Episode in the Life of Capt. John Brown," as related by the late Charles Smith to J. Albert Smith, of Lincoln, provided a three-column feature story for the *Wetmore Spectator* in its issue of September 2, 1932. Mr. Smith, a Brown county settler in 1856, entertained Brown and his party in his log-cabin home on January 31, 1859, as they were fleeing northward after the "Battle of the Spurs."

Featuring news stories taken from old files, *The Johnson County Democrat*, Olathe, published a special historical section in its issue of September 1, 1932, announcing the thirty-fifth annual old settlers' reunion held at Olathe, September 3, 1932. A special historical edition was also published by the Olathe *Mirror* September 1, and the names of the five hundred old settlers registering at the event were printed in its September 8 issue.

The sixtieth anniversary edition of the *Smith County Pioneer*, Smith Center, was published September 8, 1932. The newspaper was first issued at Cedarville, but was removed to Smith Center in

1873 following the location of the county seat at the latter place. A story of the growth and decay of old Salem, the establishment of the Smith Center town site, the organization of the county, the coming of the railroad, and recollections of the pioneers were high lights of the edition.

Letters from David Hoag, founder of Oakley, and Edward Kleist, editor of the city's first newspaper, were published by the Oakley *Graphic* September 9, 1932, in a special issue announcing Oakley's forty-seventh birthday anniversary held September 15. William Wyscarver, another early Oakley resident, wrote briefly of his experiences in the *Graphic*, September 16. Mr. and Mrs. Wyscarver were the second couple to be married in the city.

Frontenac's mine disaster of November 9, 1888, was recalled by James Hall, one of the survivors, for the fourth annual coal editions of the Pittsburg *Headlight* September 12, 1932, and the *Sun*, September 13.

Special historical editions of interest to Marion county residents were issued by the Marion *Review* September 13, 1932, and the Marion *Record* September 15. The newspapers featured programs for the old settlers' picnic which was held at Marion September 16.

A two-column history of the Clyde Methodist Episcopal church was published by the *Republican* September 15, 1932, in commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the organization. Charles H. French was the compiler.

"Memories of the Early Days in Southeast Kansas," by W. N. Baylor, was the title of a sketch appearing in the Edna *Sun* September 15, 1932. Mr. Baylor came to Labette county in 1872.

Norton's newspaper history was briefly reviewed in the Norton *Champion*, September 15, 1932.

"Days of 1879," an early history of Stafford county, is published serially in *The County Capital*, St. John, starting with the September 15, 1932, issue. The historical record was first published in 1895 and was republished this year as a feature of the county's old settlers' reunion.

A history of the Garden City community church, by Mrs. W. A. Blanchard, was published in the Garden City *News* September 15, commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the first organized church in the city.



The twenty-fifth anniversary of St. Paul's Lutheran church, near Washington, was celebrated September 11, 1932. John Stamm contributed a brief history of the parish to the Hanover *Democrat* September 16.

Early history of the Richmond Methodist Episcopal church was briefly reviewed in the Richmond *Enterprise* September 22, 1932.

A special 24-page historical edition announcing the sixty-fifth anniversary of the signing of the peace treaty between the United States and the five tribes of Plains Indians was published by *The Barber County Index*, Medicine Lodge, September 22, 1932. Eye-witness stories and a reproduction of the original treaty were featured. The signing of the peace treaty is officially commemorated by the citizens of Medicine Lodge every five years. This year it was held on October 5, 6 and 7.

## Kansas Historical Notes

A Kiowa County Historical Society was organized at Belvidere August 19, 1932. Officers for the new organization are: J. A. Sherer, Mullinville, president; W. L. Fleener, Sr., Greensburg, first vice president; Bert Woodard, Haviland, second vice president; Mrs. Anna McQuey, Belvidere, third vice president; Mrs. B. O. Weaver, Mullinville, secretary; and Mrs. Charles T. Johnson, Greensburg, treasurer. Officers were installed September 6 at the courthouse in Greensburg.

Facts establishing the site of the first Southeast Kansas mission, one mile west of Shaw, were presented at the annual meeting of the Neosho County Historical Society June 23, 1932, by T. F. Morrison. "Neosho" mission was founded September 15, 1824, by a young Presbyterian minister, Benton Pixley, who came westward from Harmony Mission in Bates county, Mo., which had been established three years earlier. Papers prepared by W. W. Graves from interviews with two Neosho county pioneers were also read at this meeting.

A historical parade representing every period in the history of Abilene and central Kansas featured the week's program celebrating the opening of KFBI, Abilene's new radio station, on July 14, 1932.

General Motors' radio program, "Parade of States," was devoted to Kansas September 19, 1932. A tribute to the state's historical and industrial development, by Bruce Barton, was read. A framed copy of the address was presented to the Kansas State Historical Society.

Annual old settlers' reunions are becoming a part of city and community life in Kansas. Limited space does not permit a detailed discussion of these gatherings, but a list of a few of the communities sponsoring meetings, and the dates, are appended: Stockton, July 22; Green, July 28-30; Cherryvale, August 8-13; Jewell, August 9, 10; Arvonia, August 10; Halstead, August 10, 11; Baldwin, August 12; Leoti, August 16; McPherson, August 17; Sublette, August 17; Nickerson, August 18, 19; Belvidere, August 19; Oskaloosa, August 19, 20; Mantey, August 20; Rantoul, August 23; Dorrance, August 24, 25; Mulvane, August 25; White Rock, August 25; Meade, August 25; Sparks, August 25-28; Oberlin, August 26; Selden, August

26; Lawndale, August 28; Wabaunsee, August 28; Ford, September 1; Pratt, September 2; Olathe, September 3; Topeka, September 12; Lawrence, September 12; Oakley, September 15; St. John, September 16; Marion, September 16; Howard, September 16; Potwin, September 22; Cimarron, September 24; Smith Center, September 28, and Herington, October 4.

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## Errata to Volume I

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Page 28, first paragraph, read "Joseph M. Cole."

Page 29, third line from bottom, read "Thomas Jenner," not "Dr."

Page 29, bottom of page, read "Joseph M. Cole."

Page 32, footnote 2, Thomas Jenner and Dr. Jacob F. Jenner were residents of Indianola at the same time, and both were interested in the success of the Free State cause.

Page 90, third line from bottom of page, Johnston Lykins was second mayor of Kansas City, Mo.

Page 106, footnote 3, read "Joseph Eggleston Johnston."

Page 153, footnote 1, fifth line from bottom, read "*Waterville Telegraph*."

Page 212, line 17, read "successes" instead of "successors."

Page 300, third line from bottom, read "August 21, 1863."

Page 395, footnote 1, read "Abner S. Grover."



# Index to Volume I

- A.  
*Abbey News*, Atchison, cited ..... 186  
 Abert, Lieut. J. W. .... 418  
 —mules stolen from, by Indians ..... 419  
 Abilene ..... 186  
 —cattle drive from Texas to ..... 271  
 —Drover's cottage ..... 190  
 —historical parade held in ..... 481  
 —sites marked by D. A. R. .... 190  
 —McCoy's cattle trail to ..... 298  
 —"Wild Bill" Hickok, marshal of ..... 356  
 Abilene *Daily Reflector*, cited ..... 190  
 Abilene High School, The Story of, by  
 Phyllis Dentzer ..... 403  
 Abilene *High School Booster*, cited ..... 403  
 Abilene *Weekly Reflector*, cited ..... 403  
 Abolitionists, attacked wagon trains start-  
 ing from Kansas City or Westport in  
 1856 ..... 21  
 —surround returning Santa Fe trains... 24  
 Achenbach, Jacob, railroad builder and  
 town founder ..... 186, 474  
 Adams, Daniel M. .... 318  
 Adams, Franklin George ..... 158  
 —agent for Kickapoo Indians ..... 153  
 —biographical sketch of ..... 153  
 —"The Kansas Indians," cited ..... 51  
 Adams, Seth, printing presses made by.. 16  
 Adams, William H. .... 9  
 —publisher *Kansas Weekly Herald*..... 8  
 —set type for his paper under elm tree.. 8  
 Adams, Zu, and George A. Root, "His-  
 toric Locations in Kansas," cited ..... 51  
 Adobe Walls ..... 189  
 —battle of ..... 184, 349, 354, 356  
 —buffalo hunting at ..... 355  
 —site of ..... 349  
 —trading post, built by Bent and St.  
 Vrain ..... 347  
*Advocate-Democrat*, Marysville, Pony ex-  
 press marker dedicatory issue ..... 78  
 Ah-chi-mo, Kickapoo Indian ..... 157  
 Ainsworth, Mr. — ..... 23  
 Akin, Helen, cited... 302, 303, 403, 404, 405  
 Albany (N. Y.) *Journal* ..... 430  
 Albuquerque, N. M., supplies for..... 427  
 Alcoholic liquors, Indian outrages traced  
 to ..... 328  
 Alexander, Rush county, historical notes  
 of ..... 185, 476  
 Alexander *Booster*, cited ..... 476  
 Alexis, Grand Duke of Russia, buffalo  
 hunt of ..... 477  
 Alfalfa, thrives on stripped coal lands... 277  
 Alfalfa county, Oklahoma ..... 118  
 Alkali ..... 445  
 Allen, Charles Edwin, author ..... 180  
 Allen, Norman, and T. Dwight Thacher,  
 found Lawrence *Republican* ..... 13  
 Allen, Sen. R. N., Chanute ..... 67  
 Allen, William V., Nebraska ..... 163  
 Allen county ..... 266  
 Allen revolvers, dubbed pepper boxes... 30  
 Alley, — ..... 30  
 Allison, N. T., cited ..... 110  
 Allison (Peacock), mentioned ..... 203, 204  
 Allison's ranch ..... 201, 202, 205  
 —at mouth of Walnut creek ..... 199, 206  
 Alta Vista *Journal*, cited ..... 474  
 Alta Vista St. Paul's Evangelical Lu-  
 theran Church, twenty-fifth anniversary  
 of ..... 474  
 Alter, J. Cecil, "James Bridger—a His-  
 torical Narrative" ..... 197  
 Althaus, Carl B., author ..... 176  
 American Historical Association, annual  
 report cited ..... 168, 307  
*American Historical Review* ..... 440  
 American Hotel, Kansas City, formerly  
 the Gillis House ..... 435  
 American Legion ..... 299  
*American Manufacturer*, Pittsburgh,  
 Pa. .... 364, 365  
 American Settlement Company, New  
 York ..... 431  
 Americus *Greeting*, cited ..... 402  
 Amherst college, mentioned ..... 307  
*Amizon*, steamboat ..... 196  
 Ammunition, freighted to New Mexico... 18  
 Anderson, Mrs. Edna, daughter of Rev.  
 Thomas Johnson ..... 304  
 Anderson, Capt. George Thomas... 114, 116  
 —biographical mention of ..... 108  
 Anderson, G. W., Publishing Co. .... 176  
 Anderson, John A. .... 363  
 Anderson, Col. John B., papers of, cited, 330  
 334, 338, 342  
 Anderson, Thomas, author ..... 176  
 Anderson, Maj. T. J., adjutant general.. 211  
 212, 243, 328  
 Andover Seminary, Andover, Mass.... 91, 94  
 Andreas, *History of Kansas*, cited ..... 51  
 267, 269, 471  
 Andrews, C. C., Norcatatur, cited ..... 478  
 Angle, Paul McClelland, author ..... 183  
*Annals of the City of Kansas and of the  
 Great Plains of the West*, cited ..... 20  
 Anson, Sumner county, on Texas cattle  
 trail ..... 405  
 Anthony, Col. Daniel Read ..... 402, 431  
 —mayor of Leavenworth ..... 377  
 Anthony, Daniel Read, II. .... 170  
 Anthony *Republican*, cited ..... 409  
 Antioch church, Avilla township,  
 Comanche county ..... 188  
 Apache Indians ..... 19, 208, 343  
 442, 443, 447, 451, 457, 469  
 —Cimarron route abandoned because of  
 fear of ..... 25  
 —new wards of United States ..... 423  
 —treaty of Fort Atkinson with ..... 21  
 —wars in Arizona and New Mexico... 350  
 Appleton, New York, publishers ..... 76  
*Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biog-  
 raphy*, cited ..... 196  
 Apprenticeship, laws relating to ..... 382, 383  
 Arapahoe Indians ..... 140, 141, 146  
 147, 150, 208, 210, 326, 340, 343, 422, 442  
 443, 445, 446, 447, 451, 452, 453, 457, 461  
 462, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469  
 —assigned to Fort Lyon for concentration, 142  
 —at treaty, Little Arkansas, 1865... 150, 151  
 —attack Mexican wagon train ..... 458  
 —camp attacked by Col. Chivington ..... 144  
 —Kansas offenses charged against ..... 472  
 —left without a reservation ..... 151  
 —recompensed as result of Sand Creek  
 massacre ..... 145

- Arapahoe Indians, reservation near Fort  
 Lyon ..... 144  
 —war party of ..... 251  
 Arickaree, battle of ..... 458-460, 475, 476  
 —See, also, Beecher Island, battle of.  
 Arizona, Apache wars mentioned ..... 350  
 —development of gold fields of ..... 17  
 Arkadelphia, Ark. .... 247  
 Arkansas ..... 3  
 —campaign of 1862 in ..... 222  
 —mentioned as Indian land boundary ..... 89  
 —Price's army retreats to ..... 216  
 —rebel forces under General Hindman  
 concentrated in ..... 222  
 —troops under command of Col. Wm. A.  
 Phillips left to protect ..... 238  
 Arkansas City, First Presbyterian Church,  
 fifty-ninth anniversary celebrated ..... 299  
 Arkansas City *Daily Traveler* ..... 299  
 Arkansas City *Tribune* ..... 299  
 Arkansas Post, General Blunt planned to  
 attack ..... 238  
 Arkansas river ..... 19, 22, 57  
 58, 115-117, 120, 121, 129, 133, 135-137  
 140, 141, 144, 151, 189, 190, 200-205, 208  
 238, 242, 243, 245, 246, 251, 256, 264, 343  
 345, 445, 446, 458, 461, 463  
 —Aubrey crossing ..... 207  
 —Blunt's pursuit of Cooper and Stand  
 Watie to ..... 228  
 —Cimarron Crossing of ..... 54, 199  
 —ferryboat carrying rebels disabled  
 in ..... 236, 237  
 —Fort Lyon, located on ..... 61  
 —forts on ..... 418, 422  
 —forts to be established on ..... 150  
 —Hindman's forces south of ..... 234  
 —Indian depredations on ..... 420  
 —Indians attack traders at crossing of ..... 421  
 —low in 1850 ..... 20  
 —Price's army retreats to south of ..... 263  
 —Salt Fork of ..... 116, 117  
 119-121, 132-134, 446  
 —Santa Fe crossing of ..... 207, 416  
 Arkansas river route ..... 348  
 Arkansas valley, Cheyennes induced to  
 move permanent camps to ..... 347  
 —first railroad built up ..... 303  
 Arlington cemetery ..... 271  
 Arma, mine rescue station located at ..... 280  
 Armes, Major George A. .... 460  
 —expedition under, pursues Indians ..... 339  
 Armit, Hodges &, steam shovel stripping  
 used in mining coal ..... 273  
 Arms and ammunition, requested for  
 state ..... 331, 332  
 Armstrong, Zella, author ..... 180  
 Army depot, removed from Santa Fe to  
 Fort Union ..... 20  
 Army of the Frontier ..... 201, 236  
 —campaign in Arkansas abandoned by ..... 229  
 —Gen. Schofield resumes command of,  
 Jan. 1, 1863 ..... 238  
 Army of the Potomac, First corps ..... 196  
 Arnett, Alex M., *The Populist Movement*  
*in Georgia*, cited ..... 162  
 Arnold, Frank, survivor Baxter Springs  
 massacre ..... 186  
 Arnold, F. D. W., author ..... 186  
 Arnold, John, reminiscences of ..... 185  
 Artillery, used in campaign against  
 Indians ..... 251  
 Arvonja, old settlers' reunion held in ..... 481  
 Ash creek ..... 209  
 —known as Crooked creek ..... 200  
 Asher creek settlement, attacked by  
 Indians ..... 456  
 Aski, Kickapoo Indian ..... 157  
 Atchison, David R., senator from Mis-  
 souri, quoted ..... 38  
 Atchison ..... 87, 148, 153, 272, 442, 453  
 —approval of hangings at ..... 241  
 —Board of Trade chartered ..... 362  
 —Butterfield Overland Despatch ran to  
 Denver from ..... 55  
 —criminals tried and hanged by citizens  
 court ..... 240  
 —Emigrant Aid Company interested  
 in ..... 434, 436  
 —fourth printing point in Territorial  
 Kansas ..... 12  
 —goods for New Mexican trade brought  
 to ..... 17  
 —*Kansas Zeitung* founded by Charles F.  
 Kob at ..... 14  
 —saloon keepers, protection of ..... 68  
 —Town Association ..... 437  
 Atchison *Champion* ..... 176, 177  
 —John A. Martin, editor of ..... 63  
 Atchison county ..... 153  
 —Cantonment Martin located on Cow  
 Island ..... 51  
 Atchison *Daily Free Press*, cited ..... 455, 456  
 —establishment of ..... 153  
 Atchison-Topeka stage road ..... 29  
 Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe railway ..... 363  
 —buffalo robes hauled by ..... 355  
 —first engine used in Arkansas valley ..... 303  
 —Fort Larned soldiers protect during  
 construction of ..... 54  
 —surveying of ..... 271  
 Athenum and Sunday-school Library,  
 Lawrence ..... 438  
 Atlanta, Rice county ..... 199  
 Atwood, A., author ..... 179  
 Atwood, O. T. .... 444  
 Aubrey, Col. F. X. .... 127  
 Aubrey's trail and crossing ..... 127, 128  
 —description of ..... 207  
 —on Cimarron river ..... 207  
 Augur, Gen. C. C. .... 469  
 —peace commissioner ..... 342  
 Austin, E. A. .... 167, 168  
 Austin, William and Elias Beardsley,  
 found Centropolis *Kansas Leader* ..... 13  
 Austin, Tex. .... 154  
 Avilla township, Comanche county ..... 188
- B.
- Babb, Edmund, and J. M. Walden,  
 founders Quindaro *Chindowan* ..... 13  
 Babb, Rufus, author ..... 187  
 Babcock, Carmi W., surveyor general,  
 Kansas ..... 266  
 Bache-e-ne-o-ta (Whisky-drinking)  
 creek ..... 116  
 Backus, Rev. W. M. .... 433  
 Bacon, William E., death of ..... 170  
 Bainter, Capt. Ephraim ..... 31  
 —biographical sketch ..... 36  
 Baird, Lieut. Absalom ..... 201, 202  
 —arrow clinched in jaw of ..... 208  
 —Big Pawnee killed by ..... 206  
 —biographical note of ..... 203  
 Baker, Geo. A., superintendent Leaven-  
 worth street railway ..... 373  
 Baker, Capt. J. H., diary of ..... 477  
 Baker, John F., member Indianola Town  
 Company ..... 34  
 Baldwin, old settlers' reunion held in ..... 481  
 Baldwin *Ledger*, cited ..... 185  
 Balleran, —, sutler ..... 350  
 Bancroft, H. H. .... 348  
 —*History of Utah*, quoted ..... 197  
 —*Arizona and New Mexico*, cited ..... 20  
 Bankhead, Gen. Henry C. .... 353, 458  
 Banning, William, author ..... 179  
 Baptist Church, founding of, in Kansas ..... 89  
 —on California road, mentioned ..... 108



- Baptist Church, First (Topeka) seventy-fifth anniversary celebration ..... 304
- Baptist Mission, Boston board..... 86
- Delaware ..... 84
- Ottawa ..... 83
- Shawnee ..... 84
- Meeker press first operated at..... 5
- near Shawnee Manual Labor School, —opened ..... 90
- Baptist Missions in Kansas, Some Background of, by Esther Clark Hill... 89, 103
- Baptist Society in Boston..... 101, 102
- Barber county ..... 119
- early history of ..... 408
- final Indian scare ..... 78
- historical notes of ..... 475
- Barber County Index*, Medicine Lodge, peace treaty edition of ..... 480
- Barker, Mrs. Clara L., date and place of birth ..... 300
- Barnes, Mr. and Mrs. George ..... 404
- Barnes, Lela, member staff Kansas State Historical Society ..... 306
- “The Leavenworth Board of Trade, 1882-1892” ..... 360, 378
- Barnett, Wm. B. .... 320, 321, 322, 323
- Barr, Elizabeth N., *Souvenir History of Lincoln County* ..... 298
- Barrett Crossing, Vermillion river ..... 191
- Barton county ..... 116
- in 1858-'59 ..... 198
- Bascom, C. J. .... 78
- Bates, —, attorney general of Missouri ..... 241
- Bates County, Mo., Harmony Mission established in ..... 481
- Battle, Beaver creek ..... 339
- Blue ..... 29, 211
- Bull Run ..... 214
- Cane Hill ..... 212
- Chapultepec, Mexico ..... 202
- Dry Wood ..... 211, 214
- Fort Wayne ..... 212
- Hickory Point, date of ..... 29
- Honey Springs ..... 212, 245
- Lexington, Mo. .... 214
- Mine Creek, Mrs. Robert Laughlin's reminiscences cited ..... 189
- Prairie Grove ..... 211, 212
- numbers of forces engaged..... 234
- Shiloh ..... 197
- Spottsylvania ..... 206
- Wilson's Creek ..... 209
- Battle Canon, description of ..... 477
- Baxter, A., claim of, favorite camping place ..... 110
- Baxter Springs ..... 107, 224, 273
- establishment of ..... 110
- histories of, cited ..... 186
- lead and zinc deposits near ..... 281
- massacre, mentioned ..... 186
- Quantrill's attack on Blunt's forces at ..... 247, 248
- Baxter Springs *Citizen*, sixtieth anniversary edition of ..... 404
- Baxter Springs *News*, cited..... 186
- Bayless, John ..... 317, 320, 323
- Baylor, W. N., reminiscences of, cited..... 479
- Bays, Mrs. Bertie (Cole), author..... 176
- Beach, Asahel ..... 199
- Beach, Dr. A. J. .... 199
- Beach, James H., cited ..... 56
- Beach, Moses Y., connected with New York *Sun* ..... 199
- Beach's ranch, on Cow creek ..... 199
- 202, 203, 204
- threatened by Indians ..... 201
- Beach Valley, incorporation ..... 199
- Beall, Capt. William N. R. .... 108
- Bear creek, on Aubrey trail..... 207
- Beauregard, Gen. P. G. T., retreat from Corinth, Miss. .... 221
- Beaver, Okla. .... 132
- Beaver, Meade & Englewood Railroad ..... 186, 474
- Beaver creek, Cowley county ..... 115
- Phillips county, battle of..... 339
- troops stationed in ..... 471
- Oklahoma ..... 129, 130
- Beck and Giddings, New Mexican ranchers ..... 22
- Beck, Stephen C., reminiscences of..... 475
- Beckwith, E. G., Big Timbers described by ..... 207
- Beckwourth, James ..... 346
- Beebe, Charles P., author..... 192
- Beecher, Lieut. Fred, recruits Indian scouts ..... 458
- Beecher Bible and Rifle Company..... 408
- Beecher Island, annual reunion at..... 476
- battle of ..... 346, 349
- 351, 353, 458-460, 475, 476
- See, also, Arickaree, battle of.
- Beecher Island Annual*, cited ..... 351
- Beegums, disloyal ..... 216
- Beeks, Charles E., Baldwin ..... 165
- Beeson, “Chalk,” manuscripts of..... 477
- Beeson, Jasper Luther, author ..... 180
- Bell, Lieut. David ..... 112, 127, 130
- 197, 198, 200-202, 204, 205
- biographical mention ..... 108
- directed to explore North Fork of Canadian ..... 126
- Bell, Ovid, author..... 181
- Bell, W. A., author, cited..... 55, 61
- Beloit, Bogardus killed by Indians near..... 187
- T. F. Hersey first mayor of..... 403
- Beloit *Daily Call*, cited..... 185
- Beloit *Gazette*, sixty-fifth anniversary edition ..... 402
- Belvidere, old soldiers' reunion held in..... 481
- Bennett, Doc. Mary, pioneer physician..... 474
- Bennett, R. H., territorial public printer, 14
- Bent Brothers, traders ..... 346, 347
- Bent, George ..... 144, 466
- Big Timbers described by..... 207
- Bent, Col. William W. .... 207, 209
- 345, 346, 446-449
- Cheyenne wife of ..... 347
- Indian commissioner ..... 443
- trader ..... 151, 452
- train of, captured by Abolitionists.... 24
- trading house at Big Timbers ..... 207
- Bent's Fort ..... 209, 210, 347
- 359, 416, 419, 420, 423
- Col. Wm. Gilpin in command..... 422
- cost of pork transported to..... 418
- Mexican War provisions stored at..... 417
- U. S. soldiers for Mexican War sent to, by mistake ..... 416
- troops accompany freighters from Fort Dodge to ..... 26
- Bent's New Fort ..... 209, 210
- at Big Timbers ..... 207
- later became Fort Lyon ..... 61
- Bent-St. Vrain location at Adobe Walls..... 355
- on Canadian river ..... 349
- Bernard, W. R. & Co., Westport merchants..... 24
- Bethel College, Newton ..... 301
- museum ..... 410
- Beveridge, Albert J., reminiscences of.... 478
- Beverly ..... 476
- Big Blue river, Mo. .... 108
- Gen. Curtis' fortified positions on ..... 253, 255, 257
- Big Caney creek ..... 114
- Big Creek, station B. O. D. line..... 58
- Indian raid on ..... 339
- Big Head, Osage chief ..... 117



- Big Pawnee, Kiowa chief..... 200, 201, 208  
 —death and burial of..... 202  
 —killing of..... 206  
 Big Sandy, Neb., on Overland route..... 404  
 Big Spring creek (Nenetunk)..... 112  
 Big Springs, territorial convention held at, 12  
 Big Sugar creek, Linn county..... 443  
 Big Timbers, Arkansas river..... 209  
 —Bent's New Fort at..... 207  
 —Smoky Hill river..... 145  
 Big Turkey creek..... 205  
 Birch, Thomas E., printer employed by  
   Meeker..... 5  
 Bird, Benjamin, Bird City named for..... 299  
 Bird, John S., author..... 78, 176  
 Bird City..... 299  
 Bird City *News*..... 299  
 Bird creek, Osage county, Oklahoma..... 137  
 Birds, on Cheyenne Bottoms..... 206  
 Birge, Julius Charles, author..... 179  
 Bismarck Grove, Lawrence..... 432  
 Bison Hunts in the 60s, A Pioneer Relates  
   of, by John G. Ellenbecker..... 298  
 Black Bear (Wasaape oche) creek..... 136  
 Black Dog, Osage chief..... 117  
 Black Hawk War..... 196  
 Black Hills..... 149  
 —Cheyenne Indians once lived in..... 347  
 —expedition of 1874 to..... 350  
 —U. S. troops outgeneraled by Sioux  
   and Cheyenne warriors in..... 150  
 Black jack timber..... 135, 137  
 Black Kettle, Cheyenne chief..... 456  
 —biographical sketch..... 446  
 —camp near Fort Lyon..... 144  
 —Sand Creek massacre..... 348  
 —Washita village attacked by Custer's  
   force..... 349, 464-467  
 Black Pioneer, The, Founding of Nico-  
   demos..... 402  
 Blackledge, Frank..... 266, 269  
 Blackmar, Frank W..... 308  
 —*History of Kansas*, cited..... 38, 199  
 —*Life of Charles Robinson*, cited..... 307, 324  
 Black's Fork of Green river..... 197  
 Blair, Col. Charles W..... 258  
 —eastern border of Kansas protected by, 53  
 —officer of Fourteenth Kansas..... 254  
 Blair's brigade..... 259  
 Blanchard, Ira D..... 87, 92, 93  
 —Baptist missionary..... 83  
 —biographical sketch..... 90  
 —dismissal from church..... 87  
 —founder of Delaware mission..... 90  
 Blanchard, Mrs. Mary Walton, Baptist  
   missionary..... 83  
 —letter quoted..... 92  
 Blanchard, Mrs. W. A., author..... 479  
 Bleeding Kansas, story of..... 307  
 Bliss, Charles A..... 304  
 Blizzard, on Santa Fe trail, 1858..... 205  
 —surveyors at Lone Tree caught in..... 271  
 Block House, Shirley (Cloud) county..... 59  
 —Republic county..... 59  
 Blood, F. G., author, cited..... 161  
 Blood creek..... 206  
 Blue river..... 443  
 —Manhattan at mouth of..... 433  
 —Missouri, battle of..... 211  
 Bluemont Central College, Man-  
   hattan..... 300, 439  
 Bluff creek, Grant county, Oklahoma..... 134  
 —Ne-shu-che-sink..... 117  
 Blunt, James Gillpatrick..... 258, 358  
 —action regarding Robinson's appoint-  
   ments..... 220  
 —appointed brigadier general..... 218  
 —major general..... 242  
 —arrival in Kansas after campaign  
   against Price..... 264  
 Blunt, James Gillpatrick, asked to be relieved  
   of command of post at Fort Scott..... 214  
 —assumes command, expedition at Fort  
   Scott..... 223  
 —Army of the Frontier..... 230  
 —District of Upper Arkansas..... 251  
 —attack on Newtonia, Mo..... 226  
 —Van Buren, Ark..... 235  
 —attacked by Quantrill at Baxter  
   Springs..... 247  
 —authorized to recruit Eleventh Colored  
   regiment..... 249  
 —biographical sketch..... 211  
 —charges preferred against..... 240  
 —commanding District of Kansas..... 226  
 —Fort Scott..... 214  
 —death of..... 194  
 —directed to recruit two regiments..... 242  
 —efforts to destroy..... 241  
 —engagement with Price at Lexington..... 256  
 —federal campaign in Missouri in 1861  
   deemed a failure..... 217  
 —first expedition to the south..... 223  
 —Flint creek camp established..... 229  
 —"General Blunt's Account of His Civil  
   War Experiences"..... 211-265  
 —hostility towards..... 219  
 —illness of..... 247  
 —letter quoted..... 221  
 —lieutenant colonel Third Kansas..... 214  
 —Maysville, Mo., camp of..... 223  
 —military ideals shattered..... 265  
 —monument erected to..... 186  
 —opposition to, as commander Depart-  
   ment of Kansas..... 219  
 —order to Colonel Solomon ignored..... 223  
 —ordered by Schofield to hold country  
   south of Arkansas river..... 243  
 —to retire..... 245  
 —to Washington by President for con-  
   sultation for Indian territory cam-  
   paign..... 249, 250  
 —plan for southern campaign..... 223  
 —pursuit of Marmaduke..... 230  
 —Shelby and Coffee..... 224  
 —removes headquarters to Fort Smith..... 247  
 —request for troops not granted..... 254  
 —requests to be relieved from protection  
   of certain territory for lack of troops..... 250  
 —resignation as major general of volun-  
   teers..... 264  
 —return to Fort Leavenworth..... 238  
 —revoked order of Sturgis regarding en-  
   listment of loyal Indians..... 223  
 —spends winter of 1861-'62 on Mine  
   creek..... 217, 218  
 —Schofield's enmity of..... 240, 249  
 —"board of inspection"..... 249  
 —support of Colonel Moonlight..... 256  
 —sustained by government officials..... 220, 221  
 —writes Secretary of War and President  
   regarding his military rank..... 246  
 Blyth's, on Neosho river, mentioned..... 139  
 Boards of Trades, charters issued to,  
   1878-1882..... 362  
 Bogardus family, massacre of..... 237  
 Boggy Depot road, Indian territory..... 246  
 Bogue *Messenger*..... 402  
 Bois de Vache..... 125, 132  
 Bolivia, Thomas Moonlight, minister to..... 211  
 Bolles, Dr. Lucius..... 95, 97, 100  
 —letter quoted..... 101  
 —secretary Baptist Missionary Society,  
   Boston..... 85  
 Bolmar, Carl P..... 304  
 Bonds, early Kansas issues..... 311  
 —sold to R. S. Stevens..... 311  
 Book review..... 162, 295  
 Boone, Daniel..... 116  
 Boone, Col. Nathan..... 117

- Boone, Col. Nathan, biographical sketch, 116  
 —journal cited ..... 121  
 Boot Hill, Dodge City ..... 189, 410  
 Boots and shoes, made at Leavenworth ..... 366  
 Bordenkircher, George, president Kansas  
   Catholic Historical Society ..... 187  
 Border Ruffians ..... 80  
 —driven out of Hickory Point ..... 31  
 —reported marching on Calhoun ..... 33  
*Border Star*, Westport, Mo., quoted ..... 24  
 Boston, Riley county ..... 433  
 Boston, Mass., parties for Kansas from ..... 431  
 Boston mountains ..... 229, 235, 238  
 Boulware, P. S., retired stockman ..... 274  
 Bourbon county ..... 178  
 Bow creek, tributary North Solomon ..... 58  
 Bowdoin College ..... 295  
 Boyd, John, author ..... 181  
 Boydston, Nathaniel, at Hickory Point ..... 38  
 Boynton and Mason, cited ..... 8  
 Bradbury, John, quoted ..... 121  
 Bradley, Glenn D., author ..... 55  
 Bradshaw, Mary J. .... 32  
 Bradstreet's Commercial Agency ..... 360  
 Brady, Cyrus Townsend,  
   cited ..... 346, 350, 353, 356  
 Brady, John T., territorial public  
   printer ..... 9, 14  
 —succeeded by R. H. Bennett ..... 14  
 Brainerd, A., publisher ..... 176  
 Branch, E. Douglas, author ..... 76, 179  
 Brand, Franklin Marion, author ..... 181  
 Brandenburger, John, Sr., reminiscences  
   cited ..... 189  
 Breckenridge (Lyon) county ..... 44  
 Brewerton, George Douglas, author ..... 179  
 "Brick," nickname of member Hickory  
   Point expedition ..... 47  
 Brick-making, Pittsburg, history of ..... 289  
 Bridger, James ..... 197, 346  
 Bridger's Pass, described ..... 197  
 Bridges, across Missouri river ..... 365, 366  
 Briertown, on Canadian river ..... 246  
 Brighton Coal Company ..... 371  
 Brininstool, E. A., author, cited ..... 350, 355  
 Brock & Co., publishers ..... 176  
 Brooks, B., Woburn, Mass. .... 99  
 Brooks, Henry K. .... 167, 168  
 Brown, Russell & Co., freighters ..... 425  
 Brown, General — ..... 227  
 Brown, Private —, death of ..... 122  
 Brown, Amasa ..... 99  
 Brown, Mrs. E. F. .... 301  
 Brown, George W. .... 8, 11, 12  
   15, 16, 191, 440  
 —founded *Herald of Freedom* ..... 486  
 —published *Courier*, Conneautville, Pa. .... 10  
 Brown, Henry, sheriff of Douglas county, 300  
 Brown, James, Independence, Mo., ex-  
   periences during trip to Santa Fe ..... 19  
 —freight contractor ..... 423-425  
 Brown, John ..... 172, 429  
 —at Charleston, Va. .... 47  
 —episode in life of ..... 478  
 —Harper's Ferry fight mentioned ..... 33  
 —Parallels mentioned ..... 172  
 Brown, John Carter ..... 440  
 Brown, Katharine Holland, author ..... 183  
 Brown, Lewis, of Lawrence ..... 300  
 Brown, Louisa ..... 99  
 Brown, Lulu Lemon, author ..... 176  
 Brown, Mrs. M. A., sister of Captain  
   Short ..... 271  
 Brown, Orville C., the original "Osawa-  
   tomie Brown" ..... 434  
 Brown county, historical notes of ..... 478  
 —history of, by A. N. Ruley, mentioned, 178  
 Brant mansion, St. Louis, Mo., Fremont  
   couped up in ..... 216  
 Bruno, — ..... 31  
 Brush creek, Price's army bivouacked  
   south of ..... 259  
 Bryan, J. E., author, cited ..... 161  
 Bryan, William Jennings ..... 300  
 Bryant, William Cullen, of New York  
   *Evening Post* ..... 430  
 Buck, Solon J., author, cited ..... 162  
 "Bucking and Gaggling," frontier soldier  
   song of 1858-'59 ..... 198  
 Bucklin *Banner* ..... 402  
 Buel, Walter, Parsons fire chief ..... 475  
 Buffalo ..... 121, 201, 205, 206, 403  
 —being destroyed and driven away ..... 344  
 —gun, owned by Dixon ..... 355  
 —hunters, Indians maddened by ..... 349  
 —kill band of Northern Cheyennes ..... 348  
 —hunting ..... 350, 355  
 —grounds ..... 326, 327  
 —in Canadian valley ..... 133, 135, 136  
 —Indians drive close to decoy troops ..... 421  
 —meat cured for eastern markets ..... 199  
 —Medicine Lodge treaty provisions re-  
   garding ..... 349  
 —migration of ..... 451  
 —range ..... 206  
 —robes ..... 131  
 —hailed by Santa Fe railroad ..... 355  
 Buffalo Bill. See Cody, William F.  
 —William Mathewson the original ..... 358  
 Buffalo creek, Oklahoma ..... 107, 120  
   121, 133, 134, 446  
 Buffalo Hump, Comanche chief ..... 201  
 Buffalo Station, troops skirmish with  
   Indians near ..... 468  
 Buffalo Wallow fight ..... 354  
 Building brick, manufacture of ..... 290  
 Bull Hump, Northern Cheyenne ..... 348  
 —band under, wiped out by buffalo  
   hunters ..... 348  
 Bull Run, battle of ..... 214  
 Bullet, Delaware guide ..... 206, 208, 209  
*Bulletin*, Emporia ..... 302  
 Bullwhackers ..... 300  
 Buntline, Ned, dime novel writer ..... 358  
 Burchfiel community church, Harper  
   county ..... 409  
 Burhans, Samuel, author ..... 181  
 Burlingame, Ward ..... 455, 471  
 Burlingame, founded as Council City ..... 431  
 —Frank M. Stahl's history of, cited ..... 77  
 Burlington, formerly Hampden ..... 434  
 —old Meeker press used at ..... 16  
 Burlington *Daily Republican*, cited ..... 78, 184  
 Burlington *Free Press* ..... 14  
 Burlington railway ..... 365  
 Burnett's Mound, near Topeka ..... 32  
 Burns, Pat, member treaty party ..... 444  
 Burns, Patrick, chief Leavenworth fire  
   department ..... 376  
 Burt, Rosamond Pratt, donor Pratt col-  
   lection ..... 83  
 Bushwhackers, protection against invasion  
   of ..... 53  
 —and thieves loot wagon trains ..... 26  
 Business, poor in 1855 ..... 21  
 Business and Professional Women's Club,  
   Bucklin ..... 402  
 Butler, James G. .... 299  
 Butterfield, —, Indian trader ..... 452, 453  
 Butterfield Overland Despatch ..... 55, 452  
 —Downer station burned by Indians ..... 57  
 —organized in 1865 ..... 148  
 —route of ..... 327  
 —troops protect stage road of ..... 58  
 Byrne, Thomas, Dickinson county pioneer, 302  
 Byron's ford, Jennison ordered to  
   guard ..... 257, 258



## C.

- Cabell, Gen. William Lewis... 239, 244-247  
 —capture of ..... 261  
 Cabin creek, federal forces attacked at... 239  
 Cade, Capt. Al, ferryboat operator at  
   Leavenworth ..... 376  
 Caldwell, Alexander ..... 365, 370-372  
 —president Leavenworth Board of Trade, 362  
   U. S. Senator ..... 362  
 Caldwell, early lynchings at ..... 403  
 —historical notes of ..... 475  
 Calhoun, town of ..... 30  
 —county seat Calhoun (Jackson) county, 33  
 California, Charles Robinson member  
   Legislature of 1851 ..... 308  
 —gold rush to ..... 348  
 —immigration to, checked by Indian  
   depredations ..... 143  
   road, through Indian territory ..... 133  
   sheep driven to ..... 23  
 California Joe ..... 359  
 "Camanche," letter of, quoted ..... 111  
 Camp Babcock ..... 230  
 Camp Beauregard, La. .... 411  
 Camp Beecher, short history of ..... 58  
 Camp Chase, Ohio ..... 195  
 Camp Croghan, occupied site of Canton-  
   ment Martin ..... 51  
 Camp Mackay, later Fort Atkinson ..... 199  
 Camp Nichols, Indian territory ..... 207  
 Camp Ogallah, Trego county ..... 57, 53  
 Camp on Pawnee Fork, history of ..... 54  
 Camp Pond Creek, Fort Wallace first  
   known as ..... 56  
 Camp Snow, on Snow Camp creek, south  
   east Kansas ..... 111, 112  
 Camp Supply ..... 56, 122  
   268, 463-466, 468-470  
 —Gen. Sheridan moved headquarters to... 53  
 Campbell, Mrs. Effie, secretary Saline  
   County Historical Association ..... 301  
 Campbell, Hugh, astronomer for southern  
   boundary survey of Kansas ..... 106, 111  
 Campbell, William P., judge ..... 403  
 Campbell, William W., author ..... 181  
 Campdoras, Dr. A. M. .... 29  
 Canadian river ..... 107, 116  
   133, 135, 245, 247, 464  
 —Bent-St. Vrain fort on ..... 349  
 —Comanche Indians attacked on ..... 467  
 —Granet and North forks of ..... 207  
 —North fork of ..... 125, 129-132  
   134, 135, 207, 464  
 —rebels encamped on ..... 246  
 Cane Hill, Ark. .... 235, 263  
 —battle of ..... 212  
 —General Marmaduke at ..... 229  
 —rebel forces driven from ..... 230  
 Cane Hill and Fayetteville road ..... 231  
 Cannon, captured from rebels at Mays-  
   ville, Mo. .... 238  
 Canton, Frank M., autobiography men-  
   tioned ..... 179  
 Cantonment Martin, first military post  
   in Kansas ..... 50  
 —length of time occupied ..... 51  
 Capper, Gov. Arthur, appeals for aid for  
   victims of coal mine disaster ..... 279  
 Caravans, in New Mexican trade ..... 17  
 —not permitted to pass Fort Larned with  
   less than 100 men ..... 26  
 Carbine ..... 42  
 Carbon creek, coal shaft sunk on ..... 274  
 Carey, Henry L. .... 476  
 Carey Mission, Michigan ..... 90, 91  
 —location of station ..... 4  
 Carleton, Gen. James Henry, asked to  
   protect Western trails ..... 141  
 Carlson, Anna Matilda, author ..... 176  
 Carney, Governor Thomas ..... 142, 144  
   212, 238, 254  
 —approval of Blunt's course in Atchison  
   affair ..... 241  
 —hesitates calling out militia ..... 252  
 —opposition to Blunt ..... 240  
 —planned disbanding Kansas militia dur-  
   ing Price Raid ..... 256  
 —skepticism of ..... 256  
 Carpenter, Col. John C., commanded troops  
   rescuing Arickaree survivors ..... 458, 459  
 —engages Indians near Fort Hays... 462, 463  
 Carr, Gen. E. A. .... 356, 403  
 —author ..... 476  
 —campaign of ..... 464  
 —defeats Tall Bull's band ..... 349  
 —destroys Tall Bull's village ..... 469, 470  
 Carriages, shipped to Mexico ..... 18  
 Carrie Nation Memorial Association,  
   Medicine Lodge ..... 191  
 Carrizo creek ..... 127  
 Carroll, James ..... 444  
 Carson, Christopher ("Kit") ..... 151, 179  
   298, 345-347, 357, 446-449  
 —first Indian fight in Kansas ..... 358  
 —Indian commissioner ..... 443  
 Carthage, Mo., Blunt's troops at ..... 262  
 Case, B. P. .... 318, 319  
 Catalpa trees, thrive on stripped coal  
   lands ..... 277  
 Catholic priests and nuns, reported  
   massacre unfounded ..... 337  
 Catlin, Frances Celia Ann. .... 269  
 Cattle, business ..... 184-186  
 —drive from Texas to Abilene ..... 271  
 —driven to Dodge City ..... 410  
 —for Mexican war soldiers ..... 417, 420  
 —industry, Kansas, no complete history  
   yet written ..... 76  
 —Range, Notes on Historical Litera-  
   ture of, by James C. Malin ..... 74  
 —Texas, shipped over Kansas Pacific  
   railroad ..... 27  
 —trains, for Fort Bridger ..... 197  
 Cattlemen's associations, manuscript rec-  
   ords of, used for study of northwest... 76  
 Cawker City *Ledger*, cited ..... 185  
 Cedar creek ..... 127  
 Cedar Spring ..... 128  
 Cedar Vale *Messenger*, cited ..... 184  
 Cedarvale, Woodward county, Okla. .... 134  
 Cedarville, newspapers in ..... 478  
 Census, first U. S. compendium, cited... 282  
 Centerville ..... 443  
 Central Normal College, Great Bend... 409  
 Centropolis *Kansas Leader*, founding of, 13  
 Chalk, red ..... 132  
 Chalkley, Lyman, author ..... 181  
 Chalybeate springs, at Baxter Springs... 110  
 Chambers, W. L., author ..... 176, 189  
 Chandler, C. Q. .... 408  
 Chanute ..... 190  
 —library ..... 304  
 Chanute *Tribune* ..... 304  
 Chapman Bros., Chicago, publishers ..... 357  
 Chapman, Amos ..... 355, 356, 359  
 Chapman, Mrs. C. P. .... 88  
 Chapman *Advertiser* ..... 302, 404  
 —pioneer articles of Eastern Dickinson  
   county published in ..... 77  
 Chappell, Phil E., cited ..... 51  
 Chapultepec, Mex., battle of ..... 202  
 Charlestown (Mass.) Female Semi-  
   nary ..... 91, 102  
 Charlott, Major — ..... 252  
 Charlton, Private —, death of ..... 123  
 Chase county ..... 454  
 Chatham Hotel, Kansas City, Mo. .... 304  
 Chautauqua county ..... 114, 138, 178  
 Cherokee county ..... 106



- Cherokee county, coal mining in..... 273  
 —second largest coal producer in Kansas, 275  
 —vast coal deposits of..... 281  
 Cherokee Indians ..... 151  
 —cede title to Kansas lands in 1866..... 105  
 —in rebel service, known as Drew's regiment ..... 224  
 —surrender to Union force and offer services to U. S..... 224  
 —loyal, regiment of, organized..... 222  
 —of North Carolina ..... 211  
 —rebel forces defeated in reservation of, 223  
 —reservation, boundary of..... 104  
 Cherokee Neutral Lands, United States survey of ..... 266, 267  
 —Controversy, by Lulu Lemmon Brown, mentioned ..... 176  
 Cherokee Outlet, Indian territory..... 343  
 Cherokee road, mentioned..... 138  
 Cherokee Strip, opening of..... 403  
 Cherokee Zinc Co., zinc production of..... 284  
 —a Lanyon organization..... 283  
 Cherryvale, old settlers' reunion at..... 481  
 Cheyenne Bottom, described ..... 206  
 —a national bird preserve..... 206  
 Cheyenne county ..... 176, 299  
 Cheyenne Indians ..... 107, 129  
 140-142, 146, 147, 150, 207, 208, 210, 268  
 380, 341, 343, 347, 350, 354, 407, 422, 442  
 443, 445-448, 451-453, 457, 462, 467-470  
 —agent of ..... 270  
 —angered by order for soldiers to drive back to their reservation..... 268  
 —assigned to Fort Lyon for concentration ..... 142  
 at treaty, Little Arkansas, 1865.. 150, 151  
 —attack Mexican wagon train..... 458  
 —troops on Arickaree ..... 458-460  
 —befriend whites captured by Kiowas..... 205  
 —Black Kettle's village destroyed.. 464-467  
 —camped on Pawnee Fork..... 329  
 —dog soldiers ..... 353  
 —driven from Republican river camp..... 141  
 —expeditions against ..... 196, 203  
 —fight with ..... 326  
 —fight with U. S. troops in Black Hills, 150  
 —friendly ..... 209  
 —Kansas offenses charged against ..... 472  
 —left without a reservation..... 151  
 —lived in Black Hills country..... 347  
 —murder of surveying party under Captain Short ..... 269  
 —Northern ..... 342, 351, 469  
 —depredations of ..... 468  
 —removal to Indian territory precipitated last Indian raid in Kansas... 349  
 —peace treaty with Kiowas..... 203  
 —raid, 1868 ..... 58  
 —raid Council Grove ..... 451  
 —raid Kaw Indian reservation..... 454, 455  
 —raid Smoky Hill, Solomon and Republican valleys ..... 456  
 —recompensed as result of Sand Creek massacre ..... 145  
 —reservation near Fort Lyon..... 144  
 —Sand Creek camp, attacked by Colonel Chivington ..... 144, 445, 446  
 —sent to Florida prison, soon liberated.. 269  
 —separation of ..... 347  
 —Southern ..... 326, 340  
 —in Indian territory ..... 349  
 —Sumner's campaign against..... 348  
 —war of 1864, cause of ..... 141  
 —war parties of ..... 251, 461  
 —winter campaign against..... 463-467  
 —and Arapahoe treaty, 1876, provisions of ..... 446  
 —and Sioux Indians, under Roman Nose, 351  
 Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific railroad, bridge at Leavenworth..... 372  
 Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific railroad, transportation display ..... 303  
 Chihuahua, Mexico, goods shipped over Santa Fe trail to ..... 17  
 —high duties levied on imported goods.. 19  
 —sheep driven to ..... 23  
 Chikaskia river ..... 117, 134  
 Child Hygiene, Division of..... 393  
 Child labor, "A History of Child Labor Legislation," by Domenico Gagliardo ..... 379-401  
 —laws ..... 384-386, 388-390  
 —administration of ..... 394  
 —table showing permits issued for..... 396  
 —showing prosecutions and convictions for violation of..... 396  
 Children, employed in mining..... 384  
 —number in gainful occupations..... 381  
 —employed in certain establishments inspected ..... 398  
 Children's Code Commission ..... 392  
 Chilocco, Okla. Major Robert H., monument to, unveiled ..... 79  
 China tree, description of..... 121  
 Chippewa Indians, Jotham Meeker a missionary to ..... 4  
 Chivington, Col. John M. .... 145, 146  
 151, 349, 446  
 —condemned for Sand Creek massacre... 145  
 —Colonel of First Colorado cavalry..... 349  
 —Sand Creek massacre ..... 144, 150  
 Chivington massacre. *See, also*, Sand Creek, massacre.  
 Cholera, bad on Santa Fe trail..... 18  
 —deadly foe to the military..... 339  
 Chouteau's Island, on Arkansas river... 57  
 Christmas advertising, in first Kansas newspapers ..... 189  
 Churchill, Will, reminiscences of ..... 188  
 Cimarron ..... 190  
 —old settlers' reunion held in ..... 482  
 Cimarron crossing, Arkansas river..... 54  
 190, 199  
 —Fort Mann established at..... 55  
 Cimarron desert, south of Arkansas river, in Kansas ..... 19  
 Cimarron river ..... 107, 116  
 120-128, 130, 134, 135, 188, 189, 196, 207  
 251, 270, 446  
 —Aubrey crossing ..... 207  
 —Indian depredations on ..... 420  
 —route abandoned during Civil War... 25  
 —second crossing ..... 133  
 —upper crossing ..... 129  
 Cimarron spring, middle, Morton county, 129  
 Cimarron township, Clark county..... 121  
 Cincinnati, Ohio, early printing concerns of ..... 4  
 Cincinnati and Kansas Land Company.. 433  
 Civil War ..... 29, 140, 154  
 187, 194, 195, 350, 356, 477  
 —effect on New Mexican trade from Kansas City and Westport..... 24  
 Claflin, Horace ..... 440  
 Clardy, J. E., *Palmetto Kansan* founded by ..... 14  
 Clark, Ben ..... 359  
 Clark, Harriet Elizabeth ..... 153  
 Clark, Kelso, reminiscences of, cited... 186  
 Clark, Sidney ..... 311  
 Clark, Sen. W. A. .... 300  
 Clark county ..... 122  
 Clarke, J. H. .... 110-116, 118, 120, 121, 126  
 —astronomer for southern boundary survey of Kansas ..... 106  
 —established final observation on southern boundary line ..... 128  
 Clary, Capt. — ..... 419

- Clay and shale, extensive deposits of, at  
 Pittsburg ..... 289
- Clay Center *Times*, cited ..... 59
- Clay county, seed wheat given to ..... 472
- Clay products, southeastern Kansas ..... 273
- industries, Pittsburg, statistics of ..... 289
- Clear creek ..... 132
- Clearwater, history of schools at ..... 478
- Clearwater *News*, cited ..... 478
- Clements, Frederick Edward, author ..... 176
- Cleannan, Mrs. Mary Byrne ..... 302
- Cleveland, President Grover ..... 211
- Clinton hotel, Indianola ..... 33
- Clifton *News*, historical edition of ..... 78
- Cloud, Col. William F. .... 148, 225, 326, 328
- commander state militia ..... 62
- engagement at Devil's Backbone ..... 247
- Cloud county ..... 471
- Fort Brooks located in ..... 59
- seed wheat given to ..... 472
- Clough, Mr. .... 98
- Clyde Methodist Episcopal Church, fiftieth anniversary of ..... 479
- Clyde *Republican*, cited ..... 185, 402, 479
- Clymer, Hiester, record of, mentioned ..... 178
- Clymer, Joseph, freighter ..... 425, 426
- Coahuila, Mexico, Kickapoo Indians settle in ..... 154
- Coal, barge shipments from Leavenworth, 371
- Cherokee and Crawford counties largest producers of ..... 275
- discovered beneath Leavenworth ..... 361
- mined at State Penitentiary ..... 377
- in Pittsburg district ..... 273
- percentage removed by stripping and deep shaft processes ..... 277
- Pittsburg favored by freight rates on shipments ..... 278
- statistics of production ..... 275
- underlying Leavenworth district ..... 371
- use of explosives in mining ..... 280
- Coal Mine and Metal Mine Inspection Department, annual report cited ..... 275, 276
- Coal mining, disasters in Pittsburg district ..... 278
- statistics of ..... 276
- steam shovels used in ..... 273, 274
- stripping process ..... 273
- wages paid miners ..... 276
- Coal Operator's Association, of Pittsburg, aid extended families of coal mining victims ..... 279
- Coates, Mrs. Grace (Stone), author ..... 177
- Cobas, Martin ..... 444
- Cobb, Stephen A. .... 320, 323
- Cockerill smelters, Pittsburg ..... 284
- Cody, William Frederick (Buffalo Bill) ..... 345
- 351, 352, 356
- acknowledged Mathewson was the original "Buffalo Bill" ..... 358
- pony express rider ..... 357
- Wyoming ranch of ..... 354
- Cody, Mrs. William F. .... 78
- Coffey, Gen. —, rebel cavalry under, invades Missouri ..... 224
- Coffey county ..... 44
- history of, by Judge Burton Kingsburg, cited ..... 184
- Coffeyville ..... 112
- Coffeyville *Daily Journal* ..... 298
- Cogan, Mary ..... 302
- Cogan, Michael, sketch ..... 302
- Coke, Henry J., author ..... 179
- Cohee, — ..... 30
- Colby, naming of ..... 184
- Cole, Eugene ..... 29
- Cole, Joseph M. .... 28-30, 32
- Colley, Major — ..... 144
- Colony *Free Press*, cited ..... 475
- Colorado (territory and state) .. 141, 458, 460
- Colorado (territory and state), eastern section threatened by Indians ..... 143
- gold discovered in ..... 348
- fields ..... 57
- immigration into, checked by Indian depredations ..... 143
- regiments, First battery ..... 254, 255, 262
- First cavalry ..... 251, 253, 349
- expeditions against Dog soldier Cheyennes ..... 141
- Second cavalry ..... 239, 254
- 255, 257, 261
- Third cavalry ..... 146, 222
- at Sand Creek ..... 144
- reign of terror ..... 340
- Ute uprising mentioned ..... 350
- Colored infantry, order to recruit ..... 242
- Colton, George Woolworth, author ..... 181
- Columbia University Press ..... 295
- Comanche county, seventh annual homecoming of old settlers ..... 188
- surveyor's reminiscences of ..... 474
- Comanche Indians ..... 19, 117, 118
- 147, 151, 154, 155, 158, 179, 201, 209, 340
- 343, 359, 418, 442, 443, 448, 451, 453, 454
- 457, 465-467, 469
- at treaty, Little Arkansas, 1865 .. 150, 151
- attack Fort Dodge ..... 457, 458
- Civil War interests of ..... 140
- Colonel Leavenworth agent of ..... 148
- desire treaty with United States ..... 200
- depredations on Santa Fe trail ..... 141
- employed by Mexicans to kill American traders ..... 420
- Negroes ransomed from ..... 447
- offenses committed in Kansas charged to, ordered to Fort Larned ..... 142
- peace overtures to ..... 463
- Sedgwick's campaign against ..... 206
- Staked Plains war against ..... 298
- traders to ..... 347
- treaty of Fort Atkinson with ..... 21
- Commerce, with New Mexico ..... 18
- Compulsory school attendance ..... 385, 386
- Comstock, William ("Billy") ..... 345
- chief scout for Sheridan ..... 353
- Indian agent ..... 451
- killing of ..... 351, 353
- Pony Express rider ..... 352
- trial for killing wood contractor ..... 352
- Concho river, Tom Green county, Texas, Kickapoo camp on ..... 154
- Concordia Board of Trade, chartered ..... 362
- Cone, D. D. and John P., found Sumner *Gazette* ..... 14
- Coney, Capt. Patrick H. .... 211
- Confederate army ..... 351
- cavalry engagement with Kickapoo Indians ..... 154
- driven out of New Mexico ..... 25
- under Price, evacuate Lexington, Mo., 215
- Conger lard bill, mentioned ..... 377
- Congress, investigates Sand Creek massacre ..... 145
- Congressional medals of honor, scouts recipients of ..... 356
- Conklin, Arthur L., author ..... 187
- Connell, J. .... 320, 323
- Connelley, William E. .... 55, 60, 146
- 148, 281, 312, 325, 329, 330, 342-344, 429
- Connelley, Mrs. William E., honorary member Kansas State Historical Society ..... 165
- Connelly, Mrs. Clyde Davis, author ..... 177
- Conner, Jim, Delaware guide ..... 108, 118
- 120-125, 132
- Conner's branch ..... 123
- Connor, Gen. Patrick E., Indians outnumber force of, in Black Hills ..... 150
- Constitution, Topeka, written in 1855 .. 12



- Constitutionalist*, Doniphan, founding of, 13  
 Constitutions, Kansas ..... 307  
 Contract system, employed by freighting firms ..... 423  
 Contributors ..... 82, 194, 306, 414  
 Conway, Martin F. .... 318  
 —chosen representative in Congress ..... 432  
 Conway Springs, historical sketch ..... 403  
 Coody's Bluff, Nowata county, Okla. .... 138  
 Coody's settlement ..... 138  
 Cook, Colonel — ..... 353  
 Cook, Mrs. Anna Maria (Green), author, 181  
 Cook, John, farm on Walnut creek ..... 201  
 Cook, John, scout ..... 359  
 Cooke, Charles W. .... 403  
 Cooke, Col. P. St. George, troops under, capture Harvey's Hickory Point soldiers ..... 40  
 Coon, Lewis G., Co. I, Third Wis. Cav., 186  
 Coon creek ..... 202  
 Coons, Mr. —, trader on Santa Fe trail ..... 419  
 Cooper, Gen. Samuel, Confederate ..... 107  
     226-228, 244-246  
 Coöperative Colonization Co., of London, 188  
 Corinth, Miss., Gen. Halleck's failure at, 221  
 Corn, New Mexican prices for ..... 420  
 —price of, at Fort Union ..... 428  
 Coronado, explorer ..... 187  
 Cordley, Richard, cited ..... 433, 435, 437  
 Corwin, Mr. —, mysterious person connected with sale of Kansas bonds, 311, 318  
*Cosmopolitan Magazine* ..... 357  
 Cottonwood creek, Marion county, 205, 444  
 —New Mexico, tributary of Rabbit Ear creek ..... 130  
 Cottonwood Falls ..... 15  
 —old Meeker printing press used at ..... 16  
 Cottonwood Fork ..... 419  
 Cottonwood river ..... 44, 449, 455  
 Cottonwood Springs, Neb., important supply depot for miners during Pike's Peak gold rush ..... 60  
 —on south side of Platte river ..... 60  
 Cottonwood trees ..... 127, 130  
 —at Big Timbers ..... 207  
 Council City, founding of ..... 431  
 Council Grove ..... 54, 128, 207, 422, 444, 450  
 —Kaw reservation raided by Cheyennes ..... 454, 455  
 —military escorts from ..... 148  
 —New Mexican freight statistics compiled at ..... 25  
 —one day's receipts of Hays & Co., in 1858 ..... 23  
 —Padilla monument restored ..... 187  
 —raided by Cheyennes ..... 451  
 Council Grove Historical Society ..... 187  
 Council Grove Press, cited ..... 25  
*County Capital*, St. John, cited ..... 186, 479  
*Courier*, Conneautville, Pa. .... 10  
 Court of Industrial Relations, reports cited ..... 386, 394  
 Cove creek road, near Cane Hill, Ark. .... 230  
     235, 236  
 Cow callers ..... 300  
 Cow creek, Rice county ..... 109, 201, 202, 205  
 —Doc Beach's ranch on ..... 199  
 —known as Cold Water ..... 201  
 —Mathewson's trading post on ..... 357  
 —wagon trains besieged near ..... 142  
 Cow creek, Crawford county, packing plants located on ..... 286  
 Cow Creek station, on Santa Fe trail, attacked by Indians ..... 147  
 Cow Island, Missouri river, occupied by First Kansas volunteers ..... 51  
 —Cantonment Martin located on ..... 51  
 Cow-a-wha (Horsehead) creek ..... 113  
 Cowboys ..... 300  
 Cowboys, in Dodge City, Reminiscences of, 476  
 Cowley county ..... 16, 114, 115  
 —historical notes of ..... 476  
 —settlers petition governor for Indian protection ..... 471  
 —surveys in ..... 269  
 Craig, —, freighter ..... 428  
 Craig, H. Stanley, author ..... 181  
 Craig county, Okla. .... 139  
 Craik, E. L., cited ..... 432  
 Crane & Co., Topeka ..... 393, 429, 433  
 Crane creek, Price's army encamped at ..... 216  
 Craven, Thomas, author ..... 177  
 Crawford, J. T., general secretary Kansas State Baptist Association ..... 16  
 Crawford, Nelson Antrim, author ..... 177  
 Crawford, Gov. Samuel J. .... 60, 140, 213  
     326, 327, 330-332, 334, 335, 338, 342, 344  
     458-464, 468  
 —asks arms and ammunition from Fort Leavenworth ..... 331  
 —colonel of Second Kansas, colored ..... 248  
 —correspondence cited ..... 326  
     330-335, 338-342  
 —denounced Indian Bureau's policy ..... 453  
 —distributes arms among frontier settlers ..... 454, 455  
 —efforts to compel War Department to intervene to prevent Indian outrages ..... 328  
 —frontier defense activity of ..... 149  
 —*Kansas in the Sixties*, cited ..... 140, 148, 240  
     322, 326, 329, 332, 343, 451-453, 457-459  
     463, 464, 466, 468  
 —letters quoted and cited ..... 149, 453  
 —message cited ..... 327  
 —offers to raise regiment of volunteer cavalry ..... 332  
 —organizes Kansas First Frontier battalion ..... 461  
 —frontier settlers for Indian defense ..... 456, 457  
 —telegrams cited ..... 53, 460  
 —views of Peace Commission ..... 342  
 —visit to Osages ..... 340  
 Crawford, T. H., Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Crawford Seminary named for, 107  
 Crawford county, coal, acreage stripped and unstripped ..... 276  
 —largest producer in Kansas ..... 281  
 —mining in ..... 273, 274  
 —vast deposits of ..... 281  
 —register of deeds' record book cited ..... 281  
 Crawford County State Park, presented to state ..... 277  
 Crawford Seminary ..... 107  
 —Indian Agency at ..... 110  
 —establishment of ..... 107  
 Crazy Horse ..... 298  
 Creek Agency ..... 244  
 Creek Indians, missionaries for ..... 91  
 —regiment of loyal refugees organized ..... 222  
 Creitz, Capt. William F. .... 39, 41, 42  
 Criminals, from state and government prisons ..... 373  
 Crist, S. B. .... 266, 267  
 Crook, Gen. George, defeated at the Rose Bud ..... 349  
 Crooked creek ..... 123, 267  
 —called Ash creek ..... 200  
 —plan to erect community meeting house on ..... 271  
 —wagon train attacked at ..... 147  
 Crosby Roller Mill Co., Topeka ..... 34  
 Crow Chief, Cheyenne Indian leader ..... 141  
 Culver, Joe M., cited ..... 471  
 Cummings, —, of Wabunsee county ..... 314  
 Cummings, J. F., legislative printer ..... 322  
 —questioned during impeachment of Robinson and others ..... 322  
 Currumpaw (McNeess') creek ..... 129, 130



- Curtis, Ed ..... 346, 347  
 Curtis, Charles, Vice President ..... 51, 172  
 Curtis, Alonzo ..... 320, 323, 324  
 Curtis, Major H. Z., killed by Quantrill  
   band at Baxter Springs ..... 248  
 Curtis, Maj. Gen. Samuel R. .... 141, 145  
   149, 212, 225, 243, 250-252, 255  
   256, 258, 261, 263  
 —attempts to court martial Col. Chiving-  
   ton ..... 145  
 —blunders of ..... 256  
 —Blunt's request for troops granted ..... 259  
 —campaign against Price in 1862 ..... 217  
 —commended by Kansas press ..... 142  
 —dilatory tactics of ..... 260  
 —expedition against bushwhackers ..... 141  
 —fortifying for defense on Big Blue, 253, 255  
 —Forts Zarah and Ellsworth established  
   by ..... 54, 142  
 —orders troops to Arkansas river ..... 140  
 —relieved of command Department of  
   the Missouri ..... 148, 239, 240  
 —troops requested of ..... 254  
 —rescue besieged wagon train ..... 142  
 Custer, Gen. George A. .... 145, 180, 298  
   340, 349, 354, 356, 406, 468, 469  
 —Black Kettle's camp captured by ..... 349  
   364-367  
 —Charles Reynolds, chief scout of ..... 350  
 —defeated at Little Big Horn ..... 349  
 —estimate of William Comstock ..... 352  
 —joins Hancock expedition at Fort Riley, 329  
 —made Fort Hays headquarters for Sev-  
   enth cavalry from 1867 to 1870 ..... 56  
 —pursuit of Pawnee Killer ..... 330  
 —used Fort Downer as a base during In-  
   dian operations in 1867 ..... 57  
 —*Wild Life on Plains*, cited ..... 345, 352, 353  
 Custer, Mrs. George A. .... 78  
 Cutler, Capt. Abram ..... 267, 269  
 —biographical mention of ..... 269  
 —buried at Lawrence ..... 270  
 —surveying contract of ..... 266  
 Cutler, Dr. G. A. .... 45  
 —biographical sketch ..... 44  
 Cutler, Mrs. George A., death of ..... 44  
 Cutler, Captain —, wagon train of  
   Capt. S. L. McKinney captured by .... 22
- D.
- Dakota, Ghost outbreak mentioned ..... 350  
 —Powder river region ..... 147  
 Dakota Indians, Ogallala band of ..... 58  
 Dale, E. E., *The Range Cattle Industry*,  
   cited ..... 75, 179  
 Daley, Alfalfa county, Okla. .... 134  
 Dallas *Daily Commercial*, founded by Dr.  
   G. A. Cutler ..... 44  
 Dallin, Dorothy, cited ..... 406  
 Dalton, Emmett, author, *When the Dal-*  
   *tons Rode* ..... 177  
 Dangerfield, R. J., compiler ..... 306  
 Dannevik, O. M. .... 405  
 Dappert, J. W., reminiscences of ..... 474  
 Darlington Agency, Indian Terr. .... 354  
 Daughters of the American Revolution,  
   Georgia Society ..... 181  
 —Kansas Society ..... 442  
 —erect monument to Gen. J. G. Blunt  
   at Baxter Springs ..... 186  
 —historical sites at Abilene marked  
   by ..... 190  
 —Marshall county, marking of Barrett  
   crossing on Vermillion proposed by, 191  
   Kentucky ..... 181  
 Davidson, Gen. "Black Jack" ..... 354  
 Davis, Margaret Burton, author ..... 177  
 Davis, Gen. N. H., assistant inspector  
   general of Department of the Missouri, 472
- Davis, S. O., and William L. Garvin,  
   *History of the National Farmers' Alli-*  
   *ance and Coöperative Union of America*,  
   cited ..... 161  
 Dawson, John S. .... 167, 173, 304  
 —president of the Kansas State Historical  
   Society ..... 165, 478  
 Day, Mr. —, employed by Meeker ..... 5  
 Dayton, Oscar V., and Alexander Gard-  
   ner, attempt to start newspaper at  
   Osawatimie ..... 13  
 Dead Shot, Delaware guide ..... 206  
 Deatherage, Charles P., *Early History of*  
   *Greater Kansas City*, cited ..... 22  
 Deadwood, Dak., "Wild Bill" Hickok  
   killed at ..... 356  
 Decatur county ..... 178  
 Deception creek ..... 206  
 "Defense of the Kansas Frontier," articles  
   by Marvin H. Garfield ..... 50- 62  
   140-152, 326-344, 451-473  
 Deitzler, Col. George W., commanding  
   Kansas militia during Price raid ..... 258  
 Delahay, Mark W., and A. M. Sevier,  
   start *Territorial Register*, Leavenworth, 13  
 —Wyandotte City *Register* founded by ..... 13  
 Delaney, "Mike," pioneer of Waterville ..... 299  
 De la Potherie, Basqueville, cited ..... 153  
 Delaware Baptist Mission ..... 83, 84, 92  
 —destroyed by flood ..... 90  
 —founded at Grinter's crossing of Kaw  
   river ..... 90  
 —founded by Ira D. Blanchard ..... 83, 90  
 —rebuilt by John G. Pratt ..... 90  
 —reopening of ..... 86  
 Delaware church ..... 87  
 Delaware creek ..... 108  
 Delaware crossing, Kaw river ..... 108  
 Delaware Indians ..... 8, 33, 87  
   90, 93, 158, 359, 421  
 —as guides ..... 108, 123, 126, 206, 251  
 —B. F. Robinson, agent for ..... 88  
 —J. G. Pratt, agent for ..... 84  
 —removed to Indian territory ..... 84  
 —settlement in Kansas ..... 89  
 Delaware river ..... 36, 46  
*Democratic Messenger*, Eureka, historical  
   and industrial edition of ..... 77  
 Democratic party ..... 309  
 Democratic State Central Committee ..... 360  
 Democratic Territorial Convention, Le-  
   compton, 1857, mentioned ..... 14  
 De Moss, James Andrew, author ..... 177  
 Denison, W. W. .... 167, 168  
 Denman, H. B. .... 320, 323  
 Dennis, — ..... 30  
 Dennison, Rev. Joseph, president Blue-  
   mont College ..... 439  
 Dentzer, Phyllis ..... 403  
 Denver, Gen. James W. .... 218, 220  
 Denver, Colo. .... 144, 458  
 —Butterfield Overland Despatch started  
   daily schedule from ..... 327  
 —but two stages on Smoky Hill State  
   line reach Denver June, 1867 ..... 334  
 —terminus of Butterfield Overland  
   Despatch ..... 148  
 Denver *News*, cited ..... 340  
 Department of Kansas. See U. S. Army,  
   Department of Kansas.  
 Department of the Mississippi. See U. S.  
   army, Department of the Mississippi.  
 Department of the Missouri. See U. S.  
   army, Department of the Missouri.  
 Department of the Pacific. See U. S.  
   army, Department of the Pacific.  
 De Saussure, Capt. William Davie ..... 107, 114  
   115, 122, 124, 125, 129, 133  
   199, 201, 202, 208  
 —biographical mention of ..... 108

- DeTilla, George M., reminiscences of... 302  
 Detwiler, J. R..... 65  
 DeVilbiss, Dr. Lydia Allen..... 392  
 Devil's Backbone, engagement at..... 247  
 Dewey county, Okla..... 135  
 Diamond Springs..... 450  
 "Diary of Samuel A. Kingman at Indian Treaty in 1865"..... 442-450  
 Dickey, W. S., Clay Manufacturing Co., Pittsburg..... 291, 292  
 Dickhut, Mrs. Clarence..... 410  
 Dickinson county..... 178  
 —eastern, articles in *Chapman Advertiser* concerning..... 77  
 —Historical Society, election of officers..... 190  
 —pioneers, biographical sketches of..... 404  
 Dietzler, G. W..... 191  
 Dighton, historical notes of..... 478  
 Dighton *Herald*, cited..... 478  
 Dillon, Thomas..... 287  
 —forms partnership with Lewis Hull in meat business..... 286  
 Dimsmore, Francis M., reminiscences of..... 475  
 District of Kansas. *See* U. S. army, District of Kansas.  
 District of Southern Kansas. *See* U. S. army, District of Southern Kansas.  
 District of the Border. *See* U. S. army, District of the Border.  
 District of the Frontier. *See* U. S. army, District of the Frontier.  
 District of the Upper Arkansas. *See* U. S. army, District of the Upper Arkansas.  
 Dixon, Thomas, Butler county pioneer... 402  
 Dixon, William, scout..... 356  
 —sketch of..... 354, 355  
 Dixon, Mrs. William (Olive K.)..... 356  
 Dobie, J. Frank, *A Vaquero of the Brush Country*, cited..... 75  
 Dodge, Gen. Grenville M... 62, 149, 178, 333  
 —commander Dept. of the Missouri..... 148  
 —Fort Dodge established by..... 54  
 —garrisoned stations on B. O. D. route... 58  
 —*Personal Recollections*, cited..... 333  
 —Powder river expedition included Kansas regiments..... 147  
 Dodge City... 190, 199, 266, 267, 270, 271, 406  
 —buffalo hide capital..... 355  
 —cowboys in..... 476  
 —monument dedicated..... 410  
 —Wild Bill, marshal of..... 356  
 —murdered surveyors escorted to..... 270  
 Dodge City *Daily Globe*, cited, 189, 475, 476  
 —historical articles announcing dedication of Chilton monument in..... 79  
 Dodge City *Journal*, cited..... 184  
 —historical articles announcing dedication of Chilton monument in..... 79  
 Dog Soldier Indians..... 353  
 —depredations of..... 468  
 —expedition against..... 141  
 —raid Republic county..... 469  
 Dole, Wm. P., U. S. Indian Commissioner, rebukes Governor Evans of Colorado Terr..... 143  
 Doniphan..... 44  
 —*Constitutionalist* founded at..... 13  
 Doniphan county, historical notes of..... 406  
 —newspapers started in 1858-1859..... 15  
 Donnelly, Ignatius, Minnesota..... 163  
 Donner party, historical notes of..... 79  
 Doran, Thomas F..... 173  
 Doran, Rev. W. T., author..... 184  
 Dorrance, old settlers' reunion held in... 481  
 Doty, Francis, author..... 77  
 Dougherty, Miss Fannie J., became Mrs. George A. Cutler..... 44  
 Dougherty, John, contractor..... 420  
 Douglas, Maj. —, commander at Fort Dodge, letter quoted..... 452  
 Douglas, Richard..... 266-269  
 Douglas, Stephen A..... 309, 439  
 —sponsor of Kansas-Nebraska bill... 104, 105  
 Douglas, William..... 266  
*Douglas County Republican*, Lawrence, seventh anniversary edition of..... 303  
 Douglass *Tribune*, cited..... 404  
 Downer's Station..... 62  
 —on Butterfield Overland Despatch route, 57  
 —Trego county..... 52  
 Doy, Dr. John..... 431  
 Dragons, wagon trains on Santa Fe trail protected by..... 420  
 Dreiling, B. M., author..... 177  
 Drew's regiment, Cherokee Indian force known as..... 224  
 —abandon the Confederacy and enlist in Union army..... 224  
 Driggs, S. W. & Co., legislative printing done by..... 15  
 Drinking fountains, Leavenworth citizens petition for..... 374  
 Dripping Spring, Ark., Texas cavalry encamped at..... 236  
 Driscoll, Charles Benedict, author..... 177  
 Drums, lost by troops during flood... 200  
 Drury, Sumner county..... 134  
 Dryden, Oswald, author..... 184  
 Dry route, Santa Fe trail..... 202  
 Dry Turkey creek..... 205  
 Dry Wood creek..... 109, 261  
 —battle of..... 211, 214  
 Dudley, Guilford..... 35, 36  
 —biographical sketch..... 34  
 —member expedition against Hickory Point..... 34  
 Duffus, Robert Luther, author..... 25, 179  
 Dull Knife raid, 1878..... 349  
 Duncan, Fleming (Clem)..... 266, 269  
 Dunn, Lieut. —, First Colo. cavalry, expedition against Dog Soldier Cheyennes..... 141  
 Dunn, J. P., *Massacres of the Mountains*, cited..... 349  
 Dunning, N. A., *The Farmers Alliance History and Agriculture Digest*, cited... 161  
 Dutch cemetery, Shawnee..... 406  
 Dutton, Hartwin Rush, state treasurer... 325  
 Dwight *Advance*, cited..... 186  
 Dyer, G. M., store at Osawkie operated by..... 34  
 Dyer, W. F., store at Osawkie operated by..... 34

## E.

- "Early Kansas Impeachments," article by Cortez A. M. Ewing..... 307-325  
 East Lincoln, Neosho county..... 475  
 Eastin, Gen. Lucien J., partner of Osborn in *Kansas Weekly Herald*..... 9  
 —printing done by..... 14, 15  
 Easton, Col. Alton, regiment of, crossing prairies..... 421  
 Easton, Leavenworth county, expedition against..... 40  
 Eayre, Lieut. —, expedition against Indian cattle rustlers..... 141  
 Ebbutt, Jack, reminiscences of..... 185, 186  
 Edmond, Norton county, Port Landis post office moved to..... 406  
 Edwardsville, Wyandotte county... 83, 90  
 Edna *Sun*, cited..... 479  
 Einstein, Lewis David, author..... 183  
 El Dorado, biographical sketches of citizens cited..... 177  
 El Dorado *Times*, cited..... 77



- Eldridge, Col. Shalor W. . . . . 435, 436  
 Eldridge hotel, Lawrence . . . . . 436  
 Election, Kansas, 1861 . . . . . 310  
 Elgin . . . . . 114  
 Elk community, Marion county, early incidents, cited . . . . . 185  
 Elk creek, Indian territory, Cooper's camp on . . . . . 244  
 Ellenbecker, John G., Marysville . . . . . 165  
 —"A Pioneer Relates of Early Bison Hunts in the 60's" . . . . . 298  
 —newspaper story on pony express, cited, 73  
 Elliott, Robert G. . . . . 10, 12  
 —a school teacher in Tennessee . . . . . 11  
 —*Kansas Free State* started by . . . . . 14  
 Ellis county, German-Russian settlements, 177  
*Ellis County News*, Hays, cited . . . . . 176, 409  
*Ellis Review*, cited . . . . . 186  
 Ellsworth, Fort Harker near . . . . . 55  
 —stories of Indian raids near . . . . . 337  
 —Union Pacific completed to . . . . . 330  
 Ellsworth county . . . . . 471  
 —given seed wheat by legislature . . . . . 472  
 Elmore, Rush, associate justice supreme court . . . . . 9  
 Elm creek . . . . . 450  
 —Rooks county . . . . . 403  
 Elm Springs, rebel forces encamped at . . . . . 227  
 El Paso . . . . . 477  
 El Paso, Tex., military post of . . . . . 427  
 —provisions condemned at . . . . . 426  
 El Quartejejo . . . . . 189  
 Elrod, Mrs. Daisy . . . . . 410  
 Elwood *Advertiser*, founded by John S. Fairman . . . . . 14  
 Ely, William, author . . . . . 181  
 Emerson, Frances L., St. Francis named for . . . . . 299  
 Emery, Moses, cited . . . . . 431  
 "Emigrant Aid Company in Kansas, The," article by Samuel A. Johnson . . . . . 429-441  
 —*See, also*, New England Emigrant Aid Company.  
 Emigrant companies, Massachusetts, mentioned . . . . . 180  
 Emigrant's road to Texas . . . . . 139  
 Emporia . . . . . 444  
 —Kansas militia stationed at . . . . . 142  
 —Kansas State Teachers College, historical notes of . . . . . 302  
 —seventy-fifth anniversary of . . . . . 191  
*Emporia Gazette*, cited . . . . . 187  
 Emporia Heights of Columbus, Padilla monument restored by . . . . . 187  
*Emporia News* . . . . . 26  
 —founded by Preston B. Plumb . . . . . 13  
*Emporia Times*, cited . . . . . 185  
 Endacott, John, author . . . . . 177  
 "End of Track" . . . . . 62, 334  
 —on Union Pacific, stages made connection with . . . . . 55  
 —stages ran westward from . . . . . 327  
 Engineering expedition, at Fort Wallace . . . . . 336  
 English colony, Nemaha county . . . . . 188  
 Enid, Okla. . . . . 136  
 —growth within ten minutes . . . . . 403  
 Eno, Mr. — . . . . . 113, 119  
 Enterprise, Swedish settlements near, 191, 192  
*Enterprise-Chronicle*, Burlingame, cited . . . . . 77  
 Enterprise Mining Company . . . . . 371  
 Epperson, Elmer . . . . . 410  
 —editor *Scott City News Chronicle* . . . . . 475  
 Equitable Mining Company . . . . . 371  
 Erie, Neosho county seat fight at . . . . . 190  
 —notes on founding of . . . . . 475  
 Ernest, Elvenor, author . . . . . 177  
 Errata . . . . . 482  
 Essick, M. L. . . . . 320, 323, 324  
 Eubank, Kent, author . . . . . 409  
 Eureka, Fort Montgomery at . . . . . 59  
 Eureka *Herald*, cited . . . . . 185  
 Evans, —, near Hickory Point . . . . . 46  
 Evans, Amos . . . . . 98  
 —letters quoted . . . . . 89, 100, 101  
 Evans, Col. A. W., campaign of . . . . . 464  
 —crushes Comanche band on Canadian river . . . . . 467  
 Evans, Catherine, letters quoted . . . . . 102, 103  
 Evans, Emily [?] . . . . . 98  
 Evans, George . . . . . 98, 99  
 —letter quoted . . . . . 101  
 Evans, Gov. John, Colorado territory . . . . . 446  
 —Indian proclamation cited . . . . . 144  
 —issues proclamation to Colorado citizens to kill all hostile Indians . . . . . 143  
 —issues proclamation to friendly Indians to concentrate . . . . . 141, 142  
 —rebuked by Indian commissioner . . . . . 143  
 —request for troops . . . . . 141  
 —urged winter campaign against Indians, 145  
 Evans, Mary, letter quoted . . . . . 103  
 Evans, Olivia . . . . . 91, 92  
 —*See, also*, Pratt, Olivia Evans.  
 —letter quoted . . . . . 93, 94  
 Evans, Rosett, quoted . . . . . 101  
 Evans family . . . . . 85  
*Evening Standard*, Leavenworth . . . . . 375  
 Everest, fiftieth anniversary of . . . . . 476  
*Everest Enterprise*, cited . . . . . 476  
 Ewing, Cortez A. M. . . . . 306  
 —"Early Kansas Impeachments," article by . . . . . 307-325  
 Ewing, Gen. Thomas . . . . . 241, 361  
 —in command District of Kansas . . . . . 242  
 Ewing, Thomas, Sr. . . . . 241  
*Expositor*, cited . . . . . 18

## F.

- Fagan, Gen. —, commanding division of rebel army . . . . . 259  
 Fairman, John S., *Elwood Advertiser* founded by . . . . . 14  
 Fairmount College, historical notes of . . . . . 189  
 Fall creek . . . . . 117  
 Fall River . . . . . 185  
 Falleaf, Delaware guide . . . . . 206  
 Falun, Saline county . . . . . 407  
 Faris, C. A., and A. W. Jones, *Lecompton Union* started by . . . . . 13  
 Farm land, average price per acre in stripping territory . . . . . 277  
 Farmers and Bankers Life Insurance Co., Kansas broadcast over KFB owned by, 171  
 Farmers' Alliance movement . . . . . 162, 163  
 —its inception . . . . . 161  
 Farmers, employed by the government to teach Indians rudiments of agriculture, 3  
 Farnham, Mrs. Mateel (Howe), author . . . . . 177  
 Farnsworth, —, killed by Quantrill raiders at Baxter Springs . . . . . 248  
 Fay, Mary Hurley, cited . . . . . 186  
 Fayetteville, Ark., general hospital established at . . . . . 235  
 —road . . . . . 231, 232  
 —trail . . . . . 138  
 Federation of Women's Clubs . . . . . 388  
 Ferguson, Mrs. — . . . . . 30, 31  
 Ferguson, Charles D., author . . . . . 179  
 Ferguson, Kemp . . . . . 30, 31  
 Ferrell, Mrs. Ella, pioneer . . . . . 476  
 Ferril, Will C., cited . . . . . 149  
 Ferry, at Soldier creek crossing, operated by Louis Vieux . . . . . 34  
 —Papan's, mentioned . . . . . 34  
 Ferry boat, *Willie Cade* . . . . . 376  
 Ferry boats, carried away in flood . . . . . 32  
 Fiedlerling, Peter . . . . . 30, 31  
 Fields, Mr. —, mail train conductor . . . . . 129



- Finch, Charles Sumner, Lawrence..... 303  
 Finnup pioneer day celebration, Garden City ..... 77  
 First capitol of Kansas..... 172  
 First Fork (Purgatory) creek..... 208  
 Fishback, Brig. Gen. W. H. M., arrest for disobedience ..... 253  
 Fish, for lakes formed in stripped coal areas ..... 277  
 Fisher, ——— ..... 31, 46  
 —member Hickory Point expedition... 36, 44  
 Fisher, Rev. Hugh D., Methodist preacher ..... 300  
 Fisher, John, Neosho county pioneer... 405  
 Fisher, R. H., author ..... 177  
 Fisher creek, Solomon valley, troops stationed ..... 471  
 Fiske, Lieut. ——— ..... 444  
 Fitzgerald, Christopher ..... 304  
 Fitzpatrick, ——— ..... 449  
 Fitzpatrick, Mrs. ——— ..... 447  
 Fitzpatrick, Thomas "Broken Hand"..... 21  
     179, 422, 424  
 Five-mile creek, mentioned ..... 110  
 Flag ..... 40  
 —captured during Slough creek fight... 40  
 —lowered at Fort Smith ..... 247  
 Flat boats, used for crossing troops.... 244  
 Fleener, W. L., Sr., Greensburg ..... 481  
 Flint, Herbert, *Journalism in Territorial Kansas*, cited ..... 10, 12, 13, 16, 437  
 Flint creek, Blunt establishes camp on... 229  
 Flood of 1844 ..... 32, 83  
 Florence ..... 266  
 —Board of Trade chartered ..... 362  
 —laying out town of..... 271  
 Florence, Grant county, Okla..... 134  
 Flour, character of Mexican..... 417  
 —captured by Indians ..... 421  
 —freighted to New Mexico ..... 18  
 —ground at Leavenworth ..... 366  
 Floyd, John B., Secretary of War, letter cited ..... 107  
 Flue caps, ornamental, produced at Pittsburg ..... 292  
 Fly creek ..... 111  
 Fonda, Okla. .... 135  
 Ford, Col. ——— ..... 148, 258, 259, 260, 262  
 —proposed Indian attack delayed by Interior Department ..... 148, 149  
 —provides escort service for Santa Fe trail ..... 148  
 Ford, old settlers' reunion held in.... 482  
 Foreman, Grant, author ..... 179  
 Forest, Mrs. Abby Howe ..... 190, 407  
 Forsyth, Gen. George A... 346, 349, 351, 458  
 —"A Frontier Fight," cited..... 351, 353  
 —besieged on Beecher's Island.... 475, 476  
 —expedition of ..... 353  
 —report of, after battle of the Arickaree, cited ..... 460  
 Fort. *See, also*, Forts.  
 Fort Atkinson ..... 123, 125, 189, 251  
 —called Camp Mackay ..... 199  
 —dates of establishment and abandonment ..... 55  
 —treaty of, with Comanche, Kiowa and Apache ..... 21  
 Fort Aubrey, location of ..... 57  
 —on Arkansas river ..... 207  
 Fort Bascom, N. M. .... 464  
 Fort Bridger, Utah ..... 198  
 —date established ..... 197  
 Fort Brooks, Cloud county, location of.. 59  
 Fort Camp Jewell, Jewell county ..... 59  
 Fort Cobb, Texas ..... 209, 466-468  
 Fort Collins, Colo., freighting from Leavenworth to ..... 355  
 Fort Cottonwood, Neb., a protection to Northern Kansas ..... 60  
 —name changed to Fort McPherson.... 61  
 Fort Dodge ..... 54, 56, 61, 62  
     122, 152, 202, 270, 329, 339, 452, 463, 465  
 —attacked by Comanches and Kiowas ..... 457, 458  
 —built to defend Santa Fe trail..... 51  
 —early forts in vicinity of..... 55  
 —established ..... 148  
 —Indians rationed from ..... 451  
 —short history of ..... 54, 55  
 —soldiers from, ordered to drive Cheyennes back to their reservation..... 268  
 —troops from accompany freighters to Bent's Fort ..... 26  
 Fort Downer, short sketch of ..... 57  
 Fort Ellsworth (Fort Harker)..... 52  
 —built in 1864 ..... 55  
 —founded by General Curtis..... 142  
 Fort Fillmore, supplies for..... 427  
 Fort Fletcher, name changed to Fort Hays ..... 56  
 Fort Gibson .. 62, 107, 116, 139, 245, 247, 264  
 —Cherokee Nation ..... 239  
 —garrison annoyed by rebel raids ..... 244  
 —in danger of capture by rebels..... 243  
 —military road ..... 108, 109  
 Fort Harker ..... 52, 62, 199  
     330, 332-335, 337, 340, 341  
     454, 457, 458, 461, 462  
 —cavalry troops from, join Hancock expedition ..... 329  
 —cavalrymen from, to scout on Solomon, 328  
 —cost of buildings of..... 336  
 —Eighteenth cavalry mustered in at... 59  
 —founded as Fort Ellsworth by General Curtis ..... 142  
 —freighting from ..... 428  
 —frontier patrol from..... 455  
 —Indian chiefs assemble at, for council.. 328  
 —short history of ..... 55  
 —victims of cholera at ..... 339  
 Fort Harker-Fort Larned military trail.. 55  
 Fort Hays ..... 52, 62, 329  
     330, 337, 339, 352, 353, 462-464, 469, 470  
 —a Story of Old, by eye witnesses..... 78  
 —Seventh cavalry under Custer quartered at, 1867 to 1870 ..... 56  
 —Sheridan, General, moved headquarters to ..... 53  
 —short sketch of ..... 56  
 —Union Pacific completed to point near, 330  
 —"Wild Bill," marshal of..... 356  
 Fort Hays Frontier Park, dedication of.. 78  
 Fort Hays Kansas State College.... 170, 172  
 Fort Kearney, Neb..... 60, 198, 327  
 —base for Eleventh Kansas cavalry.... 149  
 —military road ..... 59  
 Fort Kirwin, short sketch of..... 58  
 Fort Laramie ..... 149, 197  
 Fort Larned ..... 62, 146, 189, 199, 200, 202  
     206, 209, 251, 327, 337, 339, 456, 456, 463  
 —built to defend Santa Fe trail..... 51  
 —Hancock expedition marched to ..... 329  
 —Indian contempt of ..... 22  
 —skirmish near ..... 141  
 —Indians rationed from ..... 451  
 —Kiowa and Comanche Indians ordered to ..... 142  
 —military escorts from ..... 148  
 —most important guardian of Santa Fe trail ..... 54  
 —once called Camp Alert ..... 54  
 —Santa Fe wagon trains not allowed to proceed west with less than 100 men.. 26  
 —short history of ..... 54  
 —storage of supplies at ..... 453

- Fort Larned, troops ordered to, for defense of ..... 140
- Fort Leavenworth ..... 8, 9, 33, 60, 62  
     84, 87, 106, 126, 142, 150, 196-198, 205,  
     211, 219, 221, 223, 226, 238, 249, 252, 269  
     327, 329, 331, 332, 342, 361, 415-417, 419  
     421, 422, 427, 428, 445, 461, 470
- erosion on river below ..... 368, 369
- father of all Kansas military posts ..... 52
- first meteorological observation at ..... 362
- flooded with freight ..... 425
- Fremont's orders to defend ..... 215
- goods for New Mexican trade brought to ..... 17
- headquarters Department of Kansas established at ..... 218
- Major Prince, commandant at ..... 219
- military road ..... 108, 109
- New Mexican trade starting from, never molested ..... 24
- objective of Price's army ..... 53, 215
- provisions accumulated at, for Mexican war ..... 416
- short history of ..... 52
- troops sent out for southern Kansas boundary survey from ..... 107
- wagons for Santa Fe and El Paso departing from ..... 425
- Fort Leavenworth-Fort Riley military road ..... 29, 38
- Indianola at crossing of Soldier creek ..... 24
- Fort Leavenworth-Fort Scott military road ..... 83
- Fort Leavenworth-Santa Fe road, government supplies strewn along ..... 418
- Fort Lookout, Republic county ..... 57
- short history of ..... 59
- Fort Lyon ..... 57, 62, 144, 210, 464
- building of new ..... 209
- Cheyennes and Arapahoes asked to concentrate at ..... 142
- Col. E. W. Wyncoop, former commander at ..... 326
- located on Arkansas river ..... 61
- troops ordered to, for defense of ..... 140
- Fort McPherson, Neb. .... 353
- a protection to Northern Kansas ..... 60
- formerly Fort Cottonwood ..... 61
- Fort Mackay ..... 200
- location of ..... 55
- short sketch of ..... 199
- Fort Mann, Captain Pelzer in command, established at Cimarron crossing ..... 55
- on upper Arkansas ..... 20
- troops under Col. Wm. Gilpin concentrated at ..... 422
- Fort Montgomery, Eureka, brief sketch of ..... 59
- Fort Monument, short sketch of ..... 57
- Fort Osage ..... 201
- on Missouri river ..... 200
- Fort Pyramid, Fort Monument also known as ..... 57
- Fort Riley ..... 52, 141, 172, 198-200, 203-206  
     251, 326, 327, 427, 443, 453, 454, 457, 471
- brief history of, cited ..... 186
- built to defend Smoky Hill route ..... 51, 52
- General Custer joins Hancock's expedition at ..... 329
- military roads ..... 29, 38, 59
- short history of ..... 53
- troops, rescue besieged wagon train ..... 142
- under General Mitchell reach ..... 220
- Fort Riley-Fort Leavenworth military road ..... 29
- Fort Riley and Fort Larned, designated as rendezvous for trains for New Mexico, 26
- Fort Scott (city) ..... 15, 109, 273
- Fort Scott (city), may have been sixth printing point in territorial Kansas ..... 12
- Fort Scott (military post) ..... 52, 172  
     224-226, 242, 243, 247, 248, 261, 262
- Blunt, commands post of ..... 214
- troops of, return to ..... 217
- Chief John Ross, of Cherokee Nation, and other Cherokee officials arrive at ..... 224
- Colonel Solomon abandons Indian country and retreats to ..... 223
- established in 1842 ..... 53
- regiments organized at ..... 225
- intends to fall back upon ..... 223
- supply depot at ..... 230
- threatened by rebel forces ..... 214
- Fort Scott-Fort Leavenworth military road ..... 83, 108, 109, 260
- Fort Sedgwick, Neb. .... 330
- a sod fort ..... 61
- a protection to Northern Kansas ..... 60
- Fort Sill ..... 354
- establishment of ..... 468
- military cemetery at ..... 203
- Fort Simple, Topeka, short sketch of ..... 60
- Fort Smith ..... 237, 247-250, 263, 321
- Blunt removes headquarters to ..... 247
- captured by forces under General Sturgis ..... 247
- military road to ..... 229
- rebel flag lowered at ..... 247
- rebel forces retreat to ..... 246
- Fort Sod and Fort Sodom (Fort Atkinson) ..... 199
- Fort Solomon, Ottawa county, brief sketch of ..... 59
- Fort Supply ..... 355
- Fort Sumter, assault on ..... 213
- Fort Union, N. M. .... 141, 142, 148, 423, 427
- a military depot ..... 424
- army depot removed from Santa Fe to, 20
- cost of corn at ..... 428
- supplies for ..... 427
- Fort Wallace ..... 52, 55, 62  
     269, 330, 340, 352-354, 458, 474
- attacked by Indians ..... 336
- constructed in September, 1865 ..... 56
- Custer expedition returns to ..... 330
- short history of ..... 56
- small garrisons at, during Indian wars, 57
- Fort Wayne ..... 4
- battle of ..... 212
- Blunt attacks Cooper and Stand Watie at ..... 228
- Fort Wise, Colo. .... 446
- building of ..... 210
- establishment of ..... 209
- renamed Fort Lyon ..... 61, 209
- treaty of (1861) ..... 144
- annulled by Chivington massacre ..... 150
- Fort Worth (Texas) *Cattlemen*, cited ..... 477
- Fort Zarah ..... 54, 62, 144, 189, 199, 202
- built to defend Santa Fe trail ..... 51
- founded by General Curtis ..... 142
- rations for ..... 147
- short history of ..... 54
- Fortesque, W. M., mayor of Leavenworth, 362
- Forts, in Ninth Military Department ..... 423
- log, in Republic county ..... 60
- on Arkansas river ..... 418, 422
- some statistics ..... 50
- See, also, Names of forts; names of camps.
- Fossum, Paul R., *The Agrarian Movement in North Dakota*, cited ..... 162
- Foster, Maj. — ..... 254
- Missouri militia under command of, defeated by Shelby and Coffee ..... 225
- Four-mile creek ..... 110
- Fouts, J. W. .... 29, 30



- Fox, Simeon M., "The Story of the Seventh Kansas," cited..... 310  
 Frankfort, Ky., military academy at.... 203  
*Franklin Pierce: Young Hickory of the Granite Hills*, by Roy Franklin Nichols, review of, by James C. Malin.... 295-297  
 Free-soilers ..... 432  
*Free State*, Lawrence, starting of.... 11, 12  
 Free-state Convention, Topeka, 1857.... 14  
 Free-state Hotel, Lawrence ..... 435  
 Free-state legislature, first ..... 44  
 Free-state regiments, Third, James A. Harvey made colonel of..... 40  
 Free-state volunteers, second regiment.. 33  
 Freed, J. K. .... 410  
*Freedom's Champion*, Atchison .... 269, 437  
 Freeman, Winfield, "The Battle of the Arickaree," cited ..... 458  
*Freeman's Champion*, Prairie City, founding of ..... 13  
 —old Meeker press used on..... 16  
 Freight, articles composing bulk of, shipped over Santa Fe trail..... 18  
 —contractors, long journeys made by... 426  
 —rates of, exorbitant ..... 426  
 —on Santa Fe trail..... 425  
 Freighters, protection to ..... 327  
 Freight, business and military phases of, articles by Walker D. Wyman, 17-415-428  
 —overland, dangerous character of..... 419  
 —smallpox and Indians made hazardous in 1854 ..... 21  
 Fremont, Gen. John Charles..... 179, 214  
 —at Springfield, Mo. .... 216  
 —complaint of pomp about headquarters of ..... 216  
 —delusions regarding Price's army..... 216  
 —Department of Missouri under command of ..... 217  
 —hazardous to approach during Price invasion ..... 216  
 —order to evacuate Kansas City and destroy all government supplies at ..... 215  
 —relieved of command ..... 217  
 French, Charles H., cited..... 479  
 French, Fred ..... 402  
 French, Capt. J. C., at Fort Leavenworth, 332  
 French, M. O., president Pittsburg Clay Products Co. .... 294  
*Frontier Days*, by William L. Kuykendall, mentioned ..... 177  
*Frontier* magazine, cited ..... 466  
 Frontier Scouts, Kansas, Some Famous, article by Paul I. Wellman..... 345-359  
 Frontenac, coal mine disaster at.... 278, 479  
 Fry, Smith D., author..... 183  
 Fuhr, Frank, former editor of *Meade Globe* ..... 272  
 Fuller, Mrs. Cora E., daughter of Rev. Thomas Johnson ..... 304  
 Fulton, — ..... 30, 31  
 Funnall [?], Esquire ..... 93  
 Furman, A. C., Oberlin ..... 409  
 Furniture, made at Leavenworth..... 366

## G.

- Gadsden Purchase ..... 427  
 Gagliardo, Domenico, "A History of Kansas Child Labor Legislation".... 379-401  
 —associate professor of economics, Kansas University ..... 306  
 Galena, strikes of lead and zinc at.... 281  
 Gallagher, Rev. Gilbert, author..... 184  
 Galveston, deep harbor, mentioned ..... 377  
 Gamble, Gov. H. R., of Missouri..... 241  
 Garden City Community Church, fiftieth anniversary of ..... 479  
*Garden City Daily Telegram*, account of Finnup pioneer day celebration published in ..... 77  
*Garden City News*, cited ..... 479  
 —account of Finnup pioneer day celebration published in ..... 77  
 —historical edition of ..... 402  
 Gardner, —, post adjutant, Fort Harker ..... 462  
 Garfield, Marvin H. .... 306  
 —"Defense of the Kansas Frontier," articles by ..... 50-62  
 140-152, 326-344, 451-478  
 —instructor history, Roosevelt Intermediate School, Wichita ..... 82, 414  
 Garfield county, Okla. .... 136  
 Garnett, Capt. Richard Brooke .... 111, 112  
 115, 118, 122, 124-127  
 —biographical mention of ..... 107  
 Garrett, Charles, foreman in John Speer's office ..... 11  
 Garrett, Okla. .... 123  
 Garvey, E. C. K. .... 13  
 —*Kansas Freeman* founded by ..... 12  
 Garvin, William L., and S. O. Davis, *History of the National Farmers' Alliance and Coöperative Union of America*, cited ..... 161  
 Gas, natural, Kansas fields..... 284  
 Gaylord, Capt. — ..... 444  
 Geary, Gov. John W. .... 29, 47-49, 178  
 Geary City Era, founding of..... 14  
 Geary county ..... 178, 185  
 Geisler, Dr. — ..... 126  
 General Motors', dedicates radio program to Kansas ..... 481  
 Geological survey, Kansas..... 274  
 —request to legislature for ..... 372  
 German family, killed by Cheyennes ... 269  
 German-Russian settlements, Ellis and Rush counties ..... 177  
 —in the United States..... 302, 409  
 Ghent, William James ..... 179  
 —and LeRoy R. Hafen, *Broken Hand, the Life Story of Thomas Fitzgerald, Chief of the Mountain Men*, cited.... 21  
 Gibbons, James Cardinal ..... 300  
 Gibson, Comm. Gen. George ..... 427  
 Gibson, Capt. [A. A. ?], military storekeeper ..... 126  
 Giddings and Beck, New Mexican ranchers, import sheep to improve native stock ..... 22  
 Gift Shop and Necessity Co., Kansas City, Mo. .... 294  
 Giles, Fry W., *Thirty Years in Topeka*, cited ..... 32, 433  
 Gillis House, Kansas City, Mo. .... 435  
 —General Curtis establishes headquarters at ..... 258  
 Gilpin, Gov. William, Colorado, aided in driving Confederates out of New Mexico ..... 25  
 —commanding battalion guarding Santa Fe trail ..... 422  
 —estimate of losses from Indians in 1847 ..... 421, 422  
 Girard Press, cited ..... 282, 288, 474  
 Girard Zinc Co., zinc production 1893... 284  
 Gireau, Michael, French Indian trader... 172  
 —site of trading post deeded to Kansas State Historical Society .... 168, 172, 173  
 Gist, George W., townsite promoter..... 8  
 Gittinger, Roy, cited ..... 104  
 Givler, H. S., editor *Western Kansas World* ..... 303  
 Glead, Charles S., editor *The Kansas Memorial* ..... 432  
 Glick, George W. .... 68



- Glick, Geo. W., defeated St. John..... 63  
 Glucose, Leavenworth factories..... 366  
 Goat skins, shipped from New Mexico... 18  
 Gold, discovery of ..... 348  
 —fields, development of, in Arizona and New Mexico ..... 17  
 —mines, machinery for, shipped over Santa Fe trail..... 22  
 —rush, Pike's Peak, 1859..... 40  
 —seekers, too numerous to count ..... 24  
 —and silver, from Mexican mines brought to Westport ..... 24  
 Goode, S. S., one of publishers of Leavenworth *Journal* ..... 14  
 Good-for-nothing (Ni-hi-pa) creek..... 116  
 Goodin, Joel K., legislative journals of 1859 printed by ..... 15  
 Goodland *News-Republic*, dedicatory issue, for laying of corner stone of new court house ..... 77  
 Goodnow, Isaac T. .... 439  
 —Manhattan organized under leadership of ..... 438  
 Goodridge, Fannie, missionary-teacher... 91  
*Good Tidings*, Topeka, religious publication issued by C. A. Sexton ..... 35  
 Goodwin, Cardinal Leonidas, author .... 179  
 Gould, Mr. —, printer..... 98  
 Government wagon train, captured by Indians ..... 421  
 Gove City *Republican-Gazette* ..... 407  
 Gove county, Fort Monument an outpost in ..... 57  
 —monument-shaped rocks in ..... 58  
 —oldest house in ..... 407  
 Gover, Phil ..... 406  
 Graber, A. J., *The Mennonite Story* compiled by ..... 301  
 Graham, Simeon Levi, family of ..... 404  
 Graham county, Negro colony in..... 189  
 Grama grass ..... 125, 132  
 Granby Mining & Smelting Co., build smelter at Pittsburg ..... 282  
 —zinc production figures ..... 283, 284  
 Grand, E. H., and Earle Marble, found Geary City *Era* ..... 14  
 Grand Falls, Mo. .... 111  
 Grand river ..... 108, 139  
 —crossing of ..... 244, 260  
 Grand Saline, description of ..... 121  
 Granet [?] Fork, Canadian river..... 207  
 Grant, Gen. Ulysses S. .... 149, 263, 333, 468, 452  
 —Indian policy of ..... 150  
 —requested by Governor Crawford to muster out Sixteenth Kansas cavalry... 149  
 Grant county, Okla. .... 134  
 Grant township, Cloud county..... 185  
 Grasshopper Falls, now Valley Falls... 302  
 —rumored burning of ..... 29  
 Grasshopper river ..... 36, 48, 46  
 Grasshoppers ..... 121  
 —invasion of 1874 ..... 403  
 Graves, W. W., author ..... 475, 481  
 Gray county ..... 190  
 Graybill, J. M., president Leavenworth Board of Trade ..... 362  
 Great American Desert ..... 348  
 Great Bend ..... 209  
 —Walnut creek crossing near..... 206  
 Great Bend of the Arkansas ..... 461  
 Great Bend *Register*, cited ..... 202  
 Greeley, Horace, of New York *Tribune*... 430  
 —*The American Conflict*, cited..... 308  
 Green, A., telegram to Governor Crawford, quoted ..... 338  
 Green, Max, *Kansas Region*, cited ..... 199  
 Green, Gov. Nehemiah ..... 462, 467  
 Green, old settlers' reunion held in.... 481  
 Green river, Black's fork of..... 197  
 Greensburg ..... 481  
 Greensburg *News*, cited ..... 474  
 Greenwood county, Fort Montgomery a rallying place for early settlers of.... 59  
 —historical notes of ..... 185  
 Grierson, Gen. B. H. .... 465, 466  
 Griffenstein, Wm., mayor of Wichita, cited ..... 466  
 Grinnell, D. C. .... 402  
 Grinnell, George Bird ..... 207, 348, 359, 465, 470  
 —"Bent's Old Fort and Its Builders," cited ..... 61, 347  
 —*The Fighting Cheyennes*, cited..... 140  
 143-145, 330, 344, 351, 459  
 Grinnell, Kansas Pacific train derailed near ..... 463  
 Grinter crossing, Kansas river..... 83, 90  
 Groom, J. Fuller ..... 191  
 Grouse creek, Cowley county..... 115  
 Grove, Mrs. C. E., reminiscences cited... 186  
 Grover, Abner S., Indian scout..... 345  
 346, 353, 451  
 —had Indian wife ..... 351  
 —killed at Pond Creek ..... 352  
 Gueda Springs, Dr. G. A. Cutler postmaster of ..... 44  
 Guerriere, Edmund, half-breed Cheyenne, leader of ..... 156  
 Guerrilla band, under command of Matthews ..... 214  
 Guise, Byron E., author ..... 189, 403, 404  
 Guittard station, on Overland route... 404  
 Gunnison, Capt. J. W., Big Timbers described by ..... 207  
 Gustafson, F. S. .... 406

## H.

- Hackney, William Patrick ..... 298  
 Hadley, James A. .... 344  
 —manuscripts of ..... 477  
 Hafen, LeRoy R., author..... 179, 422  
 —*The Overland Mail, 1849-1869*, cited... 335  
 —and W. J. Ghent, *Broken Hand, The Life Story of Thomas Fitzpatrick, Chief of the Mountain Men*, cited..... 21, 179  
 Hale, Edward E. .... 432, 440  
 —connection with New England Emigrant Aid Co. .... 430  
 —*Kansas and Nebraska*, cited ..... 430  
 Haley, J. E., *The XIT Ranch of Texas*, cited ..... 75  
 Hall, Mrs. Carrie A., additions to Lincoln and Roosevelt collection in Kansas State Historical Society ..... 183  
 Hall, J. C. surrounded by Indians ..... 22  
 Hall, James, survivor of Frontenac mine disaster ..... 479  
 Hall, John A., Gireau trading post presented to Kansas State Historical Society by..... 168, 172, 173  
 Hall, Willard P., cited ..... 104  
 Hall and Hand, *History of Leavenworth County, Kansas*, cited..... 38  
 Hall's breech-loading rifle ..... 30  
 Halleck, Gen. H. W. .... 220, 222  
 —chronic hatred of Kansas ..... 250  
 —Department of the Mississippi commanded by ..... 220  
 —failure of, at Corinth, Miss. .... 221  
 —made commander in chief of U. S. Army ..... 221  
 —orders investigation of Sand Creek massacre ..... 145  
 Hallowell, W. C. .... 407  
 Halstead, old settlers' reunion held in... 481  
 Halstead *Independent*, cited..... 301  
 Hamersly, T. H. S., *Complete Army and Navy Register*, cited..... 54, 55, 196, 197, 202, 209

- Hamilton, John P., Sr., Coffey county reminiscences of, cited ..... 184
- Hamilton, William ..... 7
- at Ioway and Sac mission ..... 6
- Hammond, Geraldine, article on cattle industry, cited ..... 186
- Hampden, founding of town of ..... 434
- Ham's Fork, described ..... 197
- Hancock, Gen. W. S. .... 62, 327
- 330, 331, 333, 339, 356, 452
- burns Indian village on Pawnee Fork... 329
- campaign in Kansas in 1867..... 329, 349
- commander Department of the Missouri ..... 326
- Indian War 1867 possibly precipitated by ..... 330
- made Fort Hays headquarters during 1867 ..... 56
- threat to chastise Indians..... 349
- Hancock's War, close of..... 330
- Hannibal & St. Joseph railroad..... 361
- Hanover *Democrat*, cited ..... 480
- Hanrahan's saloon, at Adobe Walls .... 349
- Hardesty, Okla. .... 131
- Hardt, Charley, short sketch ..... 38
- Hardtner, founding of..... 186
- Hardware, freighted to New Mexico .... 18
- Harger, Charles M. .... 167-169, 172, 190
- "Cattle Trails of the Prairies," cited... 74
- president Kansas State Historical Society, address of ..... 165-167
- Harlan, H. .... 57
- Harmony Mission, Bates county, Mo. .... 481
- Harney, Gen. W. S. .... 445, 446, 447
- Indian peace treaty commissioner... 151
- 342, 443
- Harper county ..... 116, 119, 178
- Burchfield community church ..... 409
- Spring township ..... 118
- Harper county, Okla. .... 120
- Harper's Magazine*, cited ..... 309, 353
- Harris, Mr. —, Malden, Mass. .... 99
- Harris, Dwight Thacher ..... 408
- Harrison township, Nemaha county..... 188
- Hart, Admiral, machinery taken to Mexico by ..... 18
- Hartford*, steamboat, colonists from Cincinnati brought to Kansas by ..... 433
- Harvey, Alexander, first settler of Alexander ..... 476
- Harvey, Col. James A. .... 30, 31, 48, 49
- at Hickory Point ..... 40
- biographical sketch ..... 40
- Harvey, Gov. James M. .... 106, 470-472
- calls out militia for Indian defense... 468
- protests against discontinuance of Fort Larned ..... 54
- Harvey county ..... 178
- David L. Payne, a pioneer of..... 407
- Mennonite settlers in ..... 301
- historical relics of ..... 410
- Harveyville *Monitor* ..... 301
- Haskell, Capt. John G. .... 331, 332
- Haskell, Dudley C., congressman..... 270
- Haskell county, arrowhead and scraper "finds" ..... 188
- Haskins, C. W., author ..... 179
- Hastings (Neb.) cut-off ..... 180
- Haughawout, Margaret E., author..... 177
- Haver, Mr. and Mrs. John..... 271, 272
- Hayley, D. E., author..... 177
- Hawn, Maj. F. .... 361
- Hayden, Horace Edwin, author..... 181
- Hayes, S. M., & Co., Council Grove, New Mexico freight statistics compiled by ..... 24, 25
- registry of those engaged in Santa Fe trade, kept by ..... 23
- Haynes, F. E. .... 164
- James B. Weaver, cited..... 162
- Haynes, F. E., *Third Party Movements Since the Civil War*, cited..... 162
- Hays, Mrs. R. R. .... 405
- Hays *Daily News*, special edition announcing dedication of Fort Hays Frontier Park ..... 78
- Hazelton *Herald*, cited ..... 408
- Hazen, Gen. W. B. .... 466
- peace efforts with Indians fail..... 463
- Hazzard, A. B., early printing done by... 14
- Kickapoo *Kansas Pioneer*, started by... 9
- Heath, D. C., & Co. .... 306
- Heitman, Francis B., *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army*, cited ..... 107, 108
- 196, 202, 205, 207-209
- Henderson, Sen. [Thomas J.?] ..... 333
- Hendrickson, Thomas, sketch ..... 196
- Henneberry, E. D. .... 288
- vice president, Hull & Dillon Packing Co. .... 287
- Hennes, Mrs. John, Mitchell county's last Indian raid recalled by ..... 185
- Hepler Emanuel Lutheran Church, fiftieth anniversary of ..... 474
- Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence..... 8, 12, 16
- 47, 111, 119, 436
- article on Kansas southern boundary survey, cited ..... 110
- date established ..... 10
- destruction of ..... 13, 15
- Herington, old settlers' reunion held in... 482
- Herrick, Bob ..... 298
- Herrick, C. R. .... 403
- Herrigan, Bernard, secretary Southwestern Interstate Coal Operators' Association, 276
- Herron, Gen. F. J. .... 232
- assumes command of two divisions of Army of the Frontier..... 230
- goes to assistance of Blunt ..... 230
- Hersey, Mr. and Mrs. Timothy F. .... 190, 403
- Hess, Edith, "State Regulation of Woman and Child Labor in Kansas," cited... 379
- Hewins ..... 114
- Hiawatha *Daily World* ..... 178, 408
- Hickman, Mr. —, Westport wagon-master ..... 129
- Hickman's Mill, Mo. .... 253, 254
- Hickok, James B. (Wild Bill). 345, 352, 356
- Hickory Point ..... 31
- "First Day's Battle of," from the diary and reminiscences of Samuel James Reader, edited by George A. Root, 28-49
- Kickapoo Rangers surrender at ..... 40
- Lane makes disposition for attack on... 39
- line of march on ..... 36
- location of ..... 29
- Pro-slavery forces at, under command of Capt. H. A. Lowe ..... 29
- South Carolinians at ..... 29
- Hicks, John D., *The Populist Revolt*, reviewed ..... 162-164
- Hides, dry, value shipped from New Mexico in 1859 ..... 18
- Highland, Presbyterian Mission, early printing done at ..... 6
- Hildebrandt, Rev. R., author..... 474
- Hill, Esther Clark, writer, poet..... 82, 304
- "Some Background of Early Baptist Missions in Kansas," article by... 89-103
- "The Pratt Collection of Manuscripts," article by ..... 83-88
- Hillsboro, historical notes of..... 404
- Hillyer, George S. .... 312, 314
- 315, 318, 324, 325
- house resolution impeaching..... 313
- impeachment articles against..... 314
- state auditor ..... 311
- table showing vote in impeachment of, 323
- trial of ..... 321



- Hinckel's ford, Colonel Moonlight guarding ..... 258  
Hindman, Gen. Thomas C. .... 230, 234, 237  
—attack upon Herron's command..... 232  
—Blunt's preparations before taking the field against ..... 223  
—defeated at Battle of Prairie Grove..... 233  
—plan to crush Blunt's force..... 229  
—rebel forces in Arkansas under..... 222  
Hinkle, Dr. Thomas C., *The Story of a Tramp Dog* ..... 410  
Historical Society. See Kansas State Historical Society.  
"History of Kansas Child-Labor Legislation, A," article by Domenico Gagliardo ..... 379-401  
Hitchcock, Ethan Allen, author ..... 179  
Hoag, David D., reminiscences of... 184, 479  
Hoag, Enoch, central superintendent of Indian affairs ..... 270  
Hobbs, James, author ..... 179  
Hockley, Alice, notes on cattle business in state, cited ..... 184  
Hodge, F. W., *Handbook of American Indians*, cited ..... 153, 203  
Hodgeman County Historical Society, activities of ..... 171  
Hodges & Armit, steam shovel stripping used in mining coal..... 273  
Hodgson, F. L., reminiscences of..... 301  
Hoffman, Laban Miles, author ..... 181  
Hog callers ..... 300  
Hoisington, A. J. .... 195  
Hoisington *Dispatch*, cited ..... 184, 474  
Holladay Overland Stage Line..... 82, 148  
Holladay Overland Mail and Express Co., Butterfield Overland Despatch purchased by ..... 327  
Holliday, Cyrus K. .... 320, 323  
—Adjutant General ..... 143, 144  
Hollow tile brick, produced at Pittsburg, 292  
Holls, — ..... 30  
Holstein, — ..... 448  
Holton ..... 29  
—first house on townsite erected by W. F. Creitz ..... 39  
Holton *Signal*, cited ..... 301  
Home Coal Mining Co. .... 371  
Home for Disabled Volunteers, Leavenworth ..... 372  
Home Mission Board of Congregational Churches ..... 437  
Honey Springs, Ark., battle of.... 212, 245  
Honzinger, Doc. — ..... 350  
Hootinger, John ..... 197, 198  
Hoper, Mr. — ..... 98  
Hopeton, Okla. .... 134  
Hopkins' battery ..... 238  
Horr, C. W. .... 407  
Horse racing, indulged in by troops..... 200  
Horsehead (Cow-a-wha) creek ..... 113  
Horton *Headlight-Commercial*, historical edition of ..... 78  
Hotels, established by Emigrant Aid Co., 435  
Houck, Louis, *A History of Missouri*, cited ..... 153  
Houston, "Pickles," trooper ..... 205  
Houston, Gen. Sam ..... 154  
Houston, Samuel D., cited ..... 471  
Howard Congressional Committee..... 435  
—report of, cited ..... 439  
Howard, old settlers' reunion held in..... 482  
Howe, Octavius Thorndike, author..... 180  
Howe, S. W., of Florence ..... 266, 267  
Howell, Fred N. .... 194  
—"Some Phases of the Industrial History of Pittsburg, Kan.," article by... 273-294  
Howell, Henry, reminiscences of..... 477  
Howitzers, Jennison's ..... 258  
—mountain ..... 258-255  
Hoyt, Lt. Col. George H. .... 262  
Hubbard, J. M. .... 320, 323  
Huber, Mrs. Florence M., author..... 177  
Huddle, William David, author ..... 181  
Hudson, John, pseudonym of Paul Wellman ..... 186, 189  
Hudson creek, Ottawa county, Okla. .... 139  
Hudson's ranch, on the Neosho..... 138, 139  
Huffman, Chas. S. .... 392  
Huffman, Col. William ..... 197  
Huggins, John ..... 210  
Hugh, George, author ..... 179  
Hughes, Langston, author ..... 177  
Hughes, Robert M., Norfolk, Va..... 106  
Hughes, William Joseph Leander, author, 181  
Hull Club, Pittsburg ..... 288  
Hull, Lewis ..... 287, 288  
—account of his start in meat business at Pittsburg ..... 286  
Hull & Dillon Packing Co., Pittsburg... 286  
—night classes for employees sponsored by ..... 288  
—statistics of plant of ..... 287  
Humboldt, establishment of ..... 434  
—sacking of ..... 214  
Humboldt *Union*, cited ..... 185  
Humphrey, H. L. .... 190  
Hunnewell ..... 117  
Hunniss, Ado, map of Kansas, 1869, drawn by ..... 202, 207  
Hunt, Gen. —, urged winter campaign against Indians ..... 145  
Hunt, Gov. A. C., Colorado..... 458  
Hunt, Elvid, *History of Fort Leavenworth*, 1827-1927, cited..... 53  
Hunt, Frazier, author ..... 180  
Hunter, Maj. Gen. David, relieves Fremont of command ..... 217  
Huston S. E., reminiscences cited..... 186  
Hutchinson, first salt well drilled at... 300  
—historical notes of ..... 476  
—sixtieth anniversary jubilee of building of first railroad up Arkansas valley... 303  
Hutchinson *Herald*, cited .. 300, 303, 404, 476  
Hutchinson *News*, cited ..... 78, 300, 303  
—sixtieth anniversary edition of..... 476  
Hyatt, Thaddeus, colony in Anderson county started by ..... 40  
—manuscripts of, in Historical Society.. 40  
Hyattville, founding of ..... 40  
Hyde, J. B. .... 403
- I.
- Iatan, Mo., a Confederate town..... 51  
Illinois, zinc production, 1893..... 284  
Illinois river, Arkansas ..... 232  
Impeachments, Early Kansas, article by Cortez A. M. Ewing..... 307-325  
—first Kansas ..... 310  
Independence, First Christian Church, sixty-first anniversary of ..... 191  
—historical notes of ..... 299  
Independence *Daily Reporter* ..... 299  
Independence, Mo., best market for cattle, mules and wagons west of St. Louis... 17  
—principal outfitting place for Santa Fe trade to 1850 ..... 18  
—road to Kansas City from..... 257  
—shared overland trade with Westport, Mo. .... 20  
—troops for protection of Santa Fe trail organized at ..... 422  
Independence and Lexington road..... 254  
Indian Affairs. See U. S. Indian Affairs; U. S. Indian Bureau; and U. S. Indian Department.  
—agency, at Fort Larned ..... 54  
—agents ..... 422  
—warned against selling arms to Indians ..... 452



- Indian Affairs, battles of the west..... 406
- depredations ..... 456-458, 463
- 1866 ..... 326
- in Kansas, 1867 ..... 330
- on the Solomon ..... 461
- on White Rock creek ..... 344
- reports of ..... 340
- See also*, Names of tribes.
- lands, east of Mississippi ..... 3
- missions, pioneer stages of ..... 89
- See, also*, Name of church, missions;
- Name of tribe, missions; Name of mission.
- outrages, traced to alcoholic liquors... 328
- protection in Kansas, legislature adopts resolution to congress for ..... 147
- raid, last in Kansas ..... 349
- on Smoky Hill stage line at Big Creek station ..... 339
- raiders, states scourged by ..... 345
- regiments ..... 223
- Second battery ..... 245
- Third ..... 225
- composed of Cherokee Indians ..... 224
- in Army of the Frontier ..... 238
- organization of ..... 184
- organized from loyal refugee Creeks, Cherokees and Seminoles ..... 222
- See, also*, Kansas regiments; U. S. regiments.
- reservations, none provided in treaty of 1865 to be located in Kansas ..... 151
- “Scouts, Some Famous Kansas Frontier,” article by Paul I. Wellman, 345- 359
- sign language ..... 351
- trader, James R. Mead an ..... 342
- traders, New Mexican ..... 127
- treaty, 1865, from the diary of Samuel A. Kingman ..... 442-450
- tribes ..... 105
- Kansas bonds purchased by trust funds held for ..... 311
- troubles, Fort Riley close to area of... 53
- wars ..... 196
- 1864, on Upper Arkansas ..... 26
- 1865 ..... 147
- 1867, Fort Hays headquarters for General Hancock during ..... 56
- 1868 ..... 353
- 1874 ..... 354
- small garrisons at Fort Wallace during ..... 57
- Indian creek ..... 108
- Indian Peace Commission. *See* U. S. Indian Peace Commission.
- Indian territory ..... 61, 83, 84
- 86, 149, 179, 453, 463, 466, 469, 470
- buffalo hunting in ..... 355
- changes in before 1855 ..... 7
- Indian tribes to settle in ..... 151
- Kickapoo Indians settle in ..... 154
- set apart by act of Congress, in 1830, extent of ..... 3
- Sheridan’s campaign in ..... 451
- Indiana regiments, Second battery ..... 223
- Indianola ..... 28, 36
- Clinton and Milne hotels ..... 33
- Pro-slavery community ..... 29
- raid on Pro-slavery residents of ..... 34
- short sketch of ..... 34
- Indians ..... 60, 94, 95, 97, 145
- 146, 172, 184, 185, 187, 197, 199, 200, 267
- 271, 333-335, 340, 341, 407, 417, 447, 450
- attack emigrant train on Platte ..... 350
- Fort Wallace ..... 336
- government train bound for Fort Union ..... 142
- mail escort on “dry route” of Santa Fe trail ..... 202
- Mexican wagon train ..... 152
- Indians, attack wagon trains on plains. 420
- attitude toward railroad building up Smoky Hill valley ..... 328
- beg freighters for whisky and tobacco, 21
- concentration along Smoky Hill and Republican rivers broken up ..... 340
- defeats of ..... 349
- depredations of ..... 468
- between Cimarron river and Pawnee Fork ..... 420
- derail Kansas Pacific train ..... 463
- efforts to bribe ..... 424
- encamped on Arkansas during freight-ing season ..... 19
- favorite hunting grounds of ..... 146
- Fort Scott never a factor in defense against ..... 53
- gathered at Arkansas crossing each year to harass traders ..... 421
- hostile ..... 251
- south of Arkansas ..... 20
- number murders committed by, in 1866 and 1867 ..... 344
- number whites killed by, in 1868 ..... 345
- on Santa Fe trail in 1856, demand tribute of freighters ..... 22
- ordered out of Kansas ..... 451
- Plains ..... 480
- on warpath in 1865 ..... 26
- plan to remove to newly created territory ..... 3
- raid on Santa Fe trail ..... 146
- Overland Stage Co. stations ..... 329
- raiding and marauding of ..... 442
- railroad men killed by ..... 341
- refugee ..... 445, 448
- removal to West ..... 89
- supplied with arms and ammunition by traders ..... 340
- surrender white captives ..... 442
- treaty of October 1865, with ..... 145
- diary of Samuel A. Kingman 150, 151
- on ..... 442-450
- U. S. Surveyors Massacred by, article by Mrs. Frank C. Montgomery.. 266-272
- use captured flour to bedeck themselves, 421
- See, also*, Names of tribes.
- Industrial welfare, law of 1915, Kansas, 389
- Ingalls, John J. .... 317, 318, 320, 323
- characterization of Lane ..... 309
- “Kansas—1541-1891,” cited ..... 309
- partner of S. A. Kingman ..... 442
- Ingersoll, J. H., *The Great Rebellion*, cited ..... 237
- Ingraham, Lieut. Edward, on Kansas southern boundary survey ..... 114, 115
- 120, 124, 127, 128, 134
- biographical mention of ..... 108
- Institute of American Meat Packers, lectures furnished by ..... 288
- Insurance, for employees ..... 288
- rates, Leavenworth, considered ..... 368
- International Shoe Co., St. Louis ..... 287
- Iola ..... 266, 271
- Iola *Daily Register* ..... 178
- Iowa Indians, books printed in language of ..... 6, 7
- Iowa and Sac Indians, Presbyterian mission among ..... 6
- mission of, date established ..... 6
- press, elementary book in Iowa language published at ..... 7
- Iowa Point, Doniphan county ..... 40
- Iowa State Historical Society ..... 162
- Iowa regiments, First cavalry ..... 237
- Seventh cavalry, fight with Indians ... 143
- Irvine, Samuel M. .... 7
- at Iowa and Sac mission ..... 6

Irwin, J. C., cattle driven to New Mexico  
by ..... 426  
Isabella, Major county, Okla. .... 135  
Isely, W. H., cited ..... 440

## J.

Jackson, Albert ..... 313  
Jackson, Andrew ..... 309  
Jackson, Mrs. Maud C., author ..... 177  
Jackson, Mrs. Z. N., Civil War diary of, 477  
Jackson-Walker Coal & Mining Co.,  
Pittsburg ..... 274  
Jackson county ..... 90  
Jacksonville agreement, cited ..... 276  
Jacobus, Donald Lines, author..... 181, 182  
James, Catherine ..... 28  
James, Edwin, compiler ..... 51  
Jameson, E. J., *Coal Resources of Leaven-  
worth, Kan.*, cited ..... 361, 371  
Jayhawk hotel, Topeka ..... 191  
Jefferson, Thomas ..... 309  
Jefferson barracks, near St. Louis, Mo. .... 196  
Jefferson county, historical notes of. .... 185  
Jeffries, Paul V. .... 405  
Jenner, Dr. Jacob F. .... 29, 30  
—biographical sketch of ..... 32  
Jenner, Thomas ..... 29, 30  
Jenness, Maj. George B. .... 462  
—"The Battle of Beaver Creek," cited. .... 339  
Jennison, Col. C. R. .... 258-260  
—guards Byron's ford ..... 257  
—"Jerked beef" ..... 197  
*Jesuit Bulletin*, St. Marys, cited. .... 187  
Jewell City Catholic church, historical  
notes of ..... 186  
Jewell City, Fort Camp Jewell at ..... 59  
—old settlers' reunion held in ..... 481  
Jewell county, given seed wheat by legis-  
lature ..... 472  
—sod fort constructed in, as protection  
against Indians ..... 60  
*Jewell County Monitor*, Mankato, cited. .... 406  
Joe Spaniard ..... 112, 116, 136, 138, 139  
Johnson, — ..... 31  
Johnson, President Andrew, appealed to  
for protection from Indians..... 457  
—impeachment trial of ..... 317  
—proclaimed Indian treaty of, 1865. .... 151  
Johnson, Mrs. Charles T., Greensburg. .... 481  
Johnson, Harry, cited ..... 475  
Johnson, Hiram ..... 300  
Johnson, Samuel A., associate professor of  
history, Teachers college, Emporia. .... 414  
—"The Emigrant Aid Company in Kan-  
sas," article by ..... 429-441  
Johnson, Rev. Thomas ..... 304  
Johnson, W. A., *History of Anderson  
County, Kan.*, cited ..... 40  
Johnson, W. O. .... 98  
Johnson Brothers, of Pittsburg Town  
Company ..... 289  
Johnson county ..... 84  
—historical notes of ..... 478  
—Shawnee Methodist mission built in. .... 90  
*Johnson County Democrat*, Olathe, his-  
torical edition of ..... 478  
Johnston, Gen. Albert Sidney ..... 196, 197  
—at Fort Bridger ..... 197  
—Utah campaign of ..... 211  
Johnston, Lieut. Col. Joseph E. .... 195, 200  
—biographical sketch of ..... 106  
—diary of, on Kansas southern boundary  
survey ..... 107-139  
—directed to ascertain route for railroad  
to Rio Grande ..... 107  
—journal of ..... 196  
—manuscript collection of ..... 106  
—selected to command survey of Kansas'  
southern boundary ..... 105, 106  
—visits St. Louis ..... 106  
Johnston, Josiah Stoddard, author..... 182  
Jones, A. W., and C. A. Faris, Leecompton  
*Union* started by ..... 13  
Jones, H. W., wagon train of ..... 26  
Jones, Harry C. .... 266, 267  
—buried at Lawrence ..... 270  
—scalped by Indians ..... 268  
Jones, Mrs. Mary (Gibson), author..... 182  
Jones, Samuel J., Free State hotel de-  
stroyed by posse under ..... 435  
—sheriff Douglas county ..... 38  
Jones, Sue Carmody, author ..... 477  
Jones, W. C., of Iola ..... 266  
Jones & Russell, Santa Fe freight con-  
tractors ..... 426  
Joplin, Mo., lead and zinc smelting  
center ..... 273, 281  
Joplin Railroad Company ..... 274  
Jordan, William ..... 304  
Jornado, the Cimarron desert ..... 19  
Journeyake, Charles ..... 84, 95  
Journeyake, Nannie, married Lucius  
Pratt ..... 95  
Juarez, President Benito, of Mexico, 154, 155  
Judson, Col. William R., of Sixth Kansas, 250  
Julesburg, Colo., Fort Sedgwick located  
near ..... 61  
Junction City ..... 15, 443, 444, 470, 471  
—Chamber of Commerce of ..... 172  
—composed mostly of dugouts. .... 206  
Junction City *Republic*, cited ..... 187  
Junction City *Sentinel*, started by B. H.  
Keyser ..... 15  
Junction City *Union* ..... 26, 145-147  
150, 186, 187, 327, 328, 330, 340

## K.

Ka-ke-to, Kickapoo Indian ..... 157  
Kansas ..... 7, 8  
—abolitionists, practically stop New Mexi-  
can trade from Kansas City and West-  
port ..... 24  
—admission, date of ..... 307  
—to Union delayed ..... 310  
—bleeding, story of ..... 307  
—boundary proposed for southern line. .... 104  
—Bruce Barton's tribute to ..... 481  
—buffalo hunters ..... 298  
—Civil War waged in ..... 307  
—constitutions voted on ..... 307  
—counties, historical sketches of ..... 474  
—early newspaper press of ..... 8  
—financial condition of ..... 310  
—first impeachments in ..... 310  
—military post in ..... 50  
—printing press ..... 83  
—types set up by Meeker ..... 4  
—forts in ..... 50  
—frontier settlers, destitute given relief. .... 457  
—geographical center of ..... 206  
—grain growing center ..... 361  
—General Halleck's hostility towards. .... 221  
—hard times in ..... 477  
—Indian tribes located within limits "ex-  
cepted without the boundaries"..... 105  
—land quarrels ..... 296  
—surveys completed ..... 266  
—Legislature, 1855, known as "Bogus  
Legislature," met at Pawnee ..... 9  
—1857, Laws and journals of, printed  
by R. H. Bennett ..... 14  
—1867 ..... 327, 328  
—distributes seed wheat to destitute  
frontier settlers ..... 472  
—extends vote of thanks to Gen.  
Curtis ..... 148  
—issues bonds for maintenance of  
militia ..... 470  
—protection against Indians asked of  
Congress ..... 147



- Kansas, Legislature, 1869, provides com-  
 mission to investigate claims of citizens  
 against Indians ..... 47, 472  
 —resolution regarding convict labor ..... 377  
 —lost towns of ..... 477  
 —map of, drawn by Ado Hunnius ..... 202  
 —Meeker press set up ..... 4  
 —Military Department of ..... 140  
 —military division of ..... 62  
 —establishments built on Santa Fe  
 trail ..... 51  
 —militia ..... 326  
 —ordered to report to Gen. Curtis ..... 142  
 —mills of all kinds in, before 1864 ..... 435  
 —natural gas fields of ..... 284  
 —New England Emigrant Aid Company  
 a minor factor in peopling of ..... 432  
 —objective of Price's invasion ..... 255  
 —Pioneer Printing in, article by Douglas  
 C. McMurtrie ..... 3-16  
 —population increase ..... 36  
 —propaganda to stimulate emigration to, 430  
 —protection of border from rebel raids ..... 222  
 —regiments, cavalry in Staked Plains  
 campaign ..... 468  
 —colored troops in ..... 239  
 —included in Gen. Dodge's Powder  
 River expedition ..... 147  
 —First battery ..... 223, 237  
 —colored infantry ..... 222  
 —Frontier battalion, organization  
 of ..... 460, 461  
 —petitions governor to be per-  
 mitted to stay in field ..... 462  
 —Second battery .. 218, 225, 239, 243, 253  
 —cavalry ..... 225, 225, 236, 237, 245  
 —Colored ..... 247, 248  
 —Frontier battalion ..... 470, 471  
 —militia ..... 29, 33  
 —Third cavalry ..... 213  
 —consolidated with Tenth ..... 218  
 —rendezvoused at Mound City ..... 214  
 —Fourth ..... 213  
 —consolidated with Tenth ..... 218  
 —Fifth cavalry ..... 213, 253  
 —militia ..... 253, 258  
 —Sixth cavalry ..... 214, 223  
 ..... 238, 243, 244, 250  
 —militia ..... 253, 258  
 —Seventh cavalry ..... 310  
 —Eighth infantry ..... 149  
 —Ninth cavalry ..... 199, 223  
 —Tenth infantry .. 149, 218, 223, 269, 271  
 —militia ..... 253, 258  
 —Eleventh cavalry .. 87, 211, 222, 253, 256  
 —bases at Fort Kearney ..... 149  
 —expedition to Black Hills ..... 149  
 —to Platte river country ..... 187  
 —mustered out ..... 150  
 —Twelfth infantry ..... 222  
 —Thirteenth infantry ..... 222, 245  
 —Fourteenth cavalry ..... 247, 253, 254  
 —Fifteenth cavalry .... 59, 148, 149, 253  
 —ordered to protect Salina neigh-  
 borhood ..... 144  
 —Sixteenth cavalry ..... 253-255  
 —Black Hills campaign ..... 149, 150  
 —casualties in ..... 150  
 —request for muster out ..... 149  
 —Eighteenth cavalry ..... 332, 334, 339  
 —difficulty in procuring horses for, 338  
 —mortality of ..... 340  
 —mustered in at Fort Harker, 335, 339  
 —method of procuring horses  
 for ..... 338, 339  
 —Nineteenth cavalry ..... 59, 271  
 ..... 354, 451, 467, 470  
 —mustered in ..... 463, 464  
 —out ..... 469  
 —Twentieth infantry ..... 410, 411
- Kansas, scrip, state obligations paid with, 311  
 —settlers petition Gov. Crawford for  
 Indian protection ..... 149  
 —smelters in, 1880-1882 ..... 282  
 —survey of southern boundary .. 104-139, 195  
 —territory, boundary of ..... 104  
 —troubles in ..... 21, 29, 196  
 —war bonds of ..... 314  
 —women's pioneer memorial proposed... 188  
 —zinc production, 1893 ..... 284  
 Kansas Academy of Science ..... 362  
 Kansas Annual Register, cited ..... 12  
 Kansas river ..... 5, 21, 32, 53, 89, 155, 443  
 —Grinter crossing ..... 83, 90  
 —one-fourth mile wide near Shawnee  
 Mission ..... 93  
 —steamboat *Hartford* burned on return  
 trip ..... 433  
 Kansas Catholic Historical Society ..... 187  
 Kansas Chief, Troy ..... 65  
 —seventy-fifth anniversary of ..... 406  
 Kansas Child Welfare Survey ..... 393  
 Kansas Children's Code Commission ..... 392  
 ..... 400, 401  
 Kansas City ..... 6  
 —children employed in industries of... 396  
 —Kansas Pacific railroad extended west-  
 ward from ..... 17  
 —Pittsburg paving brick used by ..... 290  
 Kansas City (Kan.) *Sun*, facsimile of  
*Shawnee Sun* reproduced by ..... 6  
 Kansas City, Mo. .... 4, 361  
 —an auxiliary to Westport ..... 21  
 —Civil War affected trade of, with New  
 Mexico ..... 24  
 —Curtis moved headquarters to ..... 259  
 —evacuation of, and destruction of gov-  
 ernment supplies ordered at ..... 215  
 —Mexican wool shipped to ..... 23  
 —Pittsburg paving brick used by ..... 290  
 —Proslavery in sentiment ..... 22  
 —troops under Sturgis at ..... 214, 215  
 Kansas City (Mo.) *Enterprise*, cited ..... 24  
 Kansas City (Mo.) *Journal*, cited, 20, 23, 24  
 Kansas City (Mo.) *Journal-Post*, cited ..... 26  
 ..... 274, 277  
 Kansas City (Mo.) *Star*, cited ..... 16, 18  
 ..... 191, 372, 376, 474  
 Kansas City (Mo.) *Times*, cited ..... 409  
 Kansas Day ..... 304  
 Kansas Facts, third edition published... 192  
 Kansas Farmer, Topeka ..... 153  
 Kansas Federation of Women's Clubs ... 192  
 Kansas Fish and Game Department, re-  
 port cited ..... 206  
 Kansas Forestry, Fish and Game Com-  
 mission ..... 206  
 Kansas Free State, Delaware, history of, 14  
 Kansas Free State, Lawrence ..... 8, 10  
 —destruction of ..... 13, 14  
 Kansas Freeman, Topeka ..... 13  
 —founded by E. C. K. Garvey ..... 12  
 Kansas Frontier, defense of,  
 1864-1865 ..... 140-152  
 —1865-1869 ..... 50-62  
 —1868-1869 ..... 451-473  
 Kansas Frontier Historical Park, Hays,  
 establishment of ..... 172  
 Kansas Geological Survey, reports cited. 281  
 "Kansas Historical Notes," 190, 304, 410, 481  
 "Kansas History as Published in the  
 State Press" ..... 77-79, 184-189  
 ..... 298-303, 402-409, 474-480  
 Kansas Indians ..... 24  
 —desire to locate in Indian territory... 246  
 —peace pow wow with ..... 51  
 —reservation of, Council Grove raided by  
 Cheyennes ..... 454, 455  
 —treaty with ..... 89



- Kansas Industrialist*, Manhattan ..... 300  
*Kansas Knight*, St. Paul ..... 404  
 "Kansas Land," pioneer song, cited... 188  
*Kansas Medical Society Journal*, cited... 177  
*Kansas-Nebraska bill* ..... 11, 104, 309  
   —date of signing ..... 7  
   —passage of ..... 307  
   —provisions of ..... 105  
*Kansas Optimist*, Jamestown, cited ..... 185  
*Kansas Pacific railroad* ..... 17, 26  
   —27, 56-58, 428  
   —Indian attacks on ..... 456, 463, 469  
*Kansas Pacific Railway Company* ..... 407  
*Kansas Pioneer*, Kickapoo ..... 9, 11  
*Kansas Plainsman*, Russell ..... 299  
*Kansas Public Service Commission*.. 395-397  
*Kansas secretary of state* ..... 173  
*Kansas state accountant, audit of Historical Society* ..... 168  
*Kansas state adjutant general* ..... 218, 267  
   —correspondence and reports cited.. 142, 143  
   —269, 326, 469  
*Kansas State Agricultural College*..... 172  
   —438, 439  
   —founders day program broadcast by radio ..... 300  
*Kansas State Agricultural Society*..... 153  
*Kansas state auditor, land survey plats and field notes in office of*..... 266  
*Kansas State Baptist Association, J. T. Crawford, general secretary* ..... 16  
*Kansas State Board of Health, Bulletin, cited* ..... 398  
*Kansas State Board of Railroad Commissioners* ..... 368, 369  
*Kansas State Historical Society, activities in preserving historical materials*.. 304  
   —aim of ..... 166, 167  
   —Archives Department ..... 53, 270  
   —326, 328, 332  
   —accessions ..... 169, 170  
   —biennial reports cited ..... 129, 200, 201  
   —Blunt manuscript given to ..... 212  
   —charter, constitution and by-laws revised ..... 168, 178-175  
   —city and county historical societies affiliated with ..... 171, 173  
   —executive committee ..... 167, 175  
   —report of ..... 167, 168  
   —fifty-sixth annual meeting, report, 165-175  
   —first capitol of Kansas ..... 172  
   —*Kansas Historical Collections* discontinued ..... 168, 171  
   —*History of Kansas Newspapers* cited... 375  
   —Hodgeman County Historical Society, report of ..... 171  
   —Hyatt manuscripts in ..... 40  
   —Kansas Frontier Historical Park, Hays, establishment of ..... 172  
   —*Kansas Historical Quarterly* ..... 82  
   —168, 171, 196  
   —reasons for starting ..... 2  
   —Kansas University conducts seminar at, library ..... 269  
   —accessions ..... 176-183  
   —Lincoln and Roosevelt collections in... 183  
   —manuscripts, cataloging and repairing of ..... 169, 297  
   —Meeker journals in possession of ..... 5  
   —membership ..... 170, 171  
   —museum, accessions, visitors, etc. .... 170  
   —newspaper section ..... 169, 170, 297  
   —officers and members elected ..... 165, 174  
   —old settlers associations ..... 171  
   —Pike Pawnee monument ..... 172  
   —Pratt manuscript collection ..... 89, 103  
   —President Harger's address ..... 165-167  
   —publicity ..... 171  
   —Secretary Mechem's report ..... 171  
*Kansas State Historical Society, Shawnee Mission restoration activities* .... 171, 172  
   —treasurer's report ..... 168  
   —accounts audited ..... 168  
*Kansas State Labor Department, reports cited* ..... 382, 384  
   —386, 387, 394, 397, 398, 400  
*Kansas State Mine Inspector* ..... 279, 280  
*Kansas State Normal School, Emporia* .. 302  
*Kansas State Record*, Topeka, cited.. 25, 52  
   —58, 153, 454-458, 461, 463, 464, 467, 470  
*Kansas State Teachers College, Emporia* ..... 191, 414  
*Kansas State Teachers College, Pittsburg* ..... 194, 288, 302  
*Kansas Surveyor-General* ..... 266, 269  
*Kansas Tribune*, Lawrence, cited ..... 11, 12  
   —22, 25, 26, 58, 62, 142, 146-148, 150  
   —152, 267, 269, 270, 326  
   —moved to Topeka ..... 13  
   —started by John Speer ..... 10  
*Kansas Tribune*, Topeka, cited ..... 119  
*Kansas Supreme Court, report cited* ..... 318  
*Kansas University, Lawrence* ..... 82, 266  
   —273, 299, 306, 435, 437  
   —Old North college ..... 438  
   —seminar conducted at Kansas State Historical Society ..... 170  
   —stadium of ..... 270  
*Kansas Week, first observance of* ..... 304  
*Kansas Weekly Herald*, Leavenworth, establishment of ..... 8  
   —printing done by ..... 14  
   —quoted and cited ..... 9, 11, 22, 106  
*Kansas Woman's Committee on Child Welfare* ..... 392  
*Kansas Zeitung*, Atchison ..... 437  
   —Emigrant Aid Company financially interested in ..... 436  
   —founding of ..... 14  
   —removed to Leavenworth ..... 436  
   Kap-i-o-ma, Kickapoo Indian ..... 157  
   Kappler, Charles J., cited ..... 343  
   Kaw crossing, Santa Fe trail ..... 455  
   Kearny, Gen. Stephen W. .... 17, 20, 415  
   Keeler, Charles G. .... 320, 323  
   Kelley, Mrs. Fannie, of Allen county, once a prisoner of Indians ..... 270  
   Kelley, Gen. Harrison, state commander of militia ..... 62  
   Kelley, Robert S., a publisher of *Squatter Sovereign* ..... 12  
   Kelly, —, trooper on Santa Fe trail.. 205  
   Kelly, Charles, author ..... 180  
   Kelly, H. B. .... 408  
   Kendall, Herman ..... 408  
   Kennekuk, Atchison county, Kickapoo Indian agency located at ..... 153  
   Kennerly, Mr. — ..... 111, 112  
   —116, 119, 122, 129  
   —head of wagon train, accompanying Johnston survey of southern boundary line of Kansas ..... 110  
   Kenney, Robert ..... 404  
   Keuchler, John H. .... 266, 267  
   —buried at Springfield, Ill. .... 270  
   Key, Thomas J., *Constitutionalist* founded by ..... 18  
   Keyes, Mr. —, Osage Indian trader.. 188  
   Keyes, Gould ..... 406  
   Keyser, B. H., *Junction City Sentinel* started by ..... 15  
   Keystone, Okla. .... 120  
   KFBI, Abilene radio station, opening of, 481  
   —biographical sketches of famous Kansans broadcast from ..... 171  
   KGNO, Dodge City radio station..... 476

Kickapoo (town of) .....	14
— <i>Kansas Pioneer</i> started at .....	9
—public printing done at .....	9
—second printing point in Territorial Kansas .....	12
Kickapoo Indians .....	90
—dissatisfied with treaty .....	159
—engagement with Confederate cavalry ..	154
—receive service grant from Mexico, 154,	155
—settlement in Kansas .....	90
—tribal journey of .....	153-159
—young men hard to control .....	158
Kickapoo Rangers .....	41, 42
—fight at Hickory Point .....	38
—name given Northern Division of terri- torial militia .....	38
—surrender at Hickory Point .....	40
Kidder, Lieut. —, and party, mas- sacred by Indians .....	330, 340, 344, 353
Kiner, Rebecca D. ....	408
King, Samuel C., mayor of Atchison, 67,	63
Kingman, Samuel A., diary of, at Indian Treaty, 1865 .....	442-450
—short biographical sketch .....	442
Kingman, historical notes of .....	477
—history of, in <i>Kingman Leader-Courier</i> , 78	
Kingman county, fifty-eighth birthday of,	303
—final Indian scare .....	78
<i>Kingman Journal</i> , cited .....	303
<i>Kingman Leader-Courier</i> , cited .....	78
—fifty-fourth anniversary edition of, 476-	477
<i>Kingman Mercury</i> , cited .....	477
Kingsburg, Judge Burton, cited .....	184
Kingsbury, George W., printer on Junc- tion City <i>Sentinel</i> .....	15
Kinsley <i>Graphic</i> , cited .....	459
Kirkpatrick, Helen .....	358
Kirkpatrick, Louisa .....	358
Kirwin, Col. John, established Fort Kir- win in 1865 .....	58
Kirwin .....	57
Kiwanis Club, Mariadahl .....	406
Kiowa County Historical Society, organ- ization of .....	481
Kiowa creek, Beaver county, Okla. ....	132
Kiowa, Hardtner & Pacific railroad .....	474
Kiowa Indians .....	107, 124, 129, 140
151, 196, 205, 207, 209, 340, 343, 442, 443	
447, 448, 451, 453, 454, 457, 465-467, 479	
—at treaty on Little Arkansas, 1865, 150,	151
—attack Fort Dodge .....	457, 458
—Kickapoos on Red river .....	151
—travelers at crossing of Arkansas ..	204
—wagon train on Crooked creek .....	147
—camp ground of, 1859 .....	206
—Colonel Leavenworth, agent of .....	148
—depredations on Santa Fe trail .....	141
—desire treaty with United States .....	200
—girl prisoners of .....	157
—Kansas offenses charged against .....	472
—kill ambulance driver .....	124
—killed by troopers .....	204
—language of, hard to learn .....	447
—Lieutenant Stuart's pursuit of .....	208
—on war path in 1865 .....	357
—ordered to Fort Larned .....	142
—peace overtures to .....	463
—Satanata and force in fight on Beaver creek .....	339
—and Lone Wolf captured by Sheri- dan .....	467
—Sedgwick's campaign against .....	206
—traders to .....	347
—trading with .....	131, 132
—treaty of peace with Cheyennes .....	203
—Fort Atkinson .....	21
Ki-sha-pi, Kickapoo Indian .....	157
Ki-sha-qui, Kickapoo Indian .....	157
Kisling Family Association for Research ..	182
Klaner, Joseph, strip mine operator .....	274

Kleist, Edward, reminiscences of .....	479
Knickerbocker, Texas, Kickapoos assaulted by Confederate cavalry at .....	154
Knight, Morris S., early resident of Ozawkie .....	34
Knobe, William, author .....	185
Knopf, A. A. ....	295
Knouse, George, reminiscences of .....	185
Knowles, Horatio .....	320, 323
Kob, Dr. Charles F., publisher <i>Die Kan-   sas Zeitung</i> , Atchison .....	436
Ko-ki-pi-ah, Kickapoo Indian .....	157
Konk-a-pot, Stockbridge Indian .....	87
Kumpe, G. E., colonel signal corps ..	362, 363
Kunkle, — .....	316
Kuykendall, William L., author .....	177

## L.

Labette county, historical notes of .....	479
Labor, State Federation of .....	388
Labor, State Society of .....	388
La Cross <i>Republican</i> , cited .....	185
Laff, J. E. ....	403
Lake Michigan .....	153
Lake Sibley, Indian outbreaks near .....	326
—troops located at .....	461
Lakes, formed in stripped coal lands, stocked with fish .....	277
Lambdin, John C. ....	320, 323, 324
Landmarks, Kansas, cited .....	54
Lands, stripped for coal, reforested .....	277
Lane, James H. ....	29-34, 36, 38-43, 46
48, 49, 213-215, 252, 315, 318, 429	
—appointed recruiting commissioner .....	222
—approves sale of Kansas bonds .....	312
—biographical mention of .....	309
—died of broken heart .....	321
—elected senator .....	310
—enjoyed confidence of Lincoln .....	310
—estimate of .....	308
—identity doubted by young lady at Hickory Point .....	37
—Ingalls' characterization of .....	309
—John Speer a biographer of .....	308
—leader during territorial troubles .....	307
—Lane-Robinson controversy .....	310
Lane Brigade .....	214
—in pursuit of Price .....	216
—poultry feathers mark march through Missouri .....	216
Lane county .....	178
—historical notes of .....	478
Langmade, W. S., Oberlin, cited .....	478
Lanyon, E. V., Pittsburg .....	282, 284
Lanyon, Robert, location of smelter .....	282
—zinc smelter built by .....	281
—production figures .....	283, 284
Lanyon, S. H., & Brother, smelting plant of .....	282
Lanyon, S. H., & Co., zinc production figures .....	283, 284
Lanyon, W. & J., smelting plant of .....	282
—zinc production figures .....	283, 284
Lappin, Samuel .....	320, 323
Lard, shipped from Pittsburg to London, England .....	287
Larned .....	54
—laying out town of .....	271
Larned <i>News</i> , cited .....	186
Las Animas, Colo., a cattle shipping town in 1873 .....	27
—New Fort Lyon located near .....	61
Laughlin, Mrs. Robert, reminiscences of Battle of Mine creek, cited .....	189
Lawndale, old settlers' reunion held in ..	482
Lawrence, Amos A. ....	436-438, 440
—Lawrence, Kan., named for .....	433
—letters cited .....	430, 436-439
—manager N. E. Emigrant Aid Co. ....	430



- Lawrence ..... 11, 266, 269, 270, 434  
 —a center of free-state activity ..... 432  
 —Board of Trade chartered ..... 362  
 —early hotel accommodations ..... 435  
 —Episcopalians of ..... 438  
 —Federal arms and ammunition at ..... 332  
 —historical notes of ..... 478  
 —known as "Yankee Settlement" ..... 432  
 —Oak Hill cemetery ..... 270  
 —"Pioneer Boarding House" ..... 437  
 —Plymouth Congregational Church ..... 437  
 —Quantrill's raid on ..... 478  
 —sacking of, mentioned ..... 33, 301  
 —saw mill for ..... 433  
 —third printing point in territorial Kansas, 12  
 —Unitarian Church ..... 437, 438  
 Lawrence Association; organization of ..... 433  
 Lawrence *Daily Journal-World*, cited ..... 407  
 Lawrence *Democrat*, cited ..... 478  
 Lawrence *Journal* ..... 433  
 Lawrence *Republican*, founding of ..... 12, 13  
 Lawrence Stubbs, military organization ..... 269  
 Lawrence *Tribune*, cited ..... 266  
 Lawrence *Western Home Journal*, cited ..... 266  
 Law, Wallace, cited ..... 22, 24  
 Leach, A. J., author ..... 180  
 Lead and zinc, deposits of southeast  
   Kansas and southwest Missouri ..... 273, 281  
 Leahy, Okla., salt marsh near ..... 120, 121  
 Leahy, David D., reminiscences cited ..... 189  
   298-300, 403, 404, 475  
 —former U. S. marshal ..... 298  
 Leavenworth, Col. Henry, Fort Leaven-  
   worth founded by ..... 52  
 Leavenworth, Jesse H., Indian agent ..... 148  
   151, 152, 443, 444, 446, 453  
 Leavenworth ..... 14, 55, 87  
   148, 153, 204, 249, 251, 252, 264, 272, 443  
 —advertising campaign of ..... 375  
 —arsenal ..... 331  
 —cost of administration ..... 373, 374  
 —federal building secured for ..... 363  
 —fire department of, Patrick Burns,  
   chief ..... 376  
 —fire protection at ..... 373, 374  
 —"Fort" bridge, second bridge to span  
   Missouri river ..... 372  
 —fifth site of printing in Kansas ..... 9  
 —first printing point in Territorial  
   Kansas ..... 12  
 —growth of ..... 369, 370  
 —*Kansas Weekly Herald* established at ..... 8  
 —manufactories of ..... 361  
 —military road from ..... 32  
 —pontoon bridge built at ..... 366  
 —resources of ..... 364  
 —Russell, Majors & Waddell's warehouses  
   in ..... 21  
 —setbacks ..... 361  
 —statistics on manufacturing ..... 367  
 —wagon trains operating from, to Fort  
   Scott ..... 355  
 Leavenworth Board of Trade, call for  
   meeting to organize ..... 362  
 —financial affairs of ..... 277  
 —interrogatories sent out by ..... 363  
 —organization and activities, article by  
   Lela Barnes ..... 360-378  
 Leavenworth Coal Co., organized ..... 361, 371  
 Leavenworth *Commercial*, cited ..... 337  
 Leavenworth *Commercial Exchange* ..... 378  
 Leavenworth Constitution, 1853 ..... 307  
 Leavenworth *Daily Conservative*, cited ..... 142  
   143, 334, 336, 337, 340, 342  
 Leavenworth, Lawrence & Galveston rail-  
   road ..... 369  
 —building of ..... 190  
 Leavenworth, Northern & Southern rail-  
   road ..... 374  
 Leavenworth *Times*, cited ..... 366, 373  
 Leavenworth *Times*, seventy-fifth anni-  
   versary of ..... 402  
 Leavenworth *Times and Conservative*,  
   cited ..... 463  
 Leavenworth, Topeka & Southwestern  
   railroad ..... 370, 373  
 Leavenworth Town Co. .... 360  
 Leavenworth *Weekly Journal* ..... 15  
   —establishment of ..... 14  
 Le Clair, —, ambulance driver, killed  
   by Indians ..... 124, 125  
 Lecompte, Samuel D., chief justice ..... 9  
 Lecompton ..... 11, 153  
 —Democratic territorial convention held  
   at, in 1857 ..... 14  
 —Hickory Point prisoners confined at ..... 36  
 —old Meeker press used at, by S. Weaver, 16  
 Lecompton Constitution, 1857 ..... 307  
 Lecompton *Union*, a proslavery newspaper, 15  
   —date of starting ..... 13  
 Ledford, Jack, killing of ..... 403  
 Lee, E. G., reminiscences cited ..... 138  
 Lee, Thomas A. .... 167, 168  
 —first vice president, Kansas State His-  
   torical Society ..... 165  
 Lee, Gen. Robert E., surrender of ..... 264  
 Legislature. See, Kansas Legislature.  
 Lenhart, Charley, at Hickory Point battle, 43  
 —member Hickory Point expedition ..... 47  
 —reported killed at Charleston, Va. .... 47  
 Leon Methodist church, historical notes of, 302  
 Leon *News*, cited ..... 302, 402  
 Leoti, old settlers' reunion held in ..... 481  
 Le Roy *Reporter*, cited ..... 184  
 Levand, John ..... 476  
 Levand, Louis ..... 476  
 Levand, Max, Wichita *Beacon* publisher ..... 476  
 Lewis, Lloyd, author ..... 183  
 Lewis, Lt. Col. William H., death of ..... 477  
 Lexington, Mo., battle of ..... 214  
 Lexington and Independence road ..... 254  
 Liberal ..... 125  
 —old Meeker press said to have been  
   used at ..... 16  
 Liberal *News*, cited ..... 301, 302  
 Library park, Baxter Springs, Blunt mon-  
   ument erected in ..... 186  
 Lillard, T. M. .... 167, 168  
 Lillie, Maj. Gordon W. (Pawnee Bill) ..... 189  
 Lincoln, President Abraham, 44, 250, 312, 333  
 —Association, mentioned ..... 133  
 —Blunt's visit with ..... 249, 250  
 —call for 75,000 troops ..... 213  
 —investigation of Atchison hangings ..... 241  
 —Lane enjoyed confidence of ..... 310  
 —speeches of, cited ..... 183  
 Lincoln, Luke P., Manhattan colonists  
   piloted by ..... 433  
 Lincoln ..... 478  
 Lincoln county, anniversary *Souvenir* of,  
   compiled by Elizabeth N. Barr, cited ..... 298  
 —given seed wheat by legislature ..... 472  
 —historical notes of ..... 478  
 Lincoln *County News*, Lincoln, cited ..... 475  
 Lincoln *Sentinel-Republican*, cited ..... 402  
   475, 478  
 —forty-fourth anniversary of ..... 298  
 Lindsley, H. K. .... 170, 171  
 —second vice president, Kansas State  
   Historical Society ..... 165  
 Linn, golden jubilee of Immanuel Lutheran  
   church ..... 409  
 Linn-Palmer *Record*, cited ..... 409  
 Linn county ..... 90, 189  
 Lipan Indians ..... 154  
 Lippincott's *Pronouncing Gazetteer of the*  
   *World*, cited ..... 197  
 Liquor traffic, steps taken to prevent in  
   unorganized counties of Kansas ..... 328



Lisbon, Okla., early election in..... 403  
 Little, O. W., secretary-treasurer Wa-  
 baunsee County Historical Society..... 304  
 Little Arkansas river..... 58, 116, 136, 202  
     442, 445, 453, 457  
 —cavalry company stationed at mouth of, 455  
 —treaty council of 1865 held on.... 145, 150  
     358, 445-448  
 Little Big Horn, Custer defeated at...  
     349-351, 406  
 Little Blue river (Kansas-Nebraska)..... 60  
 Little Blue river (Mo.), defense of, by  
     Colonel Moonlight..... 256  
 —near Independence, Mo. .... 255  
 —pickets left to guard..... 255  
 Little Cabin creek, Craig county,  
     Okla. .... 139  
 Little Caney creek..... 113  
 "Little Old Sod Shanty on the Claim,"  
     pioneer song, cited..... 188  
 Little Osage river..... 109  
 Little Raven, Arapahoe chief..... 466  
 Little Robe, Cheyenne chief..... 469  
 —U. S. campaign against..... 468, 470  
 Little Rock, Ark., Blunt planned to at-  
     tack..... 238  
 Little Santa Fe, Mo. .... 108  
 —Confederates camped near..... 260  
 Little Slough creek, battle on..... 40  
 Little Verdigris river..... 113, 114, 134, 138  
 Little Walnut township, Butler county... 402  
 Livermore, Mrs. Marian (Sorlie), author, 178  
 Livingston, Mary Alice, author..... 78  
 Log fort, Republic county..... 60  
 Lone Elm, dedication of trail marker at... 23  
 —entire quarter section of land at, covered  
     with wagons..... 23  
 Lone Jack, Mo., Blunt's reconnaissance  
     to..... 215  
 —Missouri militia at, defeated by Shelby  
     and Coffee..... 225  
 Lone Tree, Meade county..... 189, 190  
 —U. S. Surveyors Massacred by Indians  
     at, article by Mrs. Frank C. Mont-  
     gomery..... 266-272  
 Lone Wolf, Kiowa chief, captured by  
     Sheridan..... 467  
 Long, E. V., cited..... 474  
 Long, Lieut. Eli..... 204  
     —sketch of..... 203  
 Long, Maj. Stephen H..... 51  
     —engineering expedition of..... 51  
 Long Yellow Hair, Sioux Indian..... 350  
 Looker, Palmer & Reynolds, Cincinnati  
     printers..... 4  
 Loos, Sarah Jane..... 195  
 Loose, Charles..... 291  
 Lost Springs..... 449  
 Louisiana Purchase..... 3  
 Louisiana territory, Kansas an unknown  
     portion of..... 50  
 Love, Benjamin, Delaware guide, 108, 123, 182  
 Lovewell, Paul A., author..... 189  
 Lovewell, Thomas..... 344  
 Lowe, Capt. —..... 444  
 Lowe, Capt. H. A., in command of pro-  
     slavery forces at Hickory Point..... 29  
     —owner of Hickory Point..... 38  
 Lowe creek, Texas county, Okla..... 131  
 Lowman, Hovey E..... 314  
 Ludwig, Emil, author..... 183  
 Lulu creek, Indian raids on..... 326  
 Lum, Rev. S. Y., arrival in Kansas..... 437  
 Lunger, E. J..... 301  
 Lykins, Johnston, associated with Jotham  
     Meeker in publication of *Shawano* Sun,  
     —biographical sketch of..... 90  
     —editor *Shawano* Sun..... 6  
 Lyman, H. S..... 300

Lyman, George Dunlap..... 180  
 Lyman, Jonathan, *Ottumwa Journal*  
     started by..... 14  
 Lynde, Sen. Ed..... 316  
 Lyon, Gen. Nathaniel..... 209, 210  
 Lyon county..... 454  
 Lyons creek..... 443, 444  
 Lyons *Daily News*, cited..... 404

## M.

McAfee, Col. —, rations scouts..... 470  
 McAfee, Josiah B., adjutant general of  
     Kansas..... 455, 456, 460-462  
 McBee, John, cited..... 354  
 McCall, George, inspector general of War  
     Department..... 425  
 McCandless, A. W., early Hutchinson  
     school teacher..... 300  
 McCandles, —..... 298  
 McCaules gang fight..... 356  
 McCauslin, R., early resident of Osawkie, 34  
 McClellan, Gen. George B., military com-  
     petency questioned..... 217  
 McClellan creek, Indian territory..... 355  
 McClintock, Marshall, author..... 178  
 McClosky, Phil, trader to the Comanches, 459  
 McClure, Capt. J. R..... 443  
 McCoy, Delilah, wife of Johnston Lykins, 90  
 McCoy, George H., Indian skirmish near  
     ranch of..... 124  
 McCoy, Rev. Isaac, biographical sketch... 90  
 —first Baptist missionary to the Indians, 90  
 —Indian commissioner..... 89  
 —printing of *Annual Register*..... 89  
 McCoy, John C., cited..... 51  
 McCoy, Joseph G., cattle trail of..... 298  
 —*Historic Sketches of the Cattle Trade*  
     *of the West and Southwest*, cited..... 74  
 McCulloch, Major B., peace commissioner, 197  
 McCulloch, Gen. Henry, reinforces Hind-  
     man..... 235  
 McCune, fiftieth anniversary of..... 186  
 McCune *Herald*, cited..... 186  
 MacDonald, A. B., author..... 474  
 MacDonald, Pat..... 300  
 MacDonald, S. D., printer to Wyandotte  
     Constitutional Convention..... 15  
 McDowell, J. H..... 320, 323  
 McEntire, Mrs. Adele (Tuttle), author... 178  
 McFarland, Helen M., librarian Kansas  
     State Historical Society..... 82, 176  
 Machinery, for gold mines shipped over  
     Santa Fe trail..... 22  
 —taken to New Mexico..... 18, 24  
 McIntyre, William Irwin, author..... 182  
 McKague family, Oberlin..... 409  
 McKague Memorial Masonic Temple... 409  
 McKay, Col. A., Fort Mackay named for, 199  
 McKeever, —, adjutant general Fort  
     Leavenworth..... 331, 470  
 McKernan, Thomas A., author..... 178  
 McKinley, President William..... 163  
 McKinney, Capt. S. L., wagon train of,  
     captured by abolitionists..... 22  
 McKinney, William, wagon train of, cap-  
     tured by abolitionists..... 24  
 McKnight, Mr. —, postmaster at  
     Santa Fe, N. M., in 1851..... 20  
 Macksville *Enterprise*..... 405  
 McLaughlin, Louis, Indian scout..... 459  
 McLemore, Lieut. Owen Kenan, bio-  
     graphical mention of..... 107  
 McMaster, —, employed as guide..... 111  
 McMeekin, Hayden D., member Indianola  
     Town Company..... 34  
 McMillan, Al..... 405  
 McMurtrie, Douglas C., cited..... 178  
 —"Pioneer Printing of Kansas"..... 3-16  
 McNair, Rev. J. M..... 271

- McNair, James Birtley, author ..... 182
- McNeal, Thomas A. .... 408
- reminiscences of ..... 475
- McNees, —, killed by Indians ..... 129
- McNees (Corrumpaw) creek ..... 129, 130
- McNeil, Gen. John ..... 249, 254
- brigade of ..... 262
- relieves Blunt at Fort Smith ..... 248
- McNow, Robert ..... 29-31
- McPherson, Gen. James B. .... 409
- McPherson, old settlers' reunion held in ..... 481
- sixty years of history ..... 409
- McPherson county ..... 116, 138, 178
- early history ..... 408
- given seed wheat by legislature ..... 472
- Mennonite settlers in ..... 301
- McPherson *Republican* ..... 408, 409
- McQuey, Mrs. Anna Belvidere ..... 481
- McVey, Frank L., cited ..... 162, 164
- McWhirter-Ammons Press, Hays ..... 78
- Madison, "Doc" (Thomas C.) at Fort Riley ..... 205
- Mage's and Roger's ford on the Neosho, 111 Mahaffa, John ..... 408
- Mail, for Santa Fe, N. M., escorts for ..... 202, 203
- scattered by Indians ..... 202
- station, Pawnee Fork, guarded by troopers ..... 205
- Major county, Okla. .... 135
- Majors & Russell, freight contractors ..... 427
- Majors, Alexander, freight contractor ..... 426
- Malin, James C. .... 173
- author, associate professor of history, Kansas University ..... 82
- "Notes on Historical Literature of the Range Cattle Industry" ..... 74-76
- "Notes on the Literature of Populism" ..... 160-164
- review of *Franklin Pierce: Young Hickory of the Granite Hills*, by Roy Franklin Nichols ..... 295-297
- seminar at Kansas State Historical Society conducted by ..... 170
- "Was Governor John A. Martin a Prohibitionist?" ..... 63-73
- Malone D., author ..... 178
- Maloy, John, *History of Morris County*, cited ..... 23, 25, 26
- Mankato, in late eighties ..... 406
- Manker, W. S. .... 410
- Manhattan ..... 143, 172, 436, 443
- early-day life in ..... 410
- grist mill located in ..... 434
- organization of ..... 433
- two town associations ..... 438
- Manhattan *Morning Chronicle* ..... 406
- Manning, Edwin C. .... 322
- Mantey, old settlers' reunion held in ..... 481
- Manypenny, George W., Commissioner of Indian Affairs ..... 88
- indorsed map of Kansas ..... 104
- Our Indian Wards*, cited ..... 349
- Mapleton, establishment of ..... 434
- Marais des Cygnes massacre ..... 172
- Marais des Cygnes river ..... 83, 91, 108, 172
- Marble, Earle, and E. H. Grand, found Geary City *Era* ..... 14
- Mariadahl community, brief history of ..... 406
- Marion ..... 44, 58, 465
- old settlers' picnic and reunion held at ..... 470, 482
- threatened Indian attack on ..... 454
- troops stationed in ..... 461
- Marion Board of Trade ..... 362
- Marion county ..... 178, 185, 266
- historical notes of ..... 479
- Indian attack in ..... 454
- Mennonite settlers in ..... 301
- seed wheat given by legislature to ..... 472
- Marion County Old Settlers, announcement of picnic ..... 78
- Marion *Record*, historical editions of, 78, 479
- Marion *Review*, cited ..... 185
- historical editions of ..... 78, 479
- Markham, William Colfax, author ..... 178
- Marmaduke, Gen. John S., at Cane Hill, Ark. .... 229
- capture of ..... 261
- commanding division of Price's army ..... 259, 260
- rebel forces under ..... 227, 228
- Marmaton river ..... 109, 261
- Marshall, B. .... 330, 334, 338, 341
- Marshall, Finley, Arkansas City ..... 299
- Marshall county ..... 188, 191
- Indians battle troops in ..... 143
- Marshall County News*, Marysville, cited ..... 189, 298, 403, 404
- Pony Express history recalled in ..... 78
- seventieth anniversary of ..... 77
- Martin, Judge David ..... 66
- letter of John A. Martin to, quoted, 71, 72
- Martin, Ellsberry, impressions of ..... 475
- Martin, George W., cited ..... 16, 104
- Martin, Jesse C., cited ..... 186
- Martin, John A. .... 64, 339
- editor of *Atchison Champion* ..... 63
- indorsed prohibition ..... 63
- letter to J. B. Lawrence quoted ..... 69, 70
- Judge J. Mellhany quoted ..... 72, 73
- Judge David Martin quoted ..... 71, 72
- Sol Miller quoted ..... 67-69
- speech, Oct. 24, 1884, quoted ..... 64
- "Was John A. Martin a Prohibitionist?" by James A. Malin ..... 63
- Martindale, Rev. — ..... 271
- Marysville ..... 15, 188
- Palmetto Kansan* started at ..... 14
- Marysville *Advocate-Democrat* ..... 79
- Marysville *Enterprise*, cited ..... 142
- Mashum, Okla. .... 136
- Mason, Mrs. Henry F. .... 173
- Masonic Grand Lodge, of Kansas ..... 14, 15
- Masters, J. G. .... 404
- Mathewson, William, Cow Creek ranch of, 357
- first bore title of "Buffalo Bill" ..... 358
- incidents in life of ..... 404
- scout and Indian trader ..... 345, 357, 358
- Mathewson, William, Jr. .... 358
- Matthews, —, guerrilla ..... 214
- killing of ..... 214
- Maxwell, Judge Samuel, Nebraska ..... 163
- Mayetta, short history of, published ..... 301
- Mayfield, Mrs. H., Kansas City ..... 393
- Mead, James R., cited ..... 203, 406, 465, 466
- Indian trader ..... 342, 453
- Meade, location of ..... 267, 268
- old settlers' reunion held in ..... 481
- Meade county ..... 124, 269
- "U. S. Surveyors Massacred by Indians at Lone Tree, 1874," article by Mrs. Frank C. Montgomery ..... 266-272
- Meade County News*, Mrs. B. F. Todd, a former editor of ..... 272
- Meade *Globe*, cited ..... 269, 272
- Meade *Globe-News*, cited ..... 269
- Meat Packers, Institute of American ..... 288
- Meat packing plant, Pittsburg ..... 273
- Mechem, Kirke, secretary, Kansas State Historical Society ..... 167, 168
- 173, 175, 304, 410
- editor *Kansas Historical Quarterly* ..... 82
- report as secretary of Historical Society ..... 168-173
- Medford, Okla. .... 134
- Medicine Lodge, Carrie Nation Memorial Association formed at ..... 191
- Peace Commission met at ..... 340



- Medicine Lodge, vast amount of supplies assembled at, to distribute to Indians, 342
- Medicine Lodge Treaty..... 203, 329, 330  
349, 355, 358, 451, 453
- considered a failure..... 344
  - Indians dissatisfied with..... 452
  - sixty-fifth anniversary of..... 480
  - substance of..... 343
- Medicine river..... 119
- Medicine Water, Cheyenne chief, massacre of surveying party by band under leadership of..... 268
- Meeker, Jotham..... 11, 92, 95, 96
- associated with Johnston Lykins in publication of *Shawnee Sun*..... 90
  - biographical sketches..... 3, 91
  - contributions in Indian language..... 91
  - death of..... 5, 8, 16
  - diary, cited and quoted..... 91, 94
  - Indian orthography..... 4, 5
  - journals of..... 4, 5, 8
  - marriage of..... 4
  - Ottawa mission founded by..... 9
  - printing press, brought to Kansas by..... 15
  - became property of George W. Brown..... 16
  - bought in Cincinnati..... 4, 11
  - first operated at Baptist Shawnee mission..... 5
  - printing done at Ottawa Mission on,..... 6
  - Seth Adams make..... 16
  - wanderings of..... 5, 16
  - superintendent of Ottawa Indians on Grand river..... 4
- Me-hahg, Kickapoo Indian..... 157
- Meline, Col. J. F., journal quoted..... 26
- toured plains with cavalry troop in 1866..... 26
- Mellhany, Judge J., Baird, Texas, letter to John A. Martin, quoted..... 72, 73
- Mennonites, history of..... 301
- Merchants Journal*, Topeka, cited..... 189  
403, 477
- Merriam..... 90
- Messervy, William, merchant of Santa Fe, N. M..... 19
- Me-sho-kum-i, Kickapoo Indian..... 157
- Metcalf, Gen. Wilder S..... 165, 410
- Meteorological Observation, first in Kansas at Fort Leavenworth..... 362
- 1856..... 30, 31
- Methodist Episcopal Church, Paola..... 404
- South..... 107
- Methodists, Kansas, mentioned..... 177
- Methvin, J. J., quoted..... 107
- Mexican cattle herder, accidentally killed, 196
- Mexican wagon train, attacked by Indians, 458
- Mexican War..... 27, 196, 197  
202, 206, 295, 309, 424
- soldiers mentioned..... 155
  - traffic on Santa Fe trail changed by..... 415
- Mexicans, employ Comanche Indians to kill American traders..... 420
- Mexico, conquest of northern..... 423
- gold and silver brought from mines of, to Westport..... 24
  - high ad valorem tax on goods entering, 17
  - Kickapoo Indians, journey to..... 154
  - ordered by president on expedition against Comanches..... 155
  - peace treaty with..... 423
  - small feet of women of..... 18
- Miami county..... 90, 178
- Miami Indians..... 90
- Michigan, Carey Mission station..... 4
- Middlekauff, Mrs. Josephine..... 78
- Miles, Gen. Nelson A..... 355
- Personal Recollections*, cited, 349, 354, 356
  - “The War With the Messiah,” cited.. 357
- Milford, establishment of..... 434
- grist mill located in..... 434
- Military academy, Frankfort, Ky..... 203
- “Military Post as a Factor in the Frontier Defense of Kansas, 1865-1869,” by Marvin H. Garfield..... 50- 62
- Military posts, Kansas..... 52
- mills located at..... 435
- Military road, Fort Leavenworth to Fort Gibson..... 107
- Fort Leavenworth to Fort Riley, 29, 34, 38
  - Fort Leavenworth to Fort Scott..... 83
  - Fort Riley to Fort Kearney..... 59
  - Leavenworth to Santa Fe..... 32, 418
- Militia, state, used blockhouse in Jewell county during Indian war of 1868..... 59
- Mill Creek..... 108
- Miller, C. A., Pittsburg realtor..... 291
- Miller, Giles, editor *Panhandle Herald*, Guymon, Okla..... 16
- Miller, Herbert, reminiscences of..... 185
- Miller, Josiah..... 10, 12, 304
- publisher *Kansas Free State*..... 8
- Miller, Nyle H., cited..... 196
- in charge of newspaper section, Kansas State Historical Society..... 82
  - editor, “Surveying the Southern Boundary Line of Kansas”..... 104- 139
- Miller, Sarah E..... 304
- Miller, Sol..... 65, 66, 69
- founder of White Cloud *Kansas Chief*..... 13, 406
- Miller, W. E., cited..... 432
- Miller, William..... 10
- Millison, D. C., pioneer publisher..... 476
- Mills, located in Kansas by New England Emigrant Aid Co..... 434
- number of all kinds in Kansas before 1860..... 435
- Milne, David..... 29, 30, 33
- Milne, Mrs. David..... 30
- Milne hotel, Indianola..... 33
- Mine creek, battle of..... 172, 187, 261
- Blunt spent winter of 1861-’62 on, 217, 218
- Mine rescue department, creation of..... 280
- location of rescue stations..... 280
- Mine inspection..... 280
- Mineral, Okla..... 127
- Mineral Resources of the United States*, cited..... 275, 276, 282
- Mining, children employed in..... 384
- Minneapolis, Indian attack near..... 471
- Minnesota, land graft in..... 296
- Minnesota University..... 162
- Press..... 75
- Minnich, J. Hout, letters of..... 477
- Missions, Kansas, mills located at..... 435
- Michigan..... 90, 91
- Missionaries for Indians in new territory, 3
- Mississippi river..... 121
- improvement of..... 371
- Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, cited..... 164, 422
- Missouri, a ten-year-old state in 1830... 3
- Confederate cavalry under Shelby and Coffee invade..... 224
  - Indian boundary..... 89
  - Little Blue river..... 255, 256
  - militia, defeated at Lone Jack by Shelby and Coffee..... 225
  - protection from rebel incursions from..... 222
  - pursuit of rebel forces by Blunt..... 224
  - regiments, Seventh militia..... 245
  - Eighth..... 245
  - Fourteenth..... 231
  - smelters in, 1882..... 282
  - west boundary line..... 4
  - zinc production of 1893..... 284
- Missouri Commonwealth*, cited..... 19



- Missouri Democrat*, St. Louis, cited..... 110  
*Missouri Geological Survey* ..... 282, 284  
*Missouri, Kansas & Texas mine*, near  
     Mineral, explosion in ..... 279  
*Missouri Pacific railroad strike*..... 69  
*Missouri Republican*, St. Louis,  
     cited ..... 18-20, 23, 119, 418, 424  
*Missouri river* .... 3, 5, 85, 155, 252, 360, 361  
     —an Indian boundary ..... 89  
     —appropriation for improvement of..... 369  
     —bridges across ..... 365, 366  
     —decline of steamboat travel on..... 363  
     —destructive floods in ..... 51  
     —erosion below Fort Leavenworth... 268, 369  
     —Indian Peace Commission headed up... 342  
     —stranded on sandbars in ..... 196  
     —*Western Engineer*, first steamboat up.. 51  
     —trade on, reported dead ..... 21  
     —troops under Price, headed for..... 252  
     —work for benefit of navigation ..... 363  
 Mitchell & Craig, freighters ..... 428  
 Mitchell, Capt. —, commander of com-  
     pany at Hickory Point battle... 39, 47, 48  
 Mitchell, Gen. Robert B. .... 220, 221  
     —asks for troops to guard Platte trail... 141  
     —burned prairie to dislodge Indians... 146  
     —commander District of Nebraska..... 146  
     —telegram to Gov. Crawford, cited ..... 53  
     —troops under, sent to New Mexico.... 220  
 Mitchell, William Ansell, quoted..... 443  
 Mitchell county ..... 471  
     —fort built by settlers in ..... 59, 60  
     —last Indian raid in ..... 185  
     —seed wheat given by legislature to ..... 472  
*Mitchell County Mirror*, county's first  
     newspaper ..... 403  
 Mochin, Cheyenne squaw ..... 268  
 Moffat, — ..... 30  
 Moffet, E. R., and — — Sargent, railroad  
     from Joplin to Girard, built by ..... 281  
 Money, scarce in 1855 ..... 21  
*Monitor-Press*, Wellington ..... 408  
 Montezuma ..... 406  
 Montgomery, Frank C. .... 194  
 Montgomery, Mrs. Frank C. ... 58, 107, 194  
     —Fort Hays, "Some Ancient History,"  
     cited ..... 78  
     —"Fort Wallace and Its Relation to the  
     Frontier," cited ..... 56, 57, 458  
     —"United States Surveyors Massacred  
     by Indians, Lone Tree, Meade County,  
     1874" ..... 266-272  
     —and Root, George A., compilers, "In-  
     dian Treaties and Councils Affecting  
     Kansas," cited ..... 51  
 Montgomery county ..... 112, 138  
     —dedication of new court house in..... 299  
 Monument Station, Smoky Hill route... 57  
     62, 840  
     —Indian attack on ..... 330  
 Moody, —, kills Sharp Grover..... 352  
 Mooney, James, cited ..... 442  
 Moonlight, Col. Thomas ... 71, 258-261, 338  
     —biographical sketch ..... 211  
     —driven back by Price's force at Little  
     Blue, Mo. .... 256  
     —guarding Little Blue crossings..... 255  
     —Hinckel's ford ..... 258  
     —letter to P. H. Coney ..... 212  
 Moore, Nesch & Brick Company, Pitts-  
     burg ..... 289  
 Moore, Ed M., Hutchinson historian..... 476  
     —author of "History of Reno County,"  
     and "Final Indian Scare in 1885".... 78  
 Moore, Henry Miles, Leavenworth, manu-  
     script collection of ..... 360, 361  
     —secretary Leavenworth Board of  
     Trade ..... 365, 366  
 Moore, Col. Horace L., cited..... 339, 468  
 Moore, John, of Atchison ..... 289  
 Moore, Col. Milton, Santa Fe freighter.. 25  
 Moore Commercial Agency ..... 360  
 Moorehouse, Gen. Wm. S. .... 471  
 Morals, acts to protect ..... 384  
 Moravian mission ..... 90  
 Morehouse, George P. .... 173, 438, 439  
 Morgan & Lodge, Cincinnati printers... 4  
 Morgan, Lodge & Co., Cincinnati printers, 4  
 Morgan, Lodge & Fisher, Cincinnati  
     printers ..... 4  
 Morgan, W. Scott, cited ..... 161  
 Morrow, Wm. & Co., publishers..... 410  
 Mormon battalion, in Mexican War.... 415  
 Mormons, capture Fort Bridger ..... 197  
     —Johnston's campaign against ..... 195, 211  
 Morrill, Edmund N. .... 365, 369  
 Morrill, Lot Myrick, U. S. Senator, of  
     Maine ..... 146  
 Morris county ..... 454  
 Morrison, T. F. .... 165, 481  
 Morrill Free Public Library, fiftieth anni-  
     versary of founding ..... 408  
 Mosher, Orville W. .... 191  
 Morton, J. Sterling, cited ..... 61  
 Morton county ..... 129  
 Mound City ..... 189, 261  
     —Third Kansas rendezvous at ..... 214  
 Mound Valley *Herald* ..... 405  
 Mound Valley *Times-Herald* ..... 405  
 Mound Valley township ..... 405  
 Mount Muncie cemetery, Leavenworth... 270  
 Mount Oread ..... 438  
 Mountain Slope Masonic Lodge, No. 186,  
     Oberlin ..... 409  
 Mud creek ford, Abilene ..... 190  
 Muddy creek ..... 444  
 Mulberry creek ..... 136  
     —crossing, Arkansas river ..... 54  
 Mules, as an article of exchange in New  
     Mexican trade ..... 18  
     —New Mexican prices for ..... 420  
     —purchased for Mexican War ..... 416  
     —stolen from troops ..... 200  
 Mulligan, Gen. —, defeated at Lexing-  
     ton, Mo. .... 214  
 Mulvane, Old Settlers' reunion held at.. 481  
 Mumey, Nolie, author..... 180  
 Munice, Dewey county, Okla. .... 135  
 Munroe, —, killed by Indians..... 129  
 Murdock, Col. Marsh M. .... 189  
 Murdock, Victor ..... 406  
 Murphy, J., wagons manufactured by,  
     withstood heat of Santa Fe trail..... 20  
 Murphy, Thomas, superintendent of In-  
     dian Affairs ..... 151, 443, 444, 446, 456  
 Murphy, Tom, Indian scout..... 459  
 Murphy, William P. .... 444  
 Myers, William P., survivor Adobe Walls  
     fight ..... 184

## N.

- Nacimiento, Mexico, Kickapoo Indians  
     settle at ..... 154  
 Nan-ma-qua-tah, Kickapoo Indian..... 157  
 Napton, William B., cited ..... 51  
 Nash, Jack, story of ..... 302  
 Nash, James ..... 404  
 Nation, Carrie ..... 187, 191  
 National Bank of Pittsburg..... 282  
 National Bank of Topeka ..... 168  
*National Democrat*, Lecompton ..... 15  
 National Industrial Congress, Chicago... 371  
*National Tribune*, Washington, D. C.... 201  
 Native Daughters of Kansas, Saline  
     County Chapter ..... 301  
 Natural gas ..... 372  
     —Kansas fields ..... 284  
 Nebraska ..... 7, 460, 461

- Nebraska, Custer's pursuit of Pawnee  
—Killer extended into ..... 330  
—Indian wars in Platte valley, 1865,  
1866 ..... 348  
—threatened by Indians ..... 148  
—University of ..... 164  
Nebraska district, Military Department  
of Kansas ..... 141  
Neeley, Shaw F. .... 373  
—mayor of Leavenworth ..... 368, 371  
Negro troops, replace volunteer units ..... 150  
Ne-ish-ke-koash-ke-pi (Rock Salt) river, 135  
Ne-is-ka-bi-ka-kha (Spring creek) ..... 115  
Nemaha county ..... 176  
Nenetunk (Big Spring) creek ..... 112  
Neosho county, historical notes of ..... 481  
Neosho County Historical Society ..... 407, 475  
—meetings of ..... 190, 481  
"Neosho" mission, establishment of ..... 481  
Neosho river ..... 44, 110, 138, 139, 185, 191  
—heavy rains on ..... 111  
*Neosho Valley Register*, Burlington,  
Meeker Press used on ..... 16  
Nesch, J. J., Pittsburg ..... 291  
Nesch, Robert, of Atchison, brick manu-  
facturer ..... 290, 291  
—purchases Taylor and Loose plant at  
Pittsburg ..... 292  
Nesch and Moore Brick Co., Pittsburg .....  
289, 290  
Ne-shu-che-sink (Bluff) creek ..... 117  
New England Emigrant Aid Company ..... 10  
38, 180, 308, 310, 429, 435, 437  
—a minor factor in peopling Kansas ..... 432  
—account books of, cited ..... 430  
—activities of, roused Missourians ..... 440  
—amount of money raised by ..... 430  
—emigrants from ..... 432  
—final closing out of real estate owned by, 435  
—*Herald of Freedom* financed by ..... 436  
—in Kansas, article by Samuel A. John-  
son ..... 429, 441  
—letters and books cited ..... 430  
431, 434, 435-440  
—mills located in Kansas by ..... 434  
—number coming to Kansas under aus-  
pices of ..... 431  
—relief for Kansas in 1856 ..... 439  
—saw mill brought to Kansas by ..... 10  
*New England Quarterly*, cited ..... 429  
*New Era*, Medina, Ohio, John Speer, edi-  
tor and publisher of ..... 11  
New Fort Lyon, near Las Animas, Colo., 61  
New Hampshire state Democratic conven-  
tion, resolution regarding slavery ..... 297  
New Mexican Indian traders ..... 127  
New Mexican trade, goods brought up  
Missouri river on steamboats for ..... 17  
New Mexico, Apache was mentioned ..... 350  
—cattle driven to ..... 426  
—Col. E. V. Sumner, governor ..... 196  
—country overstocked with goods ..... 18  
—Confederates driven out of ..... 25  
—development of gold fields of ..... 17  
—expedition to, Blunt countermands order  
for ..... 221  
—high ad valorem tax on goods entering, 17  
—Kiowas attack travelers to ..... 204  
—legislature of, raised license fee required  
for merchants ..... 24  
—protection of government supply trains  
to ..... 222  
—trade statistics for 1859 ..... 24  
—troops under Brig. Gen. R. B. Mitchell  
sent to ..... 220  
—U. S. troops retained in ..... 423  
—wool shipped to Missouri from ..... 18  
New York, N. Y., Cincinnati colonists for  
Kansas financed by ..... 433  
New York, N. Y., Public Library ..... 169  
—early Kansas imprints owned by ..... 9  
—University Medical College of ..... 44  
*New York Evening Post* ..... 430  
*New York Sun* ..... 199  
*New York Times* ..... 430  
*New York Tribune* ..... 21, 22, 419, 421, 430  
Newspaper offices, suffer from violence of  
proslavery mobs ..... 13  
Newspapers, Christmas advertising in  
earliest Kansas ..... 187  
Newton, Board of Trade chartered ..... 362  
Newton *Kansas-Republican*, sixtieth an-  
niversary edition of ..... 477  
Newtonia, Mo., battle of ..... 263  
—Price's army encamped near ..... 262  
—rebel forces at, attacked by Blunt ..... 226  
—rebel forces driven out of ..... 227  
Nicaragua canal ..... 377  
Nichols, Edgar ..... 184  
Nichols, Roy Franklin, author ..... 295  
Nicholson, C. C. .... 302  
Nicholson, John C., author ..... 404, 407  
Nicholson, Michael ..... 404  
Nickerson, old settlers' reunion held in ..... 481  
Nicodemus ..... 189  
—founding of ..... 402  
Ni-hi-pa [Good-for-nothing] creek ..... 116  
Niles, John W., of Nicodemus, biography  
cited ..... 176, 189  
Nimmo, Joseph G., *The Range and  
Ranch Cattle Traffic*, cited ..... 74  
Nine-mile creek ..... 108  
Nine-mile ridge, wagon train attacked at, 146  
Niskeokaka (Salt) creek ..... 112, 113  
Nixon, H. C., author, cited ..... 164  
No-ko-aht, Kickapoo chief, "Account of  
Tribal Journey From Kansas to Mexico  
and Return in the Sixties," article by  
George A. Root ..... 153-159  
North, Maj. Frank ..... 469  
North, Mary M., author ..... 178  
North Caney creek ..... 113  
*North Dakota Historical Quarterly* ..... 50  
North fork of Canadian river. *See* Can-  
adian river, north fork.  
North Platte river. *See* Platte river,  
north fork.  
North Solomon river. *See* Solomon river,  
north fork.  
*Northeast Johnson County Herald*, Over-  
land Park, cited ..... 406, 477  
Northern Cheyenne Indians. *See* Chey-  
enne Indians, Northern.  
Norton, Henry Brace, memorials of ..... 178  
Norton, John ..... 407  
Norton, newspaper history of ..... 479  
Norton *Champion*, cited ..... 479  
Norton *Daily Telegram*, cited ..... 405  
Nowata county, Oklahoma ..... 138  
Numa, Okla. .... 134  
"Numose," the Left Hand, Cheyenne  
name of Billy Peacock ..... 347  
  
O.  
Oakleaf, B. P. .... 405  
Oakley, forty-seventh anniversary of ..... 479  
—founding of ..... 479  
—naming of ..... 184  
—old settlers' reunion held in ..... 482  
Oakley *Graphic*, cited, 184, 189, 405, 474, 479  
Oakley House, first hotel at Oakley ..... 405  
Oberlin, old settlers' picnic at ..... 478, 481  
Oberlin *Herald*, cited ..... 409, 478  
Odee grove, picnic held in ..... 271  
—post office ..... 268  
Ogallah, camp. *See* Camp Ogallah.  
Ogallala band of Dakota Indians ..... 58



- Ogden, E. A., assistant quartermaster,  
Fort Leavenworth ..... 425
- Ogle, George A., & Co., publishers. .... 178
- Ohio, emigrants sent to Kansas from. .... 431
- regiments, Second cavalry. .... 223
- One hundred and forty-second infantry,  
Co. E. .... 195
- Oketo cut-off, on Overland route. .... 404
- Oklahoma ..... 84
- boomer organizations for settlement of, 189  
—parts of an old wooden press found  
at Guymon ..... 16
- school lands, opening of. .... 378
- territory, opening of. .... 403
- Oklahoma University ..... 306
- press ..... 75
- Olathe ..... 253
- old settlers' reunion held in. .... 482
- Olathe *Mirror* ..... 477
- historical edition of. .... 478
- Oliver's store, in Boston mountains. .... 236
- Omaha Indians, depredations of. .... 344
- raids by ..... 326
- Omaha *World-Herald* ..... 404
- One hundred and forty-two creek. .... 26
- Onion creek ..... 112
- Order of the Eastern Star, Kansas, fifty-  
sixth anniversary of. .... 405
- Order of the Purple Heart, awarded Gen.  
eral Metcalf ..... 410
- Oregon trail ..... 79, 180
- Barrett crossing in Marshall county. .... 191
- Osage bridge at 142 creek ..... 26
- Osage City, Board of Trade chartered. .... 362
- Osage county ..... 44, 178
- Osage county, Okla. .... 137
- Osage Indians ..... 100, 116  
117, 136, 138, 153, 448
- depredations of ..... 340, 468, 471
- described ..... 445
- frontier outrages committed by ..... 326
- peace powwow with ..... 51
- reservation of, boundary ..... 104
- trails of ..... 113, 136, 137
- treaty with ..... 89
- village of, Montgomery county ..... 112
- Osage mission ..... 190, 302
- Osage river, Mo. .... 153, 214-216
- crossing of ..... 260
- trading post ..... 260
- Price's retreat to ..... 215
- Osawatomie ..... 436
- attempt to start a paper at. .... 13
- center of free state activity. .... 432
- Emigrant Aid Company's interest in. .... 434
- grist mill located in ..... 434
- Southern Kansas Herald* started at. .... 14
- Osawatomie *Times* ..... 13
- Ozawkie ..... 29, 31, 36, 42, 43, 46, 443
- oldest town in Jefferson county. .... 34
- plundered ..... 30, 34
- short history of ..... 34
- Osborn, Gov. Thomas A. .... 71, 270  
271, 320, 323
- presiding officer during impeachment of  
Robinson and others ..... 315
- Osborn, William J., one of publishers of  
*Kansas Weekly Herald* ..... 9
- Osborne, last saloon operated in ..... 402
- Osborne County Farmer*, cited. .... 188, 402, 405
- Osgood, E. S., *The Day of the Cattle-  
man, a Study of the Northern Range,  
1845-1890*, cited ..... 75
- Oskaloosa ..... 40
- becomes county seat Jefferson county. .... 34
- early day notes of, by F. H. Roberts. .... 298
- old settlers' reunion held in ..... 481
- seventy-fifth anniversary of ..... 185
- Oskaloosa *Independent*, cited ..... 185, 298
- Otis, Lieut. Elmer ..... 118, 203
- biographical mention of ..... 108, 202
- escorts Santa Fe mail ..... 202
- Otis, Samantha V., became Mrs. Guilford  
Dudley ..... 34
- Otoe Indians, depredations of ..... 344, 471
- Ottawa, fifty years of history. .... 406
- Ottawa Indians given lands near. .... 5
- Ottawa Baptist Mission ..... 83, 96
- Ottawa *Campus*, cited ..... 405
- Ottawa county ..... 471
- fort Solomon in ..... 59
- given seed wheat by legislature. .... 472
- Ottawa county, Okla. .... 139
- Ottawa *Herald*, cited ..... 405, 406
- Ottawa Indians, from Michigan, given  
lands in Kansas ..... 5
- Meeker's mission on Marais des Cygnes, 91  
—on Grand river, Thomas mission for. .... 4
- Ottawa University, sixty-seventh anni-  
versary of ..... 404
- Ottermann, Aunt — ..... 99
- Ottumwa *Journal*, history of. .... 14
- Outdoor Life*, cited ..... 350
- Outlaw, Albert Timothy, author. .... 182
- Overbrook *Citizen*, cited ..... 407
- Overland freighting, dangerous character  
of ..... 419
- with ox teams ..... 17
- Overland mail line, letter from general  
superintendent, quoted ..... 143
- Overland Park, *Northeast Johnson County  
Herald*, cited ..... 477
- Overland Stage Company stations, raided  
by Indians ..... 329
- Overland Stage line, protection of. .... 149
- Overland telegraph line ..... 147
- guarded by troops ..... 149
- Overland trails ..... 190, 348
- Overland transportation, suffered from  
Indian depredations ..... 326
- Owl Woman, Cheyenne wife of William  
Bent ..... 347
- Oxen, attacked by dry murrain. .... 19
- decrease of, in United States from  
1860-1870 ..... 27
- frozen during snow storms on Santa Fe  
trail ..... 19
- New Mexican prices for ..... 420
- Santa Fe trail strewn with carcasses of, 418
- Ox teams, in overland freighting. .... 17

## P.

- Pacific railroads, through the Indian  
country ..... 330
- Packing plant, Pittsburg ..... 286
- Padilla, Friar Juan de ..... 300
- monument to ..... 187
- Padonia, Brown county ..... 444
- Page, Elizabeth, author ..... 180
- Palmetto Kansan*, Marysville, starting of, 14
- Palo Duro Canon, battle of ..... 349
- Palo Pinto county, Texas ..... 477
- Pa-mo-tha-ah, Kickapoo Indian ..... 157
- Panhandle Herald*, Guymon, Okla., old  
wooden press found at ..... 16
- Paola, headquarters of Blunt at ..... 264
- Kansas militia concentrated at, during  
Price raid ..... 253
- Methodist Episcopal Church of ..... 404
- Papan, Ahean ..... 32
- Papan, Joseph ..... 32
- Papan's ferry ..... 31, 34
- in 1856 propelled by poles. .... 35
- location of ..... 82
- Pappinsville, Mo. .... 224
- Parent-Teacher Association ..... 192
- Parmenter, Capt. —, antagonizes  
Cheyennes ..... 141



- Parr, Richard ..... 351  
   —Indian agent ..... 451  
 Parrott guns, 10-pound rifled ..... 237  
 Parsons, early-day fires in ..... 475  
 Parsons *Sun*, cited ..... 475  
 Paso del Norte (El Paso), Mexican duties  
   levied at ..... 20  
 Paving brick, markets for ..... 290  
 "Pawnee Bill" (Maj. G. W. Lillie), led  
   settlers into Oklahoma territory ..... 189  
 Pawnee, history of, cited ..... 187  
   —legislature of 1855 met at ..... 9  
 Pawnee county, Okla. .... 136  
 Pawnee Fork ..... 54, 200, 202-205, 209, 330  
   —Cheyenne and Sioux camped on ..... 329  
   —expedition up ..... 330  
   —fight with Indians on ..... 251  
   —first known as Pawnee creek or river ..... 200  
   —fort built at ..... 204  
   —Indian depredations near ..... 420  
   —mail station at ..... 200  
 Pawnee Indians ..... 418  
   —attacks on wagon trains ..... 420  
   —depredations of ..... 468, 471  
   —Kansas offenses charged against ..... 472  
   —raids by ..... 326  
   —scouts assist military ..... 469  
 Pawnee Killer, Sioux chief, pursuit of ..... 330  
 Pawnee Rock, Santa Fe trail ..... 199, 203  
   —Kit Carson's first Indian fight at ..... 359  
 Paxson, Frederic Logan, author ..... 180  
   —*The Last American Frontier*, cited ..... 17  
 Payne, David L., Harvey county pioneer,  
   404, 417  
 Pea Ridge, Ark., pursuit of rebel forces  
   to ..... 227  
 Peace commission, Little Arkansas treaty,  
   442-450  
   —Medicine Lodge treaty ..... 340, 453  
 Peacock, George ..... 203, 204  
   —Allison's ranch rented by ..... 199  
   —shot by Satank ..... 203  
 Peacock, William C., scout ..... 347, 359, 406  
 Peate, James J., Indian scout, death of ..... 476  
   —memorial address dedicated to ..... 476  
   —reminiscences of ..... 475, 476  
   —scrapbook of ..... 478  
 Peck, Lieut. Robert Morris ..... 201  
   202, 210, 348  
 Peffer, William A., Populist U. S. senator  
   from Kansas, cited ..... 162  
 Peketon county ..... 199  
 Pelzer, Capt. —, in command at Fort  
   Mann ..... 422  
 Penfield, — ..... 31  
 Pen-i-a-la, Kickapoo Indian ..... 157  
 Penitentiary, state ..... 365  
   —coal mined at ..... 377  
   —road to, macadamized ..... 374  
 Pennsylvania, emigrants sent to Kansas  
   from ..... 431  
 Pennsylvania Historical Society ..... 169  
 Pennsylvania University Press ..... 295  
 Peons, Mexican, pick wool like cotton ..... 23  
 People's party ..... 161-163  
 Pepper box, Allen revolvers dubbed ..... 30  
 Perkins, H. C., employee in Auditor of  
   State's office ..... 268  
 Perkins, Jacob Randolph, author ..... 178  
 Perrin, George H., member Indianola  
   Town Company ..... 34  
 Perry, John D. .... 336  
   —president of Union Pacific ..... 331  
 Perryville, Indian territory, rebel supply  
   depot destroyed at ..... 246  
 Petefish, Diana ..... 269  
 Petefish, Mrs. M. P. .... 271  
 Phelps, John S., Missouri congressman ..... 118, 119  
 Phelps, John S., introduces bill for Kan-  
   sas southern boundary survey ..... 104  
 Philip, Mrs. W. D., Hays ..... 165  
 Phillips, Wendell ..... 98, 99  
 Phillips, Col. William A. .... 238, 239  
 Phillips county, establishment of Fort  
   Kirwin in ..... 58  
   —swarming with Indians ..... 59  
 Phillips County Old Settlers' Association,  
   third annual meeting ..... 188  
 Phillipsburg *Review*, cited ..... 188  
 Piazsek, J. M., mill at Grasshopper Falls  
   erected by ..... 302  
 Piematunk creek ..... 113  
 Pierce, Mrs. Fred, pioneering experiences  
   of ..... 302  
 Pierce, President Franklin... 7, 309, 439, 440  
   —abuse of ..... 295, 296  
   —biographical mention of ..... 295  
   —tragic death of son ..... 296  
 Pike, Z. M. .... 208  
   —Big Timbers first noticed by ..... 207  
   —Pawnee monument ..... 172  
 Pike's Peak, emigration ..... 25  
   —gold rush ..... 40, 61  
 Pilot Knob, captured by troops under  
   Price ..... 251  
 Pioneer women, Kansas ..... 188  
 Pioneers' Association, Riley county ..... 410  
 Pioneers (Snake) creek ..... 122  
 Piper, Wyandotte county ..... 83  
 Pittman shorthand system ..... 28  
 Pittsburg, Board of Trade ..... 283  
   —Chamber of Commerce ..... 289  
   —clay products industries in ..... 289  
   —coal shaft sunk on townsite of ..... 274  
   —Commercial Club ..... 284, 285  
   —council proceedings, cited ..... 290  
   —favorable freight rates on coal shipped  
     from ..... 278  
   —Hull and Dillon Packing Plant ..... 286  
   —industrial history of, article by Fred  
     N. Howell ..... 273-294  
   —Lanyon smelter built at ..... 281  
   —manufacture of building brick in ..... 290  
   —mine rescue station located at ..... 280  
   —National Bank of ..... 282  
   —originally a coal mining camp ..... 273  
   —smelters in mining district of ..... 281  
   —vitrified brick paving in ..... 290  
   —zinc smelting center ..... 281, 283  
 Pittsburg and Cherokee Mining Co., dis-  
   aster at coal mines of ..... 278  
 Pittsburg Clay Products Co., M. O.  
   French, president ..... 294  
 Pittsburg *College Verse*, by Margaret E.  
   Haughawout, cited ..... 177  
 Pittsburg *Headlight*, cited ..... 278, 279  
   288, 285, 293, 405  
   —fourth annual coal edition of ..... 479  
 Pittsburg *Kansan*, cited ..... 283, 285, 290  
 Pittsburg Landing, troops from Fort  
   Leavenworth sent by boats to ..... 221  
 Pittsburg Paving and Building Brick Co., 289  
 Pittsburg *Sun* ..... 405  
   —fourth annual coal edition of ..... 479  
 Pittsburg Town Company ..... 289  
 Pittsburg Vitrified Paving Brick Plant ..... 292  
 Pittsburgh, Pa., use of gas in ..... 372  
   —supplied wagons for Mexican war ..... 416  
 Pixley, Benton, Presbyterian minister ..... 481  
 Plains Indians, Medicine Lodge treaty  
   with ..... 203, 329  
   330, 349, 355, 358, 451, 453, 480  
   —See, also, Indians, Plains.  
 Platte *Argus*, Weston, Mo., published by  
   William H. Adams ..... 8  
 Platte river ..... 3, 60, 140, 151, 422, 468  
   —forts to be established on ..... 150

- Platte river, Indians attack emigrant train on ..... 350  
 —mentioned as Indian boundary ..... 89  
 —north fork of ..... 144  
 —valley of, Indian wars, 1865, 1866 ..... 349  
 Platte river trail ..... 62, 60  
     61, 147, 148, 327, 348  
 —Indian depredations on ..... 141  
 —need of protection for ..... 149  
 —threatened by Indians ..... 143  
 —troops sent to protect stage line on ..... 336  
 Playter, Franklin ..... 274  
 Pleasant Hill, Mo., Blunt makes reconnaissance in direction of ..... 253, 254  
 Pleasanton, Gen. Alfred ..... 172, 259  
     260, 261, 262  
 —attacks Price forces from rear ..... 258  
 Pleasanton ..... 168, 172  
 Plum creek, Solomon valley, troops stationed on ..... 471  
 Plumb, Sen. Preston B. .... 365, 369  
 —Emporia News founded by ..... 13  
 —ordered to protect Overland Stage line ..... 149, 150  
 Plymouth Congregational Church, Lawrence ..... 437  
 Polk, R. L., & Co., publishers ..... 178  
 Polke, Christianna, wife of Isaac McCoy, 90  
 Pollard, Maj. —, letter of, quoted ..... 142  
 Pomeroy, Samuel C. .... 318, 335, 433  
 —chosen U. S. senator ..... 310, 432  
 Pomme de Terre river, Mo. .... 153  
 Pond Creek ..... 352  
 —Indian raid on ..... 336  
 Pond creek, tributary of Smoky Hill river ..... 56  
 Pond Creek station, on B. O. D. line ..... 58  
 Pontoon bridge, at Leavenworth ..... 366  
 —built by Vinton Stillings ..... 376, 377  
 Pony Express ..... 404  
 —W. F. Cody, rider ..... 357  
 —riders, marker for, dedicated ..... 78  
 Poor, Scott E. .... 302  
 Poor, Mrs. Scott E. .... 302  
 Poor, William ..... 302  
 Pope, Gen. John .... 26, 54, 62, 215, 269, 471  
 —commander Department of the Missouri ..... 55  
 —ordered to protect overland highways ..... 150  
 —orders Blunt to move against Kirby Smith ..... 264  
 Population, increase 1870-1880 ..... 360  
 Populism, Notes on the Literature of, article by James C. Malin ..... 160-164  
 Pork and bacon, for American army in Mexican war ..... 415, 418  
 Port, G. W. .... 403  
 Port Landis, extinct town ..... 405  
 Port Landis Town Company ..... 405  
 Porter, A. N. .... 408  
 Poteau river, crossing of, near Fort Smith ..... 247  
 Pottawatomie Indians, adopted into Kickapoo tribe ..... 159  
 —mission of, west of Topeka ..... 91  
 —on St. Joseph river, Michigan ..... 4  
 —settled on Sugar creek ..... 443  
 —settlement in Kansas ..... 90  
 Pottawatomie county militia, needed on western frontier ..... 143, 144  
 Pottery, made at Pittsburg ..... 289, 292-294  
 Potwin, old settlers' reunion held in ..... 482  
 Powder river ..... 146  
 —Dodge's expedition to ..... 147  
 —Reynolds defeated on ..... 349  
 —troops campaign against the Sioux ..... 149  
 Powell, L. W., peace commissioner ..... 197  
 Prairies and Pioneers, by J. S. Bird ..... 78  
 Prairie City ..... 16  
 —Freeman's Champion, founded at ..... 13  
 Prairie Grove, Ark., battle of ..... 211  
     212, 232-234  
 Prairie Schooner, a Romance of the Plains of Kansas, by Mary M. North ..... 178  
 Prairie schooners, employed in New Mexican trade ..... 17  
 —reminiscences of ..... 475  
 Prather, —, mulatto, of Lawrence ..... 266  
 Pratt, Ann ..... 95, 103  
 —birth of ..... 102  
 Pratt, E. H. .... 83  
 Pratt, Eddie ..... 95  
 Pratt, Elizabeth ..... 100  
 —letters of, quoted ..... 89, 97-99, 102  
 Pratt, Harrison ..... 98  
 Pratt, John Gill, Baptist missionary and early printer ..... 5, 83, 85  
     91-93, 98, 99, 102, 103  
 —appointed agent for Delawares ..... 87  
 —biographical sketch of ..... 89  
 —Delaware Baptist Mission rebuilt by ..... 90  
 —letters of ..... 97, 100  
 —manuscript collection of ..... 83, 89-103  
 —mission report ..... 95-97  
 —removal to Stockbridge mission ..... 86  
 —salary of ..... 86  
 —United States Indian agent ..... 84, 87  
 Pratt, John Harrison ..... 98  
 Pratt, Johnny ..... 95  
 Pratt, Jonas [?] ..... 102  
 Pratt, Louisa ..... 98  
 Pratt, Lucius ..... 95, 103  
 Pratt, Olivia Evans ..... 85, 98, 100, 102, 103  
 —described ..... 95  
 —letters of ..... 89  
 Pratt, Olivia, wife of Harrison Pratt ..... 98  
 Pratt, Rosett ..... 102  
 Pratt, old settlers' reunion held in ..... 482  
 Pratt county ..... 117  
 Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, 7  
 Price, Col. John T., quoted ..... 144  
 Price, Gen. Sterling ..... 187, 214  
     217, 253, 261, 415, 418, 420  
 —campaign against, in fall of 1864 ..... 264  
 —casualties in troops of ..... 263  
 —difficulty crossing Osage river ..... 215  
 —Fort Leavenworth his objective in raid of 1864 ..... 53  
 —in Missouri ..... 251, 252  
 —Kansas the objective of ..... 255  
 —move on Lexington ..... 214  
 —movement of troops under ..... 215  
 —north of Osage river ..... 217  
 —number of armed force ..... 255  
 —at Springfield ..... 216  
 —retreat of ..... 216  
 —threatened raid into Missouri ..... 142  
 Price raid, Kansas threatened by ..... 29  
 Prichard, Armstead Mead, author ..... 182  
 Prickly pear ..... 445  
 Pride, W. F., *The History of Fort Riley*, cited ..... 54  
 Prince, Maj. —, commandant at Fort Leavenworth ..... 219  
 —warned not to permit muster of officers commissioned by Governor Robinson ..... 220  
 Prince [?], John ..... 449  
 Pringle, William, president Wabausee County Historical Society ..... 304  
 Printing, early Kansas ..... 5  
 Printing presses, brought to Kansas ..... 4-9, 11-16  
 Procter & Gamble Co., Chicago ..... 287  
 Prohibition amendment, opposed by John A. Martin ..... 63  
 Proslavery party, success in organizing Kansas ..... 431  
 Protection Post, cited ..... 474  
 Prouty, S. S. .... 16



Prouty, S. S., <i>Freeman's Champion</i> , Prairie City, founded by .....	13
—old Meeker press in possession of.....	16
Pruett, J. M., reminiscences cited.....	186
Puan (Winnebago) Indians .....	153
Pugh, Burton Homer .....	178
Pumpkin (Watunk a kashink) creek.....	112
Purgatoire river .....	207-209, 347
—short description of .....	208
Putnam, Nancy Carson, became Mrs. James G. Blunt .....	211

## Q.

Quantrill, William C. ....	450
—massacre of Blunt's force near Baxter Springs .....	186, 247
—raid on Lawrence .....	478
Quantrill raiders .....	300, 352
Quapaw Indians, cede right to land in Kansas .....	105
—lands of .....	107
Quindaro, Emigrant Aid Company inter- ested in .....	434
—town shares .....	436
Quindaro <i>Chindowan</i> .....	437
—founding of .....	13
Quinlan, L. R., Manhattan .....	172
Quisenbury, Mr. —, employed by Meeker .....	5
Quivira, cities of .....	187

## R.

Rabbit Ear creek .....	130
Rabbit Ear mountains, on Santa Fe trail, Radges, Samuel, <i>Topeka Directory</i> , pub- lished by .....	35
Railroad, first built up Arkansas valley.. —from Joplin to Girard, built by Joplin parties .....	303 281
Railroad construction, slow progress up Smoky Hill valley .....	334
Railroads, investments in equipment for marketing Pittsburg coal .....	278
—put end to government contractors.....	428
Rain-in-the-Face, Sioux chief.....	298, 350
Raine, William MacLeod, author .....	180
Rains, on plains .....	111, 199, 200
Ralston, Okla. ....	137
Randall, Alex W., postmaster general, re- port quoted .....	335
Randolph, J. E., Cloud county reminis- cences cited .....	185
Range Cattle Industry, Notes on Litera- ture of, by James C. Malin.....	74
Rankin, — .....	320, 323
Rankin, Mrs. C. R., author .....	478
Rantoul, old settlers' reunion held in ..	481
Rattlesnake story .....	354
Ravanna .....	190
Rawlins county .....	176
Ray, Judge James A. ....	65
Reader, Eliza .....	28, 30
Reader, Elizabeth .....	28
Reader, Francis .....	28
Reader, Samuel J. ....	32, 34
—biographical sketch of .....	28
—“First Day's Battle at Hickory Point,” from the diary and reminiscences of, edited by George A. Root.....	28-49
Reader, Mrs. Samuel J., date of death..	28
Rebel raids, protection against .....	222
Rebel yell, heard at Hickory Point.....	44
Red creek .....	446
Red fork, Arkansas river. <i>See</i> Arkansas river, Salt fork.	
“Red Legs,” organization of.....	239
Red Nose, Cheyenne Dog Soldier chief..	456
Red river .....	144, 155, 245, 246

Red river, mentioned as Indian boundary,	89
—rebel troops under Gen. Kirby Smith occupying line of .....	264
<i>Red River Journal</i> , founded by Dr. G. A. Cutler .....	44
Red Rock creek .....	136
Red Shin's Standing Ground, Cheyenne name for upper end of Big Timbers..	207
Redoubt creek, Clark county.....	122
Reed, Gov. Clyde M. ....	170
Reeder, Gov. A. H. ....	44
—Kansas land deals of .....	297
Rees, Jacob G. ....	320, 323
Rees, W. S., early resident of Lincoln...	402
Reeside, John E., freighter .....	428
Refugee Indians .....	448
—described .....	445
Reid, S. G., <i>Tecumseh Note Book</i> founded by .....	14
Reilly creek, settlers on, driven out by Indians .....	60
Relics, Harvey county .....	410
Relief movement, 1856 .....	439
Remsburg, George J., cited .....	51
Reno, Maj. Marcus A. ....	350
Reno county, 4-H clubs of .....	300
—historical notes of .....	78, 476
—Mennonite settlers in .....	301
—sixtieth birthday anniversary of ..	300
Republic county, defenses against Indians built in .....	60
—Fort Lookout established in .....	59
—given seed wheat by legislature.....	472
—Indian depredations in .....	344, 469
<i>Republican Journal</i> , Salina, cited .....	55
Republican party .....	307, 309
—St. John wing dominates.....	63
Republican river .....	53, 340
345, 443, 461, 462, 468, 469	
—block houses erected on .....	457
—gold seekers travel over .....	348
—troops stationed on .....	471
—valley of .....	59
—grass burned in .....	146
—hostile Indians pursued into.....	339
—Indian depredations in .....	330
—raided by Cheyennes .....	456
—settlers driven out by Indians.....	60
Reynolds, — .....	313
Reynolds, —, defeated on Powder river .....	349
Reynolds, Gen. Joseph S., commands Department of Arkansas .....	264
Reynolds, Charles Alexander, scout.....	345
—biographical sketch .....	350
Rhea's Mill, Ark. ....	231, 235, 238
—Blunt's supply trains at, guarded.....	233
Rice, James Clay, author .....	182
Rice, Okla. ....	131
Rice county .....	178
Richardson, Eleanor, became Mrs. Jotham Meeker .....	91
—teacher at Thomas Station, among Ottawa Indians .....	4
Richardson, H. A. ....	434, 435
Richardson, J. D. ....	439
Richardson, Col. J. M., 14 Mo. S. M. ....	231, 232
Richardson, Silas .....	98
Richmond, Mabel E., author .....	182
Richmond <i>Enterprise</i> , cited .....	480
Richmond Methodist Episcopal Church, historical notes of .....	480
Riegel, Robert Edgar, author .....	180
Riggs, S. A., Lawrence lawyer.....	300
Riley county, Pioneer's Association ..	410
Rio de las Animas (Purgatoire river) .....	208, 209
Rio Grande .....	154, 155
—failure of crops along .....	20



- Rio Grande, flood in ..... 428  
 Rio Purgatoire ..... 208, 209  
 Rister, C. C., *The Southwestern Frontier*,  
   cited ..... 451, 456  
 Ritchie, E. B., author ..... 477  
 Riverside Coal Co., Leavenworth ..... 371  
 Road, Fort Leavenworth to Fort Gibson, 107  
   —to Fort Riley ..... 29, 34, 38  
   —to Fort Scott ..... 83  
   —Fort Riley to Fort Kearney ..... 59  
   —Leavenworth to Santa Fe ..... 32, 418  
   —to state penitentiary macadam-  
     ized ..... 365, 374  
   —Topeka-Atchison stage ..... 29  
 Roads, state, surveying of ..... 271  
   —*See, also, Trails.*  
 Roberts, — ..... 320, 323  
 Roberts, Francis Henry, historical notes  
   of Oskaloosa ..... 298  
 Robidoux, Peter, account books of ..... 474  
 Robinson, B. F., agent Delaware Indians, 88  
 Robinson, Charles ..... 65, 212, 213  
   311, 318, 325, 433, 435, 437, 438, 440  
   —a vehement opponent of prohibition.. 64  
   —agent Emigrant Aid Co. .... 432  
   —biographical mention of ..... 307, 308  
   —Blackmar's "Life of" ..... 307  
   —chosen governor ..... 432  
   —hostility toward Blunt ..... 218  
   —house resolution impeaching and articles  
     against ..... 313, 314  
   —impeachment trial of, article by  
     Cortez A. M. Ewing ..... 307-325  
   —*Kansas Conflict*, cited ..... 308  
   —leader during territorial troubles.... 307  
   —promiscuous military appointments  
     by ..... 219, 220  
   —questionable methods of, in appointing  
     officers for Kansas regiments..... 219  
 Robinson, John W., secretary of state.. 311  
   312, 314, 322, 324, 325  
   —appointed surgeon in Union army..... 321  
   —date and place of death..... 321  
   —house resolution impeaching and  
     articles against ..... 313, 314  
   —impeachment trial of, article by  
     Cortez A. M. Ewing ..... 307-325  
   —Lane-Robinson controversy ..... 310  
   —table showing votes in impeachment of, 320  
 Robinson, Mrs. Sara T. D., *Kansas: Its  
   Interior and Exterior Life*, cited.. 308, 430  
 Rock creek, Chautauqua county..... 114  
   —Cowley county ..... 114  
 Rock Island railroad ..... 366  
 Rock Salt (Ne-ish-ke-koash-ke-pi)  
   river ..... 135  
 Rocky Mountains ..... 179  
   —Long's scientific expedition into ..... 51  
 Roger Williams University, Ottawa Uni-  
   versity chartered as ..... 404, 405  
 Rogers, —, trooper ..... 205  
 Rogers, R. W., author ..... 182  
 Roger's and Magee's, near ford on  
   Neosho ..... 111  
 Rollin, David B. .... 95, 97  
   —biographical sketch ..... 91  
 Rollins, P. A., author ..... 76  
 Roman Nose ..... 353  
   —Cheyenne and Sioux Indians under... 351  
   —killed during Beecher Island fight, 349, 351  
 Ronsheim, Milton, author ..... 180  
 Rooks county, reminiscences of ..... 403  
 Rooks County Record, Stockton..... 403, 474  
   —beginning fifty-third year of ..... 298  
 Roosevelt Intermediate School, Wichita.. 82  
   306, 414  
 Root, Frank A., express messenger and  
   co-author of *The Overland Stage to  
   California*, cited .. 60, 61, 82, 146, 148, 327  
 Root, George A., curator of archives,  
   Kansas State Historical Society..... 51  
   82, 194, 304  
   —diary of ..... 83  
   —"Extracts from the Diary of Capt.  
     Lambert B. Wolf," article edited  
     by ..... 195-210  
   —"First Day's Battle at Hickory Point,"  
     article edited by ..... 28-49  
   —"No-ko-ah's Talk," article edit-  
     ed by ..... 153-159  
   —and Mrs. Frank C. Montgomery, com-  
     pilers, "Indian Treaties and Councils  
     Affecting Kansas," cited ..... 51  
 Rose Bud, General Crook defeated at... 349  
 Rose Hill, Mo., Blunt's reconnaissance  
   of ..... 215  
 Rosecrans, Gen. W. S.... 252, 254, 256, 263  
 Ross, Sen. E. G. .... 146, 455  
 Ross, Finlay ..... 475  
 Ross, John, chief of Cherokee, brings  
   treasures of nation to Fort Scott..... 224  
 Rossman, Edna L., editor, *Clifton News*, 78  
 Rowe, H. J., author ..... 182  
 Rucker, Mrs. Maude (Applegate), author, 180  
 Ruley, A. N., author ..... 178  
 Running Turkey creek ..... 205  
 Runnymede, historical notes of ..... 475  
 Ruppenthal, Jacob C., translations  
   by ..... 302, 409  
 Rush, H. D., president Leavenworth  
   Board of Trade ..... 362  
 Rush county, Alexander, historical notes  
   of ..... 476  
   —German-Russian settlements in ..... 177  
 Rusling, Brig. Gen. James F. .... 428  
 Russell, Majors & Leavenworth, freight  
   contractors ..... 427  
 Russell, Majors & Waddell ..... 427  
   —charged with selling property stolen  
     from free-state emigrants ..... 21  
 Russell, William H. .... 361  
   —government freight contractor ..... 425  
 Russell ..... 184  
 Russell Cosmos Club ..... 301  
 Russell county, early settlement of ..... 188  
   —old residents of ..... 301  
 Russell County News, cited..... 188, 299  
   301, 302, 409  
 Russell Record, cited ..... 184, 301  
 Russell's creek ..... 110, 111  
 Russian-German settlements, Ellis and  
   Rush counties ..... 177  
   —in the United States, book by Dr.  
     Richard Sallett, cited ..... 302, 409  
 Rutherford, K. W., reminiscences cited.. 188  
  
 S.  
 Sabin, Edwin L., cited ..... 356  
 Sac and Fox Indians ..... 90  
   —settlement in Kansas ..... 89  
   —Presbyterian mission among ..... 6  
 St. Elizabeth's hospital for the insane .. 211  
 St. Francis, Cheyenne county, named for  
   Frances L. Emerson ..... 299  
 St. John, John P. .... 63  
   —nominated for third term ..... 70  
   —prohibitionists ..... 69, 70  
 St. John, old settlers' reunion held in... 482  
 St. Joseph, Mo. .... 87  
 St. Joseph river, Michigan, Pottawatomies  
   settled on ..... 4  
 St. Louis, Mo. .... 87  
   —cost of Mexican wool shipped to... 23  
   —Fremont's headquarters at ..... 216  
   —objective of Hindman's campaign... 234  
 St. Louis and Pittsburg Co., zinc pro-  
   duction of 1893 ..... 284

- St. Louis *Democrat* ..... 229  
 St. Louis *Era*, cited ..... 421  
 St. Louis *New Era*, cited and  
     quoted ..... 416, 418  
 St. Louis *Republican* ..... 337  
 St. Louis *Reveille*, cited ..... 19, 419, 420  
 St. Louis *Union*, cited ..... 419  
 St. Louis University ..... 184  
 St. Louis *Weekly Reveille*, cited ..... 19  
 St. Louis Zinc Co. .... 283  
 St. Marys College ..... 184  
 —changed from college to school for  
     priests ..... 187  
 St. Marys Mission ..... 443  
 St. Marys *Star*, cited ..... 184, 187  
 St. Paul *Journal*, cited ..... 405, 407, 475  
 St. Vrain, Ceran ..... 346  
 —ruse used on Indians by ..... 347  
 Sage, Lee, autobiography of, mentioned ..... 180  
 Salem, historical notes of ..... 479  
 Salina ..... 462  
 —express military escort reported mas-  
     sacred near ..... 143  
 —Fort Harker, 36 miles from ..... 55  
 —frontier defense of ..... 144  
 —historical notes of ..... 477  
 —in 1860 ..... 206  
 —Kansas' First Frontier battalion organ-  
     ized at ..... 461  
 —razing of "Upper Mill" ..... 405  
 —residents who preceded railroad hon-  
     ored ..... 301  
 —volunteer military company organized  
     at ..... 457  
 Salina *Journal*, cited ..... 301, 405, 407, 477  
 Saline county ..... 178, 471  
 —given seed wheat by legislature ..... 472  
 Saline County Chapter, Native Daughters  
     of Kansas ..... 301  
 Saline County Historical Association, Mrs.  
     Effie Campbell, secretary ..... 301  
 Saline river ..... 451, 456, 461, 462  
 —block houses erected on ..... 457  
 —military patrols on ..... 467, 470  
 Saline valley, Indian raids in ..... 465  
     466, 468, 469  
 —settlers rationed by troops ..... 472  
 —troops stationed on Spillman creek ..... 471  
 Sallett, Dr. Richard, cited ..... 302, 409  
 Salt, crystalized ..... 134  
 Salt creek (Niskeokaka) ..... 112  
 Salt creek, settlers driven out by Indians, 60  
 Salt Fork, Arkansas river. *See* Arkansas  
     river, Salt Fork.  
 Salt jacks, of pioneer days ..... 300  
 Salt Lake City, Utah, Johnston's com-  
     mand starts for ..... 197  
 Salt marsh, near Leafie, Okla., de-  
     scribed ..... 120, 121  
 Salt plain, Alfalfa county, Okla., de-  
     scribed ..... 118  
 Salt pond ..... 132  
 Salt (Cimarron) river ..... 134  
 Salt well, first drilled at Hutchinson ..... 300  
 San Angelo river, Texas ..... 154  
 San Antonio road, Texas ..... 154  
 Sanborn, Gen. John B. .... 254, 444-446  
 —Indian Peace Treaty Commissioner ..... 151  
     342, 443  
 —troops under, at Battle of Newtonia ..... 263  
 Sand Creek, Colorado ..... 446  
 —massacre of Indians on ..... 144-146  
     329, 348, 445, 446  
 —short account of ..... 349  
 Sand Springs, Abilene ..... 190  
 Sandy creek, Alfalfa county, Okla. .... 118  
 Sangamon river, Illinois ..... 153  
 San Juan, Mexico ..... 155  
 Santa Fe, N. M., army depot removed to  
     Fort Union ..... 20  
 —business failures in during 1848 ..... 18  
 —coaches unmolested coming from ..... 340  
 —distance from Fort Leavenworth ..... 415  
 —headquarters of army ..... 424  
 —express ..... 143, 144  
 —hungry American soldiers at ..... 417  
 —"Military Phase of Santa Fe Freight-  
     ing," by Walker D. Wyman ..... 415  
 —prices compared with those of Missouri, 420  
 —number wagons of freight taken to,  
     1851 ..... 20  
 —scarcity of provisions in ..... 25  
 —stage road, crossed Smoky Hill near  
     Fort Harker ..... 55  
 —trade, 1858, account of ..... 22  
 —registry of men, teams, wagons and  
     animals engaged in 1857 ..... 23  
 —traders ..... 450  
 —trains of, snowbound ..... 18  
 Santa Fe *Employee Magazine* ..... 55  
 Santa Fe Stage Company, Cow Creek  
     station attacked ..... 147  
 Santa Fe trail ..... 61, 106  
     123, 126, 130, 138, 152, 179, 180, 195, 200  
     201, 207, 251, 327, 348, 415, 422, 444, 450  
 —a meandering trail in 1862 ..... 428  
 —Cimarron crossing ..... 190, 199  
 —crossing, Arkansas river ..... 207  
 —Col. Wm. Gilpin's battalion guarding ..... 422  
 —death knell of ..... 423  
 —defended by three forts ..... 51  
 —dry route ..... 54, 202  
 —escort service provided ..... 148  
 —Fort Aubrey built for protection of ..... 57  
 —Fort Larned most important guardian  
     of ..... 54  
 —freight rates on ..... 425  
 —Indian depredations on ..... 141, 146, 458  
 —Kaw crossing of ..... 455  
 —mail ..... 128  
 —Pawnee Fort crossing ..... 199, 202-205  
 —pillage and robbery on ..... 25  
 —picnic celebration at Baldwin ..... 185  
 —routes mentioned ..... 54  
 —scurvy among troops on Santa Fe trail, 200  
 —statistics ..... 26  
 —traffic on, shifted north to Union Pa-  
     cific ..... 55  
 —1848, estimated ..... 423  
 Santa Rosa, Mexico ..... 155  
 Sappa creek, Northern Cheyennes killed  
     on ..... 348  
 Satank, Kiowa chief ..... 207  
 —George Peacock killed by ..... 203  
 —sketch of ..... 203  
 —squaws and children of, captured ..... 208  
 Satanta, Kiowa chief, captured by Sheri-  
     dan ..... 467  
 —credited with Peacock killing ..... 203  
 —in fight on Beaver creek ..... 339  
 —licking received at hands of Mathew-  
     son ..... 357  
 —sketch of ..... 203  
 Satterthwaite, J. M. .... 404  
 Sault Ste. Marie, Chippewa Indians at ..... 4  
 Saw Mills, owned or located by New  
     England Emigrant Aid Co. .... 10, 434  
 Sayer, Mr. —, South Reading, Mass., 99  
 Sayers, W. L. .... 402  
 Scammon Brothers, coal mining by ..... 274  
 Scammon, coal mining at ..... 274  
 —mine rescue station at ..... 280  
 Searritt, William C., cited ..... 477  
 Schaefers, Rev. William ..... 302  
 Schawe, Corwin, author ..... 188  
 Scherer, Mrs. Ralph ..... 404



- Schlanger, A. H., Pittsburg ..... 293  
 Schmidt, Paul, author ..... 188  
 Schnack Park, Larned ..... 186  
 Schofield, Gen. J. M. .... 62, 212  
     226, 241, 242, 245, 246, 248, 470  
 —accused of weakness and imbecility.... 246  
 —board of inspection appointed by.... 249  
 —Department of Missouri commanded  
   by ..... 460  
 —dilatatory tactics of ..... 227  
 —enmity against Blunt ..... 240  
 —geographical and topographical survey  
   made by ..... 227  
 —ignores Blunt's request for more  
   troops ..... 243  
 —orders to Blunt ignored ..... 235  
 —organizes Army of the Frontier..... 227  
 —resumes command Army of the Fron-  
   tier, 1863 ..... 238  
 —scored by Blunt for lack of coopera-  
   tion ..... 228, 229  
 —shifts headquarters to St. Louis.... 53  
 School attendance, required ..... 394  
 School lands, indemnity, commissioners to  
   select ..... 271  
 School law, 1903 ..... 385  
 Schuler, Martin J. .... 404  
 Scofield, Mrs. Dolores May, author.... 178  
 Scott, Harmon, of Iola ..... 266  
 Scott, John R., author ..... 178  
 Scott, Dr. John W. .... 271  
 Scott, Marion, reminiscences, cited .... 188  
 Scott, Gen. Winfield ..... 172  
 Scott City *News Chronicle*, cited.... 475, 477  
 Scott county, historical notes of.... 475  
 Scott County Historical Society.... 410, 475  
 Scott County State Park ..... 410  
 Scouts, Some Famous Kansas ..... 345  
 Scribners, New York publishers.... 76, 329  
*Scribner's Magazine*, cited ..... 74  
 Scrip, Kansas ..... 311  
 Scurvy, among troops ..... 196  
   —on Santa Fe trail ..... 200  
 Sedalia, Mo., captured by troops under  
   Shelby ..... 254  
 Sedgwick, Major John ..... 209  
   —brief sketch of ..... 206  
   —campaign against Kiowa and Comanche  
     Indians ..... 206  
 Sedgwick county ..... 301  
   —history of education in.... 478  
   —*Portrait and Biographical Album* of,  
     cited ..... 357  
 Sedgwick *Pantagraph* ..... 77  
 Seeley, J. H., of Pittsburg..... 285  
 Seitz, J. A. .... 405  
 Selden, old settlers' reunion held in, 481, 482  
 Seminole Indians, loyal refugees in Union  
   military service ..... 222  
 Seminole War, Florida ..... 206  
 Seton, Ernest Thompson ..... 300  
 Sevier, A. M., and Mark W. Delahay,  
   *Territorial Register* started by.... 13  
 Seward county ..... 16  
   —first school teacher of ..... 301  
   —honor roll of old settlers ..... 302  
 Sewer tile, manufactured at Pittsburg... 292  
 Sexton, Charles A., biographical sketch.. 35  
 Shaff, Samuel ..... 199  
 Shale and clay, extensive deposits at  
   Pittsburg ..... 289  
 Sharon, Woodward county, Okla. .... 134  
 Sharp's rifles ..... 44, 440  
   —used at Battle of Hickory Point... 39, 42  
 Shaw, Albert, author ..... 183  
 Shaw, J. Allen ..... 266, 267  
   —buried in Oak Hill cemetery, Lawrence, 270  
 Shaw, James ..... 266, 267  
   —biographical mention ..... 270  
 Shaw, James, killed by Indians..... 268  
 Shaw, Mrs. James, allowance by Govern-  
   ment for death of husband..... 270  
 Shaw ..... 481  
 Shawanoe ..... 7  
 Shawnee, bogus legislature met at.... 12  
   —interesting spots around ..... 406  
 Shawnee, Okla., Kickapoos settle near... 154  
 Shawnee Baptist Mission ..... 83, 84  
     92, 93, 96, 102  
   —founded by Johnston Lykins..... 90  
   —Jotham Meeker in charge ..... 91  
 Shawnee county ..... 91  
   —tablet to pioneers ..... 191  
 Shawnee Indians, settlement in Kansas.. 89  
 Shawnee Manual Labor School..... 9, 14  
 Shawnee Methodist Mission ..... 86  
   —described ..... 92  
   —historical notes of ..... 477  
   —lily pool at ..... 191  
   —near Shawnee Baptist Mission..... 90  
   —restoration activities at ..... 171, 172  
   —rock garden ..... 410  
 Shawnee Mission Floral Club... 72, 191, 410  
 Shawnee Mission Indian Historical So-  
   ciety ..... 477  
 Shawnee Quaker Mission, establishment  
   of ..... 90  
 Shauwaunowe Kesauthwau (*Shawnee  
 Sun*), account of ..... 6  
   —first newspaper in Kansas ..... 90  
 Sheep, driven overland to New Mexico.. 22  
   —herds driven to Chihuahua and Cali-  
     fornia ..... 23  
   —shipped from New Mexico ..... 18  
 Shelby, Gen. J. O. .... 226-228  
   —commanding division of Price's  
     army ..... 259, 260  
   —Missouri invaded by ..... 224  
   —Sedalia captured by ..... 254  
   —and Coffee, Blunt's pursuit of.... 225  
 Shepherd, —, at Hickory Point... 40, 41  
 Sherbon, Dr. Florence Brown..... 392  
 Sherburne, Adj. Gen. John P..... 60  
 Sherer, J. A., Mullinville ..... 481  
 Sheridan, Bernard James, "Stories of a  
   Kansan," published in *Western Spirit*.. 77  
 Sheridan, Gen. Philip H..... 54, 61, 62  
     145, 149, 344, 356, 455, 460-462, 465-469  
   —campaign against Indians in Indian  
     territory and Texas ..... 55  
   —captures Lone Wolf and Satanta ..... 467  
   —Comstock chief scout for ..... 353  
   —establishes Fort Sill ..... 468  
   —Fort Hays headquarters of..... 53, 56  
   —letter from Gov. Crawford cited.... 149  
   —orders Indians out of Kansas..... 451  
   —Indians to reservations..... 457  
   —*Personal Memoirs* cited ..... 343, 456  
   —refuses arms to Indians ..... 454  
   —winter campaign against Cheyennes... 58  
     463, 464  
 Sherman, Sen. John ..... 333, 337, 463  
   —letters cited ..... 329, 337, 342  
 Sherman, Gen. William T..... 62, 334-336  
     339-342, 452, 453, 457, 458, 463, 472  
   —appointed general in chief..... 468  
   —attitude regarding organization of  
     Eighteenth Kansas ..... 338  
   —Division of Missouri commanded by.. 332  
   —had little sympathy for Indians.... 333  
   —indictment of Wells, Fargo & Co. stage  
     line ..... 335  
   —ordered to protect overland highways.. 150  
   —quoted regarding Indian troubles in  
     Kansas ..... 329  
   —refuses to further ration Frontier  
     battalion ..... 462



- Sherman, Gen. William T., telegrams to  
Gov. Crawford, quoted.... 333, 334, 341  
Sherman county court house, laying of  
corner stone for new ..... 77  
Sherman school, Hutchinson, first teacher  
of ..... 300  
Sherman (Texas) *Patriot*, founded by  
Geo. A. Cutler ..... 44  
Shinn, Josiah Hazen, author ..... 182  
Shirley county, block house in ..... 59  
Shoal creek ..... 107  
Shoemaker, R. M. .... 335, 341  
—general superintendent Union Pacific... 331  
—provided with arms and ammunition  
for self protection ..... 332  
Shoo Fly creek ..... 116  
Short, Rev. Daniel ..... 269  
Short, Daniel Truman ..... 266, 267  
Short, Harry C. .... 266, 269-271  
—biographical sketch ..... 272  
Short, Capt. Oliver Francis, biographical  
sketch ..... 269  
—buried in Mount Muncie cemetery,  
Leavenworth ..... 270  
—contract for surveying ..... 266  
—surveying camp of ..... 266-268  
Short, Mrs. Oliver F. .... 271, 272  
—allowed \$5,000 by Government for  
death of husband ..... 270  
—assisted husband in surveys in Kansas, 269  
—claim against government ..... 270  
—informed of massacre of husband by  
Indians ..... 269  
Short, Truman ..... 268  
—buried in Mount Muncie cemetery,  
Leavenworth ..... 270  
Short Method Refining Company, Pitts-  
burg, subsidy given to ..... 285  
Short's creek ..... 268  
Shovels, electrical and steam for coal  
mining ..... 274  
Shun-ma-lo, Osage chief ..... 117  
Shute, 99 ..... 99  
Shute, Caleb ..... 98  
Shute, Joseph ..... 102  
Sierra del Carmen mountains ..... 154  
Sillpah Sinpah, Kiowa name of William  
Mathewson ..... 357  
Silver smelter, Pittsburg ..... 234  
—not a financial success for owners... 285  
Simcox, S. M., quoted ..... 25  
Simmerwell, Robert, biographical sketch.. 91  
Simmons, India H., author ..... 475  
Simmons, John S., place and year of  
birth ..... 300  
Simpkins, F. B., cited ..... 162  
Simpson, S. N. .... 437, 439  
Sioux Indians ..... 147, 330, 342, 462  
—attack troops on Arickaree creek... 458-460  
—campaign against, on Powder river... 149  
—camped on Pawnee Fork ..... 329  
—depredations of ..... 468  
—fight with U. S. troops in Black Hills, 150  
—Kansas offenses charged against ..... 472  
—raid Republic county ..... 469  
—Rain-in-the-Face, chief of ..... 350  
—Sharp Grover once lived with ..... 351  
—village of, on Solomon river ..... 353  
—war in Minnesota, 1862 ..... 141  
Sitting Bull, Sioux chief ..... 298  
Siwinoe Kesibwi (*Shawnee Sun*), account  
of ..... 6  
Six Mile Creek, on Santa Fe trail ..... 449  
Skins, number imported from New  
Mexico, in 1859 ..... 18  
Slavery, resolution of New Hampshire  
state Democratic Convention regard-  
ing ..... 297  
—question ..... 7  
Sleeper, H. S. .... 320, 323  
Slosson, Edwin Emery, author ..... 178  
Slough creek, capture of proslavery  
camp and flag on ..... 40  
Smallpox, freighting hazardous in 1854  
on account of ..... 21  
Smelters, in Pittsburg district ..... 281  
Smith, Gen. A. J. .... 254  
—at Fort Harker ..... 332, 341  
Smith, J. Albert, author ..... 478  
Smith, Lieut. Benjamin Franklin, bio-  
graphical mention ..... 107  
Smith, Caleb, U. S. Secretary of Interior, 318  
Smith, Charles, cited ..... 478  
Smith, Judge Charles W. .... 189  
Smith, E. D. .... 267  
Smith, Elizabeth ..... 28  
Smith, Frank D. .... 298  
Smith, Helen ..... 403  
Smith, Gen. Kirby, Blunt ordered to  
move against ..... 264  
—surrenders forces under. .... 264  
Smith, S. J. .... 332  
Smith, William E., author, cited ..... 79  
Smith Center, historical notes of... 478, 479  
—old settlers' reunion held in ..... 482  
Smith county, historical notes of... 478, 479  
*Smith County Pioneer*, Smith Center,  
sixtieth anniversary of ..... 478, 479  
Smith-Hughes act, mentioned ..... 238  
Smoky crossing, between Zarah and  
Larned ..... 54  
Smoky Hill region ..... 149  
Smoky Hill river ..... 53, 145, 148  
184, 206-209, 333, 340, 345, 408, 468, 470  
—forts to be established on ..... 150  
—Indian attack on traders ..... 350  
—depredations on ..... 453  
—Pond Creek tributary of ..... 56  
—Santa Fe stage road crossing near Fort  
Harker ..... 55  
—war parties of Indians on ..... 251  
Smoky Hill route ..... 56, 57, 327, 335  
—Indian depredations on... 326, 330, 341, 458  
—Indians in possession of 100 miles of... 440  
—posts guarding ..... 52  
—resumption of service on ..... 340  
Smoky Hill Stage line ..... 339  
—suspension of service on ..... 334, 336  
Smoky Hill valley, chain of forts along... 55  
—raided by Cheyennes ..... 456  
—railroad construction up ..... 328, 334  
Snake creek, Clark county ..... 122  
Snoddy, Col. James D., arrested for dis-  
obedience ..... 253  
Snow, Mr., formerly of Brown county... 444  
Snow, F. H., cited ..... 438  
Snow Camp creek (southeast Kansas)... 111  
Snowstorm of April, 1873, recalled... 402  
Sobrinhas river, Mexico ..... 156  
Sod fort, Jewell county ..... 60  
Sod Town, now Stafford, brief history,  
by Helen Akin ..... 302  
Soldier creek, Indianola crossing of... 34  
Soldiers' Home, Leavenworth ..... 372  
Solomon, Gen. — ..... 225  
—abandons Indian country after assum-  
ing command ..... 223  
—arrests Col. Weer ..... 223  
—defeated by Shelby and Cooper at  
Newtonia ..... 226  
—supply trains at Rhea's Mills, guarded  
by ..... 233  
Solomon river ..... 345, 351, 451  
—block houses erected on ..... 457  
—Indian outbreaks along ..... 326, 461  
—North fork of ..... 58  
—patrols on ..... 467, 470  
—Sioux village on ..... 353

- Solomon valley, Indian raids in.... 330, 456  
     465, 466, 468, 471  
 —troops stationed in ..... 461, 471  
 —ration settlers ..... 472  
 "Some Famous Kansas Frontier Scouts,"  
 article by Paul I. Wellman..... 345-359  
 "Some Phases of the Industrial History  
 of Pittsburg, Kansas," article by Fred  
 N. Howell ..... 273-294  
 Souders, Clifford V. .... 408  
 Soule irrigation canal ..... 406  
 South Carolina flag, captured at fight on  
 Slough creek ..... 40  
 South Carolinians, at Hickory Point..... 29  
 South Pass, Rocky Mountains, compared  
 with Bridger's Pass ..... 197  
 South Platte river ..... 61, 141  
 —Indian depredations on ..... 458  
 Southern Cheyennes. *See* Cheyenne  
     Indians, Southern.  
 Southern Kansas, Fort Scott, date of  
     starting in doubt ..... 12  
 Southern Kansas Herald, Osawatimie,  
     started by Charles E. Griffith ..... 14  
 Southwest Historical Society, Dodge City, 190  
 Southwestern Interstate Coal Operator's  
     Association ..... 276  
 Southwestern Social Science Quarterly .. 306  
 Sowers, F. A., pioneer publisher..... 476  
 Spanish-American War ..... 410, 411  
 Spanish traders ..... 347  
 Sparks, old settlers' reunion at..... 481  
 Spearville News, cited ..... 188  
 Specie, demanded by Mexicans for sup-  
     plies sold ..... 420  
 —great part of, drained from New  
     Mexico by demands of commerce.... 18  
 Speer, John ..... 10, 13, 309  
 —biographer of James H. Lane ..... 308  
 —difficulties encountered in starting  
     *Kansas Tribune* ..... 12  
 —editor and publisher of *New Era*,  
     Medina, Ohio ..... 11  
 Spencer, K. A. .... 274, 275, 277  
 Spencer carbines ..... 459  
 Spillman creek, Saline valley, troops sta-  
     tioned ..... 471  
 Spottsylvania, battle of ..... 206  
 Spriggs, Wm. .... 320, 323  
 Spring, L. W., cited ..... 308, 310  
 Spring (Ne-is-ka-bi-ka-kha) creek ..... 115  
 Spring river ..... 106, 110, 139  
 Spring township, Harper county ..... 118  
 Spring Turkey creek ..... 205  
 Springfield, Mo., Lane's Brigade at.... 216  
 —depot supply at ..... 230  
 Sprouse, C. W. .... 188  
 Spurs, Battle of, cited ..... 478  
 Squatter Sovereign, Atchison... 153, 269, 437  
 —starting of ..... 12  
 Stafford, old settlers' reunion at..... 470  
 —once known as Sod Town ..... 302  
 Stafford county, first tornado in..... 405  
 —historical notes of ..... 479  
 Stafford Courier ..... 405  
 Stage stations on Smoky Hill route.... 57  
 Stages, guarded by military escorts.... 327  
 Stahl, Frank M., author "History of  
     Burlingame" ..... 77  
 Staked Plains ..... 442  
 —battle of ..... 468  
 —war against Comanche Indians on.... 298  
 Stamm, John, cited ..... 480  
 Stanley, Clark, author ..... 180  
 Stanton, E. M., Secretary of War..... 221  
     331, 332, 452  
 Starling Medical College, Columbus, Ohio, 211  
 State Federation of Labor..... 388  
 State Society of Labor..... 388, 394  
 State Temperance Union ..... 65  
 Steamboats, ascend Missouri river for  
     goods for New Mexican trade..... 17  
 —burned by Hindman's forces ..... 237  
 —by Blunt's forces ..... 238  
 —Confederate, captured by Federal troops  
     at Little Rock ..... 236, 237  
 —decline of travel on Missouri river by, 363  
 —wagons for Mexican war brought west  
     by ..... 416  
 Steele, Capt. — ..... 206, 208, 209  
 Steele, Gen. — ..... 246  
 —Camden expedition of ..... 250  
 —Texas troops under ..... 245  
 Steele, Mr. —, of Iola ..... 266  
 Steele, James, Indian commissioner..... 151  
     443, 444, 446  
 Steele, John, author ..... 180  
 Steinmetz, & Co., Pittsburg ..... 289  
 Sterling, T. W. .... 190  
 Sterling College, forty-fifth anniversary  
     of ..... 407  
 Sterling Kansas Bulletin ..... 407  
 Steuart, George H., Captain 1st U. S.  
     cavalry ..... 196, 204  
 —Kiowa Indians pursued by ..... 208  
 Stevens, Aaron Dwight ..... 33  
 —biographical sketch ..... 33  
 —"Captain Whipple" an alias of..... 29  
 —"Kickapoo" a nickname of..... 39  
 Stevens, Arthur Alonzo, author ..... 178  
 Stevens, Robert S.... 313, 314, 320, 323-325  
 —associate of Charles Robinson ..... 312  
 —Kansas bonds sold to ..... 311  
 —sold to Indian Office ..... 312  
 Stevens, William C. .... 304  
 Stewart, Donald W., state commander  
     American Legion ..... 299  
 Stillings, Vinton, pontoon bridge across  
     Missouri built by ..... 376  
 —official opening of ..... 376, 377  
 Stillwell, Jack, scout ..... 345  
 —member Forsyth expedition ..... 353  
 Stillwell, S. E. .... 345  
 Stockbridge, outpost of Shawnee Mission,  
     location and date of opening..... 5  
 Stockbridge church ..... 87  
 Stockbridge mission, abandonment of, 84, 86  
 Stockbridge Indians ..... 86, 87  
 Stockton, historical notes of ..... 474  
 —old settlers' reunion held in..... 481  
 Stockton Record, cited ..... 189  
 Stolzenbach post office and mission house, 188  
 Stone, — ..... 311  
 Stone, Jesse ..... 304  
 Stone, R. H., St. Louis commission  
     merchant ..... 86  
 Stone City, coal mine explosion at, 278-280  
 Stone corral, on Santa Fe trail ..... 450  
 Stoufer, Abe K., roll of old settlers of  
     Seward county prepared by ..... 302  
 Stoves, manufactured at Leavenworth... 366  
 Street, William D., cited ..... 348  
 Stringfellow, John H., publisher of  
     *Squatter Sovereign* ..... 12  
 Stumpy arroyo ..... 268  
 Sturgis, Gen. Samuel Davis..... 214, 215  
     218, 220, 223  
 —biographical mention ..... 209  
 —efforts to prevent enlistment of loyal  
     Indians ..... 222  
 —Fort Smith captured by forces under. 247  
 Strawhecker, Widow ..... 449  
 Sublette ..... 188  
 —old settlers' reunion held in..... 481  
 Sugar creek ..... 108  
 Suggett, John W., early day mail carrier, 404  
 Su-ka-tunk (Turkey) creek ..... 112  
 Sullivan, John L. .... 300



Sully, Gen. Alfred.... 457, 458, 463, 467, 470  
 —issues arms to Indians ..... 455, 456  
 —moves against Indians south of the  
   Arkansas ..... 460  
 —patrols Saline and Solomon river.. 467, 470  
 —rations destitute settlers of Saline and  
   Solomon regions ..... 472  
 Sulphur springs ..... 444  
 Summerfield *Sun* ..... 403  
 Summit Springs, Colo. .... 469  
 Sumner, Col. Edwin V. .... 33, 134, 199  
 —campaign of ..... 348  
 —nicknamed "Bull of the Woods"..... 196  
 —sketch of ..... 196  
 Sumner county, in the seventies ..... 405  
 —surveys in ..... 269  
 Sumner *Gazette*, founded by J. P. and  
   D. D. Cone ..... 14  
 Summit Springs, Tall Bull's band de-  
   feated at ..... 349  
*Sun*, Leavenworth ..... 375  
 Sun Dance, Sioux ..... 350  
 Supreme Court, Kansas ..... 310  
 Survey of southern boundary of  
   Kansas ..... 104-139  
 —appropriations for ..... 105  
 —authorized by Congress in 1856..... 105  
 —description of party on..... 111  
 —J. E. Weyss, surveyor of..... 106  
 —J. H. Clarke and Hugh Campbell,  
   astronomers for ..... 106  
 —Col. Joseph E. Johnston in command  
   of expedition ..... 105, 106  
 —plat in possession of Kansas State His-  
   torical Society ..... 106  
 —termination of ..... 107  
 Surveyors, United States, Massacred by  
   Indians, Lone Tree, Meade County,  
   1874, article by Mrs. Frank C. Mont-  
   gomery ..... 266-272  
 —protection to ..... 196  
 —suffering from frozen feet ..... 270  
 Sutley, Zachary Taylor, author..... 180  
 Swain, George Thomas, author..... 182  
 Swanson, Nina, cited ..... 379, 386  
 Swedish settlements, near Enterprise, 191, 192  
 Swem, E. G. librarian of William and  
   Mary College ..... 106  
 Sykes, Major General —, commander  
   of District of Southern Kansas ..... 253  
 Syracuse, Fort Aubrey located near town  
   of ..... 57

T.

Tabor, Milton, author ..... 187, 404  
 Tahlequah, capital of Cherokee Nation.. 223  
 Tahosah, Kiowa chief ..... 200, 201  
 Hall Bull, Cheyenne war chief..... 343  
 —raids Council Grove ..... 454, 455  
 —Republic county ..... 469  
 —village of, destroyed by Maj. Gen.  
   Carr ..... 469, 470  
 Tall Timbers, Cheyenne name for Big  
   Timbers ..... 207  
 Tanhouse, Lieut. — ..... 449  
 Tankersley, William, ranch of ..... 154  
 Tappan, S. F., Peace commissioner..... 342  
 Tappen, Lieut. — ..... 248  
 Tar creek ..... 110  
 Tarvin, Edmund B. .... 403  
 Tas-ca-tap-ia, Kickapoo Indian ..... 156  
 Taylor, Lieut. — ..... 206  
 Taylor, Edward T., Rooks county remi-  
   niscences by ..... 403  
 Taylor, Lieut. Joseph Hancock ..... 115  
 —biographical mention of ..... 108  
 Taylor, Nathaniel G., Indian Peace com-  
   missioner ..... 342

Taylor, W. L. .... 291  
 Taylor & Looose, Pittsburg ..... 292  
 —establish tile factory at Pittsburg... 291  
 Taylor's battery ..... 115  
 Teachers, for Indians in new territory... 3  
 Teamsters, wages for, during Mexican  
   war ..... 418  
 Tebbbs, O. B., early resident of Ozawkie.. 34  
 Tecumseh ..... 11  
*Tecumseh Note Book*, founded by S. G.  
   Reid ..... 14  
 Telegraph road, Arkansas..... 235, 236  
 Temperatures, 1856 ..... 30, 31  
 Tennessee soldiers, Fort Kirwin estab-  
   lished by ..... 58  
 Terre Haute, Ind., Pittsburg clay shipped  
   to tile factory at, for experimental pur-  
   poses ..... 291  
 Territorial militia ..... 38  
*Territorial Register*, Leavenworth, found-  
   ing and destruction of ..... 13  
 Terry, Gen. Alfred S. H., Indian Peace  
   commissioner ..... 342  
 Texas, brush country of south..... 75  
 —cattle, driven to Dodge City..... 410  
 —shipped over Kansas Pacific railroad, 27  
 —trail, Sumner county ..... 405  
 —cavalry pursued through Van Buren,  
   Ark. .... 236  
 —Indian tribes to be settled in ..... 150  
 —loyalists of ..... 250  
 —Palo Pinto county ..... 477  
 —plans for expedition to, defeated..... 250  
 —Panhandle, buffalo hunting in ..... 355  
 —high plains country of..... 75  
 —ranching developed in ..... 75  
 —regiments, engagement with Kicka-  
   poos ..... 155-157  
 —Sheridan's campaign in ..... 451  
 Texas county, Okla. .... 131  
 Texas Press Association, originated by  
   Dr. Geo. A. Cutler ..... 44  
 Texas State Prison, Satata confined in.. 203  
 Texas street, Abilene ..... 190  
 Texas University ..... 75  
 Thacher, T. Dwight, and Norman Allen,  
   found Lawrence *Republican* ..... 13  
 Thayer, —, of Nebraska ..... 335  
 Thayer, Gen. —, troops under at Fort  
   Smith ..... 263  
 Thayer, Eli ..... 431, 440  
 —*A History of the Kansas Crusade*,  
   cited ..... 308  
 —officer New England Emigrant Aid  
   Company ..... 430  
 Thayer ..... 190  
 —in 1876 ..... 407  
 —First Presbyterian church ..... 190  
 —St. Patrick's Catholic church ..... 190  
 The-man-who-breaks-the-marrow-bones,  
   Cheyenne chief ..... 456  
 Thisler, Mrs. O. L. .... 190  
 Thomas county ..... 176  
 Thomas Mission, Michigan, men-  
   tioned ..... 90, 91  
 Thomas Station, for Ottawa Indians on  
   Grand river ..... 4  
 Thompson, Hugh L., author ..... 186  
 Thompson, Lieut. John A. .... 113, 114  
   118, 122-124, 133  
 —biographical mention of ..... 108  
 Thorndike, Raphael Sherman ..... 329  
 Thorne, Mrs. F. P., Waterville pioneer.. 299  
 Thorpe, —, Indian trader at Big  
   Timbers ..... 207  
 Thrasher, Amanda McClure, author .... 178  
 Thrasher, Capt. Luther A. .... 267  
   268, 270-272  
 —biographical sketch ..... 271



- Thrasher, Capt. Luther A., buried in  
Ohio ..... 269  
—*In Memory of Luther A. Thrasher* by  
Amanda McClure Thrasher ..... 178  
—surveying contract of ..... 266, 269  
Throckmorton, George, reminiscences of,  
in *Burlington Daily Republican*..... 78  
Thwaites, Reuben G., cited .... 51, 121, 208  
Tile, made at Pittsburg ..... 289  
Tilma, Tom ..... 408  
Titus, Col. H. T., sword of, captured at  
Hickory Point ..... 40  
Todd, Mrs. R. F. .... 272  
Todd, W. M., president Leavenworth  
Board of Trade ..... 362, 378  
Tom Green county, Texas, Kansas Kickapoo  
headed for ..... 154  
Tonganoxie *Mirror*, fiftieth anniversary of, 406  
Tola's ferry, mentioned ..... 108  
Torrey bankrupt law, mentioned ..... 377  
Topeka ..... 153, 436, 455, 456  
—Butterfield Overland Despatch started  
daily schedule from ..... 327  
—center of free state activity ..... 432  
—fifth printing point in territorial  
Kansas ..... 12  
—First Baptist Church, seventy-fifth  
anniversary of ..... 304  
—Fort Simple, a wooden stockade built  
at ..... 60  
—free state legislature ..... 269  
—historical sketch of, in *Merchant's*  
*Journal* ..... 408  
—known as an Aid Company town ..... 434  
—Nineteenth Kansas Cavalry mustered  
at ..... 463, 464  
—old settlers' reunion held in ..... 482  
—school house built by Emigrant Aid  
Company ..... 438  
—site of free state government ..... 12  
—territorial government formed at ..... 10  
—troops stationed in ..... 461  
—Wesleyan Methodist Church ..... 35  
Topeka-Atchison stage road ..... 29  
Topeka Board of Trade chartered ..... 362  
Topeka Constitution, 1855 ..... 307  
—first printed ..... 12  
Topeka Constitutional Convention .. 44, 360  
Topeka *Daily Capital*, cited ..... 187, 188  
206, 302, 404, 407, 442  
Topeka *Mail and Breeze*, cited ..... 212  
Topeka *State Journal*, cited .... 18, 459, 477  
Topeka Town Association, forming of... 433  
Topeka Typographical Union, No. 121,  
golden jubilee of ..... 408  
Totten, Gen. —, a commander in Army  
of the Frontier ..... 227  
Trade, Mexican, high duties decrease ex-  
tent of ..... 20  
—New Mexican, goods brought up Mis-  
souri river ..... 17  
Trader and trapper, epoch of ..... 346  
Traders, Spanish ..... 347  
Trading Post, Linn county ..... 172  
—on Osage river ..... 260  
Trail, Fort Harker-Fort Larned to junc-  
tion with Santa Fe trail ..... 55  
Trails, Southwest, notes on ..... 475  
Trans-Mississippi Congress, mentioned .. 378  
Transportation, Pittsburg favored by  
freight rates ..... 278  
Transportation day, celebrated at Hutch-  
inson ..... 303  
Trask, Josiah C. .... 314  
Travois, Indian ..... 303  
Treaty, at Fort Atkinson, with Kiowa,  
Comanche, and Apache ..... 21  
—with Kansas and Osages, 1825, men-  
tioned ..... 89  
Trego county, Indian operations in, 1867, 57  
—military posts in ..... 58  
Truck delivery service ..... 294  
Trudeau, Pierre, death of ..... 354  
—in Forsyth expedition ..... 353  
—and Stillwell, volunteer to go for help  
for Forsyth survivors ..... 353, 354  
Tucker, Seth M. .... 300  
Turkey creek ..... 112, 419  
—McPherson county ..... 205  
Turkey Leg, Sioux Indian, village of, on  
Solomon river ..... 353  
Turney, Capt. — ..... 415  
Turnley, Ned ..... 300  
Tuttle, Miss Hattie A., became Mrs.  
G. A. Cutler ..... 44  
Twelve Mile creek ..... 112  
Twitchell, R. E., cited ..... 129
- U.
- Ulsh, Isaac, reminiscences cited ..... 186  
Union Pacific railroad ..... 360, 361  
—Eastern division ..... 62, 337  
—building westward ..... 326  
—completed to Fort Harker ..... 330  
—construction of ..... 55  
—Governor Crawford appeals to War  
Department for arms and ammuni-  
tion for workmen on ..... 331  
—Indian attacks while building.. 330, 331  
—protection given to ..... 333  
—R. M. Shoemaker, general superin-  
tendent ..... 330  
—request for additional protection.. 341  
—W. W. Wright, chief engineer of... 336  
—*See, also*, Kansas Pacific railroad.  
United Clay Products Co., Pittsburg,  
Nesch interests sold to ..... 291  
United Mine Workers of America, aid  
sent to families of victims of coal mine  
disaster by ..... 279  
United States, condemns Chivington for  
Sand Creek massacre ..... 145  
—Army, in Mexican War, problem of  
provisioning ..... 415  
—military divisions of ..... 61  
—plans in 1865 to bring Indian wars  
to close ..... 147  
—provisions for, captured by  
Mormons ..... 197  
—Sherman appointed general in chief, 468  
—supply trains on Santa Fe trail sent  
out unguarded ..... 418  
—*See, also*, United States regiments.  
—Department of Kansas ..... 219, 222  
227, 251, 252  
—combined with Department of the  
Missouri ..... 225  
—establishment of ..... 218  
—formerly included in Department  
of the Mississippi ..... 220  
—General Blunt in command of... 218  
—Nebraska district ..... 141  
—reinstated ..... 250  
—replaced by Department of the  
Missouri ..... 148  
—states comprising ..... 218  
—territory included in ..... 218-220  
—troops transferred to Department  
of Arkansas ..... 250  
—Department of the Mississippi,  
formerly included Department of  
Kansas ..... 220  
—Department of the Missouri... 149, 196  
240, 344, 468  
—commander of ..... 469  
—displaced Department of Kansas, 148  
—General Hancock commander of... 326

United States, Army, Department of the  
 Missouri, headquarters at St.  
 Louis ..... 26  
 ———— Kansas a part of ..... 53  
 ———— places where variously located... 62  
 ———— Platte division ..... 469  
 ———— provides for destitute settlers  
 wants ..... 472  
 ———— states included in ..... 61  
 ———— subdivisions of ..... 62  
 ———— Department of the Pacific..... 107, 196  
 ———— Department of the Platte, military  
 division of ..... 146  
 ———— District of the Border ..... 242  
 ———— District of the Frontier..... 242  
 ———— ———— Blunt in command of..... 250  
 ———— District of Nebraska, reorganized  
 into Department of the Platte.... 146  
 ———— District of New Mexico ..... 143  
 ———— District of South Kansas ..... 253  
 ———— District of the Upper Arkansas... 145  
 ———— ———— 148, 252  
 ———— Division of the Missouri, early com-  
 manders ..... 62  
 ———— ———— organized in 1865 ..... 61, 62  
 ———— Attorney-general ..... 220  
 ———— Census office ..... 182  
 ———— ———— reports ..... 360  
 ———— bonds ..... 311  
 ———— Bureau of American Ethnology, annual  
 report cited ..... 442  
 ———— Geological Survey, reports cited.. 275, 276  
 ———— Indian Affairs, Department of..... 6  
 ———— Indian bureau ..... 466  
 ———— ———— criticized for selling arms to Indians, 462  
 ———— ———— Commissioner of ..... 270, 457  
 ———— ———— reports cited ..... 140, 141, 143  
 ———— ———— 145, 152, 155, 159, 420, 456, 467  
 ———— Indian Department ..... 87  
 ———— ———— criticized by Col. J. E. Johnston... 125  
 ———— Indian Peace Commissions ..... 341-343  
 ———— ———— 349, 457  
 ———— ———— arrival in Kansas ..... 342  
 ———— ———— personnel of ..... 342  
 ———— ———— sustains war policy ..... 463  
 ———— ———— at treaty on Little Arkansas,  
 1865 ..... 150, 151, 442-450  
 ———— infantry, stationed at Wichita..... 58  
 ———— Interior, Department of ..... 145, 245  
 ———— ———— 311-318, 466  
 ———— ———— denounced for selling arms to  
 Indians ..... 453  
 ———— ———— in conflict with War Department... 452  
 ———— ———— Secretary of ..... 266, 311  
 ———— Internal Revenue, Department of... 391  
 ———— Justice, Department of, charges against  
 Blunt and others ..... 211  
 ———— ———— Land Office, Commissioner of, cited.. 266  
 ———— ———— mails, guarding of ..... 195  
 ———— ———— Military Academy ..... 196  
 ———— ———— Peace Commissioners, Mormon war... 197  
 ———— ———— regiments, First cavalry ..... 104, 107  
 ———— ———— ———— 196, 197, 199, 201, 203, 209  
 ———— ———— ———— companies F, G, H ..... 206  
 ———— ———— ———— company K ..... 195, 206  
 ———— ———— First infantry, occupy site of Can-  
 tonment Martin in 1826 ..... 51  
 ———— ———— Second dragoons ..... 197, 207  
 ———— ———— Second infantry ..... 206  
 ———— ———— Fifth cavalry ..... 464  
 ———— ———— ———— destroys Tall Bull's village.. 469, 470  
 ———— ———— Sixth infantry ..... 107, 196, 197, 205  
 ———— ———— Seventh cavalry ..... 380  
 ———— ———— ———— at Fort Hays, 1867 to 1870.. 53, 56  
 ———— ———— ———— destroys Black Kettle's Cheyenne  
 village ..... 446, 464-467  
 ———— ———— ———— organized at Fort Riley ..... 53  
 ———— ———— ———— six companies of, transferred to  
 Platte ..... 339  
 ———— ———— ———— Staked Plains campaign ..... 468  
 ———— ———— ———— under Custer ..... 329, 330

United States, regiments, Tenth  
 cavalry ..... 339, 458, 459  
 ———— engagement with Indians near  
 Fort Hays ..... 462, 463  
 ———— Eleventh colored, Blunt authorized  
 to recruit ..... 249  
 ———— Seventy-ninth colored, Captain  
 Thrasher quartermaster of ..... 271  
 ———— rifles and muskets ..... 39, 44  
 ———— signal service station, Leavenworth... 362  
 ———— surveyors, massacred by Indians, Lone  
 Tree, Meade county, 1874, article by  
 Mrs. Frank C. Montgomery..... 266  
 ———— War Department ..... 140, 222, 327  
 ———— ———— 331, 336, 376, 410, 425, 453, 455, 457, 466  
 ———— ———— in conflict with Interior Department, 452  
 ———— Secretary of ..... 214, 218, 220, 222, 223  
 ———— ———— 242, 249-251, 264, 327, 366, 452, 465  
 ———— ———— reports of, cited..... 53, 62  
 ———— ———— ———— 339, 341, 344, 469  
 ———— ———— statistics on Indian warfare in  
 1868-1869 ..... 472, 473  
 United States Biographical Dictionary,  
 Kansas, cited ..... 269  
 University Daily Kansan, Lawrence,  
 twentieth anniversary edition of..... 299  
 University Geological Survey of Kansas.  
 See, Kansas Geological Survey.  
 University of Kansas. See Kansas Uni-  
 versity.  
 Upson, J. F., reminiscences cited..... 186  
 Ute Indians, uprising in Colorado..... 350  
 Utica, founding of ..... 476  
 Utica Star-Courier, cited ..... 476

## V.

Van Buren, Ark., Blunt attacks rebels at, 235  
 ———— raid ..... 212  
 Van Horn, ———— ..... 448  
 Van Marter, Mrs. Anna ..... 407  
 Veale, George W., appreciation of J. H.  
 Lane ..... 308, 309  
 Verdigris river ..... 111-118  
 ———— 115, 137-139, 191, 244  
 Vermillion river, Barrett crossing on... 191  
 Vestal, Stanley, cited ..... 359  
 Vickers, W. W. .... 190  
 Vieux, Louis, ferry at Soldier creek cross-  
 ing operated by ..... 34  
 ———— Pottawatomie-French half breed.... 34  
 Vigilantes, W. P. Hackney attorney for.. 298  
 Virginia genealogies, index to, mentioned, 181  
 Virkus, Frederick Adams, author..... 183  
 Visscher, William Lightfoot, author, cited, 357  
 Vitriified brick, made at Pittsburg.. 289, 290

## W.

Wabash river, Indiana, Kickapoos resided  
 on ..... 153  
 Wabaunsee, founding of ..... 408, 434  
 ———— grist mill located in ..... 434  
 ———— old settlers' reunion held in ..... 482  
 Wabaunsee county, historical sketches of, 301  
 Wabaunsee County Historical Society, re-  
 organization of ..... 304  
 Waddell, Russell, Majors &, freight con-  
 tractors ..... 427  
 Wade, Senator Benjamin F. .... 317  
 Wagon trains, banded together for pro-  
 tection ..... 422  
 ———— Pawnee attacks on ..... 420  
 ———— War Department orders for protection  
 of ..... 327  
 ———— Westport, Mo., crowded with ..... 24  
 Wagonbed Springs, on Cimarron..... 189  
 Wagons, for American army in  
 Mexico ..... 416-418  
 ———— number manufactured in Leavenworth, 366



- Wakarusa, first number *Herald of Freedom* dated at ..... 10
- Wakarusa creek ..... 32
- Wakarusa war, mentioned ..... 47
- Wakeeney, Trego county ..... 58
- Walden, J. M., and Edmund Babb, Quindaro *Chindowan* founded by ..... 13
- Waldo, David, freighter ..... 425
- Walker, Capt. Wm. .... 200
- biographical mention ..... 202
- escort for English lord ..... 199
- Wall, Bernhard, author ..... 183
- Wall coping, produced at Pittsburg ..... 292
- Wallace county ..... 178
- surveyors in ..... 269
- Walnut creek ..... 200, 209, 465
- Allison's ranch at mouth of ..... 199, 206
- crossings of, in Barton county ..... 199, 206
- Walnut river, Cowley county ..... 115
- Walrond, Z. T., "Annals of Osborne County," cited ..... 59
- Walsh, Richard J., cited ..... 356
- Walter, W. L., Pittsburg ..... 292
- Walters, Prof. J. D., cited ..... 439
- Walters, Mrs. Maude Owens, author ..... 178
- Walton, Mary, wife of Ira D. Blanchard, 90
- Wamego *Reporter*, cited ..... 409
- War bonds, Kansas ..... 311, 314
- Ward, John ..... 210
- Ware, Eugene Fitch, author ..... 179
- Warren, Raymond, author ..... 183
- "Was Governor John A. Martin a Prohibitionist?" article by James C. Malin ..... 63- 72
- Wasaspe oche (Black Bear) creek ..... 136
- Washburn College, Topeka, sixty-seventh anniversary of ..... 304
- Washington, Gen. George ..... 300, 410, 411
- two hundredth anniversary of birth of, 191
- Washington, George, Delaware guide, 108, 120
- Washington, George, Kickapoo Indian ..... 157
- Washington, D. C. .... 147
- Washington, Kan., history of post office ..... 475
- St. Paul's Lutheran church, 25th anniversary of ..... 480
- Washington county, given seed wheat by legislature ..... 472
- historical notes of ..... 474, 475
- razing of court house ..... 475
- reminiscences of ..... 407
- threatened by Indians ..... 142
- Washington county, Okla. .... 138
- Washington County Register, Washington, cited ..... 407, 474, 475
- Washington elm, presented to Kansas ..... 410
- Washington High School ..... 176
- Washita river, battle of ..... 464- 467
- Black Kettle's camp on ..... 349
- Washita valley ..... 446
- Waterbury, Mrs. Emeline ..... 195
- Watermelons, captured by Hickory Point soldiers ..... 46
- Waterville, tales of early ..... 299
- Waterville High School ..... 299
- Waterville Telegraph, founding of ..... 153
- Watie, Gen. Stand. C. S. A. .... 239
- rebel forces under ..... 227, 228
- Watterson, Col. Henry ..... 300
- Watunk a kashink (Pumpkin) creek ..... 112
- Wayman, William, reminiscences of ..... 185
- Wea Indians, mentioned ..... 90
- Weaver, Mrs. B. O., Mullinville ..... 481
- Weaver, Gen. James B. .... 300
- presidential candidate ..... 162
- Weaver, S., old Meeker press in possession of ..... 16
- Webb, James Josiah, author ..... 180
- Webb, Thomas H. .... 438, 439
- secretary Emigrant Aid Co. .... 431
- Weed, Thurlow, of Albany Journal ..... 430
- Weer, Col. William ..... 225
- arrested by subordinate ..... 223
- expedition commanded by ..... 223
- Weir City, Lanyon smelter located at ..... 282
- Weir City Zinc Co., zinc production of 1893 ..... 284
- Welfare commission ..... 390, 393
- Weller, Lemuel H., of Iowa ..... 163
- Wellington, Catherine, letter quoted ..... 99
- Wellington, Board of Trade chartered ..... 362
- cyclone at ..... 408
- during a storm ..... 403
- history of, featured in *Wichita Eagle* ..... 405
- Wellington Daily News ..... 405
- Wellman, Manly Wade ..... 403, 408
- Wellman, Paul I. .... 187, 406
- author of series of Indian articles published in *Wichita Eagle* ..... 78
- feature editor on *Wichita Eagle* ..... 306
- "How the Buffalo Hunters Fought a War of Their Own," cited ..... 298
- "Some Famous Kansas Frontier Scouts" ..... 345- 359
- Wells, — ..... 30, 31
- Wells, Mr. —, operated wagon on Santa Fe trail ..... 129
- Wells Fargo & Co., Holladay stage line up Smoky Hill valley purchased by ..... 335
- Welty, Raymond, author, cited ..... 26
- Wertzberger, Dr. H. J., vice president Wabaunsee County Historical Society ..... 304
- West, Captain ..... 98
- West Point, Mo. .... 108, 260, 261
- West Point Military Academy ..... 106
- Westport, Mo., arrival of Mexican trains and traders at ..... 24
- fight near ..... 258, 259
- Gen. Curtis moves headquarters to ..... 257
- in 1836 ..... 92
- merchants complain of lack of business, 21
- proslavery in sentiment ..... 22
- shared overland trade with Independence ..... 20
- trade with New Mexico affected by Civil War ..... 24
- Westport Landing, a popular shipping point ..... 21
- Western Engineer, first steamboat to go up Missouri river ..... 51
- Western Home Journal, Lawrence, cited ..... 269, 270
- Western Kansas World, Wakeeney ..... 303
- Western Spirit, Paola, cited ..... 77, 404
- Western Star, Coldwater, cited ..... 188
- Western States Commercial Congress ..... 378
- Western Times, Sharon Springs, cited ..... 302
- Wetmore ..... 188
- Wetmore Spectator, cited ..... 478
- Weyss, J. E., member Johnston's corps, and survey work of Southern boundary of Kansas done by ..... 106
- 111-114, 116, 119, 121, 124-127, 133
- survey commenced ..... 110
- finished ..... 128
- Wheat fields, western Kansas ..... 74
- Wheeler, Col. Homer W., *Buffalo Days* cited ..... 348, 351- 353
- Wheeler, history of, mentioned ..... 299
- Whipple, Colonel Charles. 30, 37, 39, 41, 48
- alias of Aaron D. Stevens ..... 29
- biographical sketch ..... 33
- Whisky, freighted to New Mexico ..... 18
- insolent Indians beg freighters for ..... 21
- issued to troops ..... 200
- poured into street at Indianola ..... 34
- Whisky-drinking (Bache-e-ne-o-ta) creek, 116
- White, E. V., flour mill of ..... 370



- White, J. M., wagon train attacked and family killed by Indians..... 19  
 White, Joel S., of Lawrence..... 270  
 White, Thomas K..... 267  
 White, William Allen..... 304  
 White Antelope, Cheyenne chief..... 144  
 White Cloud *Kansas Chief*, founded by Sol Miller..... 13  
 White Plume, Kaw chief, ancestor of Vice President Curtis..... 51  
 White river, Ark..... 238  
 White Rock, old settlers' reunion held in, 481  
 —settlers rendezvous at Fort Lookout during Indian scares..... 59  
 White Rock creek, Indian raids on... 326, 344  
 Whitehorse, Woods county, Okla..... 184  
 Whitely, Simon, U. S. Indian agent, quoted..... 140  
 Whitman, E. B..... 437  
 Whittier, John Greenleaf, "The Kansas Emigrant's Song" cited..... 430  
 Whittington, C. H., quoted..... 26  
 Wichita..... 266, 456, 461, 466  
 —Board of Trade chartered..... 362  
 —cattle drive to..... 477  
 —historical notes of..... 474  
 —Jack Ledford, early hotel proprietor..... 403  
 —schools of..... 306, 406, 407, 414  
 —site of Camp Beecher..... 58  
 —Indian treaty of 1865, near..... 150  
 Wichita *Beacon*, cited..... 21, 187, 426  
 —history of..... 476  
 Wichita county..... 178  
 Wichita *Democrat*, cited..... 189, 407  
 Wichita *Eagle* (morning)..... 78, 186, 187  
 303, 306, 403, 405, 409, 466, 475, 477  
 —fight for opening of Oklahoma made by, 189  
 —sixtieth anniversary of..... 408  
 Wichita *Evening Eagle*, cited..... 298-300, 302, 406  
 Wichita *Independent*, cited..... 474  
 Wichita Indians..... 443  
 Wichita mountains..... 448, 466, 468  
 Wichita *Plaindealer*..... 408  
 Wichita University, successor to Fairmount college..... 189  
 Wickersham, E. T., reminiscences of..... 185  
 Wickersham commission, mentioned..... 74  
 Wilder, Daniel W., *Annals of Kansas*, cited and quoted..... 64, 150  
 315, 321, 339, 340, 469  
 Wild Bill. *See* Hickok, James B.  
 Wilkes, Maj. —, one of publishers of *Leavenworth Journal*..... 14  
 William and Mary College..... 82  
 —library..... 107  
 —Joseph E. Johnston's manuscripts in, 106  
 Williams, Ezekiel..... 346  
 Williams, James, author..... 180  
 Williams, "Old Bill"..... 346  
 Williams, Sarah..... 102  
 Willie Cade, Leavenworth ferry boat..... 376  
 Willis, Judge —..... 300  
 Willow creek, mentioned..... 107  
 Wilmarth, —..... 449  
 Wilmore *News*..... 474  
 Wilson, John H., Salina..... 165  
 Wilson, Joseph R., letter of, cited..... 55  
 Wilson county..... 178  
 Wilson's creek, Mo., battle of..... 209  
 Windom, William, member of Congress, Minnesota..... 465  
 Winfield, old Meeker press used at..... 16  
 Winfield Board of Trade..... 362  
 Winfield *Courier*..... 16  
 Winfield *Independent-Record*, cited..... 476  
 Winnebago (Puans) Indians..... 153  
 Winters, George Tyler..... 404  
 Winters, Mrs. Julia M., early settler Sedgwick county..... 301  
 Wisconsin, emigrants sent to Kansas from..... 481  
 —regiments, Third cavalry..... 186, 226, 253  
 —Ninth artillery..... 142  
 —Ninth infantry..... 223  
 —Forty-eighth infantry..... 57  
 —State Teachers College, River Falls..... 414  
 Wisconsin *Historical Collections*, cited..... 153  
 Wise, Mr. —..... 444  
 Wister, Owen, author..... 183  
 Wolf, Capt. Lambert B., biographical sketch..... 195  
 —"Extracts from Diary of," edited by George A. Root..... 195-210  
 Wolf, Mrs. Lambert B..... 195  
 Wolf hunting..... 355  
 Woman's Home Missionary Society..... 405  
 Women in Butler County History, published in *El Dorado Times*..... 77  
 Women's Clubs, Federation of..... 383  
 Wood, Capt. Thomas J..... 107, 112-114  
 116, 122, 125, 129, 133, 134  
 —biographical mention of..... 103  
 Wood, Bert, Haviland..... 481  
 Woodbury, Dorothy, author..... 185  
 Wooden, L. J. H., reminiscences of..... 478  
 Woodman, Rea, author..... 189  
 —experiences in Wichita schools..... 407  
 Woodring, Gov. Harry H..... 172, 304, 410  
 Woods, Jimmy, author..... 187  
 Woods, Nell Lewis, author..... 179  
 Woods county, Okla..... 134  
 Woodward county, Okla..... 134  
 Wool, from New Mexico..... 18, 23, 25  
 —shipped from Mexico to Missouri in 1857..... 22  
 Woolens, Mr. —..... 266, 267  
 Woolley, George T., cited..... 477  
 World War..... 162, 167  
 Wright, Dr. —, accompanied surveyors of southern boundary of Kansas..... 108  
 Wright, Robert M., cited..... 203  
 Wright, Gen. W. W., chief engineer Union Pacific railway..... 336  
 Wyandotte..... 11  
 —Board of Trade chartered..... 362  
 —Union Pacific moved headquarters to.. 361  
 Wyandotte *Citizen*, starting of..... 14  
 Wyandotte *Commercial Gazette*, S. D. Macdonald a publisher of..... 15  
 Wyandotte Constitution..... 307, 432  
 —election of officers under..... 310  
 Wyandotte Constitutional Convention..... 211, 442  
 —S. D. Macdonald printer to..... 15  
 Wyandotte county..... 83, 84  
 Wyandotte City *Register*, founded by Mark W. Delahay..... 13, 14  
 Wyman, L., Woburn, Mass..... 99  
 Wyman, Walker D., instructor, State Teachers College, River Falls, Wis.... 414  
 —"Freighting: A Big Business on the Santa Fe Trail"..... 17-27  
 —"The Military Phase of Santa Fe Freighting, 1846-1865"..... 415-428  
 Wyncoop, Major E. W..... 446, 456  
 —former commander at Fort Lyon..... 326  
 —Indian trader..... 452, 453  
 —rounds up Cheyenne and Arapahoe chiefs..... 143  
 Wyoming, Indian wars of 1865, 1866 in.. 349  
 —Thomas Moonlight, governor of..... 211  
 Wycarver, William, reminiscences of.... 479

## Y.

Yager, J. B., freight contractor.....	426
Yates, J. A., Pittsburg .....	288, 293
Yates Center <i>News</i> , fifty-fourth anni- versary of .....	77
Yeager, Dick, raid on Santa Fe trail by..	450
"Yellow journalism," Leavenworth news- paper guilty of .....	337
Yellow Horse, Cheyenne chief.....	268
Yellow Woman, Cheyenne wife of Wil- liam Bent .....	347
Young, C. M., cited .....	273

Young, F. E., cited .....	474
Young, George L. ....	29- 31

## Z.

Zeandale, establishment of .....	434
Zeigler, Laura Dell .....	405
Zeisberger, Rev. David, <i>Harmony of the</i> <i>Gospel</i> compiled by .....	90
Zinc, daily production at Pittsburg .....	283
—and lead, deposits of in southeast Kansas .....	281
—smelters, in United States .....	284











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