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THE
Kansas Historical
Quarterly

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Volume XVI
1948

(Kansas Historical Collections)
VOL. XXXIII

Published by
The Kansas State Historical Society
Topeka, Kansas

22-4441

THE
Kansas Historical
Quarterly

EDITED BY
WILLIAM H. HALL
AND
J. M. HARRIS



VOLUME VII
1957

PUBLISHED BY THE
KANSAS HISTORICAL SOCIETY
1957

Contents of Volume XVI

Number 1—February, 1948

	PAGE
WILLIAM CLARK'S DIARY, MAY, 1826-FEBRUARY, 1831: Part One, 1826-1827 Edited by <i>Louise Barry</i> ,	1
With Reproductions of Clark's "Sketch of United States Indian Department Property in St. Louis, 1829," facing p. 16; Diary Pages for April, 1827, between pp. 16, 17, and H. and F. J. Huntington's Map of the United States, 1830, facing p. 17.	
LETTERS OF JULIA LOUISA LOVEJOY, 1856-1864: Part Four, 1859.....	40
THE ANNUAL MEETING: Containing Reports of the Secretary, Treasurer, Executive and Nominating Committees; Annual Address of the President, SELECTIVE SERVICE IN KANSAS— WORLD WAR II, <i>Milton R. McLean</i> ; Report on The National Foundation to Honor Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower and the United States Armed Forces, <i>Charles M. Harger</i> ; Election of Officers; List of Directors of the Society.....	76
BYPATHS OF KANSAS HISTORY.....	98
KANSAS HISTORY AS PUBLISHED IN THE PRESS.....	101
KANSAS HISTORICAL NOTES.....	108

Number 2—May, 1948

	PAGE
THE PICTORIAL RECORD OF THE OLD WEST: V. Remington in Kansas <i>Robert Taft</i> ,	113
With the Following Illustrations: Frederic Remington, From a Photograph of the Early 1880's; Reming- ton's Original Sketches of the Buildings on the "Remington Ranch," "Herding Sheep," and "Lambing Time" (between pp. 120, 121), and Scenes of Kansas Life and Agriculture (between pp. 128, 129).	
WILLIAM CLARK'S DIARY, MAY, 1826-FEBRUARY, 1831: Part Two, 1828 Edited by <i>Louise Barry</i> ,	136
With a Contemporaneous Sketch of the Mississippi River Steamboat <i>Belvidere</i> , facing p. 144.	
LETTERS OF JULIA LOUISA LOVEJOY, 1856-1864: Part Five, 1860-1864—Concluded	175
With a Portrait of Mrs. Julia Louisa Lovejoy, facing p. 176.	
BYPATHS OF KANSAS HISTORY.....	212
KANSAS HISTORY AS PUBLISHED IN THE PRESS.....	215
KANSAS HISTORICAL NOTES.....	222

Number 3—August, 1948

	PAGE
THE PICTORIAL RECORD OF THE OLD WEST: VI. Heinrich	
Balduin Möllhausen	Robert Taft, 225
With the Following Illustrations:	
H. B. Möllhausen, in Frontier Dress, 1854	
A Group of Sioux, 1851	
Trading Post of the American Fur Company at Bellevue (Nebraska), 1852	
Roubidou Trading Post (Nebraska) on the Oregon Trail, 1851	
<i>between pp. 232, 233</i>	
Fort Smith (Arkansas), 1853	
One of the Early Views of the Grand Canyon of the Colorado, 1858, <i>between pp. 240, 241</i>	
W. E. CAMPBELL, PIONEER KANSAS LIVESTOCKMAN	C. W. McCampbell, 245
With a Portrait of W. E. Campbell, <i>facing p. 256.</i>	
WILLIAM CLARK'S DIARY, MAY, 1826-FEBRUARY, 1831: Part Three, 1829	Edited by Louise Barry, 274
RECENT ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY,	
Compiled by Helen M. McFarland, Librarian,	306
BYPATHS OF KANSAS HISTORY	325
KANSAS HISTORY AS PUBLISHED IN THE PRESS	328
KANSAS HISTORICAL NOTES	335

Number 4—November, 1948

	PAGE
OVER THE SANTA FE TRAIL THROUGH KANSAS IN 1858 (Translated by John A. Burzle; Edited and Annotated by Robert Taft),	
<i>H. B. Möllhausen,</i>	337
A HISTORY OF THE TOPEKA DENTAL COLLEGE	Ralph W. Edwards, 381
WILLIAM CLARK'S DIARY, MAY, 1826-FEBRUARY, 1831: Part Four, 1830-1831—Concluded	Edited by Louise Barry, 384
With the Following Illustrations:	
Explosion of the Helen McGregor in 1830, <i>facing p. 384,</i> and	
View of St. Louis, Probably in the Early 1840's, <i>facing p. 385.</i>	
BYPATHS OF KANSAS HISTORY	411
KANSAS HISTORY AS PUBLISHED IN THE PRESS	413
KANSAS HISTORICAL NOTES	420
ERRATUM IN VOLUME XVI	424
INDEX TO VOLUME XVI	425

THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

February • 1948



Published by
Kansas State Historical Society
Topeka

CONTENTS

	PAGE
WILLIAM CLARK'S DIARY, MAY, 1826-FEBRUARY, 1831: Part One, 1826-1827 Edited by <i>Louise Barry</i> , 1	1
With reproductions of Clark's "Sketch of United States Indian Department Property in St. Louis, 1829," facing p. 16; diary pages for April, 1827, between pp. 16, 17, and H. and F. J. Huntington's map of the United States, 1830, facing p. 17.	
LETTERS OF JULIA LOUISA LOVEJOY, 1856-1864: Part Four, 1859.	40
THE ANNUAL MEETING: Containing Reports of the Secretary, Treasurer, Executive and Nominating Committees; Annual Address of the President, SELECTIVE SERVICE IN KANSAS— WORLD WAR II, <i>Milton R. McLean</i> ; Report on The National Foundation to Honor Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower and the United States Armed Forces, <i>Charles M. Harger</i> ; Election of Officers; List of Directors of the Society. <i>Kirke Mechem</i> , Secretary,	76
BYPATHS OF KANSAS HISTORY.	98
KANSAS HISTORY AS PUBLISHED IN THE PRESS.	101
KANSAS HISTORICAL NOTES.	108

The Kansas Historical Quarterly is published in February, May, August and November by the Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kan., and is distributed free to members. Correspondence concerning contributions may be sent to the editor. The Society assumes no responsibility for statements made by contributors.

Entered as second-class matter October 22, 1931, at the post office at Topeka, Kan., under the act of August 24, 1912.

THE COVER

WILLIAM CLARK (1770-1838).—Best known for his part in the Lewis and Clark expedition, Clark's many years of able administrative service as governor of Missouri territory, and as superintendent of Indian affairs at St. Louis, were a greater contribution to his country. Portrait from the Peale painting in Independence Hall, Philadelphia.

THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Volume XVI

February, 1948

Number 1

William Clark's Diary

MAY, 1826-FEBRUARY, 1831

Edited by LOUISE BARRY

I. INTRODUCTION

IN the years of this diary William Clark was superintendent of Indian affairs at St. Louis, and one of the town's most renowned citizens. The superintendency, which he had first received by appointment in May, 1822, covered a wide territory and included most of the Indian tribes on the Western frontier. No man more capable could have been selected for this position, either from the government's standpoint or that of the Indians. Clark was a man of integrity and administrative ability, with years of experience in Indian affairs. His knowledge of their problems and his fair dealings had made him a man of prestige among the Western tribes, which was greatly to the government's advantage.

William Clark was born in Virginia in 1770, ninth of the ten children of John and Ann (Rogers) Clark. The exploits of his famed older brother, George Rogers Clark, undoubtedly influenced William's early choice of a military career; and the removal of the Clark family to the Kentucky frontier region in 1784-1785 encouraged this ambition. Although born in a family of means and social position, he had little formal education. At 19 he was serving in Col. John Hardin's militia campaign against the Indians, a youth of striking appearance, over six feet in height, broad-shouldered, red-haired. At 21 he joined the army as an infantry lieutenant and for four years served under Gen. Anthony Wayne. On Wayne's expedition against the Shawnee Indians in Ohio, during 1794-1795, another junior officer was Meriwether Lewis, with whom Clark was to be associated later. After five years of eventful military service, he resigned his commission. The next few years were spent in travel-

ing, and in attempting to aid his brother George Rogers Clark in settling financial matters.

In 1803, when he was 33, he was selected to go with Meriwether Lewis on an expedition to the Northwest. When the Lewis and Clark expedition returned to St. Louis in 1806, both men had achieved fame and honors. Meriwether Lewis was appointed governor of Louisiana territory, and the same month, March, 1807, William Clark was made brigadier-general of militia for the territory. In this capacity he was also Indian agent, so that his services in Indian administration dated from 1807.

From this year until his death, St. Louis was Clark's home. In January, 1808, he married Julia Hancock of Fincastle, Va. In August, he purchased property in St. Louis county; and in January, 1811, bought property on Main, or First, street in St. Louis.¹

Clark's next important appointment was as governor of Missouri territory in 1813. In this position he was also ex officio superintendent of Indian affairs. During the War of 1812, it was his task to guard the territory's frontier, and to prevent British-incited Indian uprisings. In 1814 he led a small expedition up the Mississippi into British-held country, reaching Prairie du Chien, where he built a post named Fort Shelby, which was soon after captured by the British.

When Missouri was preparing for statehood in 1820, Clark was a candidate for governor, but did not attempt an active campaign, being occupied with other matters. He was defeated by his friend Alexander McNair. Clark's first wife died in June of that year.² In November, 1821, he married Mrs. Harriet (Kennerly) Radford,³ widow of Dr. John Radford, and cousin of the first Mrs. Clark.

The following year President Monroe appointed William Clark to the superintendency of Indian affairs at St. Louis, a post newly-created by congress. Except for the additional commission in 1824-1825 as surveyor general of the states of Illinois and Missouri, and

1. The latter property Clark apparently sold to the government. In his letter of July 18, 1829, to Thomas L. McKenney, Clark described the Indian Department's grounds in St. Louis as: "Those Grounds [which] were sold by me to the Department for certain purposes and are situated between Main Street and the River. . . ."—*Superintendency of Indian affairs, St. Louis, "Records,"* v. 4, in *Mss. division, Kansas State Historical Society*.

2. William and Julia (Hancock) Clark had five children: Meriwether Lewis (born January 10, 1809; died October 28, 1881); William Preston (born October 5, 1811; died May 16, 1834); Mary Margaret (born January 1, 1814; died October 15, 1821); George Rogers Hancock (born May 6, 1816; died September 29, 1858); John Julius (born July 7, 1818; died September 5, 1831). All were born at St. Louis, Mo. Julia (Hancock) Clark died June 27, 1820.—*Coues, Elliott, History of the Expedition Under the Command of Lewis and Clark* . . . (New York, 1893), v. 4, genealogical table; Drumm, Stella M., "The Kennerlys of Virginia," in *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, St. Louis, v. 6, pp. 106, 108.

3. There were two children of this marriage: (Thomas) Jefferson Kennerly (born February 29, 1824; died January 9, 1900); Edmond (born September 9, 1826; died August 12, 1827). The second Mrs. Clark died December 28, 1831.—*Ibid.*

the territory of Arkansas, this was the work to which he devoted the rest of his life.⁴

St. Louis in the years of this diary was growing rapidly. From a population of some 1,000 in 1800, it had grown to an estimated 6,000 by 1830. Founded by the French in 1764, the St. Louis of the latter 1820's contained a large proportion of English-speaking settlers from Indiana, Kentucky and Tennessee. There were also many Negroes, both slave and free. It was the only town of any consequence in Missouri, or in all the area west of the Mississippi. The older section had narrow, crowded, unpaved streets; in the newer part there were broad streets and squares, some paved; and houses of brick. The waterfront area was fairly well built up with warehouses and stores. There was a natural deep channel at the waterfront, and except for a brief frozen-over period in the winter, the Mississippi river at St. Louis was accessible to the largest steamboats.

As the commercial metropolis of the West, St. Louis was the depot for the fur trade, and the growing commerce with Santa Fe. The lead mines up the Mississippi were being developed in this period; army supplies were centered at St. Louis for the Western military outposts, and near-by Jefferson Barracks was also a source of much business for the townspeople. There was a vast Indian trade to be supplied, and numerous Indian visitors to the city. Increase of steamboat construction had greatly enlarged the commerce with New Orleans and provided more outlets for trade.

The William Clark diary provides little idea of the life and color of St. Louis. Although "Diary" appears on the cover and as the heading of page one, the word does not aptly describe the contents. This volume was kept as a record in the office of the superintendent of Indian affairs and in it were entered weather and river data, notes on steamboat arrivals and departures, a record of Indians visiting the superintendency, and some items of general and local news.

In another sense also "Diary" is a misnomer since the volume was not intended as a private or personal account. William Clark was undoubtedly its creator, and made some of the entries, but his subagent, or clerks, did most of the recording. Clark's handwriting can be identified from three "first-person" entries, the only such entries in the book. On August 12, 1827, he wrote: "Edmond Clark

4. He had personal business interests, such as the Missouri Fur Company venture. Although it was not particularly successful, other financial dealings were, and he died a fairly well-to-do man. William Clark's death occurred in St. Louis, September 1, 1838.

(my Infant Son) died at 8½ A. M. . . ."; on January 29, 1830, is the statement: "My family went to Jeff. Barracks"; and on February 2, 1830, he noted: "Boys from the College visited my cottage, hunt & scate." There is some emphasis in the local news items on Clark's relatives and associates, which gives the diary an additional personal touch. Rarely, there are bits of humor or pertinent comment in the entries made by Clark's assistants, which add sparkle to an otherwise sober and concise record.

Clark had, during these years, four assistants: a subagent, a translator, and two other clerks.⁵ So far as can be determined the individuals who, in addition to Clark, made entries in the diary, were: the subagent Walter B. Alexander, who died on July 16, 1826; his successor John B. Ruland; Jesse Benton, a clerk; John F. A. Sanford, translator and clerk, who left following his appointment as a subagent on the upper Missouri, in mid-July, 1826; Dunning D. McNair, a clerk, who resigned on March 19, 1830; and Augustin Kennerly, who served principally as translator.⁶

It seems no coincidence that this record was started at the time of the Mississippi river flood of 1826, for the meteorological and river-stage data are the backbone of the volume, and the only consistently-recorded entries. There is a superabundance of material on the weather and on river conditions throughout.

The information on steamboat arrivals and departures is not so complete, as a comparison with the lists in contemporaneous St. Louis newspapers has proved.⁷ However, since the newspapers sometimes failed to print the weekly steamboat register, the Clark diary fills a few gaps. In 1826, steamboats were no longer a novelty at the port of St. Louis. After the first such arrival, the *General Pike*, in August, 1817, there had been a yearly increase in river traffic. But in May, 1826, the month and year this diary opens, the *Missouri Republican* commented: "Never before this season has our city been frequented by such a vast number of Steam Boats; arrivals are daily, and sometimes as many as three and four of a day. . . ." ⁸ The entry of steamboat data as a part of the diary therefore only reflected the growing importance of the river trade. The Indian superintendency offices were on Main, or First street, which

5. Letter, Clark to E. Herring, Indian Department, dated July 16, 1832.—Superintendency of Indian affairs, St. Louis, "Records," v. 4, p. 391, *loc. cit.*

6. The names of all these men appear, in no particular order, on the fly-leaf of the diary.

7. Another check was made from the statement in the *Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, June 7, 1827, that the "St. Louis Steam Boat Register" showed the arrival of 82 boats between February 12 and June 4, 1827. The diary for this same period noted 71 arrivals.

8. *Ibid.*, May 25, 1826. In 1830, 278 steam and 91 keel boats entered the port of St. Louis.—St. Louis *Beacon*, January 6, 1831.

then afforded a view of the river-front and wharf, so that steamboat arrivals and departures were readily noted.

The recording of data on the comings and goings of the Indians seems the most natural part of the diary. The superintendency at St. Louis served as headquarters for Indian affairs in all the Western area. When Clark was appointed as superintendent in May, 1822, John C. Calhoun, the Secretary of War, wrote him:

I enclose you a Commission as Superintendent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis. . . . Altho' the act [under which the appointment was made] does not appear, from the face of it, to make it a part of your duty, to exercise a superintending control over the Indian Agencies on the Mississippi and Missouri, yet it is believed that such was the intention of Congress in authorizing the appointment of a Superintendent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis. You will accordingly consider the following Indian Agents as under your Superintendence—Major O'Fallon [at Council Bluffs], Mr. Graham [at St. Louis], Mr. Boilvin [at Prairie du Chien], Mr. Forsyth [at Rock Island] and Mr. Taliaferro [at St. Peters]—and also Mr. Menard, the Sub Agent at Kaskaskias.
. . . ⁹

The scope of Clark's authority, thus informally established, came to include several other agencies and subagencies which were later required. Land cessions by the Kansas and Osage tribes, in the treaties of 1825, created a large area west of Missouri and Arkansas for Indian reserves. Subsequently, negotiations were begun with the remnants of Indian tribes east of the Mississippi, and in Missouri and Arkansas territory, to remove to the new lands reserved for them. Thus, the period of the Clark diary was also an era of Indian migrations, and of restlessness on the part of the tribes remaining in the East. Many Indians came every year to see Clark on matters relating to their tribes, and most of the migratory Indians inevitably came through St. Louis on their way west, yet the newspapers almost never mentioned their arrival or departure. The Clark record provides unique data in this respect, but unfortunately, on this subject, too, the diary is incomplete.

For some periods the data on Indians, and on steamboats, were given in separate sections in the diary. The plan was not followed consistently and since the arrangement only makes for confusion in using the volume it has seemed justifiable to bring all the material together in one chronology for publication. This explains some duplication of entries.

9. Letter, Calhoun to Clark, May 28, 1822.—War Department, Secretary's Office, "Letters Sent, Indian Affairs, E: 59," in National Archives, Washington, D. C. The governors of Michigan, Arkansas, and Florida territories were, by law, superintendents of Indian affairs within their respective domains.—23 Cong., 1 Sess., *House Report* 474 (Serial 263), p. 44.

The diary ends on February 28, 1831, at the end of the book. There is no continuing volume in the collection of "Clark papers" in the Kansas State Historical Society.¹⁰ It seems unlikely that the record would have been so abruptly discontinued.¹¹ Clark was to serve for seven more years as superintendent of Indian affairs at St. Louis—until his death in 1838—and the few scattered volumes of records in our Society's possession only emphasize the quantity which must have existed at one time in the superintendency office.

II. THE DIARY¹²

May, 1826

WEATHER AND RIVER DATA

Day	Temperature. 8 O'clock.	Weather at 8 O'clock.	Winds	Temperature. 4 O'clock.	Weather 4 O'clock P. M.	Winds	Rise & fall of the River
1						S W	rising fast
2							rising fast
3							rising fast
4							rising fast
5							rising fast
6							rising fast
7							rising
8							rising still
9							rising
10							rising Slow
11							rising slow ¹³
12							rose about 1½ Inches
13							rose 4 Inches
14							rose 1 Inch
15							on a Stand
16							rising a little Stand
17	79 a	Clear	SW.	84 a	Clear	SW.	rising a little do
18	78½	Clear	do	86	do	S. E	falling 1 Inch lost
19	79	do	SE	88	Cloudy	W	fell 3 Inches
20	72	Cloudy & rain	S.W.S.	84	Clear	SW	fell 1½ Inches.
21	78	Cloudy	S. E.	83	Clear	S. E	fell 5 Inches
22	70	Cloudy	SW	80	Clear	E.	fell 2½ Inches
23	79	Cloudy	S. E	75	raining	S	fell 8 Inches
24	74	Clear	S. E	80	Cloudy.	E.	fell 8 Inches.
25	80	Clear	do	80 a	Clear	S E	fell 1 Inch.
26	74	Clear	E	82	do	do	fell 8 Inches
27	78	Clear	SE	82	Clear	S	fell 6 In.
28	78	Cloudy	E.	82	do	S E	fell 1 Inch.

10. The "Clark papers," more properly known as the superintendency of Indian affairs, St. Louis, "Records," is a collection of 33 volumes (as labeled), consisting for the most part of records maintained by the superintendency office. These papers represent only a small part of the vast records which must have been kept by Clark's staff. They were purchased many years ago from a second-hand book store in Lawrence, Kan.

11. It is the editor's opinion, however, that no similar record was kept prior to May, 1826, from the fact that an unnumbered page, preceding page one in the diary, is headed: "April, 1826," but contains no entries; also, it will be noted, the diary does not include full weather data until mid-May, 1826.

12. The diary for 1826 and 1827 is published in this issue of the *Quarterly*. The remainder will appear in succeeding issues.

13. "HIGH WATERS.—The Mississippi is, at this time, considerably higher than it has been for many years. The water, in many places, is over its banks, and the low lands, for miles back, entirely inundated. The inhabitants have been compelled to leave their homes. . . ."—*Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, May 11, 1826.

29	78	C.	E.	82	do	E	Fallen none
30	78	Clear	S E	82	do	E	Fell 4 Inches
31	78	Clear	S. E	82	do	S.	Fell 4 In. ¹⁴

REMARKS

- 1 winds vary from W. to S. W and high
- 4 Steam Boat "*Marietta*" arrives from Louisville. Green Master.
- 6 Steam Boat *Machanac* arrive[s] from Louisville
- 8 *Mechanic* left this [day] for Sangamon River
- 9 winds from W to SW. The *Genl. Coffee*¹⁵ left port. Mississippi & Missouri both of them above their junction higher at this time, than they have been since the recollection of the Oldest Inhabitants. at Prairie du Chien the people have been obliged to desert the Town. at Ft Crawford¹⁶ the Troops have been obliged to evacuate the Cantonment and go into Tents some distance back of the Fort. The Missouri has washed away, *entirely*, the Trading Establishment of a Mr Choteau at the mouth of Kansas (or a little below.)¹⁷ The 1st Regiment on the Missouri have been also obliged to leave thier Garrison. Steam Boat *Ceolo*¹⁸ returned from Prairie du Chien & departed to the Mouth of Ohio Steam Boat *Macanac* [Mechanic] Departed for the Illinois River & Sangamo Bay
- 10 Steam Boat[s] *Sciotoe* & *Laurance* arrived from Prarie du Chien & S[t.] Peters The 1st Regiment arrived from Fort Atkinson and Encamped at Bell fountain 10th May 1826¹⁹ Steam Boat *Laurance* arrived from the St Peters River & Falls of St Antony²⁰

14. "The Mississippi, at this place, has again subsided, and is now confined within its natural channel."—*Ibid.*, June 1, 1826.

15. The *Gen. Coffee* was a new, 200-ton boat, built at Pittsburgh in 1826.—Hall, James, *Notes on the Western States* (Philadelphia, 1838), p. 256. She is not mentioned again in the diary until May 2, 1828, and then, as the "*Coffee*."

16. Fort Crawford was the military post at Prairie du Chien. See, also, Footnote 89.

17. Accounts say that Francis G. Chouteau (son of Pierre and Brigitte [Saucier] Chouteau), established a trading post for the American Fur Company in 1821, in the river bottom, opposite Randolph Bluffs (some three miles below present Kansas City, Mo.). Francis had married Berenice Menard in 1819, and in the fall of 1821 he brought his wife and family to this place, from St. Louis, via canoes and pirogues. After the 1826 flood the post was re-established on higher ground.—Miller, W. H., *The History of Kansas City* . . . (Kansas City, Mo., 1881), pp. 9, 10; *The History of Jackson County, Missouri* . . . (Kansas City, Mo., 1881), p. 102; Billon, F. L., *Annals of St. Louis in Its Territorial Days from 1802 to 1821* (St. Louis, 1888), pp. 168-170.

18. Hall, *op. cit.*, lists no boat named *Ceolo*.

19. Four companies of the First regiment, under Bvt. Maj. Stephen Kearny, had spent the winter of 1825-1826 in a temporary camp called "Cantonment Barbour," eight miles below Fort Atkinson (Neb.). They started down the Missouri river on May 2, 1826, reached the old post Cantonment Bellefontaine on May 10, and made camp there in the dilapidated buildings. On July 10 they abandoned this place by War Department order and moved down the river to a site previously selected by General Atkinson, ten miles below St. Louis. The new military post was named Jefferson Barracks on October 23, 1826.—*Missouri Historical Society Collections*, St. Louis, v. 3, pp. 198, 199.

20. St. Peters river, now the Minnesota river. The Falls of St. Anthony are on the Mississippi, at present Minneapolis.

- 11 Steam Boat *Lawrence* departed & "*Eclipse*" arrived from *Flurence*. *Lawrence* departed.
- 12 Steam Boat *P[lough] Boy* arrivd from Louisville. departed again The river wants 20 Inches of being up to the door of Genl Clarks Stable.²¹ Steam boat *Coosa* ²² arrived from Mobile. *Mechanic* arrived from Sangamon.
- 13 Steam boat *Mechanic* arrivd from Sangamon river. "*Marrietta*" arrived from Louisville
- 14 Steam Boat *Scioto* arrivd. *Genl Brown* arrivd. *Scioto* depard 3 Kickapoos arrived from West. One Chief & Two men
- 15 *Genl. Brown* departed. 13 Shawnoes men & 1 squaw arrived. Paul Osage Interpreter left here for the Osage ²³
- 17 Steam Boat "*Marietta*" departed for Louisville J. B ²⁴
- 18 Kickapoos that arrived on 14th left this [day] Council today with Shawonese, respecting their losses sustained from Whites
- 21 Steam Boats "*Tuscumbia*," from "*Florence*," *Liberator* N. O & *Eclipse* fever river arrivd
- 23 Steam Boat "*Tuscumbia*" depard for Orleans. *Plough Boy* arrd [from] Louisville Shawnese departed for White River
- 24 Steam Boat *Liberator* for Orleans Struck a rock & sank ²⁵ *P[lough] Boy* departed for Louisville 7 Kickapoos (arrivd) (3 Women 1 man & 3 children)
- 26 Steam Boat *Lawrence* arrivd from Louisville
- 27 Steam Boat *Lawrence* departed for Louisville Steam Boat *Eclipse* departed for St. Peters
- 28 The river at 8 oclock this morning is rising a little
- 29 From every apperance, (the drift), the river has commenced rising again

21. The flood of 1826 was a memorable one. At St. Louis a marker was placed to indicate the high water line. But a greater flood developed in 1844 when the Mississippi rose seven feet and seven inches above the 1826 mark.—Scharf, J. T., *History of Saint Louis City and County* (Philadelphia, 1883), v. 1, pp. 128, 129.

22. The *Coosa*, 178 tons, was built at Marietta, Ohio, in 1826.—Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

23. Paul Loise, long employed as Osage interpreter, was the son of Alexis and Elizabeth (Beaugenou) Loise, of St. Louis.—Billon, F. L., *Annals of St. Louis in Its Early Days under the French and Spanish Dominations* (St. Louis, 1886), p. 417. He had a daughter Terese, half Osage, who was given a tract of land by the Osage treaty of June 2, 1825. For other data on Loise, see diary entry of April 29, 1827, and Footnote 60.

24. "J. B"—probably written by Jesse Benton, office clerk.

25. The *Liberator* ran against the rocks and partly filled with water. But, in twelve or fifteen days the boat was completely repaired.—*Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, June 15, 1826; diary entry of June 6, 1826. She was a new boat of 200 tons, built at Pittsburgh, Pa.—Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 257.

30 Steam Boat *Marietta* arrivd from Louisville

31 The S & Eas[t]wardly winds blow at night generally for 10 days past.

June, 1826

WEATHER AND RIVER DATA

Day	Tempera- ture at 8 O'clock	Weather at 8 O'clock	Winds	Tempera- ture at 4 O'clock	Weather at 4 Ocl.	Winds	Rise & fall of River
1	77	Fair	S.E.	88	Fair	SE	Fell 4 Inches
2	80	Clear	S.E.	86	Cloudy	E	Fell 6 Inches.
3	80	Cloudy	S.	78	rain	W.	Fell 4 Inches
4	78	Raining	S	78	rain	SE	Fell 6 Inches.
5	79	Cloudy	S.E.	76	Cloudy	S.	Fell 4 Inches.
6	76	Cloudy	S.E.	79	Raind	S	Fell 2 Inches
7	81	Clear	S.E.	86	Cloudy	S	Rose 2 Inches
8	80	Clear	S.W	89	Clear	S	Rose 1 Inch
9	82	Clear	SW	90	Clear	S	On a Stand
10	82	Clear	SW	84	Cloudy	SW	fell 4 Inches
11	74	Cloudy	SW	80	Cloudy	SW	fell 4 Inches
12	75	Cloudy	SW	76a.	Cloudy	S.E.	fell 2 Inches.
13	68	Cloudy	N.E.	74	Cloudy	SE	fell 4 Inches
14	72	Clear	N.E.	85	Clear	E.	fell 4 Inches
15	80	Cloudy after rain	SW	86	Clear	E	fell 3 Inches
16	82	Clear	E	87	Clear	S	fell 4 Inches
17	78	Cloudy	N.E	87	Clear	S.	fell none
18	83	Clear	S.W.	86	Clear	S.E	fell 3 Inches
19	82	Clear	SW	86	Clear	S.	fell 8 In.
20	83	Clear	S.	88	Clear	S.	fell 4.
21	80	Cloudy	W	82	Cloudy	SW.	fell 2 Inches
22	85	Clear	S.	86	Clear	SW.	fell none
23	80	Clear	E	87	Clear	SE.	on a stand
24	80	Clear	S.E	86	Clear	SW	fell 4 Inches
25	70	Clear	SW.	85	Clear	SW	fell 2 Inch
26	67	Clear	NE	82	Clear	SW	fell 1 Inch
27	67	Cloudy	NE	82	Clear	E	fell 2 Inches
28	80	Clear	E.	78	Cloudy rain	SW	fell 4
29	73	Cloudy	E.	79	Clear	W	fell 1 Inch
30	81	Clear	SE	78	Cloudy	W	fell 4

REMARKS

- 1 Steam Boat "*Marietta*" departed for Louisville
- 2 Express departed for White River
- 3 Showers of rain this Evening from the West
- 5 Steam Boats *Ploughboy* & *Indiana* arrived from Louisville
- 6 Great quantity of drift running this morning. *Liberator* depd for Orleans
- 7 Steam boat *Sciota* arrivd from St. Peters. *Ploughboy* depd for Louisville
- 8 *Sciota* depd for Louisville. *Genl Brown* arrivd from Orleans. *Indiana* departed.

- 9 13 Shawnese arrived
 10 cool mornng
 11 Steam Boat *Lawrence* arrived from Louisville cool night
 12 Very cool night Wind N. & E
 13 Cool do do Steam boat *Lawrence* departed for Louisville
 14. Cool night. *Eclipse* arrivd from St. Peters
 15 Nights cool. winds from N. E.
 16 Nights very cool winds from N. E.
 17 Steam Boat "*Eclipse*" depard for St Peters
 18 *Genl Brown* departed for N Orleans
 21 Tolerably high winds this morning. Shawnese departed. 22
 Missourie arrived from Arkansas
 22 Steam boat *Pittsburgh* from Louisville. left same day Mrs
 Lewis & 7 other Shawnie Indians arrvd ²⁶
 25 Steam boats *Helen McGregor* & *Plough boy* from Orl. & Louis-
 ville
 26 nights very cool particularly towards day light. *Plough boy*
 departed
 27 This morning, early, very cool. high winds S. B. *Mechanic*,
 Louisv[ille]
 28 very hard rain this Evening with severe claps of thunder.
Helen McGregor depar'd. Orleans
 29 high wind. *Mechanic* departed for Louisville 30 Emigrating
 Kickapoos arrived from the East of the Mississippi
 30 Cool nights

July, 1826

WEATHER AND RIVER DATA

date	Tempera- ture [8 O'clock]	8 O'clock Weather	Winds	Tempera- ture [4 O'clock]	4 O'clock Weather P. M.	Winds	[Rise & fall of the River]
1	78	cloudy	S.E.	80	Clear	S.	fell 4 Inches.
2	80	clear	S.E.	82	Cloudy	SW.	fell 1 Inch.
3	78	Cloudy	S.W.	80	rain Cloudy	SW.	fell 1 Inch.
T. Jefferson & J. Adams deptd. this Life. ²⁷							
4	71	rain	W	77	rain	W	rising slow
5th	79	clear	S.E	82	Clear	SW	rose 3 Inches
6	80	Clear	S.E	82	Clear	SE	rose 4 Inches
7	81	Clear	S	82	Cloudy	SW.	rose 8 Inches
8	76	Cloudy. rain	E	82	Cloudy	W	fell[?] 4 Inch
9	78	Clear	E	86	Clear	SW.	falling
10	79	Cloudy	E	84	Cloudy	SW	falling

26. See diary entry for July 13, 1826, and Footnote 29.

27. Ex-Presidents John Adams and Thomas Jefferson both died on July 4, 1826, the fiftieth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence.

11	80	Clear	E	86	C Rain	SE	rising a little
12	89	Clear	E	82	Cloudy	S.E.	falling
13	78	Clear	SW	82	Clear	SW	do
14	69	Rain	SW	80	rain	NE	do
15	80	ditto	S.W	82	clear	SW	do
16		Rain			Clear		do
17	78	Rain		84	Clear		do
18	76	Clear		84	Clear		do
19	80	Clear		87	Clear		do
20	87	Clear		92	Clear		do
21	85	Cloudy		88	Clear		The river upto this date has
22	85	Clear		87	Clear		fallen 11 Feet from high
23	74	Clear	NE	82	Clear	E	water the highest mark
							this season
24	70	Clear	NE	76	Clear	NE	fallen 13 Feet.
25	71	cloudy	E	74	clear	E	
26	72	Clear	N.E	73	Clear		falling
27	70	Clear	NE	74	Clear	N.E.	
28	70	Clear	S.E	84	Clear	S.E.	
29	70	Clear		85	Clear		
30	73	Clear	S.W	85	Clear	S.W	
31	77	Clear	S.E	88	Clear	S.E	

REMARKS

- 1 very cool nights wind from N. E. Steam boat *Liberator* from Orleans, in 10 days
- 2 Steam boat *Lawrence* from Louisville
- 3 Steam Boat "*Eclipse*" from *Lake Pepin*.
- 4 Steam boat *Lawrence* departed for Louisville Rainy Thunder & lightning
- 6 Steam Boat *Liberator* departed for N Orleans.
- 8 Steam boat *Pittsburg* arrived from Louisville
- 9 (plough boy from Louisville) "*Genl Hamilton*" from Louisville
- 10 "*Genl Hamilton*" & *Plough boy* departed for Louisvill[e]
- 11 Steam boat "*Virginia*"²⁸ arrived from Louisville
- 12 Steam boat *Virginia* departed
- 13 Steam boat *Magnet* from Louisville Col Lewis & party passengers²⁹ Col Lewis & 8 Shawneese arrived
- 14 *Steam Boat *Magnet* departed. very Cool
*Alexanders writing day before his death.
- 16 Col Alexander departed (for the world of Spirits).³⁰

28. The *Virginia*, built in 1826, was a 122-ton boat.—Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 262.

29. Colonel Lewis, or Quatawapea, was chief of the Lewistown band of Shawnee Indians. He lived for many years near Waupaghconneta, Ohio. The Shawnees finally deposed him, and he emigrated with his family and a few followers to lands assigned the Shawnees in present Kansas, where he died in 1826.—McKenney, Thomas L., *History of the Indian Tribes of North America*. . . (Philadelphia, 1868), v. 2, pp. 55-57. He was a witness to the Shawnee treaty of 1825.

30. Walter B. Alexander died at the home of his father-in-law Gen. Bernard Pratte, Sr., St. Louis, on July 15, 1826.—Billon, *op. cit.*, p. 358. He had been employed as subagent.—19 Cong., 2 Sess., *House Doc. 112* (Serial 156), Sig. 20.

- 20 Steam boats *Brown, Lawrence, Muskingum & Decatur*³¹ arrived
- 21 *Lawrence* departed
- 22 *Muskingum* for Fever river, *Decatur* for Orleans. 90 Shawnees arrived on business relative to their Lands 140 Socks arrived on business concerning the contemplated War between the Osages and Delawares, (I believe)
- 23 Nights cold.
- 24 Last night & this morning cold.
- 25 nights & mornings cold.
- 26 Last night cool Winds from the N. Socs left this [day] for their nation
- 27 "Eclipse" depard for Orleans. Cool Nights
- 29 Steam Boat *Muskingum* arrivd from Lower Rapids
- 31 Light showers this morning early.

August, 1826

WEATHER AND RIVER DATA

date	Temperature at 8 O'clock	Weather	Winds	Temperature at 4 O'clock	Weather	Winds	[Rise & fall of the River]
1	75	Clear	SW	85	clear	S.E	on a stand
2d	75	cloudy	E	79	Cloudy	SW	rose 7 Inches.
3rd	77	cloudy	S.E.	78	do	W	rose 7 Inches
4	74	Cloudy	SW	77	Clear	W	rose 9 Inches.
5	72	Rain	W	78	Cloudy	W.	rose 8 Inches
6	74	Clear	SW	79	Clear	SW	falling
7	67	Clear		78	Clear	SE	fell 7 Inches
8	65	Clear		79	Clear	S.W	fell 10 Inches
9	67	Clear	SW	79	Clear	SW	fell 7 Inches.
10	68	Clear	SE	82	Clear	SE	falling
11	69	Clear	SW.	84	Clear	SW	falling.
12	78	Cloudy	S W.	85	Clear		falling
13	84	Clear	SE	87	Clear	SE	falling
14	84	Clear	SE.	89	Clear	SW	do
15	84	Clear	SW.	88	Cloudy	SE	falling
16	89	Clear	S.	88	Clear	SE	falling
17	80	Clear	SW	87	Clear	SE	do
18	76	Clear	SE	86	Rain	SW	do
19	75	Cloudy	SW	86	Clear	S.E	do
20	74	Clear	N.E.	84	Clear	S E	do
21	72	Clear	N E	83	Cloudy	SW	falling
22	70	Cloudy	N E	84	do	do	falling
23	74	Clear	NW	86	do	d	falling
24	78	Cloudy	SW	86	Clear	Do	falling
25	78	do	S E	82	S E	do	do
26	80	Clear	S E	82	SW	rain	rising a little
27	70	cloudy	N E	80	W	Clear	do
28	68	Clear	NE	81	W		do
29	74	Clear	E	83	S W	do	do
30	71	Clear	E	82	S W		do
31	69	Clear	E	84	SE		do

31. The *Decatur*, built in 1826 at Brownsville, Pa., was a 113-ton boat.—Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 254.

REMARKS.

- 2 Steam Boat *Dolphin* arrived "erroneous"
- 6 Steam Boats *Liberator* & *huntress*³² arrived
- 7 Nights & mornings cool Col Lewis & party departed.
- 8 do *Liberator* departed 90 Shawnese departed.
- 9 do
- 16 At 12 Oclock the Thermometer stood @ 92
- 17 Steam Boat *Decatur* arrivd.
- 20 Last night a material change in weather (much cooler)
- 29 The Kickapoo Prophet³³ & his followers arrived

September, 1826

WEATHER AND RIVER DATA

date	Tempera- ture at 8 Oclock	Weather	Winds	Tempera- ture at 4 Oclock	Weather	Winds	rise & fall of River
1	78	fair	S.E	83		S E	on a Stand.
2	76	Cloudy	W.	80		SW	falling a little
3	77	Cloudy	SW	82	Clear	S E	do "
4	78	Clear	S E.	82	Clear	S E	do "
5	76	Clear	SW	83	Clear	S E	do "
6	70	Clear	NW.	84	Clear	S E	do "
7	68	Clear	S E	83	Clear	S W	do "
8	76	Clear	SW		Clear		do "
9	75	clear	SW		do		do "
10	74	clear	SW		do		do "
11	78	Clear	SW		do		do "
12	76	Clear	SW	74	Rain	S E	do "
13	74	Cloudy & R	S	74	rain	W	do "
14	76	Cloudy R	W	74	rain	S E	do "
15	72	Cloudy R	NW	68	Cloudy	N E	do do
16	72	Cloudy	NW	62	Cloudy	E	do do
17	72	do		do			rising
18		do					raised $\frac{1}{2}$ foot
19	61	Clear	N E				do $1\frac{1}{2}$ "
20	64	do	N E				do 1 foot
21	66	Clear	S				do 6 In.
22	70	Cloudy	Cloudy S	70	Cloudy	S	do 3 "
23	62	Clear	NE	68	Clear	S W	fall 2 Inches
24	61	Clear	N E	66	Clear	E	fall 9 "
25	62	Cloudy & fog	N		do		fall 10 "
26	61	do	N E	64	do	W	falling 8
27	68	Clear	N E	54	Clear & cold	N. W.	falling 6
28	48	do	N W	56	Clear	W	falling 3
29	54	do	S	65	do	S	falling
30	60	do	S	67	do	S E	Rising some

32. The *Huntress* was a new, 300-ton boat, built at New Albany, Ind.—*Ibid.*, p. 256.

33. Kennekuk (Kannekuk, Keanakuk, etc.), the "Kickapoo Prophet," was accepted as a chief by the remnant of his tribe who remained in Illinois following the Kickapoos' land cessions in 1819. The Kickapoos of Missouri and Illinois were finally persuaded to move to lands set aside for them above Cantonment Leavenworth, in present Kansas, in 1833. The Baptist missionary, the Rev. Isaac McCoy, wrote in 1834: "Kalakuk [Kennekuk], or, the Kickapoo Prophet, one of the Kickapoo Chiefs, is a professed preacher, of an order which he himself originated some years ago. . . . He teaches abstinence from the use of ardent spirits, and some other good morals. He appears to have little knowledge of the doctrines of Christianity, only as his dogmas happen to agree with them. . . . Polygamy is allowed. Kalukuk, the leader, has two wives. Whipping with a rod, is one article of their creed, and is submitted to as an atonement for sin. . . ."—McCoy, Isaac, *The Annual Register of Indian Affairs* . . . No. 1 (Shawnee Mission, 1835), p. 30. Kennekuk came to present Kansas in May, 1833. He died of smallpox in 1852.—Custer, Milo, "Kannekuk or Keanakuk, the Kickapoo Prophet," in *Illinois Historical Society Journal*, v. 11, pp. 48-56.

REMARKS

- 3 Winds very high *Huntress* departed for Orleans.
- 10 Shawonee Chief and 7 men arrived others Depart
- 11 Potawatomy Chief Sanachwan³⁴ & 7 men arrive
- 12 Cap[tain] Ruland arrives³⁵ Wind high from W & Hard rain
Piankashaws 5 arrive
- 13 Rain or mist last night & today until [?]
- 15 13 Kickapoos & 2 Shawenes arrive
- 16 4 Shawones & 3 Delewares arrive
- 19 8 Delawares arrive from Illinois
- 20 80 Osages arrive with their Agent to Council
- 21 5 Peorias & 5 Piankashaws arrive
- 22 "*Miami*" a Steam Boat arrived from Col. Croghan³⁶ &
Sanford³⁷ set out 3 Kickapoos arrive from Illinois
- 23 [*Miami*] departed for Kaskaskias arrd Light winds from
S. W. The Kaskaskias arrive The whole remnant of that great
Nation consists at this time of 31 Soles—15 men mixed, 10
women, 6 children
- 24 Steam Boat *Brown* departs for New Orleans
- 25 35 Delawars arrive with Chief Anderson hd[?] Comme [?] &
Swanox [?]³⁸
- 26 6 Indians arrive from the Eastward
- 27 Delawars arrive had a talk in Council house
- 28 Indian Council Commences

34. Sanachwan, or Sena-chewin, was "chief of the united tribes of the Illinois river Indians."—23 Cong., 1 Sess., *Senate Doc. 512* (Serial 245), pp. 556, 558.

35. John Ruland became Indian subagent at St. Louis on July 17, 1826. He also served as French and English interpreter.—19 Cong., 2 Sess., *House Doc. 112* (Serial 156), Sig. 20; 22 Cong., 1 Sess., *Senate Doc. 101* (Serial 213), p. 11.

36. Col. George Croghan (1791-1849) was the son of William and Lucy (Clark) Croghan, and nephew of William Clark. He had served with distinction in the War of 1812, and had risen rapidly in rank. On December 21, 1825, he was appointed inspector general of the army.—*Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1930), v. 4, p. 557.

37. John F. A. Sanford came to St. Louis from Winchester, Va. Employed as interpreter and clerk, on July 16 he was appointed Indian subagent to the Mandans on the upper Missouri.—19 Cong., 2 Sess., *House Doc. 112* (Serial 156), Sig. 17, 20; office of Indian affairs, "Registers of Letters Received," v. 1, letter by Sanford of July 17, 1826. He married Emily, eldest daughter of Pierre Chouteau, Jr., at St. Louis on November 22, 1832.—*St. Louis Beacon*, November 29, 1832.

38. Delaware chiefs William Anderson and Captain Suwaunock ("Whiteman"); "Comme" is unidentified. Anderson was head chief of the Delawares, who had removed in 1820 from White river, Ind., to James fork of White river in Missouri. Both Anderson and Suwaunock "signed" the Delaware treaty of 1829.—23 Cong., 1 Sess., *Senate Doc. 512* (Serial 245), pp. 116, 117; *Indiana Historical Collections*, v. 24, p. 438. The Delawares moved again in 1829, to a reserve in present Kansas, and the Rev. Isaac McCoy, passing their settlement on November 21, 1830, noted in his journal meeting "Anderson, the aged principal chief."—"Journal of Isaac McCoy for the Exploring Expedition of 1830," by Lela Barnes, in *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 5, p. 376.

29 3 potowatomies & 4 Kickapoos arrive Steam boat arrives

30 20 Shawones arrive

October, 1826

WEATHER AND RIVER DATA

Date	Temperature 8 O'clock	Weather	Wind	Temperature at 4 O'clock	Weather	Wind	Rise [& fall] of the river
1	70	Cloudy	SW	75	Clear	S W	Rose about 2½ feet and continues to Rise.
2	66	Clear	S		Clear		rose about 1½ [feet]
3		"			"		0.6 "
4		"			"		"
5		"			"		falling a little
6		"			"		
7		"			"		
8		"			"		
9		"			"		
10		"			"		
11		"			"		
12		"			"		
13	66	"	S W	72	Cloudy	S W	falling a little
14	68	Rain	S				do "
15	67	Clear	S	70	Clear	S W	
16		Clear	S W		"	S W	

REMARKS

- 1 Steam Boat *Liberator* Depart[ed] for New Orleans Several pasingers
- 2 councili[n]g
- 3 do
- 4 do
- 5 do
- 6 do
- 7 Concluded the Indian Treaty of friendship between them³⁹
- 11 *Virginia* Steam Boat arrived from Louisville
- 13 comence raining after night The Delawar[es], Shawones Kickapoos Weeaus Piankashaws set out on their return home from the Council
- 14 Rained moderately all last night Some of the Scattering Tribes set out The 93 Osages Set out
- 15 Indians of several tribes Set out

(Continued on page 17)

39. Clark wrote the Secretary of War on October 12, 1826: "Sir: I have the honor to state to you, that a deputation from the Great and Little Osage Nation met one from the Delawares, Shawanoes, Piankeshaws, Peorias, Weas, Senecas and Kickapoos, at this place [i. e., St. Louis], on the 25th day of September, and, after recommending that they should make an attempt to effect a permanent peace, without the interference of the Government, they met in Council, and, after six days warm debate and recriminations, I was forced to take my seat among them, and with much difficulty obtained their entire approbation to the Treaty. . . ."—19 Cong., 2 Sess., *House Doc. 9* (Serial 149).

Sketch of United States Indian Department Property in St. Louis, 1829

Reproduced opposite are the grounds of the superintendency of Indian affairs, St. Louis, as shown by William Clark in a sketch* sent to Thomas L. McKenney of the Indian Department, with a letter dated July 18, 1829.† In the letter he stated: “. . . the house on the Main Street, was first built for an Office and Council house, was burned down, and rebuilt, Rooms 4 and 5, for visiting Indians, 6, 8, 9 and 10, for public Stores and factory Cellers. Two of those Rooms have been lately used as an Armory for repairs of Indian guns and Black Smith Shops for Indian work: this Row of building much out of repair, and found to be too damp for the Armorer and Smith to work in. I therefore caused to be built a 2nd. Story of Stone over Room No. 6, for the Armory, and a house joining it No. 7, for the Smith Shops, and the other part of the houses repaired, the cost of which I calculated upon paying each out of the Rents of those Rooms, in addition to the Rent of the 3 Rooms on Main Street. . . .”

Clark listed his “References” to the numbers on the sketch as follows:

“Room N 1. A Saddlers Shop.—rents @ \$10 Per Month.

“ “ 2. “ Barbers do “ \$6 “

“ “ 3. “ Hatters do “ \$10 “

“ “ 4. “ Turners do “ \$3 “

5. “ Coal house, for Smithy.

6. “ Armourers Shop.

7. “ Smiths Shop.

8 & under part of 6. Shoemakers Shops \$5 each Per Month.

9 & 10. rented to a Musian [?] who Keeps a Grocery
(rents @ \$12 Per Month.”

Main street is the present First street. “Front,” the Front street of today, was also called Water street in the period of the diary. William Clark’s lot was not a part of the government’s property. The location of his residence and other buildings on these grounds is not shown, unfortunately. The superintendency offices, including the Indian council room and a large museum of Indian relics, were on Clark’s lot.

* Reproduced from the original manuscript in the National Archives (Records of the Office of Indian Affairs, “Letters Received,” enclosure of letter of July 18, 1829, from William Clark).

† Letter copy in superintendency of Indian affairs, St. Louis, “Records,” v. 4, pp. 19, 20.

Main Street

55 feet french measure

60 feet -

1

2

3

4 feet

William Clark's Lot

U. States Survey

7

Stone wall

Stone Wall

4

5

6

8

9

10

100 feet french

Front

A Street passing through the part of the lot.

From the Stone wall to the river is a Spanish Concession separate from the upper lot

50 feet to the back

Pine Street

April 1827-						
Day	Temp at 8 o'c	Weather	Wind	Temp at 4 o'c	Weather	Wind
1	—	Clear	"	—	Clear	"
2	64	"	SW	66	"	SW
3	64	"	"	—	rain	SE
4	75	"	"	74	cloudy	"
5	56	cloudy	SW	70	"	Warm
6	64	Clear	SW	60	Clear	"
7	74	"	Calu	—	—	—
8	68	"	S	74	cloudy	SE
9	73	"	SW	75	Clear	SW
10	81	"	SW	—	—	—
11	59	Cloudy	SW	—	rain	"
12	51	"	SE	—	—	—
13	70	Clear	"	78	"	SW
14	82	"	S	75	"	"
15	—	—	—	—	—	—
16	73	"	—	62	"	"
17	68	"	SE	63	"	"
18	58	cloudy	"	63	"	"
19	68	"	SE	—	—	—
20	88	Clear	Warm	—	rain	SE
21	66	"	SW	70	Clear	SE
22	59	"	NE	—	—	—
23	67	Cloudy	SW	57	cloudy	"
24	81	"	SE	—	Clear	"
25	69	Clear	SW	—	Cloudy	"
26	61	Cloudy	"	65	Clear	"
27	68	rain	SE	62	rain	SE
28	66	Clear	"	64	Clear	SW
29	60	Clear	N	—	—	—
30	75	Clear	SW	—	—	—

(Reduced About One Half)

REPRODUCED HERE, AND OPPOSITE, ARE THE APRIL, 1827, PAGES FROM THE WILLIAM CLARK DIARY. THE TWO-PAGE FORMAT, AS SHOWN, WAS FOLLOWED FOR EACH MONTH'S RECORD.



From U. S. map, 1830,
H. & F. J. Huntington.

G U L F of M E X I C O

- 16 Gen Clark Set out to Chacktaws & Chickasaws⁴⁰ accomp'd by Col. O Fallon⁴¹

The "Diary" entries up to this date, and subsequently, were made by several persons, including William Clark, but for the period of Clark's absence on the mission in Mississippi (October 16-December 14, 1826) the ruled pages with dates and headings prepared, are otherwise blank. These empty sections have been omitted.

December, 1826

WEATHER AND RIVER DATA

Date	Temp: at 8 o'Clock	Weather	Wind	Temp: at 4 o'Clock	Weather	Wind	Rise & fall of the River
25	42 a	Cloudy	W	46 a	Cloudy	W	Snows a little
26	32	Snow	West	25	Cloudy	N.W.	Blustering—a little Snow
27	22	Clear	West	28	Clear	W	Cold Ice run in the river
28	23	Cloudy	NW	33	"	W	" Ice increase
29	24	do	N W	22	"	N W	" do
30	28	Snow Cloudy	W	24	"	W	do Snow
31	24	Clear	N W	10	"	N.W.	do

REMARKS

- 14 Genl Clark returned from State of Mississippi.
 20 S. Boat *Magnet* arrives to day
 21 do
 24 2 Cherokees arrive Mr. Rogers⁴² &
 26 S. B. departed.
 31 Ferdinand Risque⁴³ arrives

40. Generals William Clark, Thomas Hinds and John Coffee were appointed commissioners to hold councils with the Chickasaws and Choctaws for the purpose of securing the Indians' relinquishment of their lands in the state of Mississippi. Clark was absent from St. Louis on this mission until December 14, 1826. The councils were entirely unsuccessful. The report of the commissioners is printed in *American State Papers (Indian Affairs)*, v. 2, pp. 708-727.

41. Col. John O'Fallon. His brother Benjamin, an Indian agent and trader, was "Major" O'Fallon. They were Clark's nephews, being sons of Dr. James and Frances E. (Clark) O'Fallon. (Frances was William Clark's youngest sister.) Col. John O'Fallon (1791-1865), settled in St. Louis after serving in the War of 1812. He became one of St. Louis' most prominent and honored citizens. (See, also, Footnote 51.)—Billon, *op. cit.*, pp. 273, 274.

42. "Mr. Rogers" is probably John Rogers (half Scotsman-half Cherokee) who later became, for a time, a chief among the Western Cherokees; or, the entry may refer to James Rogers who was an interpreter for the Western Cherokees during this period.—22 Cong., 1 Sess., *Senate Doc. 101* (Serial 213), p. 12; 23 Cong., 1 Sess., *Senate Doc. 512* (Serial 245), pp. 500-503, 608, 609, 677, 694.

43. Ferdinand Risque was a nephew of William Clark's second wife Harriet (Kennerly) Radford Clark, whose sister Elizabeth had married Maj. James B. Risque. The Risque's children, Ferdinand and Harriet, are mentioned elsewhere in this diary. For family relationships see Stella M. Drumm's "The Kennerlys of Virginia," *loc. cit.*, v. 6, pp. 98-123.

January, 1827

WEATHER AND RIVER DATA

Date 1827	Temp. at 8 oClock	Weather	Wind	Temp. at 4 oClock	Weather	Wind	Rise & fall of the River
1	18	Clear	Calm	20	Cloudy	N.E	fallen about a foot last night of the 1st
2	18	Cloudy	S E	38	Clear	North	fallen Some Ice running
3	36	"	S.W.	26	Cloudy	North	" " "
4	29	"	S W.ly	33	clear	N	Stand " "
5	30	Clear	N	38	"	Calm	" " "
6	30	Clear	Calm	44	"	"	Rising a little "
7	31	Clear	"	47	"	"	" " "
8	39	"	"	55	"	"	" " "
9	48	"	"	59	Clear	"	" " "
10	51	"	"	62	Cloudy	"	" " "
11	34	Cloudy snows.	S.W.	58	Snow do	"	Snow all day & part of the night
12	36	Cloudy & snows.	NW				fall a little no ice running this Morning Snow 12 inches Deep
13	39	Cloudy	N.W.	56	Clear	S	
14	34	Clear	W	59	"	S.W.	River clear of ice
15	25	Cloudy	N.	21	"	West	Ice running.
16	12	"	West	12	Cloudy & snow	West	"
17	10	Snows	S.W	15	Clear	North	Ice running thick
18	18	Clear	West	18	"	West	River rise about 3 feet and Closed last night
19	26	"	Calm	16	"	"	River rise a little
20	14	Cloudy	East	18	Cloudy	S.W.	Snowed in the evening
21	29	Cloudy	S E	22	Clear	S E	
22	35	Clear	S	45	"	S.W.	
23	54	"	S.	48	Cloudy	Calm	river rise a little
24	48	"	Calm	47	Clear	"	do do
25	42	Cloudy	"	48	"	"	do do
26	40	"	"				do do about 14 inches
27	39	Clear	SE	42	Clear	S	do do River begins to Break rose Several Inches
28	37	Cloudy	NE	40	Cloudy	NE	River Broke & Ice move[s] down & Lodges on the Island
29	38½	Cloudy	"				River Clear of running Ice with much on the Shores & Islands
30	40	Cloudy					rises some
31	37	Clear	S.W				River rose several inches

REMARKS

21 Capt. Patrick Ford ⁴⁴ S[ub]. agent for the Ioways died last night at Dr. [Taffens?]

31 Military Ball ⁴⁵

44. Patrick Henry Ford had edited the *St. Louis Enquirer* in the early 1820's.—Billon, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

45. Some 200 people were present at this gala affair, so briefly noted in the diary. One of the chief social events of the winter, it featured a supper at 1:30 a. m., and dancing until 6:30 a. m. The ball was given for the officers at newly-established Jefferson Barracks who had previously entertained St. Louis citizens with a military ball at their post on January 8. Clark's Indian council room, especially decorated, was used for this occasion.—*Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, January 11, February 8, 1827.

February, 1827

WEATHER AND RIVER DATA

Date 1827	Temp. at 8 o'clock	Weather	Wind	Temp. at 4 oc	Weather	Wind	Rise & fall of the River
1	36½	Cloudy	NE	40	Clear	Calm	River closed (opposite the Big-Mound North of St. Louis rises a little
2	45	rain	Calm	43	rain	SE	River running with Ice do
3	45	Snow	NW	26½	—	—	do " " do
4	44	do	—	42	fine rain	—	do " " "
5	40	Cloudy	NE	—	—	—	do " " "
6	41	Clear	Calm	—	Clear	—	do " " "
7	37	do	SW	—	Clear	Calm	River clear, rises a little
8	48	do	Calm	—	Clear	Calm	Ice commenced running last night
9	49	Cloudy	"	42	—	SE	River running with ice—rained some last night—at 4 p.m.—river clear of ice & rising
10	57½	Clear	NW	47	Clear	W	River clear of ice & rises fast
11	52	Clear	W. hard	45	do	NE	do do " Rose into the Spring
12	32	Clear	NE	58	do	SW	do do " falls one foot
13	54	Cloudy	SW	—	—	—	do do do do
14	40	Clear	Calm	46½	Cloudy	—	do do " "
15	62	"	SE	55	Clear	—	do do falls fast
16	62	"	"	61½	"	SW	do do do do
17	62½	"	Calm	65	"	Calm	do do do do
18	"	"	"	"	"	"	do do do do
19	58½	"	"	54	"	"	(River falls)
20	55	"	SE	62	"	"	River falls a little
21	65	"	S. hard	"	rain	SW	do "
22	53½	Cloudy	Calm	60	Clear	Calm	do "
23	61	Clear	"	68	rain	"	do "
24	71	"	hard S. W. by S	72½	Clear	hard SW by S	River rise[s] a little
25	46	Cloudy	NW	50	Cloudy	NW	ditto—about 2 feet (at 4 p.m.)—river rising fast
26	42	"	NE	54	Clear	NE	ditto about 2½ feet
27	63	Clear	SW	72½	Cloudy	SW	do ½ foot
28	34	Cloudy	SW	38	do	W	fall about 9 Ins.

REMARKS

- 3 Hailed all last night wind high from W at 4 p.m. wind not so high
- 4 Some Snow this morning and rain in the evening
- 5 some Ice rained last night
- 6 some ice—Snow melting
- 10 Wind high Kickapoo "profit" speak[s] ⁴⁶
- 11 N. Ball [?] at camp. Horse Boat Sinks today
- 12 Steem boat *Prlough Boy* arrives from Kaskaskia at Day
- 13 " " " " departed for Louisville (Dance)
- 17 a beautiful day

46. See Footnote 33. Kennekuk, the Kickapoo Prophet, had come to St. Louis to ask that his people be allowed to remain in Illinois. During this visit he explained to Clark the origin of his divine mission. For his speech on this occasion see James Mooney's article "Kanakük and Minor Prophets," in Bureau of American Ethnology, 14th Annual Report, Pt. 2, pp. 692-700.

- 18 On this day George R. Clark ⁴⁷ son of Genl Clark when Hunting with Henry (a yellow fellow)—by accident was wounded under the right eye—by the discharge of Henry's gun 3 miles out
- 19 George thought better
- 20 Steam Boat *Cleopatra* arrives from Louisville in 5 days
- 21 George Better S B "*Genl Hamilton*" arrives
- 22 Steam Boat *Cleopatra* started for Louisville.
- 23 Steam Boat *Muskingum* & *Genl Hamilton* arrive from New Orleans
- 24 Thundered. Lightened & Rained all Last night. Steam boat *Hamilton* start[s] to N. O.
- 25 Steam Boat *Muskingum* starts for N. O.
- 26 Steam Boat "*America*" arrive[s] from Pittsburgh ⁴⁸ (George better)
- 27 (rains a little)
- 28 (Cold) Dohertys apt.⁴⁹ arrives

March, 1827

WEATHER AND RIVER DATA

Date	Temp. at 8 O'clock	Weather	Wind	Temp. at 4 p m	Weather	Wind	Rise & fall of the river
1	36½	Clear	N	46	Clear	—	river falls 6 inches
2	52	"	Calm	46	Cloudy	S.E.	" " "
3	44	"	SW	55	Clear	SW	" " 4 inches
4	60	Clear	Calm				" " "
5	56½	Cloudy	S W				" rise
6	66	Clear	S W				" rises a little
7	—	Clear	—	—	Clear		" falling
8	55½	"	"	75	"	(high wind S. E.)	" " fast
9	40½	"	(calm)	52	"	S. W.	" " "
10	66	"	Calm	62	"	"	" " "
11	54	"	S W				" " "
12	64	"	Calm	46	Clear	S W hard unusally	" " "
13	50	"	"	46	"	N	" " "
14	41	Cloudy	N W	44	"	N very high wind	
15	56	Clear	S W	49	"	S W	river rises a little
16	55½	"	"	48	"	"	" on a stand
17	46	rains	E	49	rain	E	River falls a little
18	38	Snow	N. NE	42	Cloudy	N E	" rise a little
19	45½	Clear	E	53½	Clear	S	" " "
20	48	Clear	Calm	60	"	Calm	" " "
21	72	"	S	"	"	"	" " "

47. George Rogers Hancock Clark, ten years old at this date, was the son of William and his first wife, Julia (Hancock) Clark.—Coues, *op. cit.*, v. 4, genealogical table.

48. The *America* was a new 250-ton boat, and this was her first trip. The forthcoming event had been advertised in the issues of the *Missouri Republican*, St. Louis.

49. Evidently this refers to the appointment of Maj. John Dougherty as Indian agent "for Upper Missouri," in place of Maj. Benjamin O'Fallon, resigned.—*Ibid.*, February 15, 1827. Dougherty said his appointment was made in January, 1827, but that he did not receive official notice until the latter part of April.—Typed copy of Dougherty's March 9, 1832, report to the Secretary of War, in Mss. division, Kansas State Historical Society.

22	76	"	S	74½	"	"	"	"	"
23	69	"	S W	55½	"	S W	high wind	"	"
24	64	"	S W	62½	"	S W	high wind	"	"
25	—	—	—	—	—	—	Warm Day	"	"
26	66	Cloudy	W	62	rain	—	—	"	"
27	41	"	S W	37½	Snow	N	high wind & cold.	"	"
28	40	"	N	48	Clear	W	—	river rise a little	"
29	56	clear	W	56	"	"	—	"	"
30	66	"	S W	64	"	S W	—	"	"
31	64	"	Calm	64	"	S W	—	"	"

REMARKS

- 1 Snow fell last night 4 inches S. B. *Plough boy* arrives from Louis[ville] S B *America* departs for N. O.
- 2 S. B. *Indiana* arrives from N. O.
- 4 (George considerably better)
- 5 S. B. *Indiana* starts for St Genevieve
- 6 (at 11 A. M. rain & Hail for one hour—wind high)
- 7 S. B. *Indiana* arrives from St Genevieve
- 8 (rained a little last night S B. *Indiana* start[s] for Fever River⁵⁰ *Cleopatra* arrives from Louisville
- 10 S B *Cleopatra* starts for Louisville
- 11 S. B. *Scioto* arrived from Cincinnati Last night
- 12 (Rain[ed] some last night) (at 1 oclock p. m. high wind S. W. at 12 oclock wind from N. W. high) S. B. *Shamrock* arrives from Louis[ville]
- 13 S. B. *Scioto* departs
- 14 (Some snow fell last night) wind high
- 15 S. B. *Plough-boy* arrives from Louisville froze Col o Fallon mard⁵¹ Washington (Bullet Shot)
- 16 S. B. *Plough Boy* departs S. B. *Liberator* departs
- 17 S. B. *Velocipede* arrives from Pittsburgh. S. B. *Liberator* departs The *Velocipede* arrives from Pittsburgh
- 18 cold day Some Indians arrive (S. B. start for Fever river)
- 22 warm weather.
- 23 S B *Clopatra* arrives from Louisville S. B. *Indiana* from rapids below fever river (party)
- 24 S B *Clopatra* departs for Louisville

50. The *Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, March 15, 1827, carried this item: "FEVER RIVER MINES.—The emigration this spring to the United States' lead Mines on the Upper Mississippi, is immense. One steam boat (intended as a regular trader) has already left here for the above place, and three others are advertised to depart soon. We have heard it computed that the accession in diggers, and others, will amount to several thousands. The Government rents, for the present year, will consequently be very considerably increased."

51. Col. John O'Fallon married Caroline Sheetz, of Maryland, on March 15, 1827.—Scharf, *op. cit.*, v. 1, p. 351. His first wife had died February 14, 1826.—*Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, February 16, 1826. See, also, Footnote 41.

- 25 S Bts. *America & Hamilton* arrive from N. O. & S. B. *Mexico* from Louisville
 26 S B *Indiana* starts for Fever river
 27 (Wind changeable at 4 p. m.) S B *Mexico* starts
 29 S B. *America* departs for N. O.
 30 S. B. *Plough Boy* arrives from Louisville
 31 S B. *Plough boy* starts for Louisville (Mr & Miss Risque⁵² start)

April, 1827

WEATHER AND RIVER DATA

Date	Temp. at S o. c.	Weather	Wind	Temp. at 4 o'c	Weather	Wind	Rise & fall of the river
1	—	Clear	—	—	Clear	—	warm day— River rising
2	64	"	S W	66	"	S.W.	" " " "
3	64	"	"	—	rain	S E	" " " "
4	75	"	"	74	cloudy	—	" " " "
5	56	Cloudy	W	70	—	Warm rain last night	River rises fast
6	64	Clear	SW	60	Clear	—	River rises fast
7	74	"	Calm	—	—	—	River raising fast
8	68	"	S	74	Cloudy	S E	do do do
9	73	"	S W	75	Clear	S W	" " " "
10	81	"	S W	—	—	—	" " " "
11	59½	Cloudy	W	—	—	rain	" " " "
12	51½	"	S E	—	—	(wind high)	" " " "
13	70	Clear	W	78	"	SW	" " " (good friday)
14	82	"	S	75	"	"	" " " "
15	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
16	73	"	"	62	"	"	river on a stand
17	68	"	S.E	68	"	"	" " "
18	58	Cloudy	"	63	"	"	river rising
19	68	"	S W	—	—	—	" "
20	80	Clear	warm	—	rain	S	—
21	66	"	S.W	70	Clear	S E	river on a stand
22	59	"	N E	—	—	—	" " "
23	67	Cloudy	S W	57	Cloudy	—	rain last night
24	81	"	S E	—	Clear	—	—
25	69	Clear	S W	—	Cloudy	—	—
26	61	Cloudy	"	65	Clear	—	rain this morning
27	68	rain	S E	62	rain	S E	river raising
28	66	Clear	"	64	Clear	S W	river raising
29	60	Clear	N	—	—	—	River rises fast
30	75	Clear	S W	—	—	—	" " "

REMARKS

- 1 2 Kickapoos start for the village of the Prophet
 2 5 Kickapoos start for White river & 5 for the village of Prophet
 Mr. Sanford starts⁵³
 3 S B *Lawrence* arrives from Louisville

52. Ferdinand and Harriet Risque. See Footnote 43.

53. John F. A. Sanford, evidently setting out for his subagency in the Mandan Indian country. (See Footnote 37.) He is not mentioned again in the diary until November, 1828.

- 5 at 5 p. m. wind high. S W. S. B. *Lawrence* starts for Louisville
- 6 arrivals from upper Missi[ssi]ppi
- 7 Mr. Henry Gratiot⁵⁴ & others arrive from Fever River
- 8 Steam Boat *Muskingum* arrives in 3½ days from Louisville
S. B. *Cleopatra* from Louisville
- 9 S Boats *Plough boy* & *Mechanic* from Louisville & New Orleans
- 10 S B. " " started at 8 last night for Louisville S B
Liberator arrives from N. O.
- 11 S. B. *Cleopatra* started yesterday for Louisville S. B. *Mus-*
kingum starts for [omission]
- 12 some ice running in river. 48 Sacs start.
- 13 S B *Mexico* from Louisville & S B *Mechanic* start for Fever
[River]
- 14 Saturday before Easter
- 15 Arrived S. Bts *Oregon*⁵⁵—*Lexington* from Louisville & S. B.
Jubilee from N. O. *Indiana* from Fever river
- 16 " " " *Shamrock* from Fever river—depart S. Bts
Liberator for N. O. & *Mexico* for St. Peters
- 17 " " " (yesterday) *Pilot*⁵⁶ from Louisville—Started
4 keels up the Missouri river loaded with sol-
diers⁵⁷
- 18 (Shawnees) arrive from Kaskaskias S. B. *Indiana* starts up
for fever river—S B *Oregon* starts for Franklin
- 19 S. B. *Shamrock* starts up for fever river
- 21 S B *Plough boy* arrives from Louisville
- 22 " " *Hercules* arrives. S B *Ploughboy* starts for Louisville—
Capt Ruland starts—S. B. *Clapatria* arrives
- 23 rain this day at 12—S. B. *Mechanic*⁵⁸ arrives from fever river

54. Henry Gratiot (1789-1836) was a son of Charles Gratiot, a pioneer trader of St. Louis. In October, 1825, Henry, his wife Susan (Hempstead) Gratiot, and family, moved from St. Louis to a frontier home on Fevre river, Illinois. Henry and a brother, John Pierre B., subsequently established a lead smelter at Gratiot's grove. The Gratiots were friends of the Rock river Winnebagoes, and in 1831, Henry was appointed subagent for these Indians.—*Wisconsin Historical Collections*, v. 10, pp. 235-259; 22 Cong., 1 Sess., *Senate Doc. 101* (Serial 213), p. 11; Billon, *op. cit.*, pp. 173, 174.

55. The *Oregon* was a new boat of 225 tons, built at Marietta, Ohio.—Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 259.

56. The *Pilot* was a new boat "built entirely of locust with a low pressure engine, and runs very fast," according to an advertisement in the *Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, March 8, 1827.

57. "Four companies of the 3d Regt. U. S. Infantry, left Jefferson Barracks on the 17th inst. in keel boats, under the immediate command of captain W. G. Belknap, for the purpose of establishing a Military Post near the mouth of the Little Platte, on the Missouri River."—*Ibid.*, April 19, 1827. The War Department order directed Col. Henry Leavenworth to select the site, and he had gone ahead of the above party. The site he chose was present Fort Leavenworth, designated as Cantonment Leavenworth in 1827.—Hunt, Elvid, and W. E. Lorence, *History of Fort Leavenworth 1827-1937* (Fort Leavenworth, 1937), pp. 16-18; *Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, May 10, 1827.

58. According to Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 258, the *Mechanic* (a 120-ton boat, built in 1823), was "stove" near St. Louis in 1827. This is the last diary entry about her.

- 24 S Bt. *Cleopatra & Jubilee* start for Louisville—S B *Hamilton* arrives from Fever river S B *America* arrives
- 25 S Bt. *Hamilton* starts for N. Orleans.
- 26 S Bts *Muskingum* from Fever river & *Mexico* arrive from the rapids
- 27 S B *America* arrives
- 28 S. B. *America* starts
- 29 4 Iraquas arrive from Rocky Mountains (at 6 p. m.)⁵⁹ 10 Osages arrive (bro't in from country where they were secreted), who Mr. Rénard—Mr. Delanney & co. were about to take to Europe, without the knowledge or consent of Supt. or Agt.—Mr. Rénard declares he had nothing to do with the above affair but says Mr. Menard is concerned—M L & F S Tessons & Paul Louise are concerned⁶⁰

May, 1827

WEATHER AND RIVER DATA

Date	Temp. at 8 o. c.	Weather	Wind	Temp. at 4 Oclk	Weather	Wind	Rise & fall of the river
1 68		Clear	SW	—	Cloudy	—	river raising fast
2 72		"	E	—	—	—	" " "
3 60		"	Calm	—	Clear	Calm	" " "
4 75		"	"	—	—	—	" " "
5 —		"	E	—	Clear	NE	
6 56		"	W	58	Cloudy	NW	
7 57		"	S	62	Clear	W	river falling
8 62		"	—	—	"	"	river on a stand
9 —		"	—	—	rain	SE	
10 68		rain	E	—	cloudy	—	
11 68		"	S W	72	Clear	S W	
12 70		clear	calm	—	—	—	river fall
13 —		cloudy	SSE	—	rain	—	do falling a little
14 68		"	S W	—	—	—	river fall
15 72		"	S	—	clear	—	do fall a little
16 64		rain	—	—	—	—	
17 69		Clear	calm	—	—	—	

59. Iroquois Indians were employed by the fur companies in the far North and North-west, but their arrival "from Rocky Mountains," or from any direction, must have been an unusual event at St. Louis, which was far from Iroquois country.

60. Six of these Osages, four men and two women, were persuaded to go to Europe. The interesting story of their experiences has been written by Grant Foreman in his "Our Indian Ambassadors to Europe," in *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, v. 5, pp. 109-128. He says: "The Osage accompanied by Delauney, their interpreter Paul Loise, and François Tesson of St. Louis, as conductor of the party, descended the Mississippi to New Orleans on the Steamboat *Commerce*; from there they sailed on the American ship *New England*, and, on July 27, 1827, landed at Havre." At first they attracted great crowds in France and were widely entertained. As a commercial scheme the venture soon failed. Delauney was imprisoned for debt and the Osages wandered through Western Europe in 1828 and 1829, suffering many hardships. Funds were finally raised in France to return them to the United States and they embarked late in 1829. They arrived destitute, but the Indian Department in Washington eventually took charge of them and arranged for their care. On June 7, 1830, William Clark wrote from St. Louis to Colonel McKenney of the Indian Department, that he had sent the Osages, except Paul Loise, to their nation.—Superintendency of Indian affairs, St. Louis, "Records," v. 4, pp. 119, 120, *loc. cit.* David DeLaunay, Hyacinth Renouard, the brothers Michael and Francis Tesson, and Paul Loise (*see, also*, Footnote 23) were all French residents of St. Louis.—Billon, *op. cit.*, pp. 258, 259, 423. The exact identity of "Mr. Menard" has not been determined.

18	72	"	"	84	"	calm	warm weather
19	—	—	—	—	—	"	"
20							
21							River rise
22	67	"	"	"	"	"	
23							River rise
24	"			"	"	"	river raising
25				76			River rise a little
26	74	"	"				river falling
27	"	"	"	78	"	N E	" "
28	hot	"	"	hot	"	"	river fell $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet in the last three days
29	"				"	—	river fell 1 [?]
30	68	"	S	78	"	"	" falling
31	73	"	SW				" "

REMARKS

- 1 S B *Pilot* arrived from Fever river last night — S B *Oregon* from Franklin
- 2 S. B. *Commerce* starts for Louisville — S B *Oregon* starts also
- 3 S B *Shamrock* arrived last night from Fever river
- 4 at dark in the evening Capt. Ruland arrives in the S B *Ploughboy* from Louisville with funds for Indn Dept — S B *Shamrock* starts
- 5 S. B. *Ploughboy* starts
- 6 S. B *Mexico* returned down R[iver] S. B. *Cleopatra* arrives from Louisville
- 7 S. B. *Cleopatra* starts for Louisville T W Bullit⁶¹ starts
- 8 S. B. [omission] & *Hercules* arrive
- 9 S B *Bellvidere* arrives
- 10 " " " departs S B *Liberator* arrives from N. O.
- 11 Kisho⁶² & other Kickapoos (20) arrive from White river
- 12 30 Weas & Miamis are still camped over river
- 13 12 Kansas (men & women) arrive from their towns Steam Boat *Phenix* arrived from Louisville
- 14 35 Showanees arrive.
- 15 Steam Boat *Shamrock* arrived from Fever River last night
- 16 20 Kickapoos start — S Bts *Commerce* - *Phoenix* & *Jubilee* arrive — Part of the Troops arrive from Council Bluffs⁶³

61. T. W. Bullitt, not further identified, was possibly related to Mary Ann (Bullitt) Atkinson, wife of Gen. Henry Atkinson, senior officer at Jefferson Barracks, Mo.

62. Kish-co ("guardian to Indians"), was a "signer" of the Indian peace treaty of October 7, 1826, and the Kickapoo treaty of October 24, 1832. He was not a chief and was influential only among his own band, which had moved from Illinois to White river, Missouri. These Kickapoos removed to a reserve north of Cantonment Leavenworth in 1833.—23 Cong., 1 Sess., *Senate Doc. 512* (Serial 247), p. 639.

63. Part of the Fort Atkinson garrison. See, also, diary entry of June 16, 1827.

- 17 S. B. *Plough-boy* arrived — Jas Kennerly⁶⁴ & Jno Dougherty⁶⁵ arrived yesterday.
- 18 S B *Plough boy* departs — Mr Boilvin U. S. Indn Agt.⁶⁶ Died
- 19 S. Bts. *Hercules - Velocipede & Scioto* arrive — Hugh King executed for murder of Martin Green⁶⁷
- 20 S. B. *Cleopatra* arrives
- 21 Lorenzo Dow arrived the day before yesterday⁶⁸
- 22 Genl Clark starts for Paducah⁶⁹ in Steam Boat *Cleopatra*
- 25 S Bts *Phoenix & America* arrive
- 26 S. B. *Indiana* starts for Fever river — S. B. *Phoenix* starts for Louisville
- 27 S. B. *Belvidere* arrives
- 29 S. B. *Hercules* arrives Genl Clark arrives from Paducah
- 30 S B *Lawrence* arrives
- 31 S B *America* starts — S B *Belvidere* arrives A Shane⁷⁰ Interpreter arrives with 3 Senacas 1 Shawnee & 1 Ottoo Indian The Shawnee is one who went to view Lou[isville?]

64. The Kennerly brothers, James, George H. and Augustin, are mentioned frequently in the diary. Their sister Elizabeth married Major Risque (see Footnote 43), and their sister Harriet married (1) Dr. John Radford, (2) William Clark, being his second wife. The Kennerly brothers were residents of St. Louis, or near-by Jefferson Barracks, for many years. James was sutler at Fort Atkinson (Neb.) from November, 1823, until its abandonment in the spring of 1827. Subsequently James and George were appointed sutlers at newly-established Jefferson Barracks.—Drumm, Stella M., "The Kennerlys of Virginia," *loc. cit.*; "Diary of James Kennerly, 1823-1826," edited by E. B. Wesley, in *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, v. 6, pp. 41-97.

65. Maj. John Dougherty (1791-1860) was a native of Bardstown, Ky. From late 1823 to early 1827 he was assistant to Maj. Benjamin O'Fallon, Indian agent at the Council Bluffs. When O'Fallon resigned, Dougherty was appointed in his place as agent for the upper Missouri, but made his headquarters at the new army post Cantonment Leavenworth, instead of Council Bluffs. He had married a St. Louis girl, Mary Hertzog, in November, 1823.—Dougherty report, 1832, *loc. cit.*; *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, v. 6, p. 52, editorial note; *Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, November 26, 1823.

66. Nicholas Boilvin had been Indian agent at Prairie du Chien since March 14, 1811. He was a Canadian, and seems to have arrived at Prairie du Chien about 1810. Accounts say he died on a keelboat coming down the Mississippi.—*Wisconsin Historical Collections*, v. 2, p. 150; v. 9, p. 286; v. 11, pp. 247-249; v. 19, p. 314; 23 Cong., 1 Sess., *House Report* 474 (Serial 263), p. 43. Boilvin's position was filled by Joseph M. Street.

67. Edwards, who has the year erroneously as 1828, said King was a soldier and Green the sergeant of his company.—Edwards, Richard, and M. Hopewell, *Edwards's Great West* . . . (St. Louis, 1860), p. 339.

68. Lorenzo Dow (1777-1834), a preacher and an eccentric, made a number of evangelistic tours in the United States and in Great Britain. He has been called the inventor of camp-meetings.—*Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1930), v. 5, p. 410.

69. Paducah, Ky., was laid out in 1827 by William Clark, and named for the Indian chief Paducah, buried on the river bank there. It was incorporated as a town on January 11, 1830.—Collins, R. H., *History of Kentucky* (Covington, Ky., 1878), v. 2, p. 594.

70. Anthony Shane, mentioned several times in the diary, was an interpreter, particularly for the Shawnee Indians west of the Mississippi.—22 Cong., 1 Sess., *Senate Doc. 101* (Serial 213), p. 12.

June, 1827

WEATHER AND RIVER DATA

Date	Temp. at 8 O.°C.	Weather	Wind	Temp. at 4 O.°C.	Weather	Wind	Rise & fall of river
1	68	Clear	NW				river falling
2	67	clear	NE	71	Clear	SW	river on a stand
3				86	"	calm: very warm weather	" falling
4	71½	"	calm	81	"	"	" rising 3 (?) ft
5	75	"	"	78	"	"	" " 1½ ft
6	74	"	S E	"	"	"	" raise 1 foot
7	78	"	calm	84	"	" (very warm)	" " 4 inches
8	80	"	"	84	Cloudy	"	" " "
9	80	very rain warm	E				" " a little
10	66	cloudy	E				River rises fast about 1 ft.
11	80	"					" " " "
12	81	rain clear early this morning	S E	"	Clear	"	" " " 2½ ft
13	82	"	calm	88	rain at 7 o'clock	N	" " " 1 ft
14	78	cloudy	—	82	clear	calm (warm)	" " very little
15	84	clear	SW				" " 2 ft.
16	78	cloudy	S	82	"	"	" " very little in the evening falls
17	64	clear	" very little wind				" fall about 2½ inches
18		cloudy	S				" " " 1 ft
19		clear	"		cloudy	N (warm)	" Raised—from Missouri
20		cloudy					" Raised little—from Missouri
21		Clear	S W				" raise fast—since this morning 5 ft. in height
22	62	clear	N	70	clear	N E	raise in height 2½
23	65	"	N E	78	"	—	river raise " 3 ft since yesterday morning
24	68	cloudy	S				
25	69	clear	N E	75	clear	—	" falls
26	74	cloudy	S	80	"	S E	" do
27	79	clear	S	82	"	—	" do
28	79	"	N E	82	"	N E	" do
29	80	"	E	84	"	calm (very warm)	" "
30	82	"	"	84	few drops of rain		" "

REMARKS

- 18 Foxes arrive S. B. *Plough Boy* arrives from Louisville
S B *Lawrence* departs
- 12 Kansas start for their homes *Mettée*⁷¹ with 6 Shawnees
& Senecas arrives
- S Bts *Indiana* & *Plough boy* start
- S Bts *Muskingum* & *Velocipede* arrived last evening Mr Tilton⁷² arrives with 1 keel & 4 mackinaw boats loaded with peltries

71. Jacques Metté was employed at St. Louis as an interpreter.—*Ibid.* He is mentioned a number of times in the diary, occasionally as "Mr. Metty," or "Metty."

72. Tilton was a proprietor in the Columbia Fur Company (legal name Tilton & Company). James Kipp and Tilton had a trading post on the upper Missouri in the Mandan Indian village, from 1823-1827.—Chittenden, H. M., *The American Fur Trade of the Far West* (New York, 1902), v. 1, pp. 323-327.

- 5 S Bts *Muskingum & Cleopatra* start — S B *Liberator* arrives from N. O.
- 6 Black Buffalo & family emigrants (5 Kickapoos) are over the river
- 8 Steam Boat with Col. Croghan arrives from Lemoin. *Belvidere* arrives on the 9th from Trinity at 3 ocl[oc]k this morning
- 9 Steam Boat *Belvidere* depd on the 10th for Louisville Steam B. *Hercules* from Louisville
- 10 S. Bt. *Shamrock* arrives — S. B. *Indiana* in port
- 12 S B *Jubilee* arrives from N. O. 6 Shawnees from Kaskaskias emigrants arrive
- 13 S B *Shamrock* departs for Louisville Arrive 10 Weas & Miamis Emigrating from the Wabash Depart the six Shawnees who came on the 12th—Arrive 3 Weas
- 14 S B *Lawrence* arrives with Col O'Fallon & George⁷³ Arrive Penishia & party 8 in all—Kickapoos
- 15 S B *Plough boy* arrives 2 Kickapoos arrive 13 Weas & Miamies depart
- 16 Capt G. H. Kennerly Sub Agt arrives⁷⁴ balance of Troops from Council Bluffs arrive⁷⁵ 10 Kickapoos depart 11 Delawares Emigrating arrive
- 17 [?] 11 Delawares Emigrating depart
- 18 S. B. *Plough boy* arrived last night 12 Ioways arrive
- 21 S Bts *Muskingum & Cleopatra* in port Genl. Brown in Barracks
- 22 Very cold last night & this morning Ther[mometer] at 58° river still raising fast at 6 oclock Genl Brown arrives at St Louis⁷⁶

73. Col. John O'Fallon and Clark's young son George, probably.

74. George H. Kennerly, Clark's brother-in-law (see Footnote 64), was Indian subagent for the upper Missouri in 1826 and 1827.—Superintendency of Indian affairs, St. Louis, "Records," v. 21, *loc. cit.* His post was at the Council Bluffs. Early in 1828 he was appointed postmaster at Jefferson Barracks, and was also a sutler there.—*Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, January 31, 1828; "Diary of James Kennerly, 1823-1826," *loc. cit.*

75. Fort Atkinson (Neb.) was abandoned following the establishment of Cantonment Leavenworth (see Footnote 57).—Watkins says that three keel boats and four barges started from Fort Atkinson with the garrison and equipment of the post on June 6.—Watkins, Albert, "Why Fort Atkinson Was Established," in *Nebraska History and Record of Pioneer Days*, v. 2, No. 3, pp. 4, 5. Clark's entry of May 16, 1827, would indicate some of the troops left the fort earlier. These troops were part of the Sixth U. S. infantry.

76. Maj. Gen. Jacob Brown was commander-in-chief of the U. S. army from June 15, 1815, to February 24, 1828.—Heitman, F. B., comp., *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army* . . . to . . . 1903 (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1903), p. 252. The *Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, June 28, 1827, contained this item: "Major Gen. Brown, accompanied by his Aid, Lt. J. R. Vinton, of the U. S. Artillery, arrived at Jefferson Barracks on the 20th inst. in the S. B. *Cleopatra*. This veteran officer has been for some time engaged in a tour for the inspection of the military posts of the U. States, and is now on his return to Washington City, taking the route of the Lakes. . . . On the evening . . . [of the 22nd] he visited St. Louis; the following day, accompanied by Brig. Gen. Atkinson, he visited the Arsenal at Belle Fontaine. . . ." Major General Brown

- 23 S B *Cleopatra* started yesterday.
 24 S B *Hercules* arrives from Louisville Ohio river low 4 Dela-
 wares (Silversmith) arrive
 25 at 8 p. m. S B *Phoenix* arrives from Louisville Capt. states
 Ohio river raising 80 Socks & Foxes arrive
 26 10 Kickapoos arrive from Prophet 1 Delaware (Coin) arrives
 from Fish's Town
 27 at 4 am S B *America* arrives from N. Orleans 4 Shawnees
 (Fish & 3 others arrive)
 28 4 Delawares & 10 Kickapoos depart 5 Shawnees arrive 12
 Ioways Departed

July, 1827

WEATHER AND RIVER DATA

Date	Temp. at 8 O'clock	Weather	Wind	Temp. at 4 O'C	Weather	Wind	[Rise & fall of river]
1	82	Clear	NE	84	Clear	South	River fall a few inches
2	81	"	E	89	"	E	" " " "
3	78	C & R	NE	87	R	SW	" " " "
4	80	Clear	NE	88	Clear	S	" " " "
5	80	Clear	East	77	Rainy	SE	River falls a little
6	81	rain all day & night	"	82	rain	"	River rise a little
7	76	Rain	S	84	Cloudy	"	do rises several feet
8	76	Cloud	Calm	80	Cloudy	"	do do Several inches
9	76	Cloudy	SE				ditto do " "
10	78	Clear	Calm	82	Clear	SE	" " " "
11	81 at 10 o'clock	Cloudy	SW	85	Cloudy	"	" " " "
12	82	Clear	NE	86	Clear	Calm	river falls a little
13	78	Cloudy	calm	83	clear	NE very little	" rise a little
14	76	rain	NE				" " "
15	80	clear	S	84	clear	S	" " "
16	78	clear	NE	81	do	SE	" raising
17	78	Cloudy	W	83	"	W	River fall a little
18	76	clear	NE	81	"	NE	" " "
19	80	"	SW	88	"	SW	" " "
20	81	"	"	87	"	NE	" " "
21	79	cloudy	N	81	"	"	" falls fast
22	81	clear	E	88	"	W	" " "
23	82	"	"	89	"	"	" " a little
24	81	"	N	90	"	N W	" Rising fast
25	81	"	W	89	clear	W.N.W changes	" rise about 5 ft. since yesterday.
26	76	"	"				" rising
27	80	"	"	81	clear		" raising fast
28	78	"	W				" rose
29	80	"	W				" raising fast
30	82	"	E	86	clear	W very little	" " "
31	82	"	"	89½	"	E	river falling

reviewed the troops at Jefferson Barracks, the complement of the post then being six com-
 panies of the First, six companies of the Third, and ten companies of the Sixth, U. S. in-
 fantry regiments.—*Ibid.*

REMARKS

- 1 S. B. *Plough boy*—S. B. *Phoenix & Lawrence* arrive from Louisville S. B. *Genl Wayne* arrives at 2 o'clock a. m.—St Bt *America* departs for New Orleans at 11 oC[lock]
- 2 S B *Muskingdom* starts for Louisville (at 1 o'clock Thermometer at 89)
- 3 Iowa Indians 12 set out S B. *Lawrance* departs down [Lo?]
- 4 S. B. *Indiana* arrives from Demoin. S. B. *Phenix* depd for Louisville
- 5 at 28 min pass 5 o'clock A. M. a Shock of Earthquake.⁷⁷ S. B. *William Penn* & S. B. *Portland* ⁷⁸ arrive [from] N O
- 6 1 St Bt arrs & the *Liberator* arrive from N Orleans
- 7 S B *Hercules* arrives from Louisville
- 8 S B. *Cleopatra* arrives from Louisville
- 9 a Great rise in the Missouri river—Mississippi rising
- 10 Govr Cass ⁷⁹ arrives—at 1 oclock p. m. rain S. B. *Cleopatra* departs
- 11 Steam Boat *Essex* ⁸⁰ (Capt. Shrouds) arrives, first trip 5 days from Louisville Kty.
- 12 S. Boat *Velocipeed* departs for Louisville. S B *Jubilee* arrives from N. Orleans
- 13 hard rain & wind this morning.
- 14 S. B. *Hamilton* departs for Jefferson Barracks One Fox arrives
- 15 S Bts *Gl Hamilton—Essex & Indiana* start up Mississippi with Troops [Fox] departs One Sock boy (lame) in town
- 16 Troops started yesterday against Winnebagoes 580 men under Genl. Atkinson ⁸¹
- 17 S B *Lawrence* arrives from Louisville

77. "A severe shock of an Earthquake, of about a minute's duration, was felt in this city this morning, at half past 5 o'clock, accompanied by a loud, rumbling noise, resembling the passage of a wagon over a pavement."—*Ibid.*, July 5, 1827.

78. This is the only mention in the diary of the *Portland*. Hall, *op. cit.*, lists no boat of this name.

79. Lewis Cass (1782-1866) was governor of the territory of Michigan at this date; he was later (1831-1837) Secretary of War, and (1857-1860) Secretary of State. Cass brought news of a Winnebago uprising.

80. The *Essex* was a steamboat of the smallest class, being only 135 tons. She was built at Pittsburgh, and according to Hall "broke in two, on Gr. Chain" in 1829.—Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 255.

81. The *Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, July 12, 1827, stated that Governors Clark and Cass and General Atkinson (commanding officer at Jefferson Barracks), had had a consultation concerning steps to be taken against the Winnebagoes, and "... rumor says, that a body of Infantry, from three to five hundred, will immediately proceed up the river in a steam boat detained for that purpose. . . ." In the July 26 issue the *Republican* reported that the steamboats transporting the troops were unable to proceed "higher than the First Rapids," and were to proceed in keel boats. In the August 9 issue it was stated that the Indian scare was over and the miners had returned to work at the Fever river mines. The troops under General Atkinson were then at Prairie du Chien. Official records of the Winnebago uprising and subsequent events, including the treaty negotiations can be found in 20 Cong., 1 Sess., *House Doc. 2* (Serial 169), pp. 146-158.

- 18 18 Shawnees arrive from White river
- 19 S. B. *Lawrence* departs for Louisville 3 Socks arrive
- 20 S. Bt. *Essex* arrives from Rapids at 9½ O'clock p. m.
- 21 S. Bt. *Josephine* arrives from Louisville 6 Shawnees arrive from Fish's Town
- 22 S. Bt. *Essex* starts for Louisville — S B *Hercules* arrives from Louisville
- 23 18 Shawnees & 3 Socks Start
- 24 S. B. *Josephine* Deps for Fever River. S B. *Hamilton* Deps for N Orleans 10 Shawnees arrive from White River
- 25 S. Bt. *America* arrives from N. Orleans 3 Delawares arrive
- 27 S Bt *Oregon* arrived yesterday from N. Orleans
- 29 S B *Indiana* arrives from Lower Rapids on Mississippi
- 31 S. Bt. *Hamilton* starts for N. Orleans

August, 1827

WEATHER AND RIVER DATA

Date	Temp. at 8 a. m.	Weather	Wind	Temp. at 4 p. m.	Weather	Wind	Rise & fall of river
1	84	clear	E	91	clear	S	river falling a little; it is within 4 feet of the highest (point?) & the highest of this year
2	81½	Cloudy af. Rain	N.E.	84	"	W very little	River falls fast
3	83	clear	W	89	"	SW very little	" " "
4	86	"	NW	90	"	E	" " "
5	86	"	W				" " "
6	83	"	NE	89	"	NW	" " little
7	78	clear & cool	NE	86	warm	NE	
8	79	"	NW	82	"	NE	river on a Stand
9	81	"	NE	88	cool	E	" falls a little
10	82	clear warm	NW	84	rain	N	" " "
11	82	cloudy af. Rain	"				" " "
12	81	fair	NE	85	clear	NE	River on a Stand
13	86	"	E	88	"	E	" " "
14	87½	"	NE	87½	"	E	" fall.
15	88	"	SW	89	cloudy	S	" on a Stand
16	84	"	SE	87	at 6 cloudy thunder & lightning	(N.W hard rain at night)	" raise
17	80	"	W	84½	clear	N very little wind	river on a Stand
18	82½	"	SW	84	cloudy	W	river on a Stand
19	84	"	W	"	rain	SW high wind	river falling
20	78	"	W	74	C. af. R	"	river falling
21	68	"	NW	74	"	NE	" "
22	77	"	W	76	"	SW	river raising
23	73	"	NW	74	clear	"	" "
24	72	"	W	80	"	SW	river raises
25	74	"	"	82	"	W	" raises
26	73	"	E	"	"	"	" "
27	73	"	NE	83	"	NE	" "
28	74	"	E	82	"	E	" "
29	74	"	N. E.	82	"	N. E.	" "
30	72	Rain	N. E.	82	Rain	N. E.	
31	72	Rain	N. E.	72	Cloudy	N. E	

REMARKS

- 1 (at 5 p. m in the sun the thermometer stands at 112)
 4 19 Delawares arrive from the Big Mackinaw Illinois
 5 S. Bt. *Essex* arrives
 6 S. Bt. *Rover*⁸² departs
 6 & 7 125 Shawnees (Emigrating from Ohio) arrive
 63 " " " " "

 188 in all
 25 arrive

 213 in all
 4 Senecas here Col. Baley Agriculturist arrives⁸³
 7 Martins assemble in great numbers this morning Earth-
 quake last night⁸⁴
 11 Lieut. Bartlett & Cadet M. L Clark set out for West point⁸⁵
 12 Edmond Clark (my Infant Son) *died* at 8½ A. M. (10 mo.
 3 days old)⁸⁶
 13 very warm weather
 14 S. Bt. *Jubilee* arrives from N. Orleans — brings news that
 the Yellow fever had broken out
 15 S Bt *Josephine* starts for Galena
 16 S Bt *Galena* arrives on 14th from Galena rain Last night
 17 S Bt " starts for "
 19 at one oclock Thermometer at 110 in the sun & at 84 with
 windows closed, in a room
 21 very Cool last night
 22 L. T Honore U. States' Interpre[te]r died (on 21st)⁸⁷ S.
 B. *Car of Commerce* arrives from N. Orleans
 25 S Bt *Car of Commerce*⁸⁸ starts for N. O.

82. The *Rover* was a new, 100-ton boat, built at Cincinnati, Ohio.—Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 260.

83. David Bailey was agriculturist to the Osage Indians at this period.—22 Cong., 1 Sess., *Senate Doc. 101* (Serial 213), p. 15. The Osage treaty of 1825 had provided for the employment of an adviser in farming.

84. The *Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, August 16, 1827, stated: "Several slight shocks of Earthquake have been felt here within a few days past. . . ."

85. Lt. William H. C. Bartlett, instructor at the Military academy, and Meriwether Lewis Clark (1809-1881), William Clark's oldest son, who had entered West Point in 1825.—Heitman, *op. cit.*, pp. 196, 305; Coues, *op. cit.*, v. 4, genealogical table.

86. Edmond Clark, born at St. Louis, September 9, 1826.—*Ibid.* The name is "Edmund" in Coues, and other sources.

87. Louis Tesson Honoré, St. Louis resident, had served as Indian interpreter in the years before his death.—*American State Papers (Indian Affairs)*, v. 2, p. 298; Billon, *op. cit.*, p. 422.

88. The *Car of Commerce*, 150 tons, was built in 1827 at West Port, Ky. On May 13, 1828 (*see* diary for May, 1828), an explosion of her boilers caused injury or death to some sixty persons.—Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

- 27 S Bt *Essex* arrives
 28 Steam Boat *Essex* departs for Louisville Kentucky
 29 In Council with the Shawnees Nation of Indians
 30 Council Continued

September, 1827

WEATHER AND RIVER DATA

Date	Temp. At 8 A. M.	Weather	Wind	Temp. 4 P. M.	Weather	Wind	Rise & fall of River	
1	72	Cloudy. Some rain & Clear	N.E	77	Clear a. R		River falling	
2	75	"	S	80	Cloudy	S	do	do (Sunday)
3	78	"	SW	84	Clear	S.W	"	"
4	80	"	S.W.	84	"	S.W.	"	"
5	82	"	S.W.	84	Cloudy	S.W.	"	"
6	80	"	S.W.	84	Clear	S.W.	"	"
7	80	"	S.E	86	Clear	S.W.	"	"
8	74	"	S.E.	84	Cloudy	S.E.	"	"
9	74	"	S.E.	82	Rain	S.E	"	" (Sunday)
10	74	"	S.E	80	Clear	S.E.	"	"
11	68	"	S.E	72	"	S.E.	"	"
12	68	"	S.E	76	"	S.E.	"	"
13	78	"	S.E	84	"	S.E	"	"
14	74	"	S.E.	84	"	S.W.	"	"
15	74	"	S.E.	80	Cloudy	S.W.	"	"
16	74	Cloudy	S.E.	80	Cloudy	S.E	River rising Sunday	
17	74	Clear	S.E.	82	Clear	S.E	"	"
18	74	Cloudy	E	90	"	E	"	"
19	74	"	N.E	90	Cloudy	E	River falling	
20	72	Cloudy	E.	80	Clear	E	"	"
21	68	"	E	72	Cloudy	E	"	"
22	64	Clear	E	72	Clear	E	"	"
23	64	"	S.E	68	"	S.E	"	" Sunday
24	64	Clear	S.E	68	"	S.E	"	"
25	68	Clear	S.E	70	Cloudy	S.W	River on a Stand	
26	64	Cloudy	W	64	Clear	S.E	rise a little	
27	60	Clear	S.E	66	"	S.E	do	do
28	58	"	S.E	68	"	S.E	"	" Thick fog this morning.
29	62	"	S.E	68	"	S.E	River Rising	
30	60	"	S.E	68	"	S.E	Sunday	

REMARKS

- 1 Deliver some annuities to Shawones
- 3 S. B. *Galena* arrives from Galena. *Rover* arrives.
- 4 S. B. *Genl Hamilton* starts for Orleans
- 5 S. B. *Hamilton* departs for New Orleans.
- 6 S. B. *Galena* departs for Fever River & *Rover* for mouth of Ohio.
- 7 Two families of the Shawanees Nation of Indians renounce their intention of emigrating to the Kansas, & set off in return to their former residence.

- 8 (*Josephine* arrives from Fever River) Party of the Shawanees sets out for the Kansas.
- 9 S. B. *Rover* arrives from mouth Ohio, with Genl Gains on board. *Liberator* departs for N. O.
- 10 Genl Gains repairs to the Jefferson Barracks.
- 11 S. B. *Rover* leaves for mouth Ohio River
- 12 Genl Gains returns from Jefferson Barracks.
- 13 Genl Gains Still here. Indians go 6 miles on their way to Kansas
- 14 S. B. *Josephene* starts for Priarie du Chein with Genl Gains on board ⁸⁹
- 15 S. Bs. *Rover* & *Essex* arrive from mouth of River.
- 16 Col McKinny & Judge Delillia, Judge Lecquier Lillers arrives from Green Bay ⁹⁰
- 17 S. B. *Essex* sets out for Louisville. Col Geo Croughn on board
- 19 Col McKenny, Count Lilliers, Judge Delillia & Mr. Kinzie go to Camp. Return S. B. *Arragon* ⁹¹ arrives from Orleans
- 23 *Rover* leaves for Louisville & *Jubilee* for Orleans
- 24 S. B. *Crusader* departs for N. Orleans with Col McKinney on board
- 25 Comence coal fires in office
- 27 Steam Boat *America* leaves for Orleans. 27[th] troops return from the Winabago Expedition ⁹²
- 28 S. B. *Rover* arrives from Louisville Kty.
- 30 S. B. *Rover* leaves for mouth River.

89. "Gen. [Edmund P.] Gaines left here in the steam boat *Josephine*, on Thursday last, for the Upper Mississippi, for the purpose of inspecting the troops, and the [re]establishment of a military post at Prairie des Cheins. We understand that Gen. Gaines expresses his entire satisfaction with the course pursued by Gen. Atkinson, in the prompt measures which he has pursued against the [Winnebago] Indians."—*Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, September 20, 1827.

90. The entry is confusing. Col. Thomas L. McKenney, head of the Indian Department in Washington, mentioned his fellow-travelers, Count "DeLillier" and Judge "Lecuyer," in an article "The Winnebago War of 1827," *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, v. 5, p. 188. Count de Lillers, only son of the Marquis de Lillers, had arrived from France in May, 1827, on a tour of the United States, Mexico and "Columbia."—*Niles' Weekly Register*, Baltimore, May 26, 1827, p. 216. McKenney described the young count's sudden, brief illness at St. Louis, his recovery, and the hospitality of Governor Clark and wife in his *Memoirs, Official and Personal* . . . (New York, 1846), v. 1, pp. 145-149. Mr. Kinzie, mentioned on the 19th, was probably John H. Kinzie, American Fur Company employee, and agent of Indian affairs at Fort Winnebago, in 1829.

91. The *Oregon*, variously misspelled "*Arragon*," "*Oragon*," "*Origan*," etc., in the diary.

92. "Gen. Atkinson, with the troops under his command, returned from the Upper Mississippi to Jefferson Barracks on the 27th ult. in good health."—*Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, October 4, 1827. *Niles' Weekly Register*, November 10, 1827, said the troops came down in four and one half days from Prairie du Chien (600 miles) in keel and mackinaw boats.

October, 1827

WEATHER AND RIVER DATA

Date	Tem. At 8 A.M.	Weather	Wind	Tem. At 4 P.M.	Weather	Wind	Rise & fall of River
1	68	[Clear?]	S.E.	72	Clear	S.E.	River rising
2	68	Cloudy	S.E.	72	Cloudy	S.E.	" "
3	68	Clear	S.E.	78	"	S.E.	River falling
4	70	Cloudy	S.E.	76	"	S.E.	" "
5	76	Cloudy	S.E.	78	"	S.E.	" "
6	68	Clear	S.E.	70	"	E	" "
7	66	Cloudy	S.E.	64	Rain	E	Sunday
8	64	Rain	E	64	Rain	E	" Rising
9	60	"	E	62	Clear	E	" "
10	56	Clear	E	60	Cloudy	S.E.	River on a rise
11	56	"	E	60	"	S.E.	" "
12	56	"	S.E.	56	Clear	S.E.	" "
13	52	"	S.E.	62	"	S.E.	" "
14	52	"	S.E.	60	"	S.E.	" " Sunday
15	60	"	S.E.	66	"	S.E.	" "
16	60	"	S.E.	64	"	S.E.	" "
17	56	"	S.E.	66	"	S.E.	" "
18	64	"	S.E.	70	"	S.E.	River falling
19	66	"	S.E.	70	Cloudy	E.	" "
20	66	Cloudy	S.E.	68	Rain	E	
21	60	Cloudy	SE	60	Clear	E	Sunday
22	58	Cloudy	SE	60	"	E	" "
23	54	Clear	SE	60	"	E	" "
24	54	"	SE	62	"	E	" "
25	52	"	SE	60	"	E	" "
26	50	"	SE	58	"	E	" "
27	50	"	SE	54	"	E	" "
28	48	Cloudy	SE	54	Rain	E	Sunday
29	50	"	W	54	"	S.W.	River Rising
30	42	Clear	S.W.	54	Clear	S.W.	" "
31	48	"	S.W.	48	"	S.W.	" "

REMARKS

- 1 Foggy morning
- 4 S. B. *Rover* arrives from Louisville at 12 O'clock at night
- 5 S. B. *Gallena* arrives from Fever River.
- 6 Count M. de Lillers, leaves in the Stage for Louisville Kty. Genl A. & Col Morgan [arrive?] ⁹³
- 8 S. B. *Josephene* arrives from P. du Chein with Genl. Gains on board
- 12 S. B. *Josephene* departs for Fever River & P. du Chein
- 13 Genl. Gains, Mr. Louns & Majr Carny leave for Cincinnati ⁹⁴
- 14 S. B. *Liberator* arrives at night from Orleans. ⁹⁵

⁹³. Gen. Henry Atkinson and Col. Willoughby Morgan, evidently arriving from Prairie du Chien.

⁹⁴. "Mr. Louns" was evidently R. Lowndes, aid-de-camp. See 20 Cong., 1 Sess., *House Doc.* 2 (Serial 169), p. 150. "Majr Carny" is, of course, Maj. Stephen Kearny. Major Kearny had, in July, supervised the relocation and reestablishment of Fort Crawford, at Prairie du Chien.

⁹⁵. The *Liberator* brought news from New Orleans that the yellow fever "continued to rage" there; and on board the *Liberator* herself, on her passage from New Orleans to St. Louis, between October 2 and 15, five passengers had died: John Miller, of Clark county, Ky.; Edward Sweeney, a river pilot; — Fluenoy, of Shawneetown, Ill.; Archibald Jackson, of Paris, Ky.; and Ludlow Perry, of New Albany, Ind.—*Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, October 18, 1827.

- 16 Foggy morning S. B. *Rover* leaves for mouth River
 17 4 Shawnee Indians (Runners) arriv'd last evening
 18 S. B. *Oragon* arrives from Orleans.
 19 S. B. *Liberator* leaves for Orleans
 21 S. B. *Oragon* leaves for Orleans
 24 S. B. *Jubilee* arrives from Orleans. S. B. *Indiana* from F. River
 25 9 Shawnees arrived. Note. Among those Indians now here,
 there are 7 Shawnees & 5 Cherokees.
 28 S. Boats *Jubilee* & *Josephene* leave for Orleans
 29 An exceedingly dark day followed at night by a light Snow

November, 1827

WEATHER AND RIVER DATA

Date	Tem. at 8 A M	Weather	Wind	Tem. at 4 P. M	Weather	Wind	Rise & fall of River .
1	48	Clear	S. E	48	Clear	S. E.	River falling
2	52	Cloudy	S. E	48	Cloudy	S. E	" "
3	56	"	S. E	64	"	S. E	" "
4	48	"	S. E	54	"	S. E	" " Sunday
5	60	"	S. E	54	"	S. E	" "
6	60	Rain	E	60	Rain	S. E	" Rising
7	48	Cloudy	E	60	Clear	S. E	" "
8	52	Clear	E	64	"	S. E	" "
9	58	"	E	62	"	E	Falling
10	58	"	"	60	"	S. E	" "
11	60	"	S. E	60	"	S. E	" Sunday
12	60	"	S. E	63	"	S. E	" "
13	52	Cloudy	S. E	56	"	S. E.	River falling
14	48	Smoky	S. E.	52	"	"	" "
15	50	"	S. E	60	Smoky	S. E	" "
16	58	Cloudy	S. E	58	Clear	S. E	" "
17	50	Clear	E	52	"	S. E	" "
18	48	Rain	E	48	Rain	E	" Sunday
19	42	Cloudy	S. W	40	Cloudy	S. W	" "
20	40	"	S. W	40	"	S. W	" "
21	37½	Clear	S. W.	40	"	S. W	" "
22	"	Snow	S. W	38	"	S. W	" "
23	38	Cloudy	N. E	48	Clear	S. W.	" "
24	38	"	N. E	38	Cloudy	S. W.	" "
25	38	Cold	N. E	38	"	S. W	" Sunday
26	33	Clear	N. E	40	Clear	S. W	River falling
27	40	Rain	N. E	40	Cloudy	S. E	" "
28	38	Clear	N. E	42	Clear	S. W	" "
29	37	Clear	N. E	40	Clear	S. W	" "
30	40	Clear	N. E	42	Clear	S. W	" "

REMARKS

- 2 S. B. *Plough Boy* arrives from Louisville & *S Louis* packett
 from Gallena.
 3 S. B. *America*⁹⁶ from Orleans, also *Cleopatria*

96. The *Missouri Republican*, November 29, 1827, reported that the *America*, on her return journey to New Orleans had struck a snag at Plumb Point and gone down in nine feet of water. Captain Scott "in order to save the engine and cargo, consisting principally of lead, set fire to the hull, and she was consumed to the water's edge."

- 5 Rain, accompanied with Thunder & Lightning.
- 7 S. B. *William Penn*, leaves for New Orleans.
- 8 S. B. *General Hamilton* leaves for Orleans
- 11 S. B. *Shamrock & Velosipede* from Louisville
- 13 S. B. *Shamrock* leaves for Louisville Kty. with "Mary Radford"⁹⁷ & Jas Kennerly on board S. B. *Velcipedes* leaves for [Louisville, Kty.]
- 15 S. B. *Essex* arrives from Louisville
- 16 S. B. *Tuscumbia* arrives from Tennessee River
- 17 S. B. *Orion* arrives from Orleans about 1 at night
- 18 S. B. *Essex* leaves for Louisville
- 19 S. B. *Plough [Boy]* arrives from Louisville
- 20 S. B. *Gallena* arrives from the Rapids
- 21 S. B. *Oregon* leaves for Orleans (Osages start home)
- 22 S. Boats *Cleopatra & Liberator* arrive from Orleans
- 23 S. Bts. *Cleopatra & Rover* leaves for N. Orleans & *Tuscumbia*
- 24 S. B. *Indiana* arrives. Slight snow
- 26 S. B. *Muskingum* arrives from Louisville
- 27 A man found de[a]d in one of the back Streets this morning
- 30 S. B. *Liberator* leaves for Orleans & *Muskingum* for Louisville

December, 1827

WEATHER AND RIVER DATA

Date	Temp. at 8 A.M	Weather	Wind	Temp. at 4 p.m	Weather	Wind	Rise & fall of river
1	42	clear & cold	N.E	36	Clear	N E	River falling
2	46	Clear	N E	48			" "
3	48	Cloudy	N E	59½	Cloudy	N E	" "
4	48	Rain	N E	47	Rain	N E	River Rising
5	48	Rain	N E	48	Rain	N W	" "
6	54	Cloudy cool	N W	56	Cool	N W	" "
7	38	Cloudy	N E	38	"	N W	" "
8	36	Sleet & rain	N E	37½	Cloudy & cold	N W	" "
9	38	Cold rain	N E	37½	Cold	N W	" " Sunday
10	34	Clear	N W	36	Clear	N W	" "
11	34	"	N W	40	Clear	N W	River falling
12	34	"	N E	40	Cloudy	N W	" "
13	46	"	N E	44	Cloudy	N W	" "
14	46	Cloudy	calm			Calm	foggy Some mist last night & this morning
15	36	Sleet	"	34	Cloudy	"	Snow last night
16	34	Cloudy	"	34	"	"	River falling rapidly
17	32	Sleet	"	35½	"	"	" " "
18	32	Cloudy	"	32	"	"	"
19	32	"	"	32	"	"	River rising
20	32	"	"	36			River Rising 2 feet [last] night

⁹⁷ Mary Radford (1812-1900) was Clark's step-daughter. Her parents were Dr. John and Harriet (Kennerly) Radford. James Kennerly was Mary Radford's uncle.—Drumm, *op. cit.*, pp. 108, 110.

21	34	Cloudy & rain	S.S.E	34		S.E	
22	36	Cloudy misty	N.E	34	Rain	N.E	River has risen 6 feet.
23	36	"	N.E	34	"	Calm	River still on Rise
24	36	Rain	Calm	34	Rain	Calm	River Rising
25	46	Rain	"	47½	"	"	River falling
26	48	Foggy & mist	"	54	Cloudy & mist	W	river Rises a little rain al night.
27	51	Clear	Calm	52	Clear	N.W.	River rises fast. Rained all the last night
28	40	Cloudy	N.E	40	Cloudy	N.W.	River rising fast
29	40	"	N.E	38	Clear	"	" " "
30	40	Cloudy	N.E	40	"	Calm	" " " Sunday
31	40	Clear & Calm		42	"	"	River rises "

REMARKS

- 2 S. B. *Shamrock* arrives from Louisville
- 3 S. B. *Velossipede* arrives from Louisville
- 6 S. B. *Shamrock* leaves for Louisville. *Jubilee* arrives, a man drowned from the *Jubilee* opposite town
- 9 S. Boats *Rover*, *Plough Boy* & *Cleopatra* arrive from Louisville. Col W. Lady, & Miss H. P. arrive ⁹⁸
- 10 S. B. *Jubilee* leaves for Orleans. *P. Boy* & *Cleopatra* for Louisville
- 11 S. B. *Rover* & *Josephine* leave for Louisville
- 12 Col. Boon arrives from the Kansas agency ⁹⁹
- 13 S. B. *Genl Hamilton* arrives from N. Orleans
- 15 (This morning attended with Sleet & cold weather) S. B. *Rover* leaves for Louisville Col Boon leaves for the Kansas Agency
- 16 Ice beginning to run in the River & continued freezing
- 17 A very rainy morning and freezing as it falls
- 18 S. B. *Hercules* from Orleans & *Muskingum* from Louisville arrived last night
- 19 S. B. *Hercules* leaves for Louisville Kty. G. R. Clark aboard ¹⁰⁰
- 20 This morning thick Cloudy with some mist falling all day
- 21 Some rain last night & this morning continues to rain.

⁹⁸. It seems fairly certain that the people referred to here were Col. Abram R. Woolley, his wife Caroline L. (Preston) Woolley, and her sister Henrietta Preston. Colonel Woolley and Caroline L. Preston had been married in Louisville, Ky., September 13, 1827. Henrietta Preston, on January 20, 1829, married Lt. Albert Sidney Johnston, who later became one of the noted Confederate generals in the Civil War.

⁹⁹. Daniel Morgan Boone served as farmer for the Kansas Indians in the late 1820's. The Kansas Indian treaty of 1825 had provided for an agriculturist among the tribe. He was the son of pioneer Kentuckian Daniel Boone.—Hulston, John K., "Daniel Boone's Sons in Missouri," in *Missouri Historical Review*, v. 41, p. 369; superintendency of Indian affairs, St. Louis, "Records," loc. cit., v. 6, pp. 187-189.

¹⁰⁰. G. R. Clark has not been identified. He is mentioned again, entry of September 27, 1828, as departing from St. Louis, where he had, apparently, spent the preceding eight months.

- 22 The sun shines this morning for the first time for one week.
- 23 A little Snow last night, this day threatens snow.
- 24 S. B. *Plough Boy* arrives from Louisville
- 25 Cloudy weather with some Rain
- 26 S. B. *Orragon* arrives from N. Orleans
- 27 [Augt Sick?] ¹⁰¹ Wind to day with flying clouds
- 28 This morning threatens Snow. Wind Clouds & cold this evening
- 29 Still Cloudy & Cold this Evening clear. S. B. *Orragon* leaves for Orl[eans]
- 30 The morning of this day quite cold, this evening not so much so
- 31 Very fine weather, clear & warm to day

101. Augustin Kennerly was employed as an interpreter, and also served as a clerk in Clark's office. He was Clark's brother-in-law (see Footnote 64).—22 Cong., 1 Sess., *Senate Doc. 101* (Serial 213), p. 12.

Letters of Julia Louisa Lovejoy, 1856-1864

PART FOUR, 1859

SUMNER, K. T., January 1, 1859.

DEAR CENTRAL¹⁰⁴: . . . Our time is too limited this New Year's Eve to offer congratulations to thy numerous [newspaper] sisterhood, scattered, as they are, from the western hills to the Queen City, and the great Babylon of the Northwest, and on to the golden gates of the mighty Pacific and the mouths of the Columbia, but would like to give thee a formal introduction to a very promising "little one," that has just escaped from its crýsalis up here in Kansas—whether prematurely or not, time will determine. This is not, we opine, a full grown butterfly, of ephemeral existence, but a full fledged "messenger bird," who will soar aloft on golden pinions, and when its death-shriek shall die away along the creeks and Kaw valley, may another, Phoenix-like arise from its ashes!

The "Kansas Messenger"¹⁰⁵ is cradled in "Baldwin City," Kansas, the site of Baker University, and is rocked by a strong editorial corps, as far as numbers are concerned, and whether artificial stimulants will be necessary hereafter to promote its growth or perpetuate its existence, is a thought in embryo, arising from a contingency in the matter. It has only once made its appearance at our humble abode, and therefore we would not venture an opinion, only as far as the exterior is concerned—the type was fair, the name significant, and as there are different tastes to cater for, every reader must judge for himself, and *not* for his neighbor. Success to the "Messenger," and may its shadow never be less, if it continues to bear the insignia of heaven.

And now, Mr. Editor, I want to say a word to you about the holidays in Sumner. Christmas is numbered with "the things that were," and Santa Claus, like the "priest and levite" of old, passed by our humble cot on the "other side," and never gave us a nod of recognition. Whether the merry old sprite thought the chimney too small for the ingress of his splendid retinue, or feared we sober Yankees might by the reflection of our elongated phiz, (in these "hard times, with Methodist minister's families in Kansas,")

104. *The Central Christian Advocate*, St. Louis.

105. The first issue of *The Kansas Messenger*, Baldwin, was dated January 1, 1859, and was published by J. W. Still.

frighten that "broad grin" into a metamorphosed expression, significant of facts, that might be revealed in cellar and larder, we leave your readers to determine! We believe there has been a kind of holiday kept up by a part of the Sumnerites from Christmas until the winding up of the old year, for the firing of guns and other demonstrations of joy were heard until long past the solemn hour of midnight, when the old year uttered his last expiring groan, and we wrapped him in his shroud and laid him away in the tomb, whilst his funeral dirge was chanted by ———. Shall we pen anything so indecorous to such a solemn occasion by those who "tripped the light fantastic toe" to music's 'witching strains in the festive hall? The great absorbing idea that now moves the masses in Kansas is the "Pike's Peak" excitement,¹⁰⁶ whither many eager eyes are turned in prospective triumph! As you have as correct information, probably, as can be obtained, I'll barely refer [to] the matter, and direct those of your readers as desire further information to the "Lawrence Republican," Lawrence, Kansas, edited by the Messrs. THATCHERS, who are furnished with intelligence as reliable as can be found elsewhere. . . . We have formed a lodge of "Good Templars," which is in healthy working order, and doing a good work among a certain class as a kind of "John the Baptist," to prepare the way. . . .

JULIA LOUISA LOVEJOY.

SUMNER, K. T., Jan. 6, 1859.

BRO. BROOKS ¹⁰⁷: One of your correspondents inquires, "What is home without a baby?" Another, "What is home without a wife?" and still another, "What is home without Jesus?"

And now, with your permission, your humble correspondent, away up here on the Missouri river, would institute another inquiry, suggested by the loneliness of the hour, in this isolated spot, as the wind, in fitful gusts, is driving the sleet and snow through every crevice in our humble abode, and the writer and little Charley [Irving?], three years old, now snugly ensconced in "night-quarters," are the sole occupants of this "cottage on the bluff"—"What is home to a wife without a husband," especially the home of an itinerant minister of Jesus Christ, who, from the nature of his high and holy vocation, is necessarily away from his family the greater part of his time, i. e., if his field of labor is connected with large circuits, as in some of the older conferences, and now, in the frontier

106. The gold rush.

107. *The Central Christian Advocate*, St. Louis.

work, as a pioneer-missionary? We know not how it has been with other minister's wives, who may con over these disconnected "thoughts of a lonely hour," but we have no doubt, had the days been fairly counted, that out of twenty-four years and more of married life, our home has been two-thirds of the time, on an average, "without a husband," and is it not strange, my dear sisters, ye honored wives of Christ's ambassadors, that after all the severe discipline in this matter, we are called to experience, as a "part of our portion for which we bargained," when we consented that our interests for this life should be identified with those of an itinerant minister; is it not strange, we repeat, that our homes cannot be "fixed up" to look attractively in our eyes, without our husbands to enjoy, mutually with us, all the little minutia for comfort in household arrangements? . . . And where can such perfect sympathy on earth be found as between those whom God hath made "one?" Then what would home be without a husband?

J. L. L.

SUMNER, K. T., Jan. 7, 1859.

MESSRS. EDITORS ¹⁰⁸:—Though just one week *too late* for New Year's holiday, yet we'll venture to wish all our old friends in the Granite State "a happy New Year" as was our custom in the days "of auld lang syne." You have doubtless ere this began to think us tardy in redeeming our "pledge," to "write occasionally for the Democrat." Numerous other duties pressing, and no small amount of matter as hindrance, in writing for four other periodicals must be our only apology.

Now, then, to the weather, as that, we believe, is considered the all-important topic of discussion when friends meet after a long absence from each other. Old Boreas did his worst awhile in November to rouse every sluggish soul to action. He stalked forth in conscious majesty, in his ice-clad armor of mail, and called to his aid his allies, from every part of his wide-spread domain, and lo! they came, a mighty "troupe" rushing with a vengeance through that door left ajar by those fearless navigators at the North Pole, and many wry faces may be met in Kansas, at the remembrance of their freaks both serious and ludicrous on that memorable occasion. They built a bridge in one night across the Missouri River so that steamboats could neither pass nor repass—they so effectually cemented potato "patches" that many fields will be found already

108. *The Independent Democrat*, Concord, N. H.

planted in early spring, and time would fail to narrate their marvelous exploits in cupboard, and larder. But, for six weeks, old Sol has had it all his own way—he tore up the bridges on the streams so that boats could run again wherever they list, and what has seemed to us a phenomenon, numerous flocks of wild geese have been seen almost invariably bound in a Northern direction. The ground was as free from frost as in April or September. It seemed so singular to see the boats again on their regular trips, after laying up in snug winter quarters.

We see that the yellow fever mania has reached New Hampshire and we shall expect a strong delegation from that direction should we live until Spring opens. Let them come, the young men and the middle-aged, and come, too, prepared to manfully grapple with hardships incident to a camp-life, and not whine, and run home, at the first sight of a prairie-wolf, or corn-dodger smoking in the ashes! That there is much gold in Western Kansas,¹⁰⁹ not far from "Pike's Peak" along the Cherry Valley and the tributaries of the Platte and Arkansas, the united testimony of a multitude of witnesses goes to prove, and it is confidently expected by shrewd and sagacious men, that Western Kansas, in a year to come, will be as densely peopled as Eastern Kansas *now* is. Those who start for this Eldorado must either have means of their own, or unite with those who have, to buy a team and "outfit" which they can do at Kansas City, Lawrence, or any place, probably, where they happen to land. Thousands probably from Eastern Kansas will go as soon as grass is up sufficiently for cattle, which will be about the middle of April usually. The spirit of enterprise has already laid out several towns in that region, and some already, (if the reports of correspondents on the ground can be relied on) have more "cabins," houses and "*what not's*" than some towns (on paper) in Eastern Kansas, where many an honest soul in New England has been *gulled* in buying "shares," and "corner lots." Those who wish for definite information in the matter, can send on two dollars, "to Messrs. Thatchers, Lawrence, Kansas," and they can have the "Lawrence Republican" sent to their address, for one year, than which, no other paper in Kansas that we wot of, can furnish more reliable information about the "gold region," for they have a correspondent on the ground. Let all who come, look for hardships of no ordinary character, for though we tried hard in New Hampshire to magnify what

109. The continental divide was the western boundary of Kansas during its territorial period, 1854-1861, and Denver and Pike's Peak were both in western Kansas.

we *might* pass through in pioneer life. Yet our microscopic vision failed to make them quite as *big* as we have really and actually found *realities*. Nevertheless, there are many things connected with this "pioneering business" we love—'tis so novel and gypsy-like, this nomadic life, cooking out of doors, eating and sleeping in like manner; but the latter we never fell in love with, for an instinctive dread of serpents.

Your New Hampshire readers are well acquainted with the go-ahead-ative spirit of C. H. Lovejoy, and will not be surprised that he seriously thinks of volunteering as a missionary from Kansas Conference to that region, in the Spring, or to Utah, for the M. E. Church will have missionaries (and perhaps three or four at the next session of our Con. which is the 13th of April) at Pike's Peak and also at the "City of Saints," which is the modern Babylon! Won't it be a fine business to date letters from "Salt Lake" and write them in sight of Brigham Young's establishment and then superscribe them to ——— New Hampshire! Ah! little know we what is in the future, concerning us, but if we act wisely the first step will be [to] devote all to God, then He will guide our footsteps right. . . .

Most respectfully,

J. LOUISA LOVEJOY.

SUMNER, K. T., Feb. 3, 1859.

BRO. HAVEN ¹¹⁰: It would be a difficult matter to make you and your New England friends understand fully the pitch of excitement that matters have attained around us, for three or four days past; indeed, at no time during the whole bloody crusade of three years past, when that army with their blood-red flag was approaching our dwelling, did our feelings personally, and those of our family, reach that degree of intensity as for a few days past. It is not one half hour since we have felt relieved from almost overpowering anxiety by the news just brought to town.

We saw a notice in the "Herald" that \$2,500 ¹¹¹ had been offered for our *champion's* head; that was correct, and in addition, the Governor of Missouri has offered \$3,000. Now this is a tempting bait, and of course large parties of pro-slavery men were on the look out in different localities to intercept Brown, as it was suspected he would elude pursuit and reach Iowa.

110. *Zion's Herald*, Boston, Mass.

111. Possibly a typographical error, for President Buchanan offered a reward of \$250 for the arrest of John Brown.—D. W. Wilder, *The Annals of Kansas* (Topeka, 1886), pp. 245, 251; Frank W. Blackmar, *Kansas—A Cyclopedia of State History* . . . (Chicago, 1912), v. 2, pp. 730-732.

Messengers came into this town day before yesterday, with the tidings that the Marshal [J. P. Wood], and his posse had got on his track, and found he had taken possession of a log cabin on the prairie, about fifty miles from Sumner. This cabin he had strongly barricaded, and told his pursuers "he would *never* yield, neither would he be taken alive." The Marshal and his force surrounded the cabin and ordered Brown to "surrender!" Brown replied, "*Come and take me.*" The officer *dared* not undertake the job, and one hundred more like him could not capture those indomitable spirits that well knew what would follow if they were taken prisoners. There were about a dozen "fugitives" with Brown, whom he had helped so far on the "underground railroad." These were well supplied with Sharpe's rifles; and also, the Marshal found twenty-five free State men acting as a kind of "body-guard" for Brown till he reached a place of safety. "Look yonder on the prairie, Mr. Marshal, see that company of mounted men as they bear down toward the old cabin; twenty-five horsemen, armed men, in addition to Brown's body-guard! Take care, sir, if one gray hair on that venerable head is singed, your whole party will be riddled with balls!" Heralds were dispatched to Atchison, four miles from here, a strong pro-slavery town, for aid, whilst others watched the "burrow of the old fox," that he might not escape their clutches. It was then the news spread like fire down the river "that a large force had gone from Atchison, and took along two cannons to blow up the cabin (this was not quite correct) and the inmates," and two such nights of suspense as we have had here to know the result, we have never had even in Kansas. And, sir, for the first time the Spartan feeling was fully roused, and the writer of this begged of those dear as her own life "to hasten to the aid of the old hero, who had in so many instances periled his own life," and that of his noble sons, for the holy cause of freedom.

This noon we have received a "correct report" of the matter, as the United States troops camped last night a few miles out from Sumner on their return from pretended pursuit. The Atchison force returned with the Marshal to the "log cabin," (Brown's fort,) but no one dared to commence the attack. They then posted messengers after the United States troops at the fort, at Leavenworth. In the meantime Brown sallied forth and took *three* of the Atchison men prisoners,¹¹² (one of them, it is affirmed, he recognized as the miscreant who shot his own son, F. Brown, at the "Ossawottamie

112. "Battle of the Spurs."—Blackmar, *op. cit.*, v. 2, pp. 730-732.

battle.") He also took *four* of their horses that they had secreted in the timber, and then with his *freed* slaves and party pulled for Iowa, taking prisoners and horses along with him! The troops came along last night to "Mount Pleasant," six miles from here, and refused to go only two miles farther, alleging as a reason "that they had only revolvers, and were not prepared for a fight;" and they knew Brown would fight like a tiger, and *never yield* alive. The truth is, sir, (and we had as lief whisper the matter so loud that the "old infirmity" may ring with the sound,) the troops are now so much imbued with free Stateism it would be difficult to draw them into the chase after a free State man, i. e., if they were convinced, as in the case of Brown, that he deserved his liberty. We fear now that Brown and his party will be intercepted by an overwhelming force, but he cannot be captured alive.

Last week a party of fugitives had fled from the land of bondage and stripes, and reached Lawrence. There the good Samaritans procured a team, hired a teamster, and Dr. [John] Doy, a member of our church, set off with the company on their way to Iowa. The pro-slavery men hired a spy for \$500 to watch their movements and report, &c.¹¹³ The team with fugitives passed over the country unmolested, not suspecting they were betrayed, crossed the Missouri River at Kickapoo, a few miles below Sumner; and when they had reached a convenient spot a company of men rushed upon them and seized the whole party, and conveyed them as prisoners to Weston, Mo.¹¹⁴ The teamster was discharged on their being convinced that he was not an accessory in the plot—only hired to drive the horses; but Doy and his son were sentenced to be publicly whipped if they escaped with their life.

Mr. L. came home Saturday night from a "point" near Leavenworth, where he has been holding a series of religious meetings. Weston is on the opposite side of the Missouri River from Leavenworth. When Mr. L. left the excitement was intense at Leavenworth, and the people were threatening to raise a *force* sufficient to liberate Dr. Doy and son, but O the poor negroes! No doubt ere this their limbs are torn by cruel scourges; thank Heaven their bondage will not always last. They have lately found out that the underground railroad reaches ———; but, Doctor, we must not tell *how far*, nor *where* the depots are located, for *paid* spies are on ev-

113. A Lawrence citizen who contributed toward the preparation of the caravan, informed the bandits of its departure.—Theodore Gardner, "An Episode in Kansas History: The Doy Rescue," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 17, pp. 852, 854; Wilder, *op. cit.*, pp. 252, 259.

114. They were only about 12 miles from Lawrence when they were captured.—*The Narrative of John Doy of Lawrence, Kansas* (New York, 1860), p. 25.

ery hand watching all our movements. News has just come that our *other* champion, "Jim Lane," sent a dispatch to Weston on this wise: "Dare to whip those prisoners, and you will be sure what next will follow." And another: "If they are not soon released, they will be by force." They have not yet, (as we learn today,) been either whipped or released, but the spirit of defiance is aroused in the free State men by insult beyond endurance, and the result time only can determine. They had a battle in Linn County last week, and eight are known to have been killed, and it is supposed a number more, and some others wounded. We hope these troubles will now be settled without further bloodshed. It is vexing to read in the New England papers about "Brown, Montgomery & Co.," when they have been driven by thefts and horrid murders to do as they have done.

Respectfully,

JULIA L. LOVEJOY.

MISSOURI RIVER, Feb. 3, 1859.

MR. EDITOR ¹¹⁵:—As the "Herald" has been the "medium" through which "surprise gifts" of various kinds have been chronicled, we think it now no more than fair that one (as it is an isolated case in the Conference, as far as our knowledge extends the present year) should find room in the Herald, an acknowledgment from the most western Conference in the United States, save those on the Pacific Coast. Well, then, behold the missionary's wife, on the 3d day of Feb., 1859, as she sets off from her half-finished dwelling for the Post Office, three-quarters of a mile distant, leaving her husband, (not dressed in his canonicals in a comfortable study) but swinging his hammer with sturdy strokes, like "a workman that needeth not to be ashamed," for they find their only finished room, eight feet square, is becoming too strait for their accommodation, and the husband, instead of fixing up his family residence this winter, has been at work on another superstructure that has been going up, lo these 1800 years, and will never be completed until the last polished stone shall find its appropriate place! . . . Now, Doctor, could you have seen her as we saw her on the day aforesaid, with pail in hand, (to bring water on the return trip) humming a favorite hymn, as she threaded her devious way by a lonely by-path, through ravines and over bluffs, you would bless God for the freedom of the country, glad to escape from the ennui of city life. The mail matter was duly handed out by the officious clerk, and then a mysterious-look-

115. *Zion's Herald*, Boston, Mass.

ing package. "What does this mean?" soliloquized she. It is post-marked Boston; but O, no matter if it does not tell me that father and mother are dead. I'll go over the bluff so far no one will see me, and then I'll see what it contains. The package was laid on the trunk of a fallen tree and solemnly unsealed, and it matters not how much she wept and prayed and got blessed there, for nobody was disturbed! The donor says, "write only one word in return"—"Received." The fair stranger will permit us to add, in her own words, "the work of her own hands." When those hands "forget their cunning" may the registry of a full list of good works be found in *another* Book, as she shall receive the crowning reward, "Well-done," is the prayer of

A MISSIONARY'S WIFE.

SUMNER, K. T., Feb. 28, 1859.

MR. EDITOR ¹¹⁶.—Thinking your readers would like to know the sequel of Brown's late adventure, that terminated so abruptly in a late Herald, we hasten to lay before them the last advices. He took along his Atchison prisoners to the Nebraska line, or near it, and then held a mock trial in their case; every man expected to be hung, as he knew he richly deserved a high destiny for his participation in the affair; and after permitting them awhile to turn self-punishers, by harrowing up their fears, he set them all at liberty unharmed, with a piece of good advice about being caught in another such scrape, but sent them off without their horses. Some of them found a chance to ride part of the way, and all reached home in safety, loud in their praises of old "Brown's courage and generosity;" but, say they, "he is a monomaniac for freedom." They threaten to shoot Marshal Wood for drawing them into such a fix. A letter has been received from Brown, the purport of which is, that "he and his proteges had all reached Iowa in safety." "Freedom's Champion," published at Atchison, has some laughable things connected with the "battle of the spurs," as the facetious editor significantly calls the panic that seized the Atchison boys, who had come to assist the Marshal, when Brown sallied out of the log cabin, as a kind of greeting to the chivalrous knights. Every man who could, put spurs to his horse and fled for dear life, and some who had left their horses too far back to reach them in their haste, in the timber, for fear of having them stolen, took to their heels; and one poor fellow, frightened almost out of his wits, seized hold

116. *Zion's Herald*, Boston, Mass.

of the caudal extremity of his comrade's horse, nearest to him, and away they went at a 2:40 speed, as though Lucifer himself had been close in the rear, while the editor says "he begged piteously to be taken up by his more fortunate neighbor." As soon as the balance of the party reached their horses, they threw themselves into their saddles, and every man looked out for himself! If you could at that moment have seen the lantern-jaws of the old outlaw, Mr. Editor, we know not but your ministerial gravity, for the time being, would have been greatly endangered.

Dr. Doy and son, after suffering the greatest indignities from the hands of a Missouri mob at Weston, having suffered maltreatment on their persons in the most shameful manner, were taken to a filthy jail in Platte City, and locked up in a loathsome place, that the Doctor in a letter says "is like a dark, small, filthy, iron cage, and no light allowed them but what they furnish from burning the fat from the pork which is allowed them for food." Their trial came off last Monday, when Mrs. Doy and her daughter went over, accompanied by Govs. Robinson and Shannon.¹¹⁷ The Herald of Freedom came in last night, in which was the following notice: "They would have been set at liberty but for fear of the mob, who were ready to take the matter into their own hands." They are remanded back to prison, but the probability is that by *some means* they will soon be restored to their family.¹¹⁸

We can now give definite information concerning the kidnapped and the kidnappers. The party were captured not far from Oskaloosa; the teamster was the son of Rev. Mace Clough, formerly of the Maine Conference; the captors were pro-slavery men, and among them Dr. Garvin, our postmaster at Lawrence; Mr. Whitley, formerly of Boston, and Jake Hurd, a drunken fellow. The fugitives were well armed, but the white men surrendered at the first fire. Now about the negroes: two of them (the colored men) were free,¹¹⁹ one was a bright mulatto girl, Katharine, aged we should judge 27 or 28, belonging to Mr. West, of Kansas City, a very respectable merchant. We knew this girl, and want to give a bit of

117. Gov. Charles Robinson is not mentioned as being at the trial. Attorney-General Alson C. Davis and ex-Gov. Wilson Shannon were present to defend the Doy's.—*The Narrative of John Doy*, pp. 74-77; James B. Abbott, "The Rescue of Dr. John W. Doy," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 4, p. 814. At the trial on March 20 an application for a change of venue to St. Joseph was made and was granted by the judge.—*The Narrative of John Doy*, p. 77.

118. On July 23, 1859, Dr. Doy was rescued from jail in St. Joseph by men from Lawrence.—*Ibid.*, pp. 110-113.

119. Dr. Doy wrote: "All the adults, except two, showed my son their free papers. All had them except those two, whom we knew to be free men. . . . They had both been employed as cooks, at the Eldridge House, in Lawrence."—*Ibid.*, p. 24.

her history for the benefit of some of the divines in the M. E. Church, who think lightly of the "peculiar institution," and its effects! On our way into the Territory in the spring of 1855, we left the American Hotel on account of sickness, where we had been stopping some time, and I went with my sick daughters to board in this family, as Mrs. West was a member of the Methodist Church, and considered by the people a woman of more than ordinary piety; and I think I have never found an individual under the influence of Southern principles who seemed to possess in a greater degree the spirit of true piety. The family were formerly from Virginia, and brought along this Katharine, (and her sister, older than herself,) as house-slaves, to do the housework for the family. I was conversing with Mrs. West one day about my own views of slavery, and then inquired of her if they would sell either of those women, or the little toddling quadron of a child belonging to one of the slave women whom Mrs. West had just been kissing and playfully caressing. "Sell them!" she replied, "nothing would tempt us to part with them; they were brought up with me from childhood in Virginia; their mother belonged to my father for many years." Of course we did not inquire, (as Yankees are usually accused of doing,) concerning their paternity; that would have been impertinent! We sometimes indulge in mental guessing, and then nobody is harmed if these thoughts are not expressed. We often conversed with these slaves, who were not permitted to learn the alphabet; they had been taught strange ideas about free people at the North—their miserable condition, save a privileged few, and they of the upper strata of society. By associating with Northern people for three years past, or by some other means, this Katharine found out there was something desirable in liberty of person, and through some channel, we know not how, found herself at Lawrence, and on board the ill-fated team, fleeing in the direction of the North Star, when they were all seized and conveyed, as we have heretofore said, to Weston, Mo., and then put in irons! We saw the Sioux City when she passed up the Missouri River, plowing her way through floating ice; and when she reached Weston, on her downward trip, these slaves, Katharine among the rest, were all put on board and sent off to the Georgia market, save the two free negroes from Pennsylvania and Ohio, whom Jake Hurd seized in prison and whipped shockingly in presence of Dr. Doy, and then thrust them into a covered carriage and drove them, none of us can tell whither—probably where they never can return to tell the story of their

wrongs! They were born free, were never in slavery, and had been waiters in a hotel in Lawrence for some time past. How they first ventured to Kansas is more than we can tell. We inquired of Mrs. West, "if there was no danger in the event of the death of Mr. West, with regard to the estate being divided amongst the heirs, and these sisters being sold and separated." "Why," said she, "my children have been brought up with them, and not *one* would part with them." Now we inquire, "what must be the feelings of a Northern lady, and she a member of the church, when she went into her closet or the class room, or knelt at the sacramental board, to reflect that one they had been brought up with, had played with from childhood, was doomed to toil in the rice swamps, with her flesh torn by cruel scourges, or what is a thousand times worse, as in the case of one, "smart and good-looking" like Katharine, our pen cannot express the indignant feelings of our heart at the thought! Mr. West very piously craved a blessing on our food at the table, and seemed a true specimen of Southern piety! We always hated slavery, but since we have been brought face to face with the accursed demon, and seen its fruits, our hatred knows no bounds; and, sir, there is a fearful responsibility resting on the heads of some ministers in "high places" in the M. E. Church; and for the price of a thousand worlds, with all their emoluments and good opinions, we would not assume that responsibility. God is my witness, as much as I love the church of my choice, with which my humble name has stood connected since the autumn of 1828, unless some measures are adopted at the next General Conference to rid the church of this "sum of all villainies," I, as an individual, though isolated and alone, could not or cannot, with a clear conscience, in view of my relation to God and my fellow-fellow creatures, longer remain within her pale. I speak this after due reflection, and none else is responsible for what I write.

And now in all plainness of speech, I wish to tell our New England friends what occurred a few weeks since in the history of one who has been a loyal member of the M. E. Church since 1828, and loyal minister within her pale for thirty years, traveled some of the hardest circuits, and in no one instance has received but a trifle over \$300 for the support of his family for a year. This man wrote a letter to our official organ at New York, the purport of which was, "that he feared the editors for some cause had received a wrong impression about the Kansas preachers, then told in very mild lan-

guage some of the sacrifices of comfort each was compelled to undergo, preaching and sleeping in log cabins, often without a window, shut up with a lot of (often) filthy, noisy children, &c., and they would generally the present year be deficient from \$150 to \$200 in their salary, and wound up with speaking about some 'mercy drops' that had fallen on his charge." In the same letter was a "marriage notice," and also "one subscriber" for the Christian Advocate and Journal. These latter notices appeared in due time, but not one word of the letter aforesaid, and there could be no other reason only the tincture of anti-slaveryism in the proscribed letter. If these things are suffered to continue much longer one thing is certain, there will be more than one disaffected member.

The report of the threatened collision between the United States troops and "Saints," that we copied from two different papers, said to be Government dispatches, we think will prove to be a hoax, got up for political effect, for the Salt Lake mail does not bring such intelligence. A number of boats have come up the river loaded with freight and passengers for the mines. One company design to start next week. The weather is as warm as April, and even May in New England, but grass has not yet made its appearance. The Lawrence Republican of last week says, "they have received intelligence that nine boats are now on their way coming up the Missouri River, loaded with freight and families for the mines." We hope they may find their expectations realized. An amnesty bill was put through the Legislature the last day of its sitting, by which the troubles in Southern Kansas were fully adjusted and all former difficulties amicably settled, so that we may look for no more war in Linn and Bourbon Counties.

JULIA L. LOVEJOY.

P. S.—The Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad was completed last Tuesday, so that the cars brought in so many emigrants for the mines that the St. Joseph Weekly says "every hotel is crowded from basement to dome." They are rapidly completing it from St. Joseph to Atchison, twenty miles down the river, which will bring it within four miles of our door in Sumner, and these few miles only will intervene; and what a stretch of rails! Had we the means at our command when this road is completed, we might take the cars at Atchison, and travel 2,000 miles nearly by railroad to the very neighborhood of our birth, and land near the family mansion in Lebanon, N. H., in the same homestead in which we were born,

where our dear parents are now waiting patiently to pass over the River. Heaven grant them a safe and joyful passage, is the prayer of their exiled daughter.

J. L. L.

SUMNER, K. T., March 3, 1859.

BRO. HAVEN ¹²⁰:—I told you in my last that I did not intend to write again until after the session of our Conference, the 13th of April, "unless something of an extraordinary character occurred;" but letters making inquiries about the mines, that I cannot well find time to answer, as Mr. L. is absent from home much of the time, and cannot consequently answer them himself, are coming in, and seem to demand, from the writers, who are members of the M. E. Church and readers of the Herald, an answer through this medium. Let all come *first* to Chicago, thence to Hannibal, Mo., and thence directly across the State of Missouri, to St. Joseph. Then if they wish, they can come by stage down the River, 20 miles, to Atchison, and buy their team and outfit, or purchase these at St. Joseph, and start for the Mountains from St. Joseph. Either route will constantly be lined with teams for months to come, if not the whole year. A number had better put their means together and buy two or three yoke of oxen and wagon, and provisions sufficient for six months; for it seems more likely to us that there will be a greater famine for *bread*, from the crowds that are already arriving, than for *gold*! A yoke of oxen will cost from \$75 to \$100, a covered wagon about \$75. A line of stages is to be run twice a month from Atchison to Pike's Peak during the summer; but we advise every one to go with his own team, eat and sleep in his wagon, and then his expenses on the road will be but a trifle, and his team, we are told, will bring as much when he arrives there, as it costs him here. A good cow driven along would be a valuable acquisition. The price of a cow ranges from \$25 to \$30. Cattle outfit, and *all* that will be necessary to purchase can be had, probably, at any point where an emigrant happens to land. The old route, via St. Louis, and then up the River by steamboat, is far more expensive than the present route, all the way from Boston to St. Joseph, Mo., by railroad. The boats are running lively on the River now, and we have not a doubt but within a year to come, there will be 100,000 in Western Kansas, the new Eldorado. Accounts of the most flattering character are being received from the

120. *Zion's Herald*, Boston, Mass.

mines almost every week. Some from Oskaloosa, where Mr. Lovejoy was pastor last year, went there, and were so well satisfied they remained long enough to get themselves "claims," build themselves a cabin for the reception of their families, and come back after the loved ones, to return to the mines about the first of April. That region is said to be a fine farming region, with large forests of pine timber; and the streams from the mountains clear and cold, filled with various kinds of fish, amongst which are the speckled trout. The land can be taken for farms, and pre-empted when it comes into market.

As many of our friends seem to be anxious to learn something of the matter, I would take this opportunity to say that it is quite likely that Mr. Lovejoy will be appointed by the Kansas Conference a missionary to that region, provided that two or three energetic young men will accompany him; they will not go as "gold diggers," but to tell the thousands there of that "better land." I do not think of any more questions to answer, and if I did my hand is too tired to write much longer, as this is the fourth sheet I have written over without stopping to rest much. If there are questions still unanswered, why let all who desire make further inquiries. A tri-weekly mail is to run a part of the way to the mines, so that letters can be sent to the States about as readily as now. If Mr. L. is not appointed a missionary to Pike's Peak, he will probably remain here for a year to come, so this place will still be our address as formerly.

In haste, J. L. LOVEJOY.

P. S.—If any persons come up the River they can buy their team and outfit at Kansas City, Lawrence or Leavenworth, and then go via Manhattan and up the Smoky Hill, or Republican Fork. The distance from the Missouri River to the mines is about 600 miles. It takes from four to six weeks' time to go with an ox team; inhabitants 150 miles on the route. No danger from the Indians.

SUMNER, K. T., March 4, 1859.

MR. EDITOR ¹²¹:—We have noticed an article going the rounds of the New England papers intended as a slur on the M. E. Church for admitting Mr. Lane to its membership. The facts are these: When Mr. Lovejoy was stationed in Lawrence, two years since, Col. Lane requested to join the class on probation, and stated his reasons publicly for so doing. He said he desired to be a Christian, and out of respect to the wishes of a dying, godly mother, who with her lips

121. *Zion's Herald*, Boston, Mass.

quivering in death, requested him to seek God and become a member of the M. E. Church, which he solemnly promised to do. Since the unfortunate affair with Col. Jenkins [see *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 15, pp. 386, 387], which has been clearly shown was in self-defense, Col. Lane has professed conversion, and his pastor, Rev. I. Dodge, formerly of the Genesee Conference, thinks he gives full and conclusive evidence, in his family and elsewhere, that he has "passed from death unto life." His lady has for many years been a devoted Methodist.

Our New England friends, no doubt, think by this time that the cognomen, "Old John Brown," should be changed to "Brown, the Invincible;" and though now probably quietly on his farm somewhere, we believe, in the Empire State, yet of one thing you may be quite sure, if you hear of any more trouble in Kansas, there is such a tendency to ubiquity about him, like another distinguished personage "walking to and fro in the earth," he will no doubt be found in the "thickest heat of the fray," dealing telling strokes somewhere. In the memorable "Ossawatimie battle," when the last man was either killed or had fled, and his own son, Frederick, had just been slain by the hand of (*Rev.*) Martin White, the old hero was seen leisurely wading a creek, with a rifle under each arm and the enemy close in the rear; and when the opposite bank was gained you may be sure a shower of leaden hail was poured without measure amongst the ranks of his pursuers.

Our friends may wonder that the warlike spirit has taken such hold upon those who, until they came to Kansas, were as complete non-resistants as the most orthodox Quaker; but, sir, such individuals only need a little Kansas experience to understand the matter.

We would say to all interested in the matter, that a steam saw-mill is now crossing the country, designed for Pike's Peak, and also a printing press. If any are deceived with regard to the prolific yield of the mines, we, too, are deceived, for we have no personal knowledge, only as we depend on the united testimony of scores who are there, or who have been there. The mines are said to stretch along 500 miles to the "black hills" on the north. We need not caution a "live Yankee" to look out for sharpers on the road, and look well after his luggage, but we know at Kansas City and other places thousands of dollars were taken (in the spring of '55) from honest New Englanders, for a want of knowledge of some matters, with regard to board and purchase of teams, &c. Good board in private families ought to be procured for three dollars and a half

per week, whilst hotel keepers will run up a bill from seven to fourteen dollars per week, and perhaps exceed even that. If we were to pass through the ordeal again, we would buy our own provisions, as there is plenty usually ready cooked at the bakery, and hire lodgings, or procure a covered wagon immediately, with blankets and mattress, and cook our own food, and it is sufficiently comfortable. We write this for the benefit of those who may not abound in money, for we know a poor crushed heart, with no husband or son near to protect, who scarce could find a privilege to spread a mattress of her own on a filthy floor for a dying child, and even a quarter of a dollar was charged for that privilege on the road, when her purse was running low!

J. L. LOVEJOY.

SUMNER, K. T., April 18, 1859.

BRO. HAVEN ¹²²:—. . . I have thought of late, our dear brethren with whom we have formerly associated, may think because our letters savor of "wars and rumors of wars," that we have lost ground spiritually in Kansas. This is not the case; but the past year, although it has been the hardest financially we have ever found, yet there has been, (to the praise of God we would say it,) a constant increase of grace and the fruits of the Spirit. There is far more meaning in "hard times" than the deficiency in the salaries of the "Kansas preachers" the present year, though that is not a small item. None of us were expecting this financial crash, and consequent depression of property that has ruined so many men in the West this year, who were comparatively wealthy; and some who were owing heavy debts previous to the "hard times," have been, and are still paying 50, 40, 30, &c. per cent, to save their property from a sheriff's sale. This is what has constituted the "hard times" in more than one household; but we will not particularize. The promise is sure: "All things shall work together for good to those who love the Lord." When Mr. L. filled up his receipts for Conference, he found he had received in missionary appropriation and every other item, something over \$300—I cannot recollect how much. Now three hundred in Kansas will not go as far as two hundred in New England, and a preacher must run in debt and build a shelter for his family entirely on his own responsibility, unaided. We hope for "better days" in temporal matters another year. I am looking

122. *Zion's Herald*, Boston, Mass.

for every boat bound down the river for the preachers, with Mr. Lovejoy, returning from Conference at Omaha; I am anxious to learn our appointment.

JULIA L. LOVEJOY.

"SYLVAN COTTAGE," May 10, 1859.

FOR THE GAZETTE¹²³:—Sumner is situated in the "Great bend" of the Missouri river, 20 miles above Leavenworth, and about 40 from Kansas city, Mo. There was but one cabin a little more than one year and a half ago, and now there are over 200 houses, and about 800 inhabitants who have *homes* in Sumner, though many have been leaving this Spring to engage in various pursuits on account of the scarcity of money in circulation which has seriously injured the growth and prosperity of the most promising towns in Kansas. Sumner is built on a succession of bluffs that stretch back from the river, that gives the place a peculiarly unique, (but to us pleasing) appearance. Between these bluffs, living springs gush out, forming rivulets of clear *pure* water, some of which are nearly as cold as ice-water. Many of the residences are perched on dizzy heights, on the verge of precipitous declivities, interspersed with forest trees, that give the town a rural and romantic aspect. "Sylvan Cottage," the spot from which we write, is situated in a quiet and secluded nook, remote from the heart of the town, on a bluff, covered with beautiful trees and shrubbery planted by the Almighty's Hand, overlooking the murky waters of the "mad Missouri," that roll more than 100 feet below, and lave its base; on whose dark bosom is borne, steam-boats of mammoth dimensions, engaged in extensive inland commerce. If any into whose hands this paper may fall, are looking Kansas-ward for a home, we most cordially invite them to give Sumner a call *first*, for *many* reasons. We know of no other locality in Kansas, (and we have become acquainted somewhat extensively) more healthy, and the citizens are a quiet, orderly people, disposed to be sympathetic and kind-hearted to all. The gospel is regularly dispensed, from Sabbath to Sabbath, and Sabbath school and temperance organization are flourishing finely. There are two schools in constant operation; one taught by a lady, and the other by our estimable citizen, Rev. Daniel Foster,¹²⁴ who was formerly engaged as a teacher in N. E. and who also is pastor of a church. There are physicians, a drug

123. The Sumner Gazette.

124. The Rev. Daniel Foster came to Kansas as a Unitarian missionary.—Kansas State Historical Society, "Biographical Circulars A-L," v. 1.

store, dry goods and groceries, carriage shops, one printing office, and *finally everything* in that line to render the location a desirable one, save a little more of the "circulating medium" is necessary to remove the friction in machinery and unclog the wheels! Another inducement held out as a beacon to beckon emigrants in this direction, is the money market, is so stringent at the present writing in Kansas, that shares and lots in Sumner can be bought on easier terms than heretofore, because some of the owners need to make an early sale to procure money for other purposes.—Now is the time to make an investment in Sumner and procure an inviting home in Kansas, the universally-acknowledged "garden of the western world."

JULIA L. LOVEJOY.

SUMNER, K. T., May 26, 1859.

MR. EDITOR ¹²⁵:—Of all the unaccountable things that occur in these days of unaccountable things, that about the mines is to us the most inexplicable; so that we, only 600 miles therefrom, can tell nothing more reliable, on account of conflicting reports, than your readers, who are 2,000 miles away. Five different companies have left Sumner at different times, until not enough men were left to defend the garrison; (in case of an invasion, which no one expects,) two companies are still en route to the mines, as far as we know. One party had been absent about two weeks, and got as far as the Big Blue, and Sabbath day they drove into town, crest-fallen enough; having met so many miners returning with discouraging reports, they turned back, after expending a number of hundred dollars. Another party left Sumner a little over a week ago, with several thousand dollars' worth of goods, for Pike's Peak, and reached Grasshopper Creek, (this creek empties into the Kansas River, and that into the Missouri, about 25 miles from this place,) when one of their company, Mr. Joslin, of Waitsfield, Vt., in a high state of perspiration, went in to bathe, and sunk to rise no more! Seldom does it fall to the lot of any to chronicle a death so universally lamented; his party halted a half day to search for his body, but without effect, and then with sad hearts proceeded on their journey, sending back his clothes to Sumner by a messenger. He left town on Friday, and was drowned on the following Thursday.

When the mournful intelligence reached here, a meeting was called by the citizens, and seven men were immediately dispatched

125. *Zion's Herald*, Boston, Mass.

to search still further for the remains; they raked the creek for miles with hooks, but all in vain. The water was thought to be 15 or 20 feet deep when he went in to bathe, and when the men reached there to look for his body, it had fallen eight feet! So rapidly do the creeks of Kansas rise and fall.

He was an only son, about 24 years of age, and a more lovely young man in moral integrity of character never trod the soil of Kansas; active in Sabbath school, in the cause of temperance and benevolence; and indeed he had won all hearts by his amiability during nearly a year's residence in this community. His funeral services are to be attended next Sabbath, and the whole community will be present as mourners. The name of T. A. Joslin, and his sad fate, trembles on every lip and his manly virtues will long be remembered in Sumner. His party passed on a few days, and were so disheartened at his death, every man returned to Sumner; some talk of setting out again.

Rev. Wm. H. Goode, the oldest preacher in the Kansas and Nebraska Conference, save Dr. Still, received his appointment for Oreapolis, the seat of the projected University and Biblical Institute, but from some new turn of affairs, followed on after Bishop Scott, whom he reached at St. Joseph, Mo., and requested to be sent to the Eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains, to form a mission, to which proposal the Bishop acceded, and placed funds in his hands to establish such a mission. He is now probably nearly half way to his destination, if he does not turn back, like others who have preceded him.

Reports have come to town that the enraged miners have hung the Post Master at Denver City, on Cherry Creek, for taking letters from the Post Office mailed by men at the mines to their families and friends in the States, giving a truthful representation of matters, and substituting in their place the most glowing falsehoods to attract men thither, and rumor says, also, they have burned every house in the City, of which there were several hundreds, and yet crowds are still going there. A. D. Richardson, correspondent of the Boston Journal, our neighbor, started from here yesterday. We cannot explain these matters. We always write things just as they are, to the best of our knowledge, and if we afterwards learn that we are misinformed, we invariably send a correction, if the affair is of any moment.

J. L. LOVEJOY.

SYLVAN COTTAGE, SUMNER, K. T.,

July 5th, 1859.

MESSRS. EDITORS ¹²⁶:—Yesterday was a gala day in this city—the immortal *fourth* was ushered in by the booming of cannon, and peal after peal of minute guns, that kept up one continuous colloquy with each other, striving for the highest key-note in the music, greatly to the discomfort of those who were disposed to indulge in a morning nap.—And, as though this din of firearms, from the Sumnerites, was not enough to frighten the last vision of Morpheus from the place, causing him to up-set his Lethean glass, in his flight to the hills, up comes the “Hesperean,” “stars and stripes” floating gaily from her most conspicuous points, and after rounding to, gave us a *deafening* broad-side, that shook our frail domicile to the very foundation. Not one of the “Sumner boys” was caught napping at this unceremonious salute, but bade their spunky little howitzer to “do his best, and for *once* show off to good advantage,” greatly to the discredit of all weak-lunged aspirants, who should hereafter assay to tread in his illustrious footsteps.

At an early hour, the people “enmasse,” wended their way toward a beautiful grove, just beyond the limits of the town, where the clergymen of the place, Rev. D. Foster and C. H. Lovejoy mutually participated in the interesting exercises, which consisted in prayer, music, and oration by Rev. D. Foster.

We digress one moment. These ministers of the new Testament, thirty years ago, might have been seen trudging along with dinner-basket in hand, the *same* road, to the *same* antique schoolhouse, among the hills of Hanover, N. H., to acquire the first elements of science; and who *then* would have predicted, that both would have been pastors of churches, in the same city, on the plains of what is now Kansas, then “the great American desert, inhabited by buffaloes and Indians?” Their religious sentiments are *widely diverse*, but no two brothers, of the same church, or *natural* brothers by consanguinity, could ever labor together in greater unanimity and harmony than they have for the year past.

The sentiments embodied in the “declaration of Independence” were the key notes of the oration, and this clause, “all men are created free and equal,” was dwelt upon with peculiar stress, and tacked on to the conscience by heated nails, in the form of matter-of-fact, illustrated by scathing anecdotes. One was related about his old class-mate at Dartmouth College, a full blooded “nigger,”

126. *The Independent Democrat*, Concord, N. H.

and the eloquent speaker held him up before the audience so life-like that *nigger-owners*, with their families, of which there were a number on the ground, scrambled into their carriages, and made for the highways as fast as possible, and out of the hearing of that "ranting abolitionist."—The other clerical gentleman, who sat directly behind me, on that rustic "stand," clapped his hands to cheer him on as he was throwing down one obstruction after another to clog the wheels of the pseudo-democracy of the present day, and felt "Amen," in his heart as full and sonorous as he ever felt at a Methodist camp meeting. That "abolition speech" will long be remembered in Sumner, for it was so full of strength and vitality it stirred up the whole viper's-nest, and curses loud were heard on every hand. Even before it was concluded loud talking, and indeed gymnastic exercises disturbed the decorum of the place.

The surrounding trees were tastefully decorated with a profusion of banners, bearing the National "insignia," and the "negro-waiter" so patiently trudging at the heels of his haughty mistress, lugging along that chubby specimen of humanity in his brawny arms, seemed to us to look up and say, "What is all this show to me? The 'stripes' on the flag, I know how to decypher—would that I had never been born—this galling servitude, must it last *forever*?"

Our "cold collation," on the grass in "picnic" style, was good enough to satisfy the most fastidious taste of a hungry bachelor-editor, who had been dieting for a month on Graham bread, and sage-tea. This "feast of fat things," being duly disposed of, then came the calisthenic and turnerverean exercises, a programme of which was brought by the Germans from "*fader-land*." Their feats would absolutely confound and astonish a gazer-on, and none but the "initiated" can tell *why* or *wherefore*. We never supposed it possible for a human being, by long practice, to obtain such skill in leaping to such prodigious heights, swinging with feet suspended high in air, head downwards, and anon a company of men instantaneously throwing themselves into a pyramidal figure, one above another. On one part of the ground might have been seen a company "tripping the light fantastic toe," to music's witching strains in the mazy dance; but we, sober folks, preferred the quiet of our tidy little sitting-room at home, to the rounds of joy and mirth that resounded through the festive grove, and turned our steps thitherward.

Among the toasts offered on the occasion, were the following, of the humorous sort.

The Editors of Kansas: by a lady—May they not deal *too freely* in “soft soap,” the chief ingredient of which, is L-Y-E,—pronounced Lie!

The Ladies of Kansas: by one of the Sisterhood; Courageous in danger, prudent and discreet, may their virtues and graces *still* continue to be the light and joy of the “*Prairie Lodge*.”

The Lawyers of Kansas: By a lady.—May they not be unmindful of the *first pleas* of their Great Pro totype, by which a case was won by falsehood and a world ruined.

The Pilferers of Pork-barrels, and Robbers of Hen-roosts: by a Sufferer.—May they never cease to be disturbed in their nocturnal slumbers by the squeal of a pig, or the peep of an unfledged chicken, till they betake themselves to more honorable employment.

The Bachelors of Kansas: by a matron—Hesitating and faltering, a set of crusty old fellows, who choose to go limping along the path of life, in consequence of a *missing rib*.—May it ere long find its appropriate place.

The weather is oppressive in the extreme—thermometer has been 94°, but good breezes to temper and make it endurable. Steam boat, “Perry,” came up a few days since, literally black with human beings, bound for the ‘mines’—Our neighbors start in a few days—“lots” of them—it is folly to start this hot weather—many are now going, who returned from there in the Spring, cursing the *whole concern*! Poor human “natur.”

Respectfully,

J. LOUISA LOVEJOY.

SYLVAN COTTAGE, SUMNER, K. T., July 13, 1859.

BELOVED FATHER AND MOTHER:

Mr. Lovejoy returned from the P. O. about an hour ago, bringing your letter, with ten dollars in it, and I have got my crying over, sufficiently to answer it. It is now one o'clock, in the P. M. and at two, there is a female prayer-meeting appointed here, so I must hasten. I was intending to write you all, in a few days, to sell every farm, even at a sacrifice, and get ready to come to Kansas, in the fall, before land rises again, so that you cannot get hold of it, as it certainly will, another year. See my two letters in the Independent Dem. and also one in the Dover “Morning Star,” all written within a few days, and you will learn my reasons. The accounts from the mines, with regard to their prolific yield, is almost fabulous, it is so astonishing, tho authenticated by those whose veracity cannot be questioned. Our neighbor, [Albert D.] Richardson, who went there, with Horace Greeley, came from there, in the Express, clear thro in seven days, and has gone on to Cincinnati, after his wife, who is there on a visit, and is going right back to the mines with his family. There are three teams fitting out today, on

our Levee, to start immediately, and the fourth may go, with an immense quantity of goods for the miners. Mr. Richardson says thousands are rushing in there daily and starvation will tread on the heels of new opening deposits, notwithstanding the tens of thousands of gold, they are taking out. I don't want any of my folks from N. E. to go there this season, to die with cholera on the road, this terrible hot weather, but I do want every man, woman, and child, that claims kin with the Hardy-family and can ride in the cars, to get ready to come here in the fall, and get themselves farms. Mr. L. can now get you 160 acres of the best land within 6 or 8 miles of the Mo. River, the best market in the U. S. at from five to 800 dollars and one year from now, twill bring thousands, instead of hundreds, there is no doubt as soon as money begins to be more plenty. It can be bought for half nearly, what it could be last year. I state these matters, for the benefit of the entire family; now all do as you please. We are now in the midst of luxuries. Now war is over forever in Kansas, she begins to show herself to advantage and excells every state in the Union, Missouri excepted. We have this year's chickens, till I am sick of them, for our table, after starving so long on corn dodgers, pancakes, and bacon, and have about an hundred more, for somebody to devour! New potatoes, green corn, shelled beans, squash, peas, cucumbers, beets, and there are blackberries, enough in the grove around our dwelling, to load a cart with, we dont doubt. Do Sarah ¹²⁷ write immediately, and tell me how you all used to fix them so as they would keep without preserving them, as you do strawberries. I preserved so many of them last year I have now a great many left and we dont like them so. Sarah, there is not one button, or patch off of anything in my gem of a Cottage, and within less than a week, I have sent to the press at St. Louis, Cleveland, Ohio, and Baldwin City ten communications, and every thing around me, is as tidy as a Shaker-establishment—nothing neglected. I killed a rattlesnake with ten rattles, near my door-step, but Dr. Haven, thinks it too unlady-like, to conquer such formidable "sarpents" so he thinks it not judicious to insert it in the "Herald." Rev. Mr. Miller, from Leavenworth City, sent here a German Missionary from Ohio, saw my paper and other writings, and came here Monday and engaged me to write for their church organ, the "Evangelical Messenger," published both in the German and English language, at Cleveland, Ohio, and for two columns, for each issue, he is to give me two dollars, and I hope I shall be able

127. Sarah was Julia's sister-in-law.

to pick up enough to be able if I live, and all are well, to be able to start near the first of Sept. for N. H. so as to be back to Kansas, sometime in November if I live and I want as many as can to come back with me. Mr. Lovejoy is a perfect child, about having me going without him, but he can't go, and says "I may do as I please." His circuit extends fifty miles on and near the Missouri River and work enough for a dozen men. Colby must calculate to come here and labor with him next winter. They will feed him up to the eyes this prolific year. There is such an immense amount of stuff raised, but if he should get a nine pence in silver he would make a long mark, it would be so strange in the history of a Kansas preacher! There are lots of good brethren who come from N. Y., some from Vt. and every point of the compass. C[olby]. must first secure him a farm, and I want to travel constantly with Mr. L. and the brethren are very anxious I should, and C's family can live in our house in Sumner. There are three rooms below, large enough to live in, and two above, fixed for a stove. Mr. L. is now stretched on the floor, napping by my side and Irving is playing with Kitty. I do wish mother could ride in the cars, for I believe father could come out here, to take it fair and easy in the cars. When we went to Leavenworth, the other day, how many times we wished that father could see the splendid farms, princely residences. Corn is now 10 feet high, Mr. L. says, within two or three rods of my writing-table. There are 20,000 people at the mines, and hosts, en route there. O if Wilbur Heath only knew the benefit of getting a farm in Kansas now, he would be here in six weeks. We have had awful tornadoes here, that I think I wrote about. Mr. Bartholemew,¹²⁸ is now at our door, talking, looking of [over] the garden. he and his family came two years since from C[onnecticu]t. His home was formerly Hartford, Ct.—lives a neighbor, to us—a very worthy man. he would not be *hired* for a small *sum*, to leave Kansas. I have been through such awful trying scenes, I have never got quieted down, till since the war was over, to feel at home as much as I can. They are stealing horses almost daily throughout the Ter[ritory]. and many of the horse thieves have been caught some of them publicly horse-whipped, some imprisoned, and some, have had summary vengeance, meted out to them, in the shape of a lynch-law.

I think we shall have a great work of grace, on this charge this year. Shall soon commence camp-meetings, and protracted meetings—a camp meeting is at Baldwin City, where Charles lives, on

128. Possibly E. W. Bartholomew, a stone mason, who was listed in the census of 1860 as living in Sumner. He was born in Vermont.

our College grounds, the 19th of Aug. We design to attend. I may not write to you again, till I start for N. H., my hands are so full. Ettie, I presume, will accompany me. I have just learned that a gentleman of this City, Mr. Wood, formerly of Boston, is going soon to N. E. it may be I may accompany him and not wait.¹²⁹ I'll see how soon he goes. What think you of the war in the East?¹³⁰ I am watching its progress with much interest for I am strongly convinced that is plainly foretold by Ancient Seers that is the "final struggle" the great Armageddon of the Apocalypse. We are now healthy,—money is dreadful scarce—provisions plenty— Love to all: Answer this immediately.

JULIA.

Wed. Eve., July 13th 1859

Julia left this page blank for me to fill. Times in money matters are still hard with us, in Kansas. But the season has been good—and we have the promise of an abundant harvest. There was quite a surplus last year, in some parts of the Territory, but where there was ten bushels, we judge from general appearances, there will be hundreds this year. The Winter wheat is harvested, a good crop, Oats & Spring wheat will be fit to cut in one & two weeks. It is looking fine. In some localities, the crops have been injured, with severe hail-storms, & wind. About ten miles from this, there is a region of country of perhaps ten miles square, the entire crop is nearly ruined. I wish you could take one round with me on my Circuit, and see the almost endless fields of corn, wheat oats & potatoes; millet, hungarian grass and almost *every* thing of produce. Pikes Peak is *not* a *failure*—*far* FAR from it. See Greely's & Richardson letter. Richardson is from this town. Has just arrived here, bringing specimens of the precious metal with him. He gives most flattering reports of the success of the mines. It is doubtful *when* Julia will go to N. H. I would like to have her wait until next spring, & I would go with her, but cannot go before. . . .

We have some means, but it is not easily to convert any thing into money at this time. Hope to have all my temporal matters properly arranged this fall, and then I will write & let you know what I have. Father I wish you could see my garden every thing

129. Julia Lovejoy did not go to New Hampshire at this time. When the Rev. Mr. Lovejoy was transferred to the Vermont conference of the Methodist church they both went East in August of 1860 and did not return to Kansas until March, 1862.

130. This was probably the war between Austria and Sardinia which began in April, 1859. Napoleon III of France soon entered on the side of Sardinia.

growing luxuriously, such as Flint corne, sweet corn, Early "tucket" corne, two kinds of pop corne, broom corne. Three kinds of Irish potatoes. We have had several messes to eat, Sweet potatoes, Numberless kinds of squashes, pumpkins, lots of the finest mellons which will be ready for eating the first of August, Beans, Beats, Carrets, a fine lot of Cabbage, some with fine heads, this early, large enough to cook, Tomatoes, any quantity of Peas, a good supply, Thirteen Apple trees, Raspberries, (bore some this year) here and at Baldwin City, lots and lots of them, currents, 20 sets, & Gooseberries,—Bore some this year—Three grape vines, growing finely—A fine bed of Strawberries, Nameless other things. These are what I have in my garden here, All enclosed in a good picket fence. A good house nearly finished. A good stable, shed and hen-house. With a place for retirement, when it must be attended too! But enough of this for this time.

I have a large C[ircui]t. one man with me, work enough for ten. I found local preachers to assist me. Our membership is small, the people have generally all they can do to live, but hope for better times. We have some precious seasons & are labouring & hoping for an outpouring of the Holy Ghost in all the land. I feel myself unworthy but I hope to win some souls to Christ in this far-off western world. Did I not love the work, & feel "woe is me if I preach not the gospel," I should have left this work *long ago*. My greatest "cross is" not to *go into farming in Kansas*, 'tis so inviting. The will of the Lord be done. . . . C. H. LOVEJOY

P. S. I think Julia will go to N. H. about Oct. and stay till about New-Year's day. I hate to have her go without me. She *may* go in Sept. yet I can't tell.

SYLVAN COTTAGE, SUMNER, K. T., Sept. 26, '59

MESSRS. EDITORS¹³¹: Sumner is at this time, a general hospital, and we know not one family where some of the members have not been sick or are still sick. Bilious fevers, "fever and ague," and "congestive chills," of a very dangerous character, have universally prevailed in the community—the writer of this has been sick more or less for months past, with chills and fever, and is now not able to sit up but part of the time. Four summers have proved satisfactorily that *our* family can never get acclimated so as to enjoy health in Kansas only in the winter. Our entire family have been sick for months past, and Mr. Lovejoy is reduced very low, though we now

131. *The Independent Democrat*, Concord, N. H., October 13, 1859.

think him convalescent, and will recover, if he does not have a relapse. . . .

Oh, ye who breathe the air of our own native hills! How has the weary invalid, envied your position for months past! When I have read the refreshing letters in the *Democrat*, from the White Mts. from that gem of New England Lakes, Winnipissiogee, and from the high regions, on the Penobscot River, and thought of your refreshing breezes, your cooling streams, amongst the mountains; oh, how we have longed to bathe our fevered brow and throbbing temples in those little rivulets that issue from the mountain-side, as in days of yore, or sit on the mossy bank and watch its ripples over its pebbly bed, and not start with fear at every rustling leaf or moving spire of grass, lest a deadly serpent might be concealed beneath! Only one week ago we stopped to pick up (near our residence) some shavings where shingles had been made, and took up a serpent in our arms—a copperhead, we thought at a glance, but it escaped. Last May, the writer of this killed a monster of a rattlesnake, near our door-step, with ten rattles and a button, making it eleven years old.—No one else was on the premises at the time, but our little four-year-old boy.

Intelligence was received last week from our neighbors who are at the mines. The reports were of the most flattering character—miners in high spirits with plenty of provisions for the present, and were finding new “leads” in various directions to encourage them to believe that when the resources are fully developed they will equal the California mines in richness of deposit. Rev. Wm. H. Goode has organized two distinct Missions, at the mines, with Superintendents for each, and is now about returning to his family in Iowa.

Our new Wyandot Constitution is creating much stir among the Democrats and proslavery fire-eaters, but we think it will finally be adopted by a majority of the people. Provisions are very plenty in the Territory, but money distressingly scarce. Never have we seen such “hard times,” in money-matters, as at the present; not even in “war-times.” A man with a sick family and only one hundred dollars salary where five hundred are needed to be comfortable with, must of necessity think of his brethren who are faring better, though he does not repine at his lot, but blesses God, even though he may fall a martyr on Kansas soil that he has been enabled to do and suffer a little for the holy cause he would die for rather than forsake. It is very “hard times” in Kansas, with all ministers, who are not supported by “Missionary Societies,” or contributions from

the States, and we receive but \$100 the present year, and no prospect of receiving any more, unless the Lord opens the hearts of some of our good brethren in the East to make some small remittances.

Two anonymous letters have been received in Sumner, threatening the people with burning the town, for "Free-State-ism." Soon after the first was received, Messrs. Woods' extensive waggon manufactory was consumed, engine, wagons, tools and all, an entire loss of \$19,000—\$5,000 insurance. The second letter: "Take this as a warning, and prepare for something greater."—Lesslie's store was set on fire, but the fire was extinguished without damage. This was tho't to be a "pique" of some private individual.—Both letters may prove a hoax. Messrs. Woods design to rebuild on a larger scale. Religious matters in the Territory are in a prosperous condition. Large accessions to the M. E. Church.

JULIA L. LOVEJOY.

SYLVAN COTTAGE, SUMNER, K. T., Oct. 6, 1859.

MR. EDITOR ¹³²:—We some time since received a refreshing letter from New Bedford, Mass., with the initials "C. P. H." appended thereto, and our prayer is, "that God will abundantly bless the writer," (whoever it may be,) and when our appointed task on earth is finished, bring our glorified spirits to enjoy the rest of the "faithful over a few things," according to his own promise. We had fondly hoped that the ushering in of the first autumnal month would find us in the dear old paternal mansion where our eyes first beheld the light of day; but when our plans were all matured, a merciless despot, (with whose absolute power of control over us we had been contending for weeks, and vainly endeavoring to curtail his authority "to rule uncontrolled by foreign interference," or propitiate his favor by any "nostrum," we have found in searching through the labyrinths of the whole "Materia Medica" (of patent medicines,) including even "quinine" which is the *summum bonum*, or one of the indispensables in Kansas life) seized us with relentless grasp in his trembling arms, and the experience of a convalescent can alone express the relief obtained when a compromise was effected, and a pledge given to "suspend hostilities for a season," on condition "that every" minutia in the "pacification measures" should be daily and "strictly adhered to." The suffering subjects of this ubiquitous tyrant, with shaking limbs and livid countenances, might have been, or may still be seen, in almost every dwelling in Sumner, or thread-

132. *Zion's Herald*, Boston, Mass.

ing our streets, with the thermometer in the neighborhood of 90 deg., shivering as in mid-winter, or groups at the door of some druggist, discussing the merits of a "new and certain cure for fever and ague."—"The great secret out at last."—Ho! ye afflicted ones, give attention, as we rehearse its wondrous merit!—"Ward's telegraph tonic, warranted to cure," but to the dismay of the retailer, the patient still shakes on!

Sir, our whole family, that comprise the home-circle, and those of them who are connected with other families, have been thus afflicted, and Mr. Lovejoy, for nearly seven weeks, has been lingering with a low bilious fever; he is now able to walk about the premises a little, but we fear his days for hard labor in the itinerancy are forever over; he is greatly reduced, and his nervous system, and head are seriously affected. When the thermometer ranged upwards of 100 deg., in July, and scarcely a breath of air, the weather was so sultry, he was shaking with ague. The 30th of August he went to a camp meeting at Oskaloosa, 30 miles from Sumner, and in the second attempt to preach he was compelled by increasing illness to leave the "stand" for the nearest house, where he remained weeks very sick.

Now, Mr. Editor, if any one would be benefited by noting down some of the symptoms attending this "bane of Kansas life," they are at your service. Great lassitude, and morbid sensation of languor, preceded by a constant disposition to yawn, the extremities becoming cold, bones aching, limbs shaking, the blood leaving the surface, rushes to the central organs with congestive violence, then fever follows; the blood rushes to the surface again, in another effort to expel the irritating poison, through that great excretory the skin; it fails in this, and abandons the attempt, exhausted by the violent paroxysm, stomach heaving, brain whirling, temples throbbing, as though the veins might burst with the excess of blood in its upward tendency, nausea increasing, till with a violent retch the last particle of food is ejected therefrom, succeeded by a copious hemorrhage of bile, and the patient sinks away in a kind of dreamy unconsciousness, from which he is aroused by the reflection, "that in twenty-four hours, he must be put over the same rough road, with less strength to endure it!" A neighbor has been thus afflicted now about five months; others succeed in breaking up the "chill" in a few days or weeks. As cold weather approaches, sickness will abate.

Matters in the Territory religiously are very encouraging. There have been many camp meetings holden in various places, that have resulted in large accessions to the M. E. Church. A number of the

preachers on this district are now sick, but the work does not stop in consequence thereof. In this extensive field of labor, embracing an area of fifty miles, Mr. L's. colleague, aided by the local ministry, is still "pressing the battle to the gate," and another series of meetings commences tomorrow on "Independence Creek," settled mostly by Pennsylvanians. A beautiful church has been completed and dedicated at Atchison, four miles from Sumner, that will compare in taste and finish, favorably with most country churches in New England, and also one of brick, that will soon be completed at Leavenworth, in which the next session of our Conference is to be holden, in the official appointment says, "April," but the preachers hope to have the session some time in March. Would not it be a refreshing relief from the every-day drudgery of the editorial sanctum to take a three day's excursion at that time, as the cars will run to Atchison, within 24 miles of Leavenworth; recently a man came from Boston to Lawrence, K. T., in four days.

Baker University has commenced the fall term of the Preparatory Department under very favorable auspices, with a faculty of five teachers, viz: Rev. Werter R. Davis, D. D., President and Professor of Mental and Moral Sciences, and Biblical Literature; Rev. B. R. Cunningham, A. B., Professor of Mathematics and Natural Science; Thos. H. Parker, A. M., M. D., Professor of Ancient Languages and Literature; Mrs. M. R. Davis, Governess and Teacher of Instrumental Music and Ornamental Branches; Miss Mary C. Dunn, Teacher in Preparatory Department. An able corps from whom much is expected in meeting the great educational want of this rapidly growing country, and sustaining the reputation of the University. The Preparatory school for "Lawrence University," at Lawrence, is also in successful operation. The walls of "Bluemont Central College," at Manhattan, will soon be completed, if energy on the part of those who have projected the noble work, will accomplish the object; and, sir, we doubt whether the sun ever shone on a more enchanting prospect than the extensive panorama to be seen from the bluff on which the structure is going up. Success to those noble spirits who have more than once left their loved ones in Kansas, and traveled the distance that intervenes between the Kaw and Big Blue River and the broad Atlantic, to get funds for this praiseworthy object. The "corner stone" for a college edifice, under the patronage of the M. E. Church, has been laid with appropriate exercises, at Ottumwa, K. T., the building for Preparatory School to be completed the present fall. The "miners" are returning by

"Express," every coach is full, and come into Atchison now weekly, returning to spend the winter. Fifty-five thousand dollars was brought by "Express," to Atchison the last two trips. Crops of various kinds are coming in very heavy, but money is so very scarce that times are hard notwithstanding, and property unsaleable.

The election votes for the "Wyandott Constitution" were cast the 4th inst., and as far as the returns have been received, a large majority will go in favor of it. "Atchison precinct" is the strongest pro-slavery of any in this part of Kansas, and it gave a majority of one! We heard the booming of cannon along the river, that told us that free principles were triumphing, and pro-slavery subserviency was breathing its last gasp in Kansas. It is with no small degree of interest, Mr. Editor, that we from this great battle-field, where freedom and slavery have met in terrible collision, watched the weekly issues of the contest now raging between two D. D.'s who are measuring lances with the skill of pugilists; and, sir, to our mind, it is as clear as a sunbeam whose lance will be broken, keen-edged and elastic though it be, and poised by a veteran arm well skilled in all the tactics of controversial war. It needeth not a "prophet's ken" to predict who will be the vanquished one; for God and angels are on the opposite side, and all good men whose eyes are not dimmed by the mists of error and prejudice, that have been wreathing fantastic shapes in hobgoblin form, to frighten the timid into the belief that a disruption of the church will be the result if only one word, "slaveholding," is made the test-point of membership in said church. Now if slavery is the "corner stone" that binds this wondrous fabric together, would to God that it might be sundered and dispelled like the morning mists that lingers along the Missouri Valley when the "powerful king of day asserts his right." Thank Heaven that every Annual Conference does not see fit to follow in the wake or lead the same direction of the Southern Illinois Conference at its late session, with regard to a change in the rule on the slavery question. We believe there is still leaven enough in the M. E. Church to purify the whole lump, and this fermentation now going on will only throw off the scum and impure ingredients, that the effervescence of the substance brings to the surface. Our metaphors may not be happily conceived, but it is an important matter with us, that the M. E. Church, throughout her length and breadth, be purified thoroughly and forever from the contamination of slavery at the next General Conference. Amen and amen.

Respectfully,

JULIA L. LOVEJOY.

[November 24, 1859.]

MR. EDITOR ¹³³:— . . . this is the first officially appointed Thanksgiving Day in the Kansas calendar. . . .

None will be led to infer that we approve of the measures that Brown and his coadjutors resorted to to attain their object; but the design to liberate slaves without the shedding of blood, I do most sacredly approve of, and speak this fearlessly, and would repeat the affirmation though the President of these United States and his Cabinet, and the whole power of Congress, and the federal troops with glittering bayonets surrounded me to appal me and dragoon me into submission to the powers that be. I never was considered intractable or stubborn, but Heaven helping me, I'll never yield the point in this matter of right, duty and conscience, which is as clear as a sunbeam, and flashing through the whole book of God, to aid the oppressed and downtrodden in any and every possible way, though my brethren in the same church may cry forbear, and desist from agitation. I hate slavery and its bitter fruits, and will do all I can for its destruction. Doctor, you will not fail to see that this little episode in the letter is in the singular, not plural number; others will in due time speak for themselves. I am talking far more than I intended to, but cannot unburden my mind in one short letter.

In the winter of '56, [John E.] Cook, of Harper's Ferry notoriety, lived the next door to us, in Lawrence, Kansas, and daily was a caller at our home. He kept bachelor quarters with a Capt. Houghton, now dead, who was a brother of Mrs. Appleton, of Boston, a family of great wealth. Cook was standing side by side, not far from Lawrence, with the young and deeply lamented Stewart, of N. Y., when he was shot dead in cold blood by a "border ruffian." Cook raised his pistol to return the charge, but it missed fire, and the murderer fled. Cook employed much time that winter in shooting at targets so near our dwelling I was often fearful that some mischief might be occasioned by his carelessness. He appeared to us like a young man of good morals, and one who has been accustomed to good society.

I do not think there is an individual now in Kansas who knew any thing of Brown's whereabouts or intentions. Poor man! driven to insanity by barbarous acts that would shame a Bedouin of the desert, or a Turk, or Moor of Algiers, and then instead of confining him in a lunatic asylum for his erratic course, he must expiate his unhappy offense on the gallows. 'Twill be dark era for slavery when

133. *Zion's Herald*, Boston, Mass.

freedom's champion is suspended in mid-air. We did not intend an eulogy on any of the condemned men. A certain judge in Kansas will have occasion to remember Kagi for many a year! Realf, too, we think, was among the victims; a fine writer both of prose and poetry. We intended to have given some incidents of families in Sumner upon whom the hard times are operating distressingly, who must suffer for food of the plainest kind the coming winter, owing to the scarcity of money, though crops have come in bountifully.

We thank our generous friends from a full heart for their generosity and kindness in responding to the note written by our dear brother Foster, unknown to Mr. L., but prompted by the sympathetic throbbings of his own great heart that is running over with kindly feelings. We dislike to speak of personalities, though sometimes compelled to do so; we have no present prospect of receiving \$50 for the year from the circuit, and have \$100 Missionary appropriation only. Mr. L.'s long and still continued affliction, with the necessary expenses, are bearing heavily upon us. We have property in our hands, if we could dispose of it at one half, or even one-third its value, but there is no sale for any property, owing to the scarcity of money, and all purchases go upon the cash system here—no credit.

If our *incog.* friend, who so often smiles upon us from the folds of a newspaper, or a wee bit of a note with good cheer included, and whose only token of recognition is *received*, would only give us a clue to her address, some of the postage stamps so kindly forwarded and opportunely received, should be returned adhering to letters full of kind wishes, directed to Boston, Mass. We would gratefully mention Bros. Haven and Howe, of Boston, and also Mrs. Ann E. Goodnow, of Sudbury, Mass. May each be crowned with eternal life.

JULIA L. LOVEJOY.

SUMNER, Dec. 1, 1859.

. . . The late panic at Harper's Ferry is but the introduction or preface to the first chapter, the finis of which will be like the reign of terror in France, when floods of blood rolled through the streets; we awfully fear, but do not predict this, for we claim not the character of a prophetess, or a lineal descendant in that line. May God preserve his own who flee to him for refuge, from the gathering storm that will ere long burst upon our devoted land.¹³⁴

J. L. LOVEJOY.

134. The paper which published this article has not been identified.

SUMNER, KANSAS, Dec. 2, 1859.

MR. EDITOR ¹³⁵: . . . As an individual member of the M. E. Church, I would throw every energy of an ardent, impassioned nature into one petition to the next General Conference, soon to be assembled in Buffalo, New York, and that petition should be for the slave's sake, for the church's sake, aye, for Christ's sake, regard our prayers, and let the M. E. Church throughout her length and breadth, be now and forever purified from the plague spot of oppression, the sin of American slavery. Tell us not, sir, that we are insane, Brown-like on this subject, and have only one all-absorbing monomaniacal idea. You, Mr. Editor, and those who like yourself (we say it with great deference) who plead "no change in the rule on the slavery question," need only for one year to see what we have seen, and feel what we have felt for well nigh five years in Kansas life, and you too would join in our prayer in struggling against and contending with a spirit that cherished and patronized this accursed system. The plural "we," embraces the entire noble band who have unflinchingly and manfully faced danger and scorned emoluments tendered by a foul administration where principle was concerned. We hate slavery and its bitter fruits with an undying hatred, and we have no doubt but that there will be a strong voice uttered by the Kansas delegates for a change in the rule. Of course, we have no authority to make this statement, but our individual belief, and could each member of the M. E. Church in Kansas have the privilege of expressing his sentiments next May, there would be one continuous voice, louder than the thunders of Luther, that shook the Vatican at Rome, and made Pope Leo X tremble on his impious seat, crying, "Change the rule, and hereafter no slaveholding be allowed in the M. E. Church." In vain would our enemies answer back, "Silence that cannonading." . . . MRS. J. L. LOVEJOY.

SYLVAN COTTAGE, SUMNER, KANZAS, Dec. 9 [1859].

DEAR BRO. WEBER ¹³⁶:—. . . We have seen "hard times," we have been foolish enough to think, in the early morn of our itinerating from place to place to cultivate "Immanuel's ground," receiving one year only forty dollars, all told, as our annual salary, and another year only two hundred dollars, but either of those years would not compare with the present in "trials of our faith." Mr. Lovejoy has been sick since July, and when we began to be encouraged that the power of the disease was broken and he would speedily recover, our hopes were all frustrated, when day before

135. *The Central Christian Advocate*, St. Louis.

136. The paper which published this article has not been identified.

yesterday he lay stupid with the "dumb ague," which is far harder to cure than the "shaking ague," our little boy having had it five months, and no medicine favorably affected the disorder.

Our Conference year closes the 15th of next March, and we have received this year, as yet, but one dollar and seventy cents from our people, in cash, and only five dollars in every other article, and have no prospect of receiving five dollars more for the year, our people are so poor—we have \$100 Missionary appropriation—and, sir, there is to-day a greater scarcity of the necessities of life in Sumner than I have before seen in any community during the almost five years I have been in Kansas. Provisions are all very plenty,—but people have no money to buy with. People in general here do not buy land, but rent houses of the "Sumner Co.," rent being so low, and the farmers part with all they can at a low rate to raise a little money, which is so distressingly scarce. Mr. Lovejoy was sick [torn copy] weeks away from home—at one place a Methodist brother and his Methodist wife charged him [torn copy] per day during the whole of his sickness under their hospitable (?) roof, and the physician's charges were very high.

'Tis a dark day with us temporally, Br. Weber, but we do not despair. Light is beginning to dawn on us, as you will see by "Zion's Herald," and its excellent, noble spirited Editor has our united prayers that he may never want a "friend in need," and find that want unsupplied.

Two years ago the property held in our hands we regarded as a competence, with economy; but the same property is to-day unsaleable, or would not sell for one third of its value, and we have been paying 50 and are still paying 30 and 25 per cent interest. We hope the financial crisis has presented the worst feature it has to present in Kansas.

Many families in Sumner will suffer for food of the coarsest kind this winter, and one week's sickness of a laboring father must bring great wretchedness on those dependent on his daily labor.

Corn is 20 cts. per bushel, flour \$7 and \$8 per bbl., butter 30 cts. per pound, cheese 20 cts., fresh pork 5½ cents, apples, green, \$2 per bbl., dried \$4, beans 75 cts and \$1 per bushel. May the hungry mouths be fully supplied.

In great haste,—one who daily thinks of the dear, old Granite State.

JULIA L. LOVEJOY.

[Part Five, the Concluding Installment, Will Appear in the May, 1948, Issue]

The Annual Meeting

THE seventy-second annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society and board of directors was held in the rooms of the Society on October 21, 1947.

In the absence of Gen. Milton R. McLean, president, the annual meeting of the directors was called to order by Vice-President R. T. Aitchison at 10 a. m. First business was the reading of the annual report by the secretary.

SECRETARY'S REPORT, YEAR ENDING OCTOBER 21, 1947

At the conclusion of last year's meeting, the newly elected president, Gen. Milton R. McLean, reappointed Judge John S. Dawson and T. M. Lillard to the executive committee. The members holding over were Robert C. Rankin, Charles M. Correll and General McLean.

APPROPRIATIONS

The 1947 legislature granted several increases in the Society's appropriations for the next biennium.

The largest item was \$38,000 for new steel stacks and a book elevator in the library. As explained in last year's report, this additional shelf room is badly needed. Unfortunately, costs of steel and labor have advanced so much since the job was estimated last year that it is questionable whether the installation can be made for the money. This won't be known until bids are asked for on the specifications, which are now being prepared by the state architect.

Salary increases of twenty per cent were requested. Owing to the pressure for emergency appropriations for buildings and other post-war programs, salary raises averaged only about ten per cent. It isn't necessary to point out how this compares with the rise in living costs.

Other special appropriations include the following: \$2,000 for cleaning and repairing the Goss collection of birds in the museum; an increase of \$1,000 a year for compiling the *Annals*; \$4,000 for painting the museum and auditorium; \$1,800 for a tractor at Old Shawnee Mission; \$1,000 for re-roofing the East building at the Mission; and an increase, for the biennium, of \$4,000 in the printing and binding fund.

LIBRARY

During the year 3,000 persons did research in the library, an increase of nearly 400 over the preceding year. Of these, 1,223 worked on Kansas subjects, 890 on genealogy and 888 on general subjects. Numerous inquiries were answered by letter and 105 packages on Kansas subjects were sent out from the loan file. In the Library of Congress catalogue, 72,571 cards were filed from October, 1946, to June, 1947. Beginning last June, the Library of Congress discontinued sending cards, since the catalogue is now issued in book form each month, with quarterly and yearly cumulations. From April 1, 1946, to January 1, 1947, 1,278 newspaper clippings were mounted.

Many gifts of Kansas books and genealogies were received from individuals.

Typed and printed genealogical records were presented by the Colonial Dames, the Daughters of the American Revolution, and the Daughters of Founders and Patriots of America.

Microfilm copies of the *Proceedings* of the American Indian Mission Association from 1843 to 1852, and copies of the *Indian Advocate*, Louisville, Ky., from July, 1847, to January, 1855, were purchased.

PICTURE COLLECTION

During the year, 1,288 pictures were classified and catalogued and added to the picture collection. Among them are 800 kodak pictures of scenes along the routes of the Oregon and Santa Fe trails, taken in the 1920's.

ARCHIVES

There are at present only twelve states which have central archives for old public records. One of these is Kansas, and the Historical Society is its archives department. A new policy of state records disposal, requiring approval by a records board and authorization by the legislature before any record may be discarded, was put into operation for the first time this year. The 1947 legislature gave seven departments and agencies permission to destroy certain records, contingent on refusal by this Society. We accordingly inspected these records and kept out those that will be of permanent value.

Archives accessions for the year are as follows:

Source	Title	Dates	Quantity
Governor's Office.....	Correspondence Files of Governor Schoeppel.....	1943-'45	51,000 mss.
Kansas State College....	Business Office Correspondence; Contracts and Leases; Statements of Allotments of Experiment Station Project Funds....	1905-'09	175 mss.
Highway Commission...	Record of Vehicle Registrations	1930, 1932-'46	36 pages
Commission of Revenue and Taxation.....	Ledger Record of Daily Retail (Cigarette) Stamp Sales	1934-'37	1 vol.
Commission of Revenue and Taxation.....	Application for Emergency Warrants	1935-'39	458 case files
The National Archives..	Consolidated Morning Reports and Clothing Books of Kansas Civil War Regiments	1861-'65	55 vols.

These total 51,669 manuscripts and 56 bound volumes.

Although the records of this division now total approximately a million and a half separate manuscripts and 30,000 manuscript volumes, it is the only de-

partment for which no permanent shelving has ever been provided. As a result, many of its records are not easily accessible. It is possible that many of these documents can eventually be microfilmed. However, until we can undertake a survey of the vast quantities of archives still stored in the state house which may have to be accepted by the Society, no plans for permanent equipment can be made.

PRIVATE MANUSCRIPTS

Fifty-five manuscript volumes and 6,086 individual manuscripts were received during the year.

The South-Western Stage Company's passenger register (1874-1879) was donated by Mrs. R. R. Hollis of Fergus Falls, Minn., through the Wisconsin State Historical Society. This company, despite its name, operated in north-central Kansas. The stage line ran between Concordia and Waterville from 1874 through 1878, and from Kirwin to Beloit beginning in 1879.

Through the courtesy of Mrs. Roy F. Good, of Gashland, Mo., and Rep. J. O. Gunnels, of Colby, the Society was permitted to microfilm two early-day account books of particular interest. The earlier volume is the day book of an unidentified Westport (Mo.) trading house from October, 1839, to October, 1840. The names of Kansas City pioneers Allen McGee, John C. McCoy, William M. Chick and A. B. Van Bibber, among others, appear often in the entries. The other volume, a "Miami Post Day Book," runs from December, 1847, through September, 1849. The accounts therein are chiefly with individual Indians, probably Pottawatomies.

Twenty letters of Allen T. Ward, written between 1835 and 1861, were given by Mrs. Fred W. Honens of Sterling, Ill. Mr. Ward worked at Shawnee Methodist Mission in the 1840's and 1850's and supervised the construction of the Kansas Methodist Mission at Council Grove.

Before William Allen White's death, historian Dr. Walter Johnson microfilmed selected correspondence and other papers of Mr. White. A positive copy of the microfilm is one of the valuable acquisitions of the year. Mr. White's papers are now in the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

Papers pertaining to Richard Realf, from Richard J. Hinton's collection, were given by Oswald Garrison Villard of New York City. Included are a number of letters by Realf.

Western Kansas records of special interest were received from P. J. Jennings of McCracken. They include seven diary volumes (1871-1885) kept by Dr. Louis Watson who went to Ellis county as manager of the Western Kansas Agricultural Association; 12 books of his weather records; and five diaries (1888-1894) kept by H. G. Watson, nephew of Louis, who developed a large ranch in Ellis county. Mr. Jennings also gave a typed manuscript containing his boyhood recollections of Ellis county pioneers.

A part of the papers of James Barnes Whitaker, Shawnee county pioneer, have been presented by his granddaughter, Mrs. Evelyn Whitney of Topeka. In the territorial period Mr. Whitaker was sheriff, and also a deputy U. S. marshal; he served for a number of years as county surveyor and was later city engineer of Topeka.

Among the papers given by Fenn Ward, of Highland, are two letters written by S. E. Hardy "on the plains" in 1850, describing events of his company's

overland journey to California. The first letter mentions the Iowa Mission near present Highland.

Other donors were: W. T. Bishop, Mrs. Gilbert L. Blatchley, L. G. Bodine, Mrs. Charles Bowers, Mrs. Samuel J. Brandenburg, Irving L. Brooks, Dr. Edward Bumgardner, Mrs. W. H. Creitz, Mrs. Frank H. Cron, James W. Dappert, Dickinson County Historical Society, Mrs. Fred Farnsworth, C. B. Fiester, First Congregational Church of Topeka, E. L. Forsyth, Good Government Club of Topeka, J. Jay Henderson, Mrs. Chloe Berry Howe, J. W. F. Hughes estate, C. C. Isely, Kansas Press Association, Cecil Kingery, Irving R. Lovejoy, A. S. McCutcheon, Gen. Milton R. McLean, Mrs. L. F. Maneval, Karl A. Menninger, Mrs. Cecil W. Meredith, Joseph M. Piazzek, George A. Root, Judge J. C. Ruppenthal, Mrs. A. B. Seelye, Mrs. John F. Sennrich, Robert Stone, L. L. Strong, Jr., Boyd B. Stutler, Mrs. Nelle C. Terrill, Mrs. Caroline Travis.

MICROFILM DIVISION

The microfilm division has now photographed more than half a million pages of Kansas newspapers. The film of the *Topeka State Journal*, 1879-1930, which was the first major project, ran to 23,657 linear feet, or 236 100-foot reels. Figured at seven pages to a foot, this means that the total number of pages of the *Journal* now on microfilm is approximately 165,599. The second job was the *Topeka Daily Capital*. It was microfilmed from its beginning in 1879 through 1935, a total of 235,137 newspaper pages. This film of 57 years of the *Capital* is contained in 367 reels. We are now filming the *Wichita Eagle*. So far, the *Weekly Eagle*, 1872-1919, and the *Morning Eagle*, 1884-1915, have been photographed. The *Morning Eagle* and the *Evening Eagle*, which began in 1927, are to be brought down to date.

The Society is grateful for the excellent coöperation of Kansas publishers. It is necessary for them to send in all their back issues, to be collated with those of the Society, so that the best possible file can be assembled for filming. For work done thus far, mention should be made of Oscar Stauffer and Ed Chapman of the *Topeka State Journal*; Sen Arthur Capper, Henry Blake and Milton Tabor of the *Topeka Daily Capital*; and Marcellus Murdock and Dick Long of the *Wichita Eagle*.

Other documents and newspapers microfilmed during the year are: Early records of the Friends' church in Kansas; records of the First Congregational church, Topeka, 1855-1927; the *Oxford Register*, in 11 reels, covering the years 1912-1932, and two reels of miscellaneous Negro newspapers. These last were filmed as part of a national project sponsored by the committee on Negro studies of the American Council of Learned Societies.

Among the newspapers which the Society expects to microfilm soon are the *Leavenworth Times* (excepting early issues previously photographed), the *Burlingame Enterprise-Chronicle*, and the *Wichita Beacon*.

It is not always easy to determine what papers should be filmed first, but some of the factors which influence the selection are: The condition of the Society's file of the newspaper; the extent to which it is used; the rate at which the paper is deteriorating; the need for it to fill gaps in the Society's collection; and of course, consideration is given to the requests of publishers whose office files may require immediate preservation.

NEWSPAPER AND CENSUS DIVISIONS

Thirty-one hundred patrons were served by the newspaper and census divisions during the year. Fifty-six hundred single issues of newspapers and 6,317 bound volumes were consulted; 3,967 census volumes were searched and from them 2,324 certified copies of family records were issued. These census records are used in making claims for old-age assistance, social security, railroad retirement, pensions and insurance endowments, and for delayed birth certificates and passports.

The 1947 *List of Kansas Newspapers and Periodicals* was issued in August. It showed 683 newspapers and periodicals being received regularly for filing. These include 56 dailies, one triweekly, 12 semiweeklies, 385 weeklies, one three times monthly, 28 fortnightlies, 16 semimonthlies, three once every three weeks, 112 monthlies, 13 bimonthlies, 27 quarterlies, 23 occasionals, four semiannuals and two annuals, coming from all the 105 Kansas counties. Of these 683 publications, 247 are listed as independent, 127 republican and 21 as democratic in politics; 92 are school or college, 42 religious, 22 fraternal, eight labor, nine industrial, 15 trade and 100 miscellaneous.

On January 1, 1947, the Society's collections contained 51,629 bound volumes of Kansas newspapers, exclusive of more than 10,000 bound volumes of out-of-state newspapers dated from 1767 to 1947.

During the year the Society purchased a positive microfilm of the New York *Times*, 1851-1870, in 69 reels. Five positive microfilm reels of *The Cherokee Advocate*, Tahlequah, Cherokee Nation, O. T., 1881-1897, came as a gift from the Library of Congress. These are copies of the original files of the *Advocate* in the collections of the Kansas State Historical Society which the Congressional Library borrowed for filming. A gift from the United Spanish War Veterans, Topeka, was three bound volumes of *The National Tribune*, Washington, D. C., 1940-1942. Among the donors of other miscellaneous newspapers were: C. A. Coe, Cottonwood Falls, George A. Root and Constance Van Natta, Topeka, and J. L. McCorison, Jr., Boston, Mass.

ANNALS OF KANSAS

The *Annals of Kansas* has been completed through 1899, a total of nine years having been compiled during the past fiscal year. In addition, all state reports, proceedings of all organizations, and nearly all the newspapers for the year 1900 have been worked through. Proceedings for several organizations have been brought up to 1910.

The principal sources for the *Annals* are the Topeka *Daily Capital*, the Wichita *Eagle* and the Kansas City (Mo.) *Times*. All references to events which took place in cities and towns other than Kansas City, Wichita and Topeka, are verified in the newspapers of those places. For example, a dispatch from Pittsburg is checked in the Pittsburg newspapers.

Other publications are read for specialized information. An example is the *Kansas Farmer*, official organ for farm organizations and a source of agricultural news. During the Populist regime, the Topeka *Advocate* was the official state paper. State reports are read and streamlined. These include: agriculture, banks, charities, coal mines, health, insurance, labor, railroads, meteorology, population and education.

As life in Kansas becomes more complex, the newspapers have more pages, if not more news, and the annalist's job becomes heavier. This probably means that our present average of seven or eight *Annals* years each fiscal year cannot be maintained.

The compilation is being made by Miss Jennie Owen under the direction of the secretary, with the following advisory committee: Fred Brinkerhoff of Pittsburg, Cecil Howes of Topeka, Dr. J. C. Malin of Lawrence and Justice William A. Smith of Topeka.

MUSEUM

The attendance for the year in the museum was 39,248, an increase of 6,355 over the preceding year. The largest number on any one day was 1,565, when the Sante Fe railroad sponsored a special tour by parties from out of town.

There were 25 accessions. Among the most interesting was a pair of hand-carved wooden shoes, more than 18-inches long, which were used in an early-day Kansas brewery. The brewer wore them over his regular shoes while raking hops. They belonged to Theodore Weichselbaum, who made beer at Ogden in the 1870's. They were given by Mr. E. K. Frank, Tulsa, Okla.

Another accession that has attracted much attention is a Great Smith touring car which was built in Topeka in 1908. It was given to the Society by Dr. Clement Smith, who, with his brother, owned and operated the company.

Mr. L. R. Hershey, of Olathe, gave a Colt's model pocket pistol of navy caliber, converted (1872) to .38 rim fire. An engraving on the cylinder depicts a stagecoach holdup.

Mrs. Edward Keith of Kansas City, Mo., gave a silk hat which had belonged to her grandfather, John James Ingalls, United States senator from 1873 to 1891. For many years Ingalls was the most prominent politician, orator and author in Kansas.

Since the first of the year all the pictures in the museum and all the exhibits in 45 large cases in the main gallery have been cleaned and restored. As mentioned in the report on the legislature, appropriations were made for painting the museum and for cleaning and repairing the Goss collection of birds. If suitable bids can be secured, this work will be done before the end of the fiscal year.

SUBJECTS FOR RESEARCH

During the year the following have been subjects for extended research: *Biography*: John Brown and his New England supporters; James H. Lane; Edgar Watson Howe; Meriwether Lewis and William Clark; Ewing Herbert; the congressional career of Victor Murdock. *General*: Populist orators of Kansas; Kansas Court of Industrial Relations; a study of the Hollenberg, Kan., community; Baptist church history in Kansas; teaching of mathematics in Kansas; state tax administration; the rise and fall of political radicalism in Kansas; child labor in Kansas; agrarian discontent in the Middle West; folk-songs of Kansas; New England Emigrant Aid Society; the Grange; Farmer's Union; dust bowl; first Manhattan newspaper.

ACCESSIONS

October 1, 1946, to September 30, 1947

Library:

Books	945
Pamphlets	2,168
Magazines (bound volumes).....	329

Archives:

Separate manuscripts.....	51,669
Manuscript volumes.....	56
Manuscript maps.....	None

Private manuscripts:

Separate manuscripts.....	6,086
Volumes	55

Printed maps, atlases and charts.....	170
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Newspapers (bound volumes).....	700
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Pictures	1,288
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Museum objects.....	25
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TOTAL ACCESSIONS, SEPTEMBER 30, 1947

Books, pamphlets, bound newspapers and magazines.....	430,874
Separate manuscripts (archives).....	1,613,223
Manuscript volumes (archives).....	28,876
Manuscript maps (archives).....	583
Printed maps, atlases and charts.....	13,153
Pictures	23,313
Museum objects.....	33,291

THE QUARTERLY

The Kansas Historical Quarterly is now in its sixteenth year. One of the most interesting features the magazine has published was concluded in the May number this year. This was the diary of Hiram H. Young, which appeared in five installments during 1946 and 1947. Parts of the diary were reprinted as they came out by several Kansas newspapers. Another of the year's contributions, one that has been of special value to libraries and schools, was the 20-page bibliography of the writings of William Allen White. It appeared in the February number and was compiled by Dr. Walter Johnson, of the University of Chicago, and Miss Alberta Pantle, a member of our staff. Also of service to students of history and genealogy is the annual list of books purchased by the Society, compiled by the librarian, Miss Helen McFarland.

OLD SHAWNEE MISSION

It has been 20 years since the state acquired the Mission property. It was then virtually in the country, with only a few scattered houses in the neighborhood. Now it is surrounded by homes on all but the north side, where there is a golf course, and that will soon be subdivided. As a result, local attendance at the Mission has increased each year, even during the war. During the past year visitors included an unusually large number of school groups.

Next week, on October 27, the Kansas society, Daughters of the American Revolution, will make their annual pilgrimage to the Mission. A number of

the relics on display in their rooms have recently been placed in a special glass case which was a gift of Miss Harriet E. Stanley of Wichita.

A collection of articles from the Miss Anna E. Henderson estate, recently presented by Mrs. Tom Davis of Shawnee, is now on display in the museum which is sponsored by the Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society. Among them are a trundle bed and a number of early-day school books.

These rooms and those sponsored by the Colonial Dames, the Daughters of 1812 and the Daughters of American Colonists are in the East building. The Society is indebted to these organizations for their coöperation.

FIRST CAPITOL

The number of visitors at the First Capitol building on the Fort Riley reservation is still below what it was before the war. Several minor repairs were made on the building and grounds during the year.

THE STAFF OF THE SOCIETY

The various accomplishments noted in this report are due to the Society's splendid staff of employees. I gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness to them. Special mention, perhaps, should be made of the heads of departments: Helen M. McFarland, librarian; Edith Smelser, custodian of the museum; Mrs. Lela Barnes, treasurer; Nyle H. Miller, microfilm director and managing editor of the *Quarterly*; and Edgar Langsdorf, archivist and manager of the building. Attention should also be called to the work of Harry A. Hardy and his wife Kate, custodians of the Old Shawnee Mission, and to that of John Scott, custodian of the First Capitol.

Respectfully submitted,

KIRKE MECHEM, *Secretary*.

At the conclusion of the reading of the secretary's report, Frank A. Hobble moved that it be accepted. Motion was seconded by T. M. Lillard and the report was accepted.

Vice-President Aitchison then called for the report of the treasurer, Mrs. Lela Barnes:

TREASURER'S REPORT

Based on the audit of the state accountant for the period
August 18, 1946, to August 31, 1947.

MEMBERSHIP FEE FUND

Balance, August 18, 1946:

Cash	\$3,107.94
U. S. savings bonds, Series G.....	8,700.00
	<hr/> \$11,807.94

Receipts:

Memberships	978.00
Reimbursement for postage.....	654.60
Bond interest.....	242.50
Books	3.00
	<hr/> 1,878.10

\$13,686.04

Disbursements		1,283.57
Balance, August 31, 1947:		
Cash	3,700.47	
Due from postage.....	2.00	
U.S. savings bonds, Series G.....	8,700.00	
		<u>12,402.47</u>
		<u><u>\$13,686.04</u></u>

JONATHAN PECKER BEQUEST

Balance, August 18, 1946:		
Cash	144.35	
U.S. treasury bonds.....	950.00	
		<u>1,094.35</u>
Receipts:		
Bond interest.....	27.27	
Savings account interest.....	1.22	
		<u>28.49</u>
		<u><u>1,122.84</u></u>
Disbursements, books		2.50
Balance, August 31, 1947:		
Cash	170.34	
U.S. treasury bonds.....	950.00	
		<u>1,120.34</u>
		<u><u>\$1,122.84</u></u>

JOHN BOOTH BEQUEST

Balance, August 18, 1946:		
Cash	\$53.36	
U.S. treasury bonds.....	500.00	
		<u>\$553.36</u>
Receipts:		
Savings account interest.....	.62	
Bond interest	14.40	
		<u>15.02</u>
		<u><u>568.38</u></u>
Disbursements, books		25.00
Balance, August 31, 1947:		
Cash	43.38	
U.S. treasury bonds.....	500.00	
		<u>543.38</u>
		<u><u>\$568.38</u></u>

THOMAS H. BOWLUS DONATION

This donation is substantiated by a U. S. savings bond, Series G, in the amount of \$1,000. The interest is credited to the membership fee fund.

ELIZABETH READER BEQUEST

Balance, August 18, 1946:		
Cash in membership fee fund.....	\$181.19	
U.S. savings bonds (shown in total bonds, membership fee fund)	5,200.00	
	<hr/>	\$5,381.19
Receipts:		
Interest		130.00
		<hr/>
		5,511.19
		<hr/>
Balance, August 31, 1947:		
Cash	311.19	
U.S. savings bonds, Series G.....	5,200.00	
		<hr/>
		\$5,511.19
		<hr/>

STATE APPROPRIATIONS

This report covers only the membership fee fund and other custodial funds. It is not a statement of the appropriations made by the legislature for the maintenance of the Society. These disbursements are not made by the treasurer of the Society, but by the state auditor. For the year ending June 30, 1947, these appropriations were: Kansas State Historical Society, \$64,010; Memorial building, \$8,798; Old Shawnee Mission, \$3,801; First Capitol of Kansas, \$1,134.

On motion by Frank A. Hobbie, seconded by T. M. Lillard, the report was accepted.

The report of the executive committee on the audit by the state accountant of the funds of the Society was called for and read by John S. Dawson:

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

October 17, 1947.

To the Board of Directors, Kansas State Historical Society:

The executive committee being directed under the bylaws to check the accounts of the treasurer, states that the state accountant has audited the funds of the State Historical Society, the First Capitol of Kansas and the Old Shawnee Mission from August 18, 1946, to August 31, 1947, and that they are hereby approved.

JOHN S. DAWSON, *Chairman.*

On motion by John S. Dawson, seconded by Frank A. Hobbie, the report was accepted.

The report of the nominating committee for officers of the Society was read by John S. Dawson:

NOMINATING COMMITTEE'S REPORT

October 17, 1947.

To the Board of Directors, Kansas State Historical Society:

Your committee on nominations submits the following report for officers of the Kansas State Historical Society:

For a one-year term: R. T. Aitchison, Wichita, president; R. F. Brock, Goodland, first vice-president; Frank Haucke, Council Grove, second vice-president.

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN S. DAWSON, *Chairman.*

The report was referred to the afternoon meeting of the board. There being no further business the meeting adjourned.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY

The annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society convened at 2:00 p. m. The members were called to order by Vice-President Aitchison.

In the absence of President McLean, his address was read by Comdr. Standish Hall. The address follows:

Address of the President

SELECTIVE SERVICE IN KANSAS—WORLD WAR II

MILTON R. McLEAN

THE Kansas chapter on Selective Service was written at a time of grave national emergency. It was begun when the world was aflame with hatred, and when total war was raging in many quarters of the earth. It was carried through during years when our own nation was under the dark shadow of global conflict; and it was finished in formality at a time when the entire world was engulfed in the problems of post-war adjustment, with predictions of a third world war being made even as the Selective Service mechanism of the nation was being dismantled.

Through the entire chapter runs the vivid thread of another story, the account of the fortitude, courage, patriotism and loyalty displayed by the people of Kansas as they answered the call to arms. The fathers, mothers, sons and daughters of the Sunflower state did their parts with the strength of character, the inspired leadership and the devotion to duty that has characterized the people of this state since the earliest days of its inception.

As state director of Selective Service for Kansas, it was my privilege to serve in that office under three governors: Gov. Payne Ratner, Gov. Andrew Schoepfel and Gov. Frank Carlson. Governor

Carlson's administration was charged under the Selective Service act until March 31, of this year, when the law officially expired.

Due to the fine spirit of coöperation always in evidence on the part of Kansas people, under the direction of the state administrations, Selective Service in Kansas functioned smoothly, with a minimum of confusion, and the state punctually fulfilled its quotas of men at the time they were needed to swell this nation's armed forces for their victorious conquest over the evil forces which menaced us at that time.

Selective Service, in its broad sense, took in the whole of Kansas people. Its operation was conducted by folks at home, serving on local boards, and as medical examiners in every county of the state. These operations, of course, were supervised by the state office, which, in turn, was subject to regulation and orders by the National Selective Service headquarters.

So broad and sweeping in their scope were the powers of Selective Service that the life of virtually every citizen of Kansas was affected one way or another.

The Selective Service act became law, September 16, 1940, and the first registration was held on October 16, 1940. Although other registrations followed in due course of time, the first registration of Kansas manpower was one which never will be forgotten by the people of our state. For it was then, after years of peace-time living in this nation, that the war clouds which then covered Europe seemed indeed to have been borne by the winds of hate to our shores.

There was not a village or hamlet in the state that did not feel the impact of that first registration. Men and boys flocked to the town halls, the fire stations, the village stores—all the places where the proper officials were on hand to record their names, their ages, and other data of identification for use by Uncle Sam.

This information was not long in the files until the fateful day of December 7, 1941, arrived. With the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor and the subsequent declarations of war, the United States went into action. Selective Service, although only a little over one year old, went into high gear and complete functioning in every state in the union. In rapid-fire order the general conscription of manpower from 18 to 65 years was ordered.

The first problem faced by Selective Service in Kansas was to convince the people of the state that total war, as it was being practiced by the Axis aggressors, made total mobilization of manpower

and resources vitally necessary. There could be no half-way mark; no compromise in our war effort.

Kansas people soon saw clearly that volunteer methods, while achieving much in patriotism and in the calibre of men who offered their services, could not even begin to meet the tremendous demands of the war crisis, or maintain the equity and fair treatment required when every citizen is mobilized into the war effort.

With this quick understanding of the problem by the people of Kansas, by the mothers, the fathers, the sons and daughters alike, volunteering soon was eliminated and Selective Service operations were given their high efficiency by the wholehearted and understanding coöperation of the "folks at home."

There were other factors, too, which contributed to the smooth functioning of Selective Service in Kansas. Policies established by the governor (at that time the chief executive was Payne Ratner), careful planning by the Adjutant General's department, and the great amount of clerical and administrative work which was done by all those involved, all had their part in developing an efficient system.

In order to fully understand the Kansas situation, a "look behind the scenes" might not be amiss. Kansas had kept abreast of national developments since 1926, when the joint Army-Navy committee began its planning for Selective Service. Kansas, in its own military set-up, kept the national plan modified to home conditions, ready for instant action whenever an emergency might arise.

From 1936, however, Kansas devoted more and more official attention to national Selective Service developments. In 1939, Kansas submitted its own version of a Selective Service program to national officials, which was approved without a change. The national plan submitted to congress, which was enacted in 1940, had surprisingly few differences from what Kansas submitted.

It followed then, that when preparations for national defense became an issue of first importance in 1940, Kansas was ready. Anticipating the passage of a National Selective Service act by congress, Governor Ratner and officials of the Adjutant General's office were in virtually constant consultation and conference, in order to be doubly sure there would be no hitch in the Kansas plans.

It was Governor Ratner's decision that after the appointment of a state director of Selective Service, no other appointments would be made directly from the chief executive's office. Instead, through the director's office, calls would be made upon local officials and pro-

fessional groups to name the best citizens available to administer the system. Such a plan, the governor knew, would insure against any possible accusations of favoritism, or politics. It would give the folks at home the choice of Selective Service officials, instead of relying upon their selection by other sources. This proved to be a wise move, as officials chosen in their own communities were, of course, far more familiar with local conditions than persons who might have been selected from outside.

When Gov. Andrew Schoepel took office in January, 1943, he followed the same policies in his determination to keep Selective Service free from any kind of outside interference. He gave great encouragement to the existing organization to continue its operation on a fair, impartial and patriotic basis.

The wisdom of his course was amply demonstrated. Kansas was eminently successful in keeping her Selective Service operations from the evils of centralized control, and maintained the system to the end through the support and control of the people themselves.

The Selective Service act called for volunteer services on the part of the people to administer the program. With the exception of necessary technical and clerical work, the huge task was completed entirely on a non-pay basis through the patriotic efforts of those who unselfishly sacrificed their own personal interests in favor of the interests of their state and nation.

Politics, wealth, religion and other discordant factors were not permitted to enter the Kansas picture of Selective Service operations. Through the six registrations necessary before the end of the war, these influences were not felt in any section or segment of the Kansas organization. Instead, loyalty and unselfish service were predominant.

The second registration was conducted July 1, 1941, to secure the services of all those who had attained majority since the first registration the previous October.

Kansas, along with the other states, held four more registrations, as follows:

Third registration, February 16, 1942, for 20-year olds and those 36 to 45.

Fourth registration, April 27, 1942, for those 45 to 64.

Fifth registration, June 30, 1942, for those 18 to 20.

Sixth registration, December 11-31, 1942, for those who had attained their 18th birthday since the previous registration, and pro-

viding that all those who became 18 thereafter should register on their 18th birthday.

Little or no difficulty was experienced in Kansas during any of the registrations. The entire job was handled most satisfactorily and the attitude of the boys themselves was most exemplary.

As for the important task of classification and deferment, this was left to the determination of local boards on the basis of evidence submitted by the registrant, through his questionnaire and other means. The decisions of the local board could be appealed to an appeal board, which reviewed the evidence, with the authority to affirm or reverse the local board. The appeal board's decision was final, except in certain cases, when an appeal could be made to the President.

Like other states of the nation, Kansas did not have an easy time of it in producing the quotas demanded by the military when the war reached its more advanced stages.

During the latter calls made upon the state, Kansas more than once "scraped the bottom of the manpower barrel." War industries, which made a heavy drain upon the state's manpower, seriously depleted the rolls of eligible men during the period of great industrial expansion, but the calls were met in spite of this handicap.

Manpower for war industries and factories, especially airplane factories, was at least fairly adequate at all times.

An interesting paradox developed in the state in connection with the labor situation. Selective Service, which frequently had been blamed for the lack of farm workers, actually became the medium by which farm labor was kept on a firm basis. Measures were taken in the state to make farm work and agricultural work under certain standards and requirements the basis for occupational deferment.

As long as a man remained in that status he was deferred, but if he left the farm, he was subject to immediate re-classification. Thus, Selective Service proved itself a stabilizer for farm labor.

The liberal and generous policy of Kansas Selective Service to maintain and continue adequate farming operations also is shown by a comparison of Kansas farm deferments with those of neighboring states. Such a comparison would show a far greater percentage than in those states about us.

Industrial deferment also became increasingly difficult in the critical years of the war, with Kansas making an all-out production record in airplanes, powder and ordnance plants, air field construction,

milling, oil production, mining operations and other allied industrial activities, all vitally necessary to the war effort.

To help bring about a solution to this perplexing situation, Selective Service developed critical occupation lists to aid local boards in their determinations of whom to defer and whom not to defer. Thus, the local boards of the state were provided with a measuring stick. A list of occupations considered unessential in the war effort also was sent out, listing jobs which were termed non-deferable.

Another definite help in this situation was the establishment of replacement schedules, designed to provide for a systematic withdrawal of men from industry for military service, and their replacement by new workers with time enough to train them.

In recounting these phases of Selective Service in Kansas, it would be a serious omission not to say a few words about the splendid attitude of Kansas fathers during those dark days when the reservoir of man power was running dry, and a new source of supply had to be tapped.

That new source then was the thousands of fathers over the state, most of whom previously had been classified III-A, deferred on grounds of dependency.

When Selective Service voiced the facts of the manpower situation, and the necessity of seeking the help of those who had families, a great hue and cry arose in congress, and among some politicians, that the need was not serious enough to warrant calling them.

However, the vast majority of Kansas fathers already had made their own analysis of the situation, and their almost universal expression was, "I'm ready to go any time my country needs me." Another very common statement was, "I've got more to fight for than a single man."

The years of World War II were not easy for Kansas, but they were years which proved again the staunch character of our people, and their quick and sustained devotion to duty.

The staff of Selective Service in Kansas, from the director on down the list, knows that it was the efficient, resourceful coöperation of their fellow citizens which enabled the program to be administered so well in our state.

Now that Selective Service officially has ceased its operations, and the records involved in that tremendous task have been filed away for safekeeping, and for future reference if need be, the conscious satisfaction of a job well done may be voiced in favor of all Kansas citizens, who, under the wise guidance of loyal, practical adminis-

trations, moved to the front when duty and emergency demanded, and who discharged their obligations as citizens of a great and free nation in a manner which may well prove inspirational to future generations.

Following the reading of the president's address, Charles M. Harger of Abilene, president of the Eisenhower Memorial Foundation, talked on the foundation. His talk follows:

Fifty years ago—a little more than that—the Eisenhower family moved to Abilene. They lived in a modest two-story building in what was then a remote part of the city and is not now inside the close business and residence section. It was on the wrong side of the tracks. But they had a little ground there and they raised six sons [the seventh died in infancy]—fine, cheerful, wide awake, full of life, full of honors in the school—and one of them was Dwight Eisenhower.

Dwight I knew better than I did the others. He was a member of the same high school graduating class as my daughter, he was over at the house dozens of times, he was just a nice boy. He was clean. He was decent. He worked hard. He helped earn all the money he could to aid the family, as all the others did. When he went to West Point it was without any pull or any political advantage, just the friendship of the businessmen of Abilene who liked him. The other boys went to college and worked their way through. By the way, that was a remarkable family. Its boys all worked their way through college; all occupied prominent places in business and professional life, and one of them, as you know, is president of the Kansas State College.

Dwight went to West Point, and we kept track of him. He came home frequently and we knew him for years and years and years. We kept watching his upward progress and one day we learned that he was a member of the War Staff in Washington. Then the President of the United States and the King and Premier of Great Britain made him head of the Allied forces in Europe, the greatest army that was ever gathered, fighting against the most brutal, the most dastardly group of gangsters that ever lived on earth. And he won the war. His army won the war. He got the honor for it. They acknowledged it. His diplomacy, his ability to gather together the groups from the different countries, molded them into a unified force and we all know what wonderful victories he won.

Then he came home. He stopped in London. One hundred thousand persons crowded the street in front of the Guildhall. He stood on the balcony with King George on one side, Winston Churchill on the other—Princess Elizabeth in the background somewhere, I suppose—and made an address. It was a marvelous address—beautiful diction, beautiful language, beautiful sentiment. It was a speech that won the heart of every person who heard it or read it. One of the big London papers printed that speech eight columns wide. In comparatively large type it covered the whole front page, and in the center of the page was put a box. In that box was printed the Gettysburg address. It said in the legend at the top of the page, the headlines, that the address of General Eisenhower was just as beautiful and just as glorious in its sentiment as anything that Abraham Lincoln ever wrote.

That shows how much they thought of him. He came to New York, and

thousands and hundreds of thousands cheered him down Broadway. He came to Washington. He came to Kansas City and it was the same thing over again. He came to Abilene and forty thousand people poured into that little town of six thousand population. I never saw acres of people before until they gathered around the speaking stand out in the park. It was a glorious reception, his home reception.

Then we decided that something ought to be done about it. Here was a man who was unquestionably the greatest general that America ever knew. He had commanded the greatest army, had had the most remarkable support from every country and from all the generals. And he was a Kansas man, Kansas ought to do something about it. He was an Abilene man, Abilene ought to do something about it. We organized what is technically and officially known as "The National Foundation to Honor General Eisenhower and the United States Armed Forces." He wouldn't have it any other way. He wouldn't have it called the "Eisenhower Foundation," although in general parlance it has come to be called the Eisenhower foundation.

We set out to raise a million dollars. The foundation has been organized for about two years. It has trustees and vice presidents from Abilene, Topeka, Kansas City, Chicago and New York but most of them are from Abilene in order to hold meetings. We have tried to raise enough money so that we can build a shrine—a memorial. There ought to be a better name for it, but that's what it means—a structure that would house the trophies that he has promised us, for he has rooms full of them. He says there are so many of them he doesn't know what to do with them when he takes them up to Columbia University, and he has promised to deposit them with the foundation when we get the building ready to receive them. We have raised about \$50,000. Dickinson county voluntarily, no solicitation, raised about \$22,000 of that. The rest has come from donations from people of the Middle West. The Veterans of Foreign Wars and the Legion and their auxiliaries have assisted, and we are constantly raising more money. A week ago today they had a collection in many of the schools of Kansas, in which several hundred dollars were raised, and next month there is to be a tag day. All of that, of course, is only incidental. Some day we have to get in touch with wealthy people, or wealthy foundations in the East, and get larger sums—fifty or sixty thousand dollars of money at a time. They are generous, as this is a most worthy cause. That's what we are trying to do. We have not struck the right persons yet, but I think we will, and if anyone here would like to give a thousand dollars, we would be pleased to send it to the foundation.

General Eisenhower is coming to Abilene. He will bring with him in his plane a token portion of these trophies he has received. I don't know how many, it may only be a satchel full, and it may be a ton of them, I don't know how much a plane will carry, but he will bring them and turn them over to us as an indication of what he will do later when we are prepared to receive them. Some of these trophies are really valuable. Premier Stalin gave him the most valuable trophy or badge, banner, or something or other, making him a member of a Russian order. Jewelers have estimated, so it is reported, that the diamonds, sapphires and rubies adorning it are worth twenty-two thousand dollars. The Russians seem to have plenty of money for decorations and

things of that sort. The Danish government this week gave him a jeweled sword, set with jewels and diamonds. He has oceans of things, filling two or three rooms, all to be deposited with the foundation.

In the meanwhile there was the property of the Eisenhower family, consisting of a house, their home in which they had lived, and adjoining it a block of ground of rather large size, with no buildings on it. Last June, Milton acted for the five surviving sons,—one brother passed away in 1942—and they deeded that property to the foundation. We had a celebration at Abilene. Governor Carlson made a speech and Milton presented that deed to me as president of the foundation, and since then we have done a great deal to repair the house—it needed a new roof and paint—without destroying in anyway the symbolism of the house as the home of the Eisenhowers. All the old things are there just as they were when Mrs. Eisenhower passed away—the dining room, the living room, the little parlor, the old piano, the books, the kitchen. The bedrooms have the same beds. The beds have the same bedding they had or them, and I noticed that on one of the bed posts was hanging the white cap that Mrs. Eisenhower used to wear. There are many souvenirs of the boys, that is, of their boyhood life when they were in Abilene. All is there, just as naturally as we could make it, for the entertainment of the public. Then we threw open the house and had a couple of girls to act as guides. It was the latter part of June by the time it was finished. More than 12,000 persons have gone through in the last 120 days. That is nearly 100 a day. They have come from every state in the union, from eleven foreign countries—tourists that go through—and they all come there to see the home that was the boyhood home of General Eisenhower.

That shows how wide a following, how wide is the admiration for him. I believe if we ever get that foundation completed, if we ever get that structure built, it will bring thousands and thousands of people to Kansas just to see that memorial to General Eisenhower. He has been very modest about it. He does not want us to pressure anybody to give, and we are to do it as voluntarily as we possibly can. But we want to put it through. We want to complete it in the next two or three years, and along with it to do something for the rising youth. His ambition in life—his idea that he always talks about to me—is the youth of the nation, how it needs to be taught the things on which our forefathers built this nation; that we are not teaching them enough American citizenship. We hope, if we have enough money in the foundation after building a suitable structure, to use some of it to foster that education in some of the colleges and help to uplift this younger generation, which he feels is not living up entirely to its possibilities. That is his idea and it is the idea of the foundation—but first we have to have the building and the funds with which to work.

That's the story. We have appreciated the work of the Legion and the V. F. W. and their auxiliaries in raising money and helping the cause all over Kansas. Many of the counties from out west, where they are loaded down with money—wheat money—have been very liberal in their contributions. Many of the cities have been liberal, and we are hoping that we can succeed in raising enough funds to complete that job.

Now, all of this, of course, has been very interesting to the press. Five books have been written—lives of General Eisenhower. All of those authors have come to Abilene and have spent two or three weeks digging out mate-

rial—stories and incidents of his boyhood. A number of these incidents never happened, but they make good reading-matter. And there were magazine people—all sorts of magazine people—from *The Saturday Evening Post*, *Collier's* and publications like that. All those magazine people came out and we entertained them. We were glad to meet them, for they are such interesting people. Then the newspapers, the Chicago newspapers, the St. Louis newspapers, New York, San Francisco, and of course, all the local papers like Wichita, Topeka and Kansas City. They have come out and written feature stories for their Sunday issues. They all built up the reputation, notoriety and fame of General Eisenhower.

And so, reading all those articles and hearing those newspaper and magazine people talk, Abilene has evolved a dream. It may not come to realization, but it may, and that dream is that in addition to being the boyhood home of a great general, it may also be the boyhood home of a President of the United States.

At the close of Mr. Harger's talk, the secretary, Kirke Mechem, read four letters which had been written by General Eisenhower to Sen. J. L. Bristow in 1910 and 1911 relating to an appointment to Annapolis or to West Point. The letters are in the Bristow papers in the manuscript collections of the Society.

Following the reading of the Eisenhower letters, the report of the committee on nominations was called for:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS FOR DIRECTORS

October 17, 1947.

To the Kansas State Historical Society:

Your committee on nominations submits the following report and recommendations for directors of the Society for the term of three years ending in October, 1950:

Aitchison, R. T., Wichita.
 Anthony, D. R., Leavenworth.
 Baugher, Charles A., Ellis.
 Beck, Will T., Holton.
 Capper, Arthur, Topeka.
 Carson, F. L., Wichita.
 Chambers, Lloyd, Wichita.
 Dawson, John S., Hill City.
 Euwer, Elmer E., Goodland.
 Hobble, Frank A., Dodge City.
 Hogin, John C., Belleville.
 Hunt, Charles L., Concordia.
 Knapp, Dallas W., Coffeyville.
 Lilleston, W. F., Wichita.
 McLean, Milton R., Topeka.
 Malin, James C., Lawrence.
 Miller, Karl, Dodge City.

Moore, Russell, Wichita.
 Price, Ralph R., Manhattan.
 Raynesford, H. C., Ellis.
 Redmond, John, Burlington.
 Rodkey, Clyde K., Manhattan.
 Russell, W. J., Topeka.
 Shaw, Joseph C., Topeka.
 Smith, William E., Wamego.
 Solander, Mrs. T. T., Osawatomie.
 Somers, John G., Newton.
 Stewart, Donald, Independence.
 Thomas, E. A., Topeka.
 Thompson, W. F., Topeka.
 Van Tuyl, Mrs. Effie H., Leavenworth.
 Walker, Mrs. Ida M., Norton.
 Wilson, John H., Salina.

Respectfully submitted,
 JOHN S. DAWSON, *Chairman*.

Upon motion by John S. Dawson, seconded by Charles M. Correll, the report of the committee was accepted unanimously and the members of the board were declared elected for the term ending in October, 1950.

Reports of county and local societies were called for and were given as follows: Mr. Walter E. McKeen for the Riley County Historical Society; Mrs. K. S. Browne for the Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society; Mrs. Mabel Landon Plumer for the Kennebec Association, Russell county, and Mrs. E. M. Owen for the Douglas County Historical Society. Mrs. Owen presented Vol. II of "Cemetery Histories and Tombstone Inscriptions, 1854-1940; Twenty-One Rural Cemeteries, Douglas County, Kansas," compiled under the direction of the late William L. Hastie.

There being no further business, the annual meeting of the Society adjourned.

MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Kirke Mechem, secretary, presided at the afternoon meeting of the board of directors. He asked for a rereading of the report of the nominating committee. The report was read by John S. Dawson, chairman, who moved that it be accepted. Motion was seconded by Charles M. Correll and the following were unanimously elected:

For a one-year term: R. T. Aitchison, Wichita, president; R. F. Brock, Goodland, first vice-president; Frank Haucke, Council Grove, second vice-president.

Comdr. Standish Hall moved that Gen. Milton R. McLean be apprised of the Society's best wishes and hope for his early recovery. John S. Dawson offered an amendment, suggesting a telegram in place of a written message. R. T. Aitchison seconded and the resolution was adopted and the secretary instructed to send a telegram.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned.

DIRECTORS OF THE KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY AS OF OCTOBER, 1947

DIRECTORS FOR YEAR ENDING OCTOBER, 1948

Bailey, Roy F., Salina.	McFarland, Helen M., Topeka.
Beezley, George F., Girard.	Malone, James, Topeka.
Bowlus, Thomas H., Iola.	Mechem, Kirke, Topeka.
Brinkerhoff, Fred W., Pittsburg.	Philip, Mrs. W. D., Hays.
Browne, Charles H., Horton.	Rankin, Robert C., Lawrence.
Campbell, Mrs. Spurgeon B., Kansas City.	Ruppenthal, J. C., Russell.
Cron, F. H., El Dorado.	Sayers, Wm. L., Hill City.
Ebright, Homer K., Baldwin.	Simons, W. C., Lawrence.
Embree, Mrs. Mary, Topeka.	Skinner, Alton H., Kansas City.
Gray, John M., Kirwin.	Stanley, W. E., Wichita.
Hamilton, R. L., Beloit.	Stone, John R., Topeka.
Harger, Charles M., Abilene.	Stone, Robert, Topeka.
Harvey, Mrs. A. M., Topeka.	Taft, Robert, Lawrence.
Haucke, Frank, Council Grove.	Templar, George, Arkansas City.
Lingenfelter, Angelus, Atchison.	Trembly, W. B., Kansas City.
Long, Richard M., Wichita.	Walker, B. P., Topeka.
	Woodring, Harry H., Topeka.

DIRECTORS FOR YEAR ENDING OCTOBER, 1949

Barr, Frank, Wichita.	Lindsley, H. K., Wichita.
Berryman, Jerome C., Ashland.	Means, Hugh, Lawrence.
Brigham, Mrs. Lalla M., Council Grove.	Owen, Dr. Arthur K., Topeka.
Brock, R. F., Goodland.	Owen, Mrs. Lena V. M., Lawrence.
Bumgardner, Edward, Lawrence.	Patrick, Mrs. Mae C., Satanta.
Correll, Charles M., Manhattan.	Payne, Mrs. L. F., Manhattan.
Davis, W. W., Lawrence.	Reed, Clyde M., Parsons.
Denious, Jess C., Dodge City.	Reigle, Wilford, Emporia.
Fay, Mrs. Mamie Axline, Pratt.	Rupp, Mrs. Jane C., Lincolnville.
Frizell, E. E., Larned.	Schultz, Floyd B., Clay Center.
Godsey, Mrs. Flora R., Emporia.	Sloan, E. R., Topeka.
Hall, Mrs. Carrie A., Leavenworth.	Smelser, Maud, Lawrence.
Hall, Standish, Wichita.	Stewart, Mrs. James G., Topeka.
Hegler, Ben F., Wichita.	Van De Mark, M. V. B., Concordia.
Jones, Horace, Lyons.	Wark, George H., Caney.
Lillard, T. M., Topeka.	Wheeler, Mrs. Bennett R., Topeka.
	Wooster, Lorraine E., Salina.

DIRECTORS FOR YEAR ENDING OCTOBER, 1950

Aitchison, R. T., Wichita.	Moore, Russell, Wichita.
Anthony, D. R., Leavenworth.	Price, Ralph R., Manhattan.
Baughner, Charles A., Ellis.	Raynesford, H. C., Ellis.
Beck, Will T., Holton.	Redmond, John, Burlington.
Capper, Arthur, Topeka.	Rodkey, Clyde K., Manhattan.
Carson, F. L., Wichita.	Russell, W. J., Topeka.
Chambers, Lloyd, Wichita.	Shaw, Joseph C., Topeka.
Dawson, John S., Hill City.	Smith, William E., Wamego.
Euwer, Elmer E., Goodland.	Solander, Mrs. T. T., Osawatomie.
Hobble, Frank A., Dodge City.	Somers, John G., Newton.
Hogin, John C., Belleville.	Stewart, Donald, Independence.
Hunt, Charles L., Concordia.	Thomas, E. A., Topeka.
Knapp, Dallas W., Coffeyville.	Thompson, W. F., Topeka.
Lilleston, W. F., Wichita.	Van Tuyl, Mrs. Effie H., Leavenworth.
McLean, Milton R., Topeka.	Walker, Mrs. Ida M., Norton.
Malin, James C., Lawrence.	Wilson, John H., Salina.
Miller, Karl, Dodge City.	

Bypaths of Kansas History

A CENSUS OF LAWRENCE BACHELORS

From the *Kansas Daily Tribune*, Lawrence, February 26, 1868.

We have endeavored heretofore to keep the public thoroughly posted in regard to the advantages, resources, capabilities, prospects, &c., of Lawrence, giving statistics and facts in support of all statements. In prospecting the city of late in search of various matters, we happened to strike a new "lead," though whether it can properly be classed under the head of either advantages, resources, or capabilities, is rather difficult to determine. This "lead" is the bachelors, or single men of the city, taken as a class, and considered numerically.

It is to be presumed every town has more or less of that class of unfortunates, who have not carried out the original plan, as intended for man and woman, but it seems that Lawrence can claim as great a number as any other town of its size, and a great many more than even those best acquainted with the city would suppose. The matter was first brought to our attention, a few days since, by a dispute between a couple of individuals in regard to the comparative advantages of married and single life, and the influence each exerted on the community. The married man claimed that the presence of a large number of single men in a town would operate to its disadvantage, and stated the reason why Lawrence was such an eminently moral, proper, nice, well-behaved town, was because nearly all the citizens were subjected to the humanizing influences, and watchful care of some divinity in crinoline, or in other words we had but few bachelors among us.

Of course the opposition denied it stoutly, and claimed there were not less than two hundred or more of those fractions called bachelors in the city, and proper inquiry would prove the statement correct. It is our business to inquire into things, and we were delegated to find out the truth of the matter.

An hour was all that was required, which was spent in propounding queries to boarding house keepers, as it is well known a bachelor gravitates as naturally to a boarding house, as a young lady to a milliner shop. They are of gregarious habits, and love company, and hash is their hobby.

We will commence with the hotels first, as they extend their sheltering care over a goodly number, premising that, as it is leap year, all particulars, outside of enumeration, is for the benefit of the ladies.

In the Eldridge House we find eleven, all nice, proper fellows, well-dressed, well-behaved, and very susceptible to female influences.

The Durfee House furnishes thirty-five, following all manner of occupations, and generally doing well. It is reported that a few tough old birds are to be found among them, who don't take kindly to the women at all. The rest show a different disposition.

At the Union House are thirty-four, who have the reputation of being very industrious, and devote but little time or attention to the ladies.

The Lawrence House follows with twenty, all ranging from twenty-five to thirty-five years, generally lawyers (sharp ones, too), clerks, agents, &c. They are a leisurely set of fellows, and up to snuff.

At Fluke's restaurant, twenty-five gobble their soup in a hurry, and dash off to store, counting room and shop, and closely scan all the ladies they meet—very susceptible.

At Mosser's boarding house there are twenty very moral, nice young men, all with good appetites, and fond of home comforts.

At the Germania House are thirteen sober fellows, addicted to smoking, but with no other vices to speak of.

Mrs. Dix has ten, all industrious and making money.

Mrs. Donnelly has eleven gallant blades, who fairly worship the ladies, and will marry at the first offer.

At Mrs. Brown's are six—five of them printers, and consequently on the psalm-singing, tea-drinking order, and not fond of women at all.

In nine other boarding houses are to be found from five to fifteen, running up to the number of ninety-one in all, and following all kinds of business.

From this list it will be seen that three hundred and five are to be found in herds at hotels and regular boarding houses, while as near as we can estimate not less than two hundred more find homes in private houses, making over five hundred in all.

If another town of the size can show a greater amount of marriageable material, of the masculine gender, we would like to see their figures.

The little town in Massachusetts, that has an excess of fifteen hundred females, in a population of nine thousand, will probably find these statistics of interest. In regard to the influence bachelors have on the morals of a town, we give the figures, and every one can draw their own conclusions.

From the *Tribune* of March 1, 1868.

ATTENTION, BACHELORS

BALDWIN CITY, KANSAS,

February 26, 1868.

EDITOR TRIBUNE: I see in to-day's paper an editorial giving the number of bachelors in Lawrence. I judge that there are not many young ladies in Lawrence; if there are they are not very persevering or those bachelors would either have to marry or leave the town. Now, in Baldwin there are over one hundred marriageable young ladies, and about ten or fifteen marriageable young gentlemen. I wish you would persuade some of the "bachelors" to come to Baldwin and see some of us "maids"—get some of them to come from the Lawrence House, those "sharp ones." The Baldwin "maids" would like to see some sharp young men. They would be as much of a curiosity here as Mark Twain is to the world. We have one lawyer in our town, but we can't persuade ourselves to say he is "sharp"—not by any means.

Your friend and reader,

ONE OF THE MAIDS.

We hope our lady friend will excuse us if we fail to comply with her request that we induce our bachelors to visit Baldwin. As it is leap year it would be more proper for the ladies of that section to come to Lawrence and attend to the business themselves. Furthermore, we have a greater interest in the increase of the population of Lawrence than of Baldwin City. We can't afford to lose any of our nice young men just yet for the sake of benefiting other towns.

FOR MICE OR MEN?

From the *Wilson County Citizen*, Fredonia, August 28, 1874.

War may be declared between Rooks and Norton counties. Some state arms and ammunitions were lately sent to Stockton, Rooks county, but when the Norton county supplies arrived, the ammunition boxes were discovered to be filled with limestone and mouse traps. Norton county says Rooks county did it.

FOR THAT "NEW LOOK"

Below is an excerpt from the advertisement of *Smith's Illustrated Pattern Bazaar* which probably was widely published in newspapers of the United States in 1874 and 1875 (see *Leavenworth Daily Times*, December 29, 1874, January 26, 1875, etc.):



SMITH'S "INSTANT DRESS ELEVATOR"

THIS CUT shows how beautifully a LONG Skirt is changed into a Straight Front Walking Dress by the INSTANT ELEVATOR. You can raise your skirt while passing a muddy place and then let it fall, or you can keep it raised with the ELEVATOR. It keeps the skirt from the FILTH. IT LOOPS the skirt in a TASTEFUL and FASHIONABLE MANNER. IT SAVES more than TEN TIMES its COST, besides being CONVENIENT, NEAT and GRACEFUL. IT can be changed from ONE DRESS to ANOTHER in LESS than TWO MINUTES.

YOU NEED BUT ONE FOR A DOZEN DRESSES.

Price SEVENTY-FIVE CENTS each. Send 2 stamps for postage. The above ELEVATOR will be given FREE as PREMIUM to the person who sends \$1.25 for ONE YEARS subscription to "SMITH'S PATTERN BAZAAR."

Kansas History as Published in the Press

The Prairie Star school, located east of Wilson, has closed after 60 years of service. The *Wilson World*, May 1, 1947, printed the history of the school. The names of the teachers are included in the principal article and the names of the pupils who attended since 1897 are listed in the *World*, May 8.

A brief history of School District 35 in Rush county was published in *The Rush County News*, La Crosse, July 3, 1947. The school was started in 1885 and was recently closed because of the school reorganization.

The history of Prairie View school, Gove county, was reviewed by Mrs. Raymond Briggs in the *Gove County Republican-Gazette*, Gove City, July 3 and 10, 1947. The school opened in 1888 and was recently closed by consolidation with another district. A letter from John F. Lindquist discussing several phases of Gove county history was also printed in the July 3 issue.

Features in the Labor day edition of the *Kansas Labor Weekly*, Topeka, August 28, 1947, included: "The Printers Protective Fraternity," a story relating a phase of Topeka's printing history, by James A. Coates; a history of the Topeka library, by Mrs. Anna Neal Muller, city librarian, and an article by Dr. Kenneth McFarland, superintendent of Topeka schools, discussing the new course in automobile driving inaugurated in Topeka High School in the fall of 1947.

Among articles of interest to Kansans in recent issues of the *Kansas City (Mo.) Star* were: "Home Takes High Place in Life of the [Dwight] Eisenhowers," by Malvina Stephenson, August 31, 1947; "After Teaching 57 Years She [Ellen Victoria Zimmermann of Hiawatha] Starts a Class Again," by William I. Hastie, September 7; "Bonanza in Kansas Soil," gross value of all farm and mineral products in 1947 expected to reach two billion dollars, by Alvin S. McCoy, September 14; "Medicine Lodge Trains Its Own Cavalry for Pageant of Indian Peace Council," by Cecil Howes, September 26; "Babson Inscribes a Magic Circle Opening His Utopia College," by Hughes Rudd, October 12; "New K. U. Plan Directs Attention To Alumni Who Serve Kansas Communities," by Paul Brownlee, October 13; "Kansas Political Fish Fry," Ray Pierson's annual cat-

fish party on the Neosho river near Burlington, by Alvin S. McCoy, October 26; "Kansas Clay Is Basis for a G. I. Pottery Business," established by Jimmy Dryden at Ellsworth, October 26, and "Fried Chicken Wins Fame for Kansas Town of 200 [Brookville, Saline county]," November 2, by Eleanor R. Johnston, and "New Summerfield Generosity Will Add Funds To Help Students Attend K. U.," by Paul Brownlee, November 18. Articles in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Times* included: "A New Approach To American Way of Life Is Required Course at K. U.," by Paul Brownlee, September 11; "High Prices for Beef Recall the Era of Cattle Drives To Kansas Railroads," by Cecil Howes, September 20; "Mike Malott of Abilene Talks About His Half Century of Country Banking," by Charles M. Harger, October 23; "Western Kansas Surgeon 'Hitches Up' His Monoplane for Visits To Patients," by Paul Brownlee, November 11; "A Strange Beef Animal [Cross-Breeding of Buffalo and Cattle] Increased Meat Output of Kansas Plains in Early Day," November 12, "Kansas Often Has Given for Hungry," November 13, "Dan Cupid and Good Causes Thrived on Old-Fashioned Box Suppers in Country," November 24, by Cecil Howes.

Frederic Remington, "Painter of the Rip-Roaring West," by Myra Lockwood Brown and Robert Taft, was a feature of the September, 1947, issue of the *Country Gentleman*, Philadelphia. Accompanying the article were several of Remington's paintings reproduced in color. Dr. Taft, who wrote four articles entitled "The Pictorial Record of the Old West" which appeared in the 1946 issues of *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, has prepared a more detailed study of this famous Kansas painter for publication in our next issue as Part V of the artists' series.

Among articles of historical interest in the September, 1947, number of the *Transactions of the Kansas Academy of Science*, Lawrence, were: "Ground-Water Resources of Kansas," by V. C. Fishel; "Reclamation in the Kansas Basin," by William C. Brady; "Forage Yields of Native Grasses at Hays, Kansas," by Andrew Riegel; "Kansas Plants New To Kansas Herbaria," by W. H. Horr and R. L. McGregor, and "Botanical Notes, 1946," by F. U. G. Agrelius.

The Larned *Chronoscope* and *The Tiller and Toiler* have been publishing a series of articles on the history of Pawnee county as told by members of some of the county's pioneer families. Recent sketches featured the Gotlieb Richards family, by Mrs. Minnie

Richards Buhner, in the *Chronoscope*, September 4, 1947; the Oscar Frederick Gustafson family, by Frank and Carl Gustafson, *Chronoscope*, September 18, and a four and one-half column article entitled "Senator E. E. Frizell's Story of Early Days in Pawnee County," *The Tiller and Toiler*, October 23.

Some of the historical events discussed in recent months by W. E. Baer in his column, "Across the Years—A History of La Cygne," appearing regularly in the *La Cygne Journal* are: The movement of several families from La Cygne to Washington territory in 1889, and of another family to Oklahoma in the same year; the extension of telephone service from La Cygne to Paola; the organization of the Citizens Bank of La Cygne which opened for business on October 21, 1889; the activities of the Robert B. Mitchell Post No. 170 of the G. A. R., and a brief sketch of the life of Robert B. Mitchell; the advocacy of certain reforms by James D. Holden, an early La Cygne attorney; the third commencement of the La Cygne High School; the drought of 1860; the beginning of train service from Kansas City to Amoret and the extension of the railroad beyond Amoret in 1891; the coal boom in the town of Boicourt in the spring of 1891; and the observance on Memorial Day, 1891, of the 25th anniversary of the ending of the Civil War. A list of marriages from 1885 through 1892 was featured November 21, 1947, and brief sketches of several young men who served apprenticeships in the *Journal* office were printed December 12.

The Hutchinson *News-Herald* has continued the publication of a series of pictures of "Historic, Beautiful Kansas," by Russell Walker of St. John, which was begun in August, 1947. Included among recent pictures are: Coronado Heights, near Lindsborg, September 8; Horse Thief canyon, west of Jetmore, September 15; old Fort Fletcher, near Walker, September 22; buffalo tracks, between Ellsworth and Lyons, September 29; the First Territorial Capitol building, near Fort Riley, October 6; Castle Rock, Gove county, 13 miles south of Collyer, October 13; Negro Baptist church that was once the Stevens county courthouse, Hugoton, November 3; the Morton county courthouse, Richfield, built in 1889, November 10; the home of Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, Abilene, November 17; Hell's Half-Acre, ten miles west of Sun City, November 24; chalk formations, Logan county, December 1; Natural Bridge, five miles south of Sun City, December 8; Mushroom or Toadstool Rock, near Carneiro,

December 15; Kansas soapweed, December 22, and guardhouse of old Fort Harker, Kanopolis, December 29.

Wichita recalled its pioneer days by observing a "Chisholm Trail Jubilee," September 9-14, 1947, with shows, parades and other entertainment. The trail, named for Jesse Chisholm, Indian trader of the Wichita area, was made famous by the colorful cattle drives from Texas when thousands of cattle were driven up the trail to the newly-built railroads in Kansas. The *Wichita Beacon* and *Eagle* published stories of the jubilee and of the trail's historical background in issues preceding and during the festival.

Lindsborg newspaper history was reviewed in the *Lindsborg News-Record*, September 18, 1947. The earliest paper was the *Lindsborg Localist*, first issued April 19, 1879.

Included among the recent subjects discussed by W. W. Graves in his "History of Neosho County," published in the *St. Paul Journal*, were the following: "Farmers Union," September 18, 1947; "The Grange," September 25; "Farmers Alliance," October 9; "The Farm Bureau," October 16; "Neosho Tanker," United States navy oilers named for the Neosho river, October 30; "Cemeteries" and "Tragedies," November 6; "Tragedies," November 13; "Early Day Crops," November 20; "Livestock," and a biographical sketch of Dr. R. O. Prideaux, November 27; a biographical sketch of Jay Elmer House, December 4; biographical sketches of Thomas F. Morrison, J. M. Cavaness, Leander Stillwell, P. P. Campbell, Hugh Phillip Farrelly and Col. Roy S. Hoffman, December 11; a biographical sketch of Mary E. Lease and "The First Newspaper [*Neosho Valley Eagle*, of Jacksonville] in Neosho County," December 18, and "History of the *St. Paul Journal*," December 25.

The *Holton Recorder*, September 22, 1947, printed an article by Mary Luella Bateman Johnson about the journey of her grandparents, Mr. and Mrs. Charles Bateman, from Canada to Jackson county, Kansas. According to Mrs. Johnson, the Batemans, together with another family, left Canada in 1855 by wagon. They reached Kansas in the spring of 1857. Stopping at Holton, they explored the surrounding territory for suitable farms. About two and one-half miles north they selected a quarter section for each family. The Batemans built a small log cabin on their quarter which was soon replaced by a larger one.

The history of the Gaylord family has been the main feature of the Protection Historical Society column, "Notes From the Early Days," published in the *Protection Post* in recent months.

The story of the county-seat election in Marshall county in 1871 was reviewed in a two-column article in the *Marshall County News*, Marysville, September 22, 1947. Marysville and Frankfort were the leading contenders. Although both were charged with fraud, Marysville secured the county-seat.

A biographical sketch of H. Q. Banta of Oberlin, who died September 19, 1947, was printed in the *Oberlin Herald*, September 25. Mr. Banta was president of the Decatur County Historical Society.

The *Wilson World*, September 25, 1947, published a two-column article on the life of John T. (Jack) Anderson, who has been director of the Wilson city band for forty years.

An article by Alberta Pantle, of the Library staff of the Kansas State Historical Society, in *Mennonite Life*, North Newton, October, 1947, discussed the settlement of the village of Gnadenau, Marion county, by the Krimmer Mennonite Brethren in August, 1874. The article told of the arrival from Indiana of the main body of the congregation after the site had been selected and negotiations for the land completed by Elder Jacob A. Wiebe and Franz Janzen. The building of the homes was described—first the temporary houses of sod and poles, then the frame buildings. Gnadenau had two blacksmith shops, a grist mill, several sorghum mills, one store, and a building that served as a school house and a church. This was a sod building which soon crumbled. It was replaced by a frame building erected in 1877. Miss Pantle described the unusual customs and clothing of the Mennonites. Some of the experiences suffered by the people from grasshoppers, prairie fires, droughts, and horse thieves were related.

Thousands of persons filled the town of Medicine Lodge on October 1-3, 1947, to witness the fifth presentation of the Medicine Lodge Indian Peace Treaty Pageant. Gov. Frank Carlson spoke preceding the initial performance of the pageant, which commemorated the signing of treaties with five Indian tribes, the Kiowas, Comanches, Apaches, Arapahoes and Cheyennes, by the United States government in 1867. The pageant was presented in a natural amphitheater overlooking the site of the original ceremony. Participating were 1,500 residents of the Medicine Lodge vicinity and

250 Indians from Oklahoma. Various scenes depicted historical events from the time of the Coronado expedition to the peace council. The pageant was first presented in 1927 and has been repeated every five years under the sponsorship of the Medicine Lodge Peace Treaty Association. Sen. Riley W. MacGregor is president of the association. Stories of the pageant and its historical background were printed in many newspapers of the Midwest, including *The Barber County Index* of Medicine Lodge, *Hutchinson News-Herald*, *Topeka Daily Capital*, and *Kansas City (Mo.) Times*.

A history of the Woodston Methodist Episcopal Church, by D. C. Worden of Woodston, was published in the *Rooks County Record*, Stockton, October 2, 1947. The Rev. L. C. York, of Bull City (now Alton), was the first Methodist preacher to hold services in the town in the winter of 1886-1887.

A two-column biography of George H. Hodges, Olathe lumberman, banker and publisher, who died October 7, 1947, was printed in *The Johnson County Democrat*, Olathe, October 9. Mr. Hodges was governor of Kansas from 1913 to 1915.

The *Hays Daily News* of October 19, 1947, carried a brief account of the founding of Fort Hays Kansas State College. The names of the first 49 students who enrolled were listed and some of the early activities were discussed.

A brief history of the town of Summerfield, Marshall county, was printed in the *Marysville Advocate*, October 23, 1947. The town was founded in 1888 and was incorporated in 1890. A story of the A. G. Barrett family home which overlooks the present community of Barrett, Marshall county, was another historical feature of this issue of the *Advocate*. The house was constructed in 1862.

On October 25, 1947, the *Iola Register* observed its fiftieth birthday as a daily newspaper by issuing a historical supplement telling of the founding of the daily and giving a word picture of things as they were in Iola in 1897. Charles F. Scott, publisher of the *Register* at the time the daily was started, continued as editor until his death in 1938 when he was succeeded by his son, Angelo Scott, the present editor and publisher.

A history of the Larned Presbyterian church was sketched by the Rev. Ralph Martin in *The Daily Tiller and Toiler*, Larned, October 27, 1947. The church was organized by the Rev. R. M. Overstreet on August 10, 1873.

Edward R. DeZurko, who contributed an article entitled "A Report and Remarks on Cantonment Leavenworth," published in the November, 1947, *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, was also author of a ten-page illustrated article on "Early Kansas Churches" printed in the *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Urbana, Ill., v. 6, Nos. 1-2 (1947).

The Rush County News, La Crosse, November 6, 1947, carried an article in which P. J. Jennings of McCracken discussed some of the early history of Rush county. Mr. Jennings arrived in the county more than 67 years ago with his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Jennings. They homesteaded a tract of land about 5½ miles north of McCracken and built a sod "shanty" where the family lived a number of years. The family just recently erected a bronze marker on the spot where the sod house stood. According to Mr. Jennings, the first settlers in the county were William Basham and P. C. Dixon, who came in 1870. The J. S. Templeton family, James Corral and Joseph Shaw Brown settled in the county in 1871. The first white child born in the county was a son to Mr. and Mrs. J. S. Templeton on December 27, 1871, named Samuel Alpha. The first post office in the county was officially called Economy, and was conducted by N. S. Gilbert. The county was organized and named in 1874.

The Garden City *Daily Telegram*, November 7, 1947, carried a brief review of the history of rainmaking in Kansas, by Dolores Sulzman. The recent organization of the Great Southwest Rain Association at Dodge City has revived the tales of efforts at rainmaking in the latter part of the nineteenth century. (For more information about these early experiments see Martha Caldwell's "Some Kansas Rain Makers," in *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 7 [1938], pp. 306-324.)

Included among the articles of Kansas historical interest in the 1948 issue of the *Kansas Magazine*, Manhattan, were: "Per Aspera," a continuation of Charles B. Driscoll's autobiography; "Mary Elizabeth Lease: Prairie Radical," by Harry Levinson; "Wood Carvers of Kansas," by Rebecca Welty Dunn; "Vanishing Breeds [of Wildlife in Kansas]," by Theo. H. Scheffer; "The Shape of Kansas," by Cecil Howes, and "General Ike's Boyhood Town," by May Flenner McElravy. The cover painting, "Chamiso," was by Robert T. Aitchison, president of the Kansas State Historical Society.

Kansas Historical Notes

A nine-member administrative council for the Republic County Historical Society was elected by a mail vote in June, 1947. The members are: Mrs. H. J. Adams, Mrs. R. Camedon and Mrs. Gilbert H. Faulkner of Belleville, Mrs. E. G. Blackburn and Mrs. O. E. McMullen of Courtland, Frank Z. Stover of Republic, Mrs. E. E. Conzelman of Scandia, M. M. Fate of Talmo, and A. Q. Miller of Salina.

The women's division of the Topeka Chamber of Commerce voted September 18, 1947, to restore John Brown's cabin, located at 2303 Pennsylvania, in Highland Park, Topeka. Work was started early in December and it is planned to make the cabin look as it did when Brown hid runaway slaves in its tunnel. The tunnel will be reopened, and the house will contain authentic furniture of the period.

The Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society met September 22, 1947, for luncheon and the election of officers at the home of Mrs. John Blake. The following were elected: Mrs. C. F. Terry, president; Mrs. Frank D. Belinder and Mrs. John Barkley, vice-presidents; Mrs. James G. Bell, recording secretary; Mrs. Arthur Wolf, corresponding secretary; Mrs. J. S. Caldwell, treasurer; Miss Lucile Larsen, historian; Mrs. Tom Davis, curator, and Mrs. M. Y. Griffin, member-in-waiting. These officers were installed at the October meeting which was held at the home of Mrs. James Bell. The society has 112 members; eleven having been added during the year. Mrs. K. S. Browne was the retiring president.

New officers of the Ness County Historical Society elected at a meeting in Ness City on September 25, 1947, are: O. L. Lennen, president; Jennie Eibert, vice-president; Nelle C. Nye, treasurer, and Audra M. Hays, secretary.

The Riley County Historical Association held its annual meeting in Manhattan October 2, 1947, and elected the following officers: Clyde K. Rodkey, president; Mrs. Florence F. Harrop, vice-president; Mrs. Medora Hays Flick, secretary; Joe D. Haines, treasurer, and F. I. Burt, curator. Directors elected for a three-year term are: R. R. Bennett, Mrs. O. O. Parker and Dr. J. W. Evans. The association expects to have permanent quarters for a museum when the new Peace Memorial Auditorium is built. In coöperation with the

chamber of commerce of Manhattan, the association is also making plans to preserve and advertise local historic sites. Mr. Rodkey has appointed a committee to determine what places should be marked and to decide on a method of marking them. The conclusions of the committee will be reported to the chamber of commerce by February, 1948.

At the annual business meeting of the Hodgeman County Historical Society in Jetmore October 3, 1947, the following officers were elected: L. W. Hubbell, president; Mrs. O. W. Lynam, vice-president; E. W. Harlan, secretary, and Mrs. O. L. Teed, treasurer. Mrs. Margaret Raser was appointed chairman of the program committee as well as historian for the society. F. E. Ochs, Miss Elfrieda Kenyon and Mrs. O. W. Lynam were elected directors for three-year terms. Mr. Hubbell outlined a plan for preparing a more complete history of early events in the county.

Through the efforts of the Fort Scott Business and Professional Women's Club, the old government building on the Plaza is again open to the public as a historical museum. The building, which was formerly officers' headquarters for the army post in pre-Civil War days and later the Free-State hotel, was temporarily taken over by the women's club to revive interest in the city's early history. The story of the building, erected in the 1840's, was reviewed by Ralph Richards in an article in the *Fort Scott Tribune*, October 9, 1947.

Dr. O. P. Dellinger of Pittsburg was reëlected president of the Crawford County Historical Society at the annual meeting held in Pittsburg October 16, 1947. Other officers elected included: Mrs. F. A. Gerken of Girard, vice-president; Mrs. C. M. Cooper of Pittsburg, recording secretary; Mrs. C. D. Gregg of McCune, corresponding secretary, and Mrs. George Elliott of Pittsburg, treasurer. Directors named for three-year terms were: C. D. Gregg of McCune, Charles Grandle of Cherokee and Dr. Ralph Smith of Pittsburg. The principal speaker was R. Purgatorio of Frontenac, one-time Italian consul. Mr. Purgatorio spoke on Italian immigration to this country, particularly in the late 1880's and the early 1890's. Mrs. Ella Werme of Pittsburg told of her family's early years in Crawford county and Frank Mason of McCune and Dr. H. M. Grandle also recalled the pioneer days of Crawford county.

Jerome C. Berryman was elected president of the Clark County Historical Society at its annual meeting in Ashland, October 25,

1947. Other officers elected were: Mrs. Charles McCasland, vice-president; Mrs. Ethel Gardiner Wilson and John E. Stephens, honorary vice-presidents; Mrs. J. C. Harper, recording secretary; Mrs. Sidney Dorsey, assistant recording secretary; Miss Rhea Gross, corresponding secretary; Wm. T. Moore, treasurer; M. G. Stevenson, auditor; Mrs. R. V. Shrewder, historian, and Mrs. Barth Gabbert, curator. After a program of talks and music, Lon Ford told of some of the guns in his collection. The collection was purchased with money collected by a committee headed by Clair C. McFarland and was presented to the society for its museum. Thirteen life members were added making a total of 121 life members and six annual members. Mrs. Ethel Wilson, the retiring president, presided at the meeting.

The Kiowa County Historical Society held its annual old settlers' reunion October 28, 1947, at the community building in Greensburg. Two hundred and fifty persons attended. Sixteen couples sat at the "Golden Wedding" table for those married fifty years or over. Among them were Mr. and Mrs. A. D. Huls of Greensburg who have been married sixty-four years. Seventy-four persons qualified for seats at the "pioneer" table which was reserved for those seventy years or older. The program consisted of music and readings and a tribute to the pioneers given by the Rev. Elmer E. Brooks of Greensburg. Newly-elected officers are: Mrs. Bruno Meyer, Haviland, president; Henry Schwarm, Greensburg, and W. A. Sluder, Mullinville, vice-presidents; Mrs. Louie Keller, Greensburg, treasurer, and Mrs. Benj. O. Weaver, Mullinville, secretary.

The third annual meeting of the Protection Historical Society was held on November 4, 1947, in the basement of the Methodist church. Mrs. T. W. (Nell) Riner was reelected president and Claude Rowland vice-president. A program of impromptu reminiscences followed the business meeting.

The Douglas County Historical Society was reorganized at a meeting on November 20, 1947, into the Lawrence Historical Society. Sen. R. C. Rankin presided. The new society has as its purpose the preservation of the history of Lawrence and the surrounding area. The first undertaking will be the erection of a new building in which to house articles and records of historical value. A second project will be plans for the observance of Lawrence's 100th anniversary in 1954. Kirke Mechem, secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society, discussed the importance of historical societies

in local communities. He spoke of the historical collections of the Kansas society and pointed out that it is one of the largest in the nation. Officers elected by the new Lawrence society are as follows: R. B. Stevens, president; Dolph Simons, vice-president; Walter Varnum, treasurer, and Mrs. Dwight Prentice, secretary. Other persons elected to the board of directors besides the above officers are: R. C. Rankin, O. P. Barber, Corlett Cotton, Tommy Constant, Justin Hill, Walter Keeler, Miss Ida Lyons, Mrs. E. M. Owens, Olin K. Petefish, M. N. Penny and Art Weaver. With a few alterations the constitution of the Douglas County Historical Society was adopted by the new society. The society received from C. E. Collins of Kansas City, Mo., a foot-long oak "key" which was used years ago to lock the main shaft on the Dutch windmill which stood on Mount Oread for many years before it was destroyed by fire about 1910. The historical collection of the society is growing and it is hoped that the new city building will provide a room large enough to make a temporary display of the many interesting articles connected with the early days of Lawrence.

Members and friends of the American Pioneer Trails Association met at the Memorial building in Topeka, December 1, 1947, to hear a discussion by the president, Howard R. Driggs of New York City, of plans for the coming year. The marking of Western cattle trails will have first place on the agenda, and a brochure and map will be prepared for distribution to members. Mr. Driggs spoke of the association's desire to see a national park or monument established in Kansas and recommended Alcove Springs, near Independence crossing in Marshall county, as a suitable location. Dr. George W. Davis of Ottawa is the association's regional director for Kansas.

The Shawnee County Historical Society held its second annual dinner meeting December 5, 1947, at the First Methodist Church in Topeka. Nyle H. Miller of the Kansas State Historical Society was the principal speaker. Mr. Miller discussed the origin and early happenings of Topeka and Shawnee county, and read parts of letters written by Cyrus K. Holliday, one of the town founders. Mayor Frank Warren spoke on behalf of the city, and Mark Lumb spoke as a representative of the Topeka schools and told of the use by the schools of the society's quarterly historical *Bulletin*. Robert Stone, president of the society, recalled some of the historic places in the county that deserve more attention and better marking. A number of old pictures, maps, charts and newspapers were shown at the

meeting. Also microfilm and photostatic copies of the original records and proceedings of the Topeka association were shown. The society's board of trustees met on December 22 and reelected the following officers: Robert Stone, president; Mrs. Erwin (Dorothy Crane) Keller, vice-president; George A. Root, secretary; Paul Adams, assistant secretary; Paul B. Sweet, treasurer, and Cecil Howes, editor of the *Bulletin*. Stone, Root, Adams, Sweet, Howes, Paul A. Lovewell, Milton Tabor, J. Glenn Logan and Arthur J. Caruth, Jr., are the trustees. The September-December number of the society's *Bulletin* included the following articles: The first installment of "Founders of Topeka," which presents a sketch of the life of Dr. Franklin Loomis Crane, by Mrs. Erwin Keller, a great-granddaughter; "What About the Name, Topeka?" by Cecil Howes; the second installment of the reprint of William W. Cone's "Shawnee County Townships"; "Early Topeka Days," the reminiscences of Mrs. Harry Seery; "The Smith, A Mighty Man Was He," by Paul Lovewell, and a continuation of George Root's "Chronology of Shawnee County."

Historic Midwest Houses, by John Drury, a November, 1947, publication of the University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, contains pictures and articles descriptive of historic and interesting homes in twelve Midwestern states. Kansas houses included in the volume are: the John Brown cabin at Osawatimie, Carry Nation's house at Medicine Lodge, Ed Howe's home at Atchison, the William Allen White house at Emporia, and the Eisenhower dwelling at Abilene, boyhood home of Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower. Mr. Drury, a Chicago newspaperman, made his selections after a ten-thousand-mile tour of the Midwest. More than half of the eighty-seven houses listed are museums. Two of the Kansas homes mentioned, the John Brown cabin and the Eisenhower home, are open to the public.

75 Years in Great Bend is the title of a recently issued story of the city. It is a 48-page pamphlet composed of pictures contrasting the early-day city with that of today. There are brief explanations and bits of history connected with the buildings and people shown.

An attractive illustrated folder featuring *Emporia*, "capital of the bluestem-pasture region," was a recent publication of the Emporia Chamber of Commerce.



THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

May • 1948



Published by
Kansas State Historical Society
Topeka

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
THE PICTORIAL RECORD OF THE OLD WEST: V. Remington in Kansas <i>Robert Taft</i> , 113	
With the following illustrations:	
Frederic Remington, from a photograph of the early 1880's; Remington's original sketches of the buildings on the "Remington Ranch," "Herding Sheep," and "Lambing Time" (between pp. 120, 121), and scenes of Kansas life and agriculture (between pp. 128, 129).	
WILLIAM CLARK'S DIARY, MAY, 1826-FEBRUARY, 1831: Part Two, 1828 Edited by <i>Louise Barry</i> , 136	
With a contemporaneous sketch of the Mississippi river steamboat <i>Belvidere</i> , facing p. 144.	
LETTERS OF JULIA LOUISA LOVEJOY, 1856-1864: Part Five, 1860-1864—Concluded 175	
With a portrait of Mrs. Julia Louisa Lovejoy, facing p. 176.	
BYPATHS OF KANSAS HISTORY..... 212	
KANSAS HISTORY AS PUBLISHED IN THE PRESS..... 215	
KANSAS HISTORICAL NOTES..... 222	

The Kansas Historical Quarterly is published in February, May, August and November by the Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kan., and is distributed free to members. Correspondence concerning contributions may be sent to the editor. The Society assumes no responsibility for statements made by contributors.

Entered as second-class matter October 22, 1931, at the post office at Topeka, Kan., under the act of August 24, 1912.

THE COVER

This sketch by Frederic Remington appeared in *Harper's Weekly* of New York (April 28, 1888, p. 300) under the title, "Texan Cattle in a Kansas Corn Corral." Remington was a resident of northwest Butler county, Kansas, 1883-1884.

THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Volume XVI

May, 1948

Number 2

The Pictorial Record of the Old West

V. REMINGTON IN KANSAS

ROBERT TAFT

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It may safely be said that nine-tenths of those engaged in the stock-business in the Far West are gentlemen. Here is a fascinating, health-restoring and profitable occupation for the great army of broken-down students and professional men, and in crowds they are turning their backs upon the jostling world to secure new life and vigor upon these upland plains.—George R. Buckman in *Lippincott's Magazine*, 1882.

AMONG the many diverse, interesting and entertaining social phenomena that have made up the past American scene and its life, one of the most curious—and, in retrospect, one of the most romantic—was the wholesale migration to the plains of the Great West in the early 1880's. The professional historian has catalogued this emigration as one of the factors making up the life of that age, but the phenomenon itself deserves more than mere cataloguing, for it is an important—exceedingly important—movement that was to affect profoundly American life and American culture in subsequent years.¹ That this judgment is more than mere rhetoric becomes

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Previous articles in this pictorial series appeared in the February, May, August and November, 1946, issues of *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, with the general introduction in the February number.

1. The Buckman article, quoted above, "Ranches and Ranchers of the Far West," *Lippincott's Magazine*, Philadelphia, v. 29 (1882), p. 435, begins by commenting on the Western exodus of young collegians and professional men from the overcrowded East. As far as I know, there has been no specific or extensive study of this Western migration of the late 1870's and early 1880's. The fundamental origin and the economic causes of the migration and the organization and conduct of the huge cattle companies have been satisfactorily dealt with by Ernest S. Osgood, *The Day of the Cattleman* (Minneapolis, 1929), especially in the chapter "The Cattle Boom." W. P. Webb, *The Great Plains* (Boston, 1931), pp. 233-239, and Louis Pelzer, *The Cattleman's Frontier* (Glendale, Cal., 1936), are other sources of information on these topics. The social aspects of the migration in all their interesting features, however, still lack a chronicler. The contemporary literature listed in Footnotes 10 and 11 (far from complete, but somewhat more extensive than is available elsewhere) may serve as a starting point for such a study; and, incidentally, the present series contributes, I trust, to this interesting subject.

apparent when one considers the careers of a single quartet of Western emigrants. The most notable of the quartet was the young and bespectacled Theodore Roosevelt whose cattle-ranching career of several years began in the Dakotas in 1883. His ranching life led eventually to the leadership of the Rough Riders and their part in the war with Spain. The ultimate reward of the spectacular leader of the Rough Riders was his elevation to the White House.² Emerson Hough, the second of our quartet of the West, began his professional life (the study and practice of law) in a cow camp at White Oaks, New Mexico territory, in 1881. His experiences at White Oaks laid the foundations for a career as a noted chronicler of the West, which probably reached its zenith in one of the greatest of our motion picture plays *The Covered Wagon*.³ The third member, Frederic Remington, ventured his patrimony in a sheep ranch in Kansas in 1883, and the fourth member was Owen Wister who made his first trial of ranch life in Wyoming in 1885. In *The Virginian*, Wister's most popular book, he created characters and lines that live to the present day.⁴ One has only to recall Wister's line—now used so much as to be threadbare—"When you call me that, smile," to appreciate the point.

Of these four men, only Roosevelt and Wister were known to each other previous to their Western life. None of their trails crossed in their early years in the West, but in later life all became very intimately acquainted with each other and with each other's work. Roosevelt and Wister were to become Remington's most ardent admirers and protagonists; Hough, on the other hand, was doubtless Remington's severest critic. All four, however, were extremely active and articulate exponents of the West and its life.

2. The standard source of information on the Western experiences of Theodore Roosevelt is Hermann Hagedorn, *Roosevelt in the Bad Lands* (Boston and New York, 1921). The ranching experiences of Roosevelt as only one of the chapters of his life are described in many biographies, for example, Henry F. Pringle, *Theodore Roosevelt* (New York, 1931). It is not argued in the text, of course, that Roosevelt would not have been President save for his ranch experience, but the route, which began with the Dakota ranch, and then led through the Rough Riders and Spanish war to the governorship of New York, to the Vice-Presidency and then to the White House, got him there more quickly than if his Dakota experiences had not occurred. After I had written the lines in the text concerning Roosevelt, and the effect of Western life on his career, I chanced across John Burroughs' *Camping & Tramping With Roosevelt* (Boston and New York, 1907). On pp. 14 and 15 Burroughs made a statement credited to Roosevelt himself that is practically the same as my summary.

3. There is no satisfactory biography of Emerson Hough. His original Western venture, not dated with certainty, is briefly described by Lee Alexander Stone, *Emerson Hough: His Place in American Letters* (Chicago, 1925), p. 16. *The Covered Wagon* was called "the one great American epic that the screen has produced" by Robert E. Sherwood, ed., *The Best Moving Pictures of 1922-23* (Boston, 1923), p. 72. Lewis Jacobs in *The Rise of the American Film* (New York, 1939), gives a more reasonable judgment of the film but even he called *The Covered Wagon* "forthright, impressive, and vigorous."

4. For Owen Wister's initial experience in the West and his early contacts with Theodore Roosevelt see Wister's *Roosevelt—The Story of a Friendship* (New York, 1930). On page 28, Wister writes "Early in July, 1885, I went there [Wyoming]. This accidental sight of the cattle-country settled my career." For a brief biography of Wister, see *New York Times*, July 22, 1938, p. 17. *The Virginian*, when it first appeared in 1902, was an overnight best seller.—*The Publishers' Weekly*, New York, v. 135 (February 18, 1939), p. 835.

For every one of this articulate quartet, however, there were thousands of inarticulate embryo ranchers in the West before 1885. Although Mr. Buckman's estimate that ninety percent of these newcomers were "gentlemen" may be unduly optimistic, it is probably true that the sunshiny atmosphere of the wide open spaces was rent by many a curse with a pronounced Harvard accent. Cursing, indeed, seemed to be almost a necessary requirement of the difficult life of the West, a fact recognized by that genial philosopher and fount of considerable wisdom, Mr. Dooley, a contemporary well known to the quartet mentioned above. "No wan," points out Mr. Dooley, "cud rope a cow or cinch a pony without swearin'. A strick bringin' up is th' same as havin' a wooden leg on th' plains."⁵ This sage observation is given added point when it is recalled that the inability of the future leader of the Rough Riders to use some of the stronger parts of speech in the Saxon language nearly led to discrediting him as a rancher. At his first round-up, Roosevelt urged one of his hands to head off cattle that were making a break for freedom with the shrill cry "Hasten forward quickly there!" The roar of laughter that followed was echoed at many a campfire and Roosevelt almost became the laughing-stock of the country round about, but his vigorous character eventually weathered the near disaster.⁶

More pertinent, however, than the question of language on the plains, is the question "What brought this great influx to the former haunts of the buffalo?" The answer to this question is too long and involved to consider in detail here. The immediate causes in each case were doubtless as numerous as the immigrants themselves but there are certain broad aspects of the problem that we can point out and which will not be irrelevant in understanding Remington and the success that he later achieved.

The building of the railroad westward and the removal of the Indian barrier were of fundamental importance in the westward migration. Once the main barrier was down and access to the vast new country was easier, the trek began. Adventurers, big-game hunters, settlers in search of cheap land, health-seekers, gold-seekers, enterprising young politicians, restless young men—these and many other types—joined the army of the new forty-niners. Leading the van was the world-roaming, inquisitive Englishman. Many of this class were sportsmen, but England's need of beef was also an important factor in the westward surge, so important that a Royal

5. Finley P. Dunne, *Observations by Mr. Dooley* (New York, 1902), p. 227.

6. Hagedorn, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

Commission was sent from England in the late 1870's to study cattle raising on the plains. As a result of its favorable report—and even before—many Englishmen were among those who sought the plains of the New World. "The American cattle-trade is exciting much interest in England, where two of our most pressing needs just now are cheaper meat and outlets for our boys" is, for example, the preface of a contemporary account in an English periodical.⁷ If the Englishman started the trail west, the whole world soon followed suit and representatives from nearly every civilized nation of the globe could be found on the prairies and plains of the West.

Why our countrymen—the Easterners—joined this march to the West is not as readily explained. Emerson Hough in later life ironically attributed the "discovery" of the West to three well-known Americans and infers that these three were responsible for the great interest in this region. "Buffalo Bill, Ned Buntline and Frederic Remington," writes Hough with feeling, tinged no doubt by envy, "ah, might one hold the niche in fame of e'er a one of these tripartite fathers of their country! It is something to have created a region as large as the American west, and lo! have not these three done that thing?"⁸ Hough, of course, was referring to the West created in the minds of the Easterner by the above trio, for the West, it scarcely needs be said, was discovered long before Remington's day. Hough's commentary, however, is revealing in that it serves to emphasize the part that Remington played in American life during his heyday (1890-1909). But what was the lure that led Roosevelt, Hough and Wister to the West? Remington felt that Catlin, Gregg, Irving, Lewis and Clark aroused his incentive for the Western venture.⁹ Their influence, I am sure, was supplemented by still other sources; sources that consciously or unconsciously affected many Americans who migrated to the plains in the early 1880's. In the first place, there was considerable popular literature, both in book and periodical form on the subject, preceding and contemporary with the beginning of the decade in question. Such books as Col. R. I. Dodge's *The Plains of the Great West* (published in England as *The Hunting Grounds of the Great West*), Vivian's *Wanderings in the Western Land*, Campion's *On the Frontier* (Campion made his Western venture as a result of

7. *The Spectator*, London, March 17, 1877, p. 341. The report of the Royal Commission referred to is *Report on American Agriculture, With an Appendix* (1880), which is part of the report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture (depressed condition), 1879. Buckman, *loc. cit.*, also states in connection with this Western migration, "The English first sought out the new land."

8. Emerson Hough, "Texas Transformed," *Putnam's Magazine*, New York, v. 7 (1909-1910), p. 200.

9. Remington's autobiography, *Collier's Weekly*, New York, March 18, 1905.

interest aroused by Catlin's paintings), and *Camps in the Rockies* by W. A. Baillie-Grohman were all published between 1877 and 1882, several being sufficiently popular to require publication of more than one edition.¹⁰ The periodical literature, too, of this same

10. Richard I. Dodge, *The Plains of the Great West* (New York, 1877), or its English edition, *The Hunting Grounds of the Great West* (London, 1876), was one of the best known books of its kind and doubtless was the incentive that drew many to the West. Many years after its publication, Theodore Roosevelt and George Bird Grinnell called it "The best book upon the plains country."—See their *American Big-Game Hunting* (New York, 1901), p. 323.

The other books mentioned in the text were published as follows:

J. S. Campion, *On the Frontier* (London, 1878). Experiences of some years in the West, ranching, hunting and traveling.

A. Pendarves Vivian, *Wanderings in the Western Land* (London, 1879). Experiences in the West on a hunting trip in 1877.

William A. Baillie-Grohman, *Camps in the Rockies* (New York, 1882). A London edition appeared the same year; a second English edition in 1883, and a second American edition in 1884. The book, based on four trips to America, was essentially a sporting book but it contains a chapter on ranching and an appendix which estimates the probable profits to be gained from cattle ranching. Other books bearing on the same general period are numerous. A few are listed below. Altogether their influence, quite apart from any real merits the books may or may not have possessed, must have been considerable. The interested reader will note how many are of English origin or had English editions. Some others of the period 1876-1886 (my list does not exhaust the subject) are:

William Blackmore, ed., *Colorado, Its Resources, Parks and Prospects* (London, 1869). Although lying outside the dates specified above, it is given as an illustration of an elaborate emigrant brochure.

Earl of Dunraven, *The Great Divide: Travels in the Upper Yellowstone* (New York and London, 1876).

Frank Whittaker, *George A. Custer* (New York, 1876).

Edward L. Wheeler, *Deadwood Dick Library* (Cleveland, 1878-1889). Over fifty published in this period. All were Westerns.

James B. Fry, *Army Sacrifices* (New York, 1879). Western Indian war.

Harry Castlemon, *George in Camp or Life on the Plains* (Philadelphia, 1879). A book for boys.

William F. Cody, *Life of William F. Cody* (Hartford, 1879).

John Mortimer Murphy, *Sporting Adventures in the Far West* (New York and London, 1879).

Rossiter W. Raymond, *Camp and Cabin: Sketches of Life and Travel in the West* (New York, 1880). Nevada, California and the Yellowstone country.

Stephen R. Riggs, *Mary and I: Forty Years With the Sioux* (Chicago, 1880). Missionary life from 1837 to 1877.

Samuel Nugent Townshend, *Our Indian Summer in the Far West* (London, 1880). Description of a tour of Kansas, Colorado and the Southwest.

Benjamin F. Taylor, *Summer-Savory Gleaned From Rural Nooks in Pleasant Weather* (Chicago, 1880). Colorado and Utah.

J. W. Buel, *Heroes of the Plains* (St. Louis, 1881).

James A. Little, *Jacob Hamblin* (Salt Lake City, 1881). Frontiersman in Utah and Arizona.

Gen. James S. Brisbin, *The Beef Bonanza, or How To Get Rich on the Plains* (Philadelphia, 1881; also an English edition with the same imprint). Here's a daisy! There was no curb on General Brisbin's enthusiasm. By five years, according to Brisbin's estimate, the annual income from a cattle ranch would be bigger than the original investment. "After the fifth year the profits will be enormous." Sheep ranching also was boosted and the prospective sheep rancher was told that he could "clear on herd and ranch worth \$12,000 in three years." To prove his points for skeptical readers Brisbin has the expenses and profits all carefully tabulated for a five-year period.

R. P. Spice, *The Wanderings of the Hermit of Westminster Between New York and San Francisco* (London, 1881).

G. Thomas Ingham, *Digging Gold Among the Rockies* (Philadelphia, 1882).

William H. Russell, *Hesperiothen: Notes From the West* (London and New York, 1882), 2 vols. By the well-known English correspondent of the Civil War. Described a trip of 1880-1881 through Minnesota, Kansas, Colorado, New Mexico and California.

Richard I. Dodge, *Our Wild Indians* (Hartford and Chicago, 1882). The Indians were Western Indians and Dodge, an army officer, wrote with the authority of a good many years' experience on the plains as this book and *The Hunting Grounds of the Great West* show.

George F. Price, *Across the Continent With the 5th Cavalry* (New York, 1883).

George O. Shields, *Hunting in the Great West* (Chicago and New York, 1883). Mainly Montana and Wyoming.

E. S. Topping, *The Chronicles of the Yellowstone* (St. Paul, 1883). Historical and promotional.

Gen. George A. Custer, *Wild Life on the Plains and Horrors of Indian Warfare* (St. Louis, 1883). Reprints of General Custer's *Galaxy* articles plus additional material. Presumably published for large circulation (cheap paper and extremely crude illustrations); it went through many editions. Intermediate between the more conservative books listed above and the still cheaper dime novels. Incidentally, dime novels by 1884 were being severely criticized on the grounds that the pernicious influence which they exerted was causing youngsters to commit crimes (robberies and holdups) so that they could "go West and be cowboys"; a criticism

interval contains numerous articles on the West and its attractions; many times illustrated by artists from first-hand observations.¹¹ These Western illustrations are of sufficient importance to warrant more extensive discussion; a discussion which we will, however,

certainly pertinent in any discussion of the effect of literature on the Western migration.—See the New York *Semi-Weekly Tribune*, March 11, 1884.

Reginald Aldridge, *Life on a Ranch* (New York, 1884); in England as *Ranch Notes* (London, 1884). Aldridge, an Englishman, out of work in the depression of the 1870's, came to the United States after reading letters from Kansas and Colorado published in the English periodical *Field*. The book reviews his cattle-ranching experience in Kansas, Indian territory and Texas from 1877 to 1883.

William Shepherd, *Prairie Experiences in Handling Cattle and Sheep* (London, 1884, and New York, 1885).

Profits of Sheep and Cattle Raising in Southwest Kansas (Topeka, 1884). This pamphlet is cited as illustrative of still another type of literature which had marked influence in the Western migration of the 1880's. It is a promotional bulletin published by the Santa Fe railroad. That these bulletins did have a considerable effect—although not always the desired one—is attested by a Kansas correspondent in a letter to *The Nation*, New York, August 6, 1885, p. 113.

Elizabeth Custer, *Boots and Saddles* (New York and London, 1885). Although the life of the Custers on the Dakota plains in the 1870's is the topic, the book again focused Eastern attention on the West.

Walter, Baron von Richthofen, *Cattle Raising on the Plains of North America* (New York, 1885). The author states that he had lived in Colorado and was for many years engaged in the stock business. He gives a brief account of the extent of the cattle ranching by 1885 with estimates of costs and profits. Chapter 9 deals with the great ranches of the West and gives some idea of the magnitude of ranching as a big business. I have read that Baron Richthofen was the father of the celebrated aviator Richthofen of World War I and that the aerial tactics of the "flying circus" introduced by Richthofen were suggested by tales told by the elder Richthofen of the circling tactics used by the Plains Indians in the warfare against the whites. I have been unable to verify the relationship between the two Richthofens.

Theodore Roosevelt, *Hunting Trips of a Ranchman* (New York and London, 1885). Not to be confused with Roosevelt's *Ranch Life and the Hunting Trail*, published two years later.

John H. Sullivan, *Life and Adventures of a Cow-Boy or Valuable Hints on Raising Stock* (New York, ca. 1885).

De B. Randolph Keim, *Sheridan's Troopers on the Border* (Philadelphia, 1885).

Ernest Ingersoll, *The Crest of the Continent* (Chicago, 1885).

Percy G. Ebutt, *Emigrant Life in Kansas* (London, 1886). Cattle ranching in Kansas in the 1870's.

E. Marston, *Frank's Rancho or My Holiday in the Rockies* (London and New York, 1886), "What We Are To Do With Our Boys."

11. Among my notes on articles in the periodical literature dealing specifically with various aspects of ranching (not already cited) are those listed below. It should be kept in mind that articles dealing with Western Indians, the West, etc., should also be included in any complete bibliography of Western literature for in the late 1870's and early 1880's all such material served to instruct and attract its readers in the West.

W. A. Baillie-Grohman, "Cattle Ranches in the Far West," *Fortnightly Review*, London, v. 34 (October, 1880), p. 438. This article forms the basis of Chapter 12 in his book *Camps in the Rockies*.

Alfred Terry Bacon, "Ranch Cure," *Lippincott's Magazine*, Philadelphia, v. 28 (1881), p. 90. The title suggests one cause of Western migration. Bacon continued the above article in a second one, "Colorado Round-Up," *ibid.*, p. 622.

"Ranche Life in the Far West" (uncredited), *Macmillan's Magazine*, London, v. 48 (1883), p. 293. Reprinted in *Living Age*, Boston, v. 158 (1883), p. 596. A word of caution to those enthusiasts of little knowledge who were considering ranch life (sheep raising) on the plains. Many of the difficulties and hardships are pointed out.

Arthur H. Paterson, "Camp Life on the Prairies," *Macmillan's Magazine*, London, v. 49 (1884), p. 171. An Englishman's experience.

"A Wyoming Cowboy on Cattle Raising," one-half column in the New York *Semi-Weekly Tribune*, February 29, 1884, p. 3. This item is cited as illustrative of much of the fugitive contemporary literature, which altogether must have totaled hundreds of accounts. This story, for example, was reprinted in the *Tribune* from the Pittsburgh *Dispatch*. It is a hearty recommendation of ranch life with its great profits, plus an amusing tall story of Western justice.

Alice W. Rollins, "Ladies' Day at the Ranch," *Harper's Magazine*, New York, v. 71 (June, 1885), pp. 3-17. Still another aspect of life on a western Kansas ranch.

Rufus F. Zogbaum, "A Day's 'Drive' With Montana Cow-Boys," *ibid.* (July, 1885), pp. 188-193. Zogbaum was probably as nearly Remington's immediate predecessor as any man.

The Nation, New York, v. 41 (July 2, 1885), pp. 15-17, has a long review and discussion of the well-known *Report in Regard To the Range and Ranch Cattle Business in the United States*, by Joseph Nimmo, Jr., another important item in any Western bibliography. How extensive the interest was in this report and in the West can be judged by the letters to this publication which the review initiated. Letters to *The Nation*—some of them of considerable length—on the same general topic (most of them are from Westerners) will be found in v. 41 as follows: (July 16, 1885) pp. 50, 51, (August 6) pp. 113, 114, (August 27) pp. 172-174, (September 17) pp. 237, 238, (October 29) pp. 360, 361.

Frank Wilkeson, "Cattle-Raising on the Plains," *Harper's Magazine*, New York, v. 72 (April, 1886), pp. 788-795. Another first-hand account by one who had tried it out.

postpone until later in this series. But probably more important than the books, periodicals and illustrations of the period was still another source of information—the newspapers. One can scarcely pick up an issue of an Eastern newspaper of almost any decade after 1850, without finding news items from the West concerning Western migrations; accounts of Indian troubles; tall stories of frontiersmen and highwaymen and letters from homesteaders, miners and travelers—some of it authentic, much of it garbled and a great deal of it lurid reporting of imaginary events. In fact, so terrible was the reporting in many cases, that Western inhabitants complained of the treatment they received at the hands of Eastern newspapers. Robert Strahorn, a Westerner and a free-lance writer, who wrote under the pseudonym of “Alter Ego” for the *Rocky Mountain News* of Denver, and other newspapers, commented on his colleagues in the East in the following acid vein:

Of manners and morals of western people generally, much is said that is far beyond the pale of truth. Nearly every eager itemizer, from the manager of a representative eastern paper down to the senseless and superficial scribbler for the eastern backwoods press, comes to the new west with mind literally charged with glowing absurdities and with an unyielding determination to realize these absurdities. Why this should be is partly explained by the fact that eastern readers demand experiences from the western plains and mountains which smack of the crude, the rough and the semi-barbarous.¹²

The Indian question, especially, Strahorn pointed out, was invariably overworked by these Eastern correspondents who saw Indians behind every clump of sage brush, menacing the traveler at every step in his journey across the plains.

No doubt, the cause of this extraordinary interest in the Western Indian that the Eastern newspaper reporter displayed was greatly stimulated by the appalling military disaster that overwhelmed Custer and his command on the hills above the Little Big Horn river in the summer of 1876—the centennial year.¹³

Custer's defeat certainly had the effect of focusing the attention of the entire world upon the Western region and the newspaper interest in this event and succeeding Indian questions is readily understandable, no matter how imperfectly they were reported. The considerable volume of Western literature—in newspaper, periodical

12. The quotation from Robert E. Strahorn will be found in his *Hand-Book of Wyoming* (Cheyenne, 1877), p. 105. For a biographical sketch of Strahorn, see *The National Cyclo-pædia of American Biography*, v. C (1930), pp. 445, 446.

That Eastern newspapers really gave many items of Western news can be seen from the number of entries found in the *Index To the New York Daily Tribune* under the heads “Indians,” “West,” “Cowboys,” “Ranching,” “Plains,” for the years 1868-1885 inclusive, a period in which large migrations to the West took place.

13. See Part IV of this series: “Custer's Last Stand,” in *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, November, 1946, pp. 361-390.

and book—makes it apparent then that the West had been “discovered”—in whatever sense the word may be used—long before Remington’s day. The West was early a part of the national consciousness, and the events and literature in the decade from 1876 to 1886 had developed a consuming interest in the life of the plains. No matter, for our present purpose, if the great bubble of an abundant ranch life burst with sickening suddenness in the terrible winter of 1886-1887 and if the migration from the plains was almost as rapid as the earlier emigration to the Western land; for, despite the bursting of the bubble, this consuming interest was shared by a large audience, and there were many in that audience who had partaken of that life. By the late 1880’s the time was opportune for still other chroniclers who could recall and recapture the life just passed with pen, pencil and brush. They soon appeared and among them was Remington. The fact that he was fortunate enough to have lived for a time this life on the plains, led naturally, if not directly, to his mature achievements as one of the country’s leading illustrators.

The year that Remington lived in Kansas was the only time that he established residence on the plains, although in subsequent years he made frequent Western trips for inspiration and fresh material. In this respect he was unlike Charley Russell, whose work has frequently been compared with that of Remington. Russell spent most of his life as a resident of the West and worked for some years as a cowhand. As a result, his work is frequently more exact, as far as detail goes, than was that of Remington, who was primarily interested in action rather than exact detail—an important point to keep in mind in comparing the two artists.¹⁴

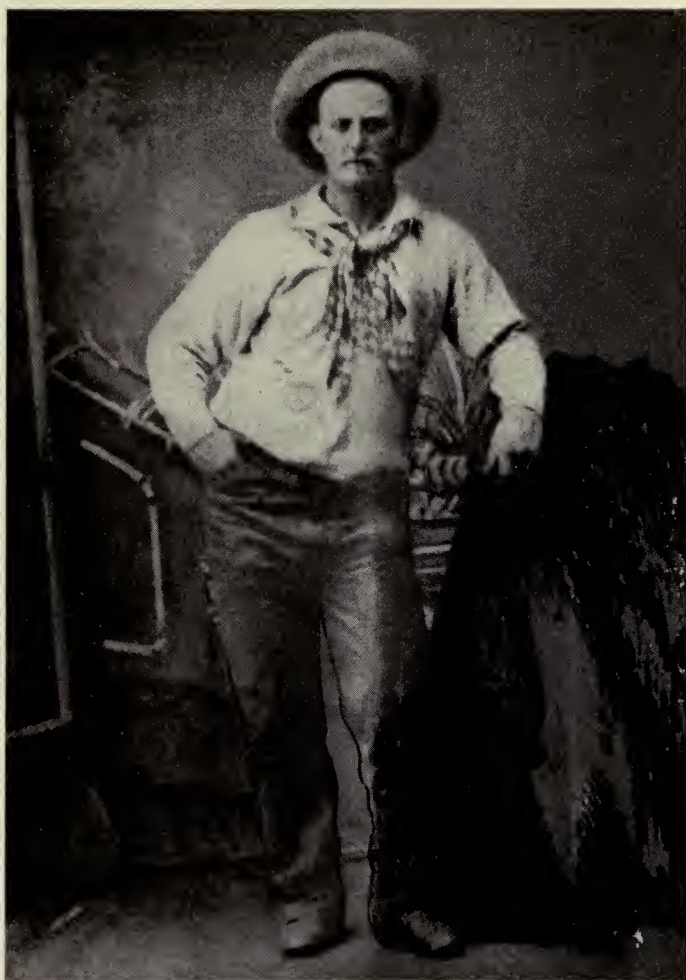
The Kansas experience, however, was not Remington’s first Western venture. Late in the summer of 1881, as a youth of 19, he had spent some weeks on the plains of Montana and that trip had apparently cast its spell over the youngster.¹⁵ Some sketches had resulted from this trip and one had been published by *Harper’s Weekly* in 1882 which was used, however, to illustrate an incident of life in the then Arizona territory.¹⁶

14. Russell will be considered later in this series and further comparisons of his work with that of Remington will then be made.

15. Remington left Canton, N. Y., in August, 1881, for Montana, according to the *St. Lawrence Plaindealer*, Canton, N. Y., August 10, 1881, p. 3. I am indebted to Editor Atwood Manley of the *Plaindealer* for the courtesy of examining the files of the *Plaindealer* in his office. Remington several times referred in later years to this early trip to Montana.—See the autobiography cited in Footnote 9 and his book, *Pony Tracks* (New York, 1895), p. 7.

16. The sketch will be found in *Harper’s Weekly*, New York, v. 26 (February 25, 1882), p. 120. It was re-drawn by W. A. Rogers who mentions the fact in his autobiography *A World Worth While* (New York, 1927), p. 246. Rogers himself had some experience as a Western artist which will be recorded subsequently in this series.

The length of Remington’s Montana visit has not been established with certainty. He was



FREDERIC REMINGTON
(1861-1909)

In his Butler county days. A photograph probably made at
Peabody in 1883.



THE REMINGTON RANCH IN BUTLER COUNTY. FROM AN ORIGINAL WATER COLOR SKETCH MADE BY REMINGTON IN 1883.
COURTESY THE REMINGTON ART MEMORIAL, OGDENSBURG, N. Y.



Any thing for a quiet life.

HERDING SHEEP, BUTLER COUNTY. FROM AN ORIGINAL REMINGTON SKETCH MADE IN 1883. COURTESY THE REMINGTON ART MEMORIAL.



LAMBING TIME

Robert Camp, Remington's immediate neighbor. From an original sketch made by Remington in 1883 and identified by Mr. Camp in 1943. Courtesy the Remington Art Memorial.

A year and a half spent at the Yale Art School was terminated early in 1880 by the death of his father who left him a patrimony of several thousand dollars.¹⁷

After he quit school, Remington corresponded with a Yale friend, Robert Camp of Milwaukee. Camp was graduated with the class of 1882 and late in the same summer went to south-central Kansas to try his hand at sheep-ranching, one of the many individuals in the Western migration of the early 1880's. Remington, if he could have followed his own interests, would doubtless have found his way to the cattle range and established his own cattle ranch. But the initial venture in a cattle ranch on any save the most modest scale, was an expensive business. Theodore Roosevelt, for example, in less than a year invested over eighty thousand dollars in establishing his cattle ranch in the Bad Lands of Dakota.¹⁸

Remington had no such sum to invest and Camp, in his correspondence, pointed out that a sheep ranch could be established with the small patrimony that Remington had available.¹⁹ Further, Camp described the country where he had made his establishment, and life on his ranch with such enthusiasm that Remington was soon eager to join his friend. Camp made the necessary arrangements for the purchase of a small ranch adjoining his own on the south, and early in the spring of 1883 Remington left Albany for a farewell visit to his family at Canton and then set out for the plains of Kansas.²⁰

back in Albany, N. Y., by October 18, 1881, as I have a copy of a letter written by Remington on that date in which he states that an interview with George William Curtis, editor of *Harper's Weekly*, had been arranged for him so that Curtis could be shown some of Remington's sketches.

17. Remington was enrolled at Yale for the school years beginning in 1878 and 1879 (Yale University Catalogues for these years). He left school during the Christmas holidays of 1879 and did not return because of the ill health of his father who died on February 10, 1880.—Ogdensburg (N. Y.) *Journal*, February 10, 1880. I have studied in some detail Remington's life at Yale as well as his life in Albany, N. Y. He held some five or six jobs in Albany from 1880 until he moved to Kansas in 1883. I hope to publish these studies subsequently.

18. Roosevelt's investment in the Bad Lands ranch will be found in Hagedorn, *op. cit.*, appendix, p. 482. Mr. Hagedorn estimates that Roosevelt lost over fifty thousand dollars in Dakota, a considerable share of the loss being caused by the terrible winter of 1886-1887.

19. My information on Robert Camp and Remington is based on personal interviews with Robert Camp in 1943, who was then over eighty and living in Milwaukee. I am indebted to Wilbur I. Barth of the First Wisconsin Trust Company, Milwaukee, who interviewed Mr. Camp for me on three different occasions, asking him my many questions and returning the replies. Mention of "Bob" Camp's activities in Kansas will be found in the *Peabody Gazette* for the period under discussion as follows: August 24, 1882, p. 5, mentions the presence of Bob Camp and the issue of September 7, p. 5, in its Plum Grove notes, mentions that Mr. Camp moved onto his place "some two weeks ago"; also mention of the Camp venture on October 19, p. 5, November 30, p. 5, and December 23, p. 4. The last item states that Camp owned 900 sheep and "thinks sheep raising the boss business." The location of his ranch is also given as Sec. 25, T. 23, R. 3. It is thus seen that his ranch was in the same section as Remington's (see Footnote 20). The issue of June 21, 1883, p. 4, states that Camp "clipped between six and eight thousand pounds of wool this spring." Camp lived in the Peabody neighborhood for some years. The last reference that I have found to Camp in the *Gazette* is in the issue of September 9, 1886, p. 5.

20. An item in the *St. Lawrence Plaindealer*, Canton, N. Y., February 28, 1883, states that Fred Remington had resigned his position in Albany and was in Canton and would leave for the West "in a few days."

An examination of records in the office of the register of deeds of Butler county (at El Dorado) was made for me by Mrs. Corah Mooney Bullock of El Dorado, to whom I am in-

The Kansas "ranch," the purchase of which Camp had arranged for Remington, was a quarter section (one hundred and sixty acres) in northwest Butler county. Butler county is—and was also in Remington's day—a huge rectangle of land, so large that it has been humorously referred to as "the State of Butler." It is a rolling upland that lies on the extreme western edge of the Flint Hills, a high escarpment running north and south which roughly divides the eastern third of Kansas from the remainder of the state. The escarpment rises abruptly from the prairies on its eastern side but slopes upward gently on the western side, merging again into prairie level, and still farther west—much farther—becomes eventually the High Plains. The Flint Hills proper are vast swells, treeless but covered with bluestem grass, and form one of the great natural pasture lands of the world. Sheep and cattle raising and grazing had begun in the eastern Flint Hills almost with the opening of Kansas territory in 1854. As settlers moved west after the Civil War, the stock industry gradually moved with the migration. In the late 1870's after a year or so of extremely dry weather and the failure of grain crops, greater attention was directed to the utilization of the natural resources of the country, especially the native grasses. As a result, a considerable boom in the raising of sheep developed in the western Flint Hills. Butler county and its neighbor to the south, Cowley county, became the leading "sheep counties" of the state.²¹ A good many young bachelors were attracted by this boom, among whom was Robert Camp; and shortly after, Remington arrived.

debted for other valuable aid as well. Mrs. Bullock's examination shows that Frederic Remington bought from Johann and Maria Janzen the southwest quarter of Sec. 25, T. 23, R. 3 (Fairmount township, Butler county), on April 2, 1883, for the consideration of \$3,400. On May 31, 1883, Remington purchased the southeast quarter of Sec. 26, T. 23, R. 3, from Charles W. and Sara Potwin for \$1,250. These figures enable us to make a fair estimate of Remington's resources. To the \$4,650 spent for land, there should be added \$2,000. A letter to Horace D. Sackrider from Frederic Remington dated Peabody, May 16, 1883, stated that Remington was that day making a draft against the St. Lawrence County Bank for \$1,000. "My sheep sheds are going up and I want the money." The letter is in the H. M. Sackrider collection. The other thousand dollars Remington drew from the Canton bank in the fall of 1883. The basis for this last thousand is found in a telegram dated "Sept. 5, 1883, Peabody, Kansas" that Remington sent his uncle Horace D. Sackrider (H. M. Sackrider collection). The total investment in the Kansas ranch, then, as exactly as can now be determined, was \$6,650. It is doubtful if Remington's patrimony was as large as this. It is probable that part of the money was borrowed from his mother, for in a letter to H. D. Sackrider, which from its context was written in the fall of 1889, Remington writes of paying interest on money borrowed from his mother. (The last cited letter is also in the H. M. Sackrider collection.)

Information from the Butler county clerk shows that both quarters were sold by Remington to David W. Greene on May 31, 1884.

21. For the history of Butler county I have consulted Vol. P. Mooney, *History of Butler County* (Lawrence, 1916), p. 186; Jessie Perry Stratford, *Butler County's Eighty Years* (El Dorado, 1934), p. 45. The A. T. Andreas, and W. G. Cutler, *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago, 1883), p. 1430 ff., is especially useful for my purpose as it is almost contemporary with Remington's stay in Butler county. For the agricultural history of Butler county in Remington's day I have used the *Second Biennial Report of the State Board of Agriculture* (1879-1880), pp. 229, 265, 266; *Third Biennial Report* (1881-1882), pp. 152-157, and *Fourth Biennial Report* (1883-1884), pp. 44-50. "Agricultural Resources of Kansas," in *Kansas State College Bulletin*, Manhattan, October 15, 1937, pp. 24-26, also has given useful information on the characteristics and topography of Butler county.

The immediate country where Camp and Remington had their ranches—if farms of 160 acres could be called ranches—was a sloping plain with almost no trees save along the water courses. Most of the water courses—deep gashes giving rise to steep bluffs—were dry except during the wet seasons, although the principal one, the Whitewater river, usually was a flowing stream. Their immediate neighborhood was well settled so that the country could by no means be regarded as frontier. Ten years earlier there had been frontier difficulties with horse thieves and vigilantes, and the then-cowboy capital, the rough and turbulent town of Newton,²² was only fifteen miles to the west of Remington's ranch. But these difficulties had long disappeared by the time Remington arrived. They had left their effects, to be sure, on the country. The language was that of the horse and cow country and the sheep ranchers rode horses as extensively as their neighbors to the west and wore the characteristic "chaps" as well. This sheep country, too, was still largely unfenced, each farm owner fencing a patch of his land for his "corral." It should be noted that in the early 1880's there was no odium attached to sheep ranching, nor any of the conflict between sheep and cattle interests which was so widely publicized later in Western history.

The Camp and Remington ranches joined each other. El Dorado, the county seat, was twenty miles south. Peabody, the nearest town on the railroad, was some ten or twelve miles to the north. It was from here that the young men laid in most of their supplies and carried on their business transactions—the trips to town, of course, being made at infrequent intervals by horse. A tiny settlement, Plum Grove, was within three miles of Remington's ranch, but the settlement consisted only of a general store—Hoyt's store—a school-house, and two or three houses.²³

Camp and Remington soon struck up an acquaintanceship with two other young bachelors and the four soon became inseparable in their enterprises and sports. One of this group was James Chap-

22. By Remington's day, the cowboy capital had shifted to Dodge City, over 150 miles west of Newton.

23. A very valuable source of information on Remington's life in Kansas is found in an article by Remington "Coursing Rabbits on the Plains," *Outing*, New York, v. 10 (May, 1887), pp. 111-121. Appearing only three years after Remington's residence in Kansas it is especially useful as it gives names, geographic localities and incidents which, in many cases, can be actually verified. Mrs. Myra Lockwood Brown of Rosalia (also in Butler county) has been especially active in collecting Remington material relating to his Kansas residence. In the past fifteen years she has interviewed many of the older residents of Butler county who had personal recollections of Remington in Kansas, including Judge R. A. Scott and J. H. Sandifer of El Dorado, Rolla Joseph of Potwin, and others. She was able to verify all the geographic locations mentioned by Remington in his article and has visited the Remington "ranch." As a result of the efforts of Mrs. Brown and the writer, a brief illustrated review of Remington's activities in Kansas appeared in the *Country Gentleman*, September, 1947, p. 16 ff. Reference to material collected by Mrs. Brown is referred to hereafter as "M. L. Brown."

man, a youngster from Illinois, who "ran" another sheep ranch nearby. And, of course, the ubiquitous Englishman was present. Remington, in an account of his Kansas experiences, designated him only as "Charlie B———," probably a pseudonym to hide the real name of one of that small army of remittance men then scattered over the West. Remington wrote:

Charlie B——— was your typical country Englishman, and the only thing about him American was the bronco he rode. He was the best fellow in the world, cheery, hearty and ready for a lark at any time of the day or night. He owned a horse ranch seven miles down the creek, and found visiting his neighbors involved considerable riding; but Charlie was a sociable soul, and did not appear to mind that, and he would spend half the night riding over the lonely prairies to drop in on a friend in some neighboring ranch, in consequence of which Charlie's visits were not always timely; but he seemed never to realize that a chap was not in as good condition to visit when awakened from his blanket at three o'clock in the morning as in the twilight hour.²⁴

Strange, isn't it, that Charlie was able to wander over the prairies at night without danger from the redskin; or wasn't it still stranger that friends visited casually back and forth at their own free will whenever fancy struck them? It can thus be seen that life on a Kansas sheep ranch was a far more prosaic affair than life in the West was so luridly built up to be by the newspapers of the period. To be sure, to Remington's New York friends in Albany and Canton, Kansas was really West and doubtless they felt it would require all of Remington's ingenuity and strength to keep his scalp from being lifted by the savage redskin on week days and great skill with the weapons provided by Mr. Colt to prevent his massacre by the Bad Men of the West when he went to town on Saturdays. Probably, too, Remington himself was not unwilling that his Eastern friends should have this impression. Not long after his arrival in Kansas, he wrote a hasty note from Peabody to William Poste, a legal friend in Canton, N. Y., who had examined some papers for him:

May 11, '83, Peabody

Poste

Dear Sir—

Papers came all right—are the cheese—man just shot down the street—must go

Yours truly

Frederic Remington²⁵

The tantalizing effect of this note on the recipient can readily be imagined and it certainly would do nothing to relieve the popular

24. From the *Outing* article. See Footnote 23.

25. The copy of the letter given in the text (to William A. Poste) was kindly lent to me by Mrs. Alice Poste Gunnison of Canton, N. Y., a daughter of William A. Poste.

impression of the West, an effect which young Remington was trying to perpetuate, for an examination of Peabody newspapers shows no such catastrophe recorded.

Remington probably arrived in Kansas early in March of 1883. He was met in Peabody by Robert Camp, who was eager to take the new arrival on a tour of inspection. The Camp ranch was first visited, but Remington was impatient to see his own property, and so without further delay they were off to the Remington place. There he found a small frame house of three rooms, a well, two barns and a good-sized corral. The main part of the house, a story and a half high, consisted of a long living room below and a bedroom above. Built on the north side was a single room, a gable-roofed affair, that served as the kitchen.²⁶ The barns were chiefly for horses and considerable remodeling and extension was necessary for conversion to sheep. Remington had arrived early enough in the spring to witness lambing and sheep-shearing on the Camp ranch, so he soon had some idea of the trials and tribulations of his new business. That Camp had really gone into sheep raising on a considerable scale is seen from the fact that Remington witnessed a wool clipping amounting to some seven thousand pounds.

As soon as he had gained some idea of his new undertaking, Remington set to work. Almost his first move, necessarily, was the purchase of horses. Although sheep raising was the principal business of the region, horses came first in the interests of the

26. Mrs. M. L. Brown interviewed Rolla Joseph of Potwin (see Footnote 23) some years ago and he described the Remington house, barns and corrals for her before either of them had seen the sketches reproduced in this article. Writing January 5, 1948, after having viewed the drawings, Mrs. Brown said: "In regard to the house as Remington knew it, this is what I know: Rolla Joseph of Potwin described to me the house in detail—the barns, corrals, etc., the shape of the house and roof, the number of rooms and what they were used for, the color of the house, etc., and the way it faced.

"Everything is just as Remington sketched it, according to Mr. Joseph. The one-story room on the north with a gable roof, not shed roof, was the kitchen where Remington prepared meals, including pancakes and beef steak, for the ranch hands, the men that were constantly coming in, and for the little boys he had out there to ride his horses and watch whatever fun, such as wild steer riding, boxing, or just planning something, might be under way. Mr. Joseph told me that Remington was always, to use his phrase, 'mixing in' with the smaller boys, particularly those at a disadvantage in any way.

"The other room downstairs, besides the kitchen, would now probably be called a living room. I think that Remington and his fellows often ate there. At any rate, it was in this room that the small diary, black and about the size of an ordinary pocket loose-leaf notebook, was one day discovered, opened. Mr. Joseph told me about the book. One of the two Lathrop men, one a Peabody banker, the other a Wichita oil man, which I do not at the moment recall, told me of what he read there. At that time the Lathrops were neighbors of Remington. Remington had been attempting to do something for a problem son sent west by his father for Remington to make a man of him. The words inscribed were: 'You can't make a man out of mud.' The book lay on a table.

"The half-story room upstairs was sleeping quarters. Billy Kehr stayed at the ranch most of the time. There were other guests. The door, in the sketch, in which a man appears standing, is on the east.

"This is right for the lay of the land and the road as I saw it. I do not believe any of the former buildings could be recognized from present structures, which are modern in every respect. According to what Clifford Lathrop told me, one of the last of the old buildings to be razed was the one of the barns which held inside—not on the door, as some reports have it—the sketch of the cowboy roping a steer, which Remington had cut there with his knife. That sketch was a neighborhood pride. This barn also served as a sort of gymnasium, as did the yard near it."

ranchers and every chance meeting at Plum Grove or Peabody was an opportunity to discuss the merits of horses, to maneuver a swap of the animals or to promote a horse race whenever a newcomer of any reputation put in his appearance. Every rancher kept a small string of horses for work and play. Upon the advice of Camp, several were purchased and finally Remington was able to secure, after considerable dickering, a most unusual animal of which he became very fond. She was "a nervous little half-breed Texas and thoroughbred, of a beautiful light gold-dust color, with a Naples yellow color mane and tail." She was promptly named Terra-Cotta, although to the other boys on the ranch, who had not had the advantage of a year and a half at the Yale art school, she was called Terry. After the horses were purchased, a ranch-hand, Bill Kehr, was employed. Bill was still younger than his employer and was really more a boon companion than a hand. Bill also had several horses; one of them, Prince by name, was in appearance a grey sleepy old plug, but his appearance belied his character for he was really a speedy animal and his owner had been able to use Prince's undistinguished outlines for his own advantage on several occasions. In fact, Prince had so much of a local reputation that it was hard to match him up for a race. Jim Chapman, the friend of Camp and Remington, had acquired a horse, Push-Bob, with a reputation for speed, about the time Bill Kehr went to work for Remington. A good deal of discussion as to the relative merits of Prince and Push-Bob took place in the evenings after the chores were done, but the owners were cautious about putting the horses to the actual test. The race was eventually run but not until late fall under circumstances that were unusual, to say the least, and with a most disconcerting outcome; but we must postpone for the moment this story until we get Remington well started on his ranching career.²⁷

With his horses purchased and a ranch hand employed, Remington plunged eagerly into the task of getting the ranch in operation. A large sheep shed was erected at the top of a slope overlooking his range, many hundreds of sheep were purchased, and supplies were freighted from Peabody. Kehr, being accustomed to ranch work, took the lead in getting most of these tasks accomplished, leaving Remington the task of looking after horses and herding the sheep, although Remington was always able to get relief from the latter task by employing one of the many neighborhood youngsters—and

27. The Peabody *Gazette* items cited in Footnote 31 reveal some of these facts; others come from the *Outing* article. Kehr appears in the *Outing* article as Carr.—M. L. Brown.

his dog—to stand guard while he went about occupations more to his liking. Remington also had to do the cooking for the ranch. He prepared the meals for Kehr and himself as well as the not-infrequent callers. An idea of the cooking may be had from a story told about the daughter of a neighboring rancher. Her hospitable mother had sent her over to Remington's one day with two loaves of freshly baked bread. As the youngster entered the bachelor's kitchen, Remington dumped a large basket of dirty potatoes into a huge pot on the stove, covered them with water, and kindled the fire beneath them. "Why, Mr. Remington," she exclaimed, "don't you wash the potatoés before you cook them?" Remington regarded the youngster gravely and replied, "Wash them? I should say not. I've tried them both washed and unwashed and they taste better unwashed. Have you ever tasted boiled *unwashed* potatoes?" The bewildered youngster agreed that she never had. "Well you tell your mom to cook them that way and you'll see—and besides, it takes time to wash them."²⁸

Fortunately for Remington and his boarders, the monotony of a diet of unwashed potatoes could be varied with canned sardines and canned tomatoes; and doubtless the pile of empty tin cans outside Remington's corral grew steadily larger with the months.

As spring advanced, Remington had more time to roam the prairies and he grew more enthusiastic about his new life. The quarter-section directly west of his was offered to him and he promptly bought it. The toil and drudgery of ranching were easily forgotten in the momentary enthusiasm. This *was* the life, and how he did enjoy it. "The gallop across the prairie," he wrote in describing an early morning run to Bob Camp's place, "was glorious. The light haze hung over the plains, not yet dissipated by the rising sun. Terra-Cotta's stride was steel springs under me as she swept along, brushing the dew from the grass of the range. . . ." ²⁹

His rising exuberance as his new life developed was in marked contrast to his behavior when he had first reached the Kansas ranch. Several acquaintances who knew him then recalled that he was inclined to be melancholy, "moody beyond anything I had ever seen in man" reported one of his friends. "In his moments of despair he was not only morose but recluse. He hid from the majority of all his fellows save one, a chap of his own age, James Chapman, who hovered near as something of a guardian angel."³⁰ The cause of

28. M. L. Brown and the *Outing* article.

29. Quotation from the *Outing* article.

30. M. L. Brown.

this attitude is now hard to ascertain. All his life Remington was inclined to be volatile—for a time intensely enthusiastic, then despairing; but as he grew older this behavior gradually disappeared. Possibly the youthful Remington, when he first reached Kansas, had been disappointed in love or it may have been that one of his chief interests in life—drawing—had as yet brought him little satisfaction, or the death of his father, all may have played a part. But in the development of his new life the melancholia wore off and Remington soon became more jovial and was well known and popular over the countryside. Many of the children of the period recall the interest he took in them. His drawing, too, was by no means neglected, for he spent considerable time with his sketch book. He sketched his ranch, his sheep, his neighbors and their activities. He went to Plum Grove and sketched the preacher who visited the schoolhouse on Sundays and the sketch was then passed around the audience. A neighbor bought a trotting horse and Remington drew the horse. Bob Camp's cook was greatly pleased when Remington drew for him on rough wrapping paper a sketch of a cow defending her calf from the attack of a wolf. Many evenings a crowd would gather at the Remington ranch and Remington would sketch the individuals as they "chinned" with one another or as they boxed, for boxing was a favorite sport of the young ranchers. Few cared to put on the gloves with Remington as he was almost in the professional class and his opponents were always in for a good mauling when they fought with the ex-Yale football player.³¹

The work of the ranch was so well settled into routine that by July Remington was getting restless again. Leaving the ranch in Bill Kehr's hands, Remington, together with a friend from Peabody, George Shepherd, decided to take a look at the country south and west. Just how extended a trip—on horse, of course—they made at

31. I have made extensive examinations of the Peabody and El Dorado newspapers of the period and have found occasional contemporary mention of Remington in these sources. In the Plum Grove notes of the Peabody *Gazette*, June 21, 1883, p. 4, is the item "Mr. Remington, on the 'Johnson place,' is building a large sheep barn." The issue of July 5, p. 5, mentions a prospecting trip of Remington and George Shepherd to "the southern part of the State." The *Gazette*, October 18, p. 5, reports that "Fred Remington's father started for his home in the East, last Monday morning." "Father" is obviously in error and should read "uncle," for Mrs. Ella Remington Mills and Pierre Remington both wrote me that Lamartine Remington, an uncle of Frederic Remington, visited the Kansas ranch and caught a cold that developed into tuberculosis.

Mention is made of a trip that Remington and Robert Camp made to El Dorado in *ibid.*, December 13, 1883, p. 5, and the El Dorado *Republican*, December 7, p. 3.

From the interviews of M. L. Brown, it seems certain that preliminary sketches that Remington afterward worked into his more mature productions were made during his Kansas stay. Included among these were "The Last Stand" and "The Bronco Buster."

In addition to a small album of original Kansas sketches (approximately quarto in size) in the Remington Art Memorial at Ogdensburg, N. Y., reproductions of sketches of direct Kansas interest appear in the *Outing* article (Footnote 23), and in *Harper's Weekly*, v. 32 (April 28, 1888), p. 300, a half-page illustration "Texan Cattle in a Kansas Corn Corral," which has been reproduced on the cover of this *Quarterly*.



THESE REMINGTON SKETCHES AND THOSE ON THE FOLLOWING PAGE WERE MADE IN BUTLER COUNTY IN 1883. ALL THE ORIGINAL REMINGTON SKETCHES HERE REPRODUCED ARE IMPORTANT HISTORICALLY AS THEY ARE CONTEMPORARY PICTORIAL DOCUMENTS OF KANSAS LIFE AND AGRICULTURE IN THE EARLY 1880'S. REPRODUCTIONS COURTESY THE REMINGTON ART MEMORIAL.



Spring plowing



Cultivating corn



the four horse corn planter



Agriculture in Kansas

this time is now unknown. They probably went down into Indian territory, not many miles south of Butler county and then may have gone west into New Mexico territory and back by way of Dodge City. At any rate, Remington had made a horseback trip of some distance into the Southwest—a further exploration of the Western scene.

He was back on his ranch before many weeks, for his uncle Lamartine came out to visit him early in the fall. It was an unfortunate and tragic trip for Lamartine, for he and Frederic, in returning one day from the twelve-mile trip to Peabody were caught in a violent plains' rainstorm. Exposure to the elements led to an illness for the elder Remington that eventually developed into tuberculosis and led finally to his untimely death. To the burly young rancher, hardened by an outdoor life of many months, the storm was just a passing incident and without effect. It was with genuine regret, however, that he put his ailing uncle on the train for home, for he and Lamartine, not greatly separated by years, had many interests in common.³²

It was shortly after his uncle left in mid-October, 1883, that one of Remington's most memorable experiences in Kansas occurred. He had ridden up to Bob Camp's ranch with James Chapman one evening, and after supper the three, together with Camp's cook, gathered around the kerosene lamp on the kitchen table. As Jim leaned his chair back against the wall, he suggested, "Look here, boys, what do you say to running jacks tomorrow?"

"I seconded the motion immediately," wrote Remington in recalling the evening, "but Bob, the owner of the ranch, sat back and reflectively sucked his big pipe, as he thought of the things which ought to be done. The broken fence to the corral down by the creek, dredging the watering holes, the possibilities of trading horses down at Plum Grove and various other thrifty plans weighed upon his mind; but Jim continued,—'It's nice fall weather now, dry and cold; why a hoss will jest run hisself to death for fun; that old Bob mule scampered like a four year ole colt all the way to Hoyt's grocery with me today, and besides, there hain't nothing to do, and the jacks is thicker'n tumble weeds on the prairie.'"

With Remington's added urging, Bob Camp was soon won over and the sport was planned for the next day. "Jacks," it should be pointed out, are jack rabbits, animals that have "the most preposterous ears that ever were mounted on any creature but a jackass"

32. See reference to Peabody *Gazette* and Lamartine Remington in Footnote 31.

according to Mark Twain, who also remarked that the jack rabbit, when really frightened, "straightens himself out like a yardstick every spring he makes." At any rate, coursing the jacks was a thrilling chase, but usually not a very dangerous one—for the rabbits. They were coursed by using dogs—usually fleet-footed greyhounds—to rout the rabbits out of their cover and on to the range. There the chase was taken up by the mounted hunters, each armed with a lance, a light pole some six feet in length. The object of the chase was to touch the rabbit with the lance, a feat not often accomplished. The chase consisted of quarter- or half-mile dashes in the open, followed by a sudden swerve in the line of the chase as the rabbit broke for cover. This was usually a slew (a depression) filled with tall grass, or a rough creek bed—a deep gash in the prairie ordinarily dry but containing dwarf willows. Coursing jacks was thus excellent training in horsemanship even if other gains were meager.

The hunt arranged by Chapman and Remington included seven horsemen; for, in addition to the original trio, there were John Smith, who furnished the greyhound, "Daddy," by name; Bill Kehr, Remington's ranch hand, who was riding Prince; Phip, Bob Camp's cook, who really should not be called a horseman since he was riding "Bob," a mule somewhat advanced in years and who at various times in his long career had "elevated some of the best riders in that part of the country toward the stars"; and, lastly, Charlie B———, the Englishman, on a blue mare and rigged out in regulation English hunting togs, with the exception of the red coat, which several years' experience in the West had taught him was not appreciated for its true worth. Remington was mounted, of course, on his favorite, Terra-Cotta, and Bob Camp on a dependable but not speedy mare, Jane, by name. Jim Chapman was riding Push-Bob, Prince's much-discussed rival; in fact, one of the reasons for arranging the hunt seems to have been the chance offered to get more real facts on the relative merits of the two horses.

The party assembled at Camp's corral, moved down across a dry branch of the Whitewater river that cut across Bob's quarter, up the bluffs and out on to the open range. They had not gone far until

"There's a jack—take him, Daddy," came a quick cry from Johnnie, and the next moment Johnnie's big bay was off. There goes the rabbit, the dog flies after. "Go on, Terra," I shouted, loosing on the bit, hitting her lightly with a spur, and away we went, all in a ruck. Old Prince was shouldering heavily away on my right, Push-Bob on my quarter, Jane off to the left, and

Phip at a stately gallop behind—the blue mare being left at the post as it were.

The horses tore along, blowing great lung-fulls of fresh morning air out in snorts. Our sombreros blew up in front from the rush of air, and our blood leaped with excitement. Away scurried the jack, with his great ears sticking up like two antique bed-posts, with Daddy closing the distance rapidly, and our outfit thundering along some eight rods in the rear. Down into a slew of long grass into which the rabbit and dog disappeared we went, with the grass snapping and swishing about the legs of our horses. A dark mass on my left heaves up, and "ho—there goes Bob head over heels." On we go. "Hope Bob isn't hurt—must have put his foot into a water-hole," are my excited reflections. We are out of the slew, but where is the rabbit and the dog?

"Here they go," comes from Phip, who is standing on the edge of the slew, farther down toward the bluffs of the bottoms, where he has gotten as the result of a short cut across.

Phip digs his spurs into the mule, sticks out his elbows and manifests other frantic desires to get there, all of it reminding one strongly of the style of one Ichabod Crane, but as we rush by, it is evident that the mule is debating the question with that assurance born of the consciousness that when the thing is brought to a vote he has a majority in the house.

The rabbit dodged, doubled in its tracks when out on the plain again, and came almost directly at Remington who lunged with his lance but missed as Kehr and Charlie swept by. This time the rabbit made for a dry creek bed. Kehr and Charlie crashed together as they went down into the bed and both were unhorsed. Remington, attempting to head off the rabbit, chose to go over a high bluff above the creek. But the descent was so steep that Terra's knees bent under her and both she and her rider went down. Remington was thrown to the bottom with such violence that he lay stunned on the ground, but soon he and Terra were up again. To continue the comedy of errors, another rabbit was run out of the creek and made straight for Phip mounted on his mule. Phip prepared to deal the fatal blow, but as he made ready the mule spied the rabbit coming at him, shied violently and sent his rider sprawling and cursing on the plain.

The riders slowly gathered for a council of war. Bob Camp was the last to arrive, "a sketch in plaster," since the spot where he had been unhorsed was a hole of soft blue mud. After a breathing spell, the horsemen were out for another round. One rabbit had been run down and another was started. It made its escape through the corral of a newly-settled rancher, "old" John Mitchner. John came out with a hospitable "how-de boys" and asked them to dinner, an invitation which was eagerly accepted. While waiting for John's boy to cook up a meal of bacon and eggs, the conversation turned

to horses. As the hunters looked over John's stock in the corral, Jim Chapman began to "rib" the old man about his horses and John replied, "Wall, my hoss stock ain't nothin' to brag on now, because I hain't got the money that you fellers down in the creek has got fer to buy 'em with, but I've got a little mare down thar in the corral as I've got a notion ken run some shakes." This statement was an open invitation for a race and in practically no time Jim had wagered Push-Bob against old John's little mare. Bill Kehr promptly joined in. "I'll bet Prince can beat either of you," he said. "I'll ride him, and we'll all three run, the winner to take both, . . . and it's a good time to see whether Prince or Push-Bob is the better horse."

They agreed, and dinner was forgotten as old John went into the corral for his horse. When he led her out, so old and decrepit did she seem, cupidity got the best of the remaining hunters. Remington put up his favorite Terra-Cotta against another mare and her colt in old John's corral; Bob Camp bet Jane against four head of John's cattle; Jack Smith entered his horse in the wagering; and Charlie, the Englishman, staked his blue mare against a likely looking three-year-old in the old man's string. Only Phip on his mule was immune to the fever and he expressed his doubts in no uncertain manner. But his voice was lost in the excitement as the three horses came into line for a quarter-mile race. Remington was to fire the starting shot. Charlie and Bob, together with old John's son, rode out on the plain and marked the finish line and acted as judges. But let Remington tell the story of the race.

The three racers came up to the scratch, Bill and Jim sitting their sleek steeds like centaurs. Old Prince had bristled up and moved with great vim and power. Push-Bob swerved about and stretched his neck on the bit. The boys were bare-footed, with their sleeves rolled up and a handkerchief tied around their heads. Old John came prancing out, stripped to the waist, on his mare, which indeed looked more game when mounted than running loose in the corral. The old man's grey, thin locks were blowing loose in the wind, and he worked his horse up to the scratch in a very knowing way. We all regarded the race as a foregone conclusion and had really begun to pity old John's impoverishment, but still there was the interest in the bout between Prince and Push-Bob. This was the first time the victors of the Whitewater bottoms had met, and was altogether the greatest race which that country had seen in years. How the boys from the surrounding ranches would have gathered could they have known it, but it is just as well that they did not; for as I fired the gun and the horses scratched away from the mark, Old John went to the front and stayed there to the end, winning by several lengths, while Prince and Push-Bob ran what was called a dead heat, although there was considerable discussion over it for a long time afterwards. There was my

dear little Terra gone to the hand of the spoilsman, and the very thought almost broke my heart, as I loved that mare as I shall never love another animal. I went back to the corral, sat down and began to whittle a stick. It took Bob and Charlie a half an hour to walk the quarter of a mile back to the ranch. Bill and Jim said nothing kept them from flying the country to save their horses but the fact that they had no saddles.

The six stood disconsolately looking through the fence of old John's corral as he herded in his newly acquired string. Then he reminded them of dinner, but for some reason they had lost their appetites, and with a last look at their former mounts they started dejectedly for home, ten miles distant. Phip and old Bob were used to good advantage, for all the saddles were piled on the mule.

"Every man in this country will know this inside of two days," was the disheartening comment as they got under way. The full force of this observation became only too apparent that evening when Remington and Bill Kehr rode down—on new mounts, of course—to Hoyt's grocery at Plum Grove to renew their larder. As they approached the front of the store and looked through the window, they saw by the pale light of the lone lamp, old John perched on a sugar barrel. He had quite an audience and as he reached the climax of his story, there arose a shout of laughter which was probably heard in El Dorado, twenty miles distant. Bill and Remington looked at each other and quietly decided to go hungry the next day as they turned their horses about and headed for home without going into the store.³³

If this episode lingered long in Remington's memory, still another one, following the horse race by a month or so, must have been equally well remembered—and remembered with still greater regret—for it was probably one of the causes leading to his withdrawal from ranch life. A Christmas eve party had been arranged for the residents of Plum Grove and the ranchers and settlers in its outlying territory. That night saw the schoolhouse crowded to its small capacity. Remington and all "the boys" were there and so was a prominent member of the community who had incurred their dislike. It is probable that a few drinks had made the boys more boisterous and careless than usual, for as they saw the bald head belonging to the object of their dislike well up in the front of the audience, the target was irresistible. Large paper wads and small balls of mud began to fly toward the gleaming bald dome. Such conduct was, of course, immediately reprimanded, and the guilty parties were asked to leave the schoolhouse. The public reprimand

33. The description of the race and the quotations are from the *Outing* article.

left its sting and made the culprits more obstreperous than ever. As they gathered outside the building, one of them spied a pile of straw. It was hastily piled outside the window and set blazing with a cry of "Fire, Fire." A near panic resulted. The crowd poured from the doors and even from some of the windows, but fortunately, it was not disastrous. The affair naturally aroused considerable feeling, and the more staid members of the community swore out warrants for the arrest of the perpetrators of the thoughtless prank. The *Walnut Valley Times*, published at El Dorado, even noted the event in its columns:

Some of the youngsters up in Plum Grove [northwest Butler county], on Christmas eve., at an entertainment in the schoolhouse, behaved in most unseemly manner, judging by report, and got up a row which assumed almost the proportions of a riot. The matter has culminated by a suit in the district court; Fred Pennington [Remington], Wm. Kehr, John Smith, Chester Farni [Harris?] and Chas. Harriman being the defendants. The first trial resulted in the disagreement of the Jury. Another trial is set for February 4th. The boys are a little "wild and wooly" occasionally in the northwest.³⁴

The *Times* account is essentially correct save that the matter was adjusted in the justice court before Justice Charles E. Lobdell rather than in district court. We have Lobdell's word for it that after a two-days' trial in which the jury disagreed, the case was dismissed upon the payment of costs, which, along with the attorney's fees and all other expenses, were borne by Remington. One of the attorneys referred continually to Remington as "Billy, the Kid," an allusion which evidently greatly disturbed young Remington, as well it might. In fact, the whole affair was a source of considerable embarrassment to him and he doubtless wished many times that he had not been so foolish and reckless. Up to this time, he had been popular in the community, but, as a result of the prank, which easily might have had a far more serious and tragic conclusion, he was looked upon with less favor. If Remington felt guilty and brooded over the affair at the time, his sins have long since been forgiven.³⁵ The story above has been told in Butler

34. *Walnut Valley Times*, El Dorado, January 11, 1884. The item was discovered by Mrs. Bullock of El Dorado.

35. The affair at the Plum Grove schoolhouse was recalled by Rolla Joseph (mentioned above) who states that "it never would have happened if the boys hadn't been drinking," and by the justice of the peace in the case, Charles Lobdell. Lobdell, later a member of the state legislature and still later the editor of the *Kansas City (Kan.) Tribune*, gave his recollections of the affair in the *Tribune*, October 29, 1897. Still another version of the story appears in the recollections of H. A. J. Coppins, a resident of the Plum Grove community in Remington's day. The Coppins' recollections, a valuable contribution as they contain several interesting sidelights, appeared in the *El Dorado Times*, November 24, 1943. I am indebted to Mrs. Bullock, who became so much interested in this Remington affair that she attempted to trace the records in the justice court of El Dorado but found, as the result of her search, that some cleanly and God-fearing former mayor of the town, had, in a burst of zeal for cleaning up things, thrown away all old reports, the accumulation of years. Probably it is just as well that they were destroyed for many a sinning soul will rest easier in his grave since the records of his misdeeds are thus forever hidden from the eye of man.

county many times since that day, but always with forbearance and with pride—a pride that young Remington was part of its life for a time and that his experiences on the prairies contributed to his knowledge of Western ways and of Western horses.

It was not long after the conclusion of the trial that Remington decided to give up ranching. The bad light in which the schoolhouse incident had placed him was no doubt a contributing reason. But there were other, and probably more important ones. In the first place, Remington was not cut out to be a rancher. "He didn't take a great deal of interest in the actual work of the sheep ranch," is the statement by which Robert Camp, now in his eighties, sums up his recollections of Butler county days and Frederic Remington.³⁶ Sheep ranching could go along smoothly in pleasant weather, especially when boys of the neighborhood could be hired to herd the flock, leaving the boss free to roam as his fancy dictated. But there was hard work, too. It was a herculean task to protect the bleating animals from the sudden northern blasts of wintry weather. The sheep had to be dipped several times a year, an extremely dirty, stinking and disagreeable task, and at lambing time almost constant attention for weeks had to be given to the majority of the flock. In addition to these more or less routine drawbacks, there were the troubles of shearing and the selling of the wool. Unfortunately for Remington, the price of wool took a tremendous slump in the early spring of 1884, the first time he had any for sale.³⁷

As a result of these mounting difficulties—and the embarrassment of the trial—Remington began looking for a purchaser of his property. He found one before many weeks, sold his two quarter sections, his sheep and remaining horses, and by May of 1884, after a year of life on the Kansas plains, he quit the ranch.³⁸

36. From the interviews of W. I. Barth (1943).—See Footnote 19.

37. The difficulties of sheep farming in Remington's period are feelingly described in the recollections of a Kansan, William M. Wells, in *The Desert's Hidden Wealth* (1934), pp. 177, 178. In this category of recollections, another item having some bearing on ranching in the Flint Hills is Frank Harris' *My Reminiscences As a Cowboy* (New York, 1930). Harris, later a literary light, was a partner in a cattle ranch at Eureka in the 1870's. The book is cited as evidence to show the close contiguity of cattle and sheep ranching in the Flint Hills area. In all of the contemporary accounts of sheep and cattle raising before 1885, I have never found any indication that there was marked rivalry or hostility between the two. Indeed in Aldridge, *op. cit.* (Footnote 10), mention is made of a cattle ranch and sheep ranch which were adjacent to each other. My colleague, Prof. James C. Malin of the University of Kansas, tells me that in his studies of agricultural history on the plains, there is no evidence that there was marked rivalry between sheep and cattle raisers in this period. Some ranchers, indeed, raised both sheep and cattle; others were in some years cattle ranchers and in other years sheep ranchers, depending upon the fluctuations of economics and weather.

38. See Footnote 20. It is probable that Remington left before May. The *Peabody Gazette*, January 24, 1884, p. 5, has a reference of the sale of the Remington place to "D. M. Greene." According to this item Greene planned to move to the Remington place "about March 1st," a usual date for moving on the farm.

William Clark's Diary

MAY, 1826-FEBRUARY, 1831

Edited by LOUISE BARRY

JANUARY, 1828

WEATHER AND RIVER DATA

Date	Tem. at 8 A. M.	Weather	Wind	Tem. at 4 P. M.	Weather	Wind	Rise & fall of River
1	50	Cloudy	S.	50	Cloudy	S.	River falling
2	52	Rain	S	58	Clear	Calm	" "
3	50	Cloudy	Shifting	63	"	"	" "
4	50	Clear	Calm	53	Cloudy	S. W.	" "
5	54	Foggy	Calm	60	"	Calm	" "
6	60	Cloudy	"	56	Rain	"	" "
7	42	Cloudy	S. W	41	Clear & cold	S. W	" "
8	32	"	"	32	"	"	" "
9	32	"	SW	40	"	SW	River rises 4 feet
10	40	Clear	Calm	38	Cloudy	SW	River falling
11	50	"	"	48	"	SW	" "
12	40	Rain	E	32	Rain	SW	" "
13	40	Clear	Calm	"	"	"	" "
14	30	Cloudy	"	32	Cloudy	N. E	River falling
15	30	"	"	30	"	N. E	" "
16	32	"	"	38	"	Calm	" "
17	20	Clear	"	30	Clear	"	" "
18	40	"	"	42	Cloudy	S.	River falling
19	28	"	N. W	22	Clear	N. W	" "
20	32	"	N W	28	"	NW	" "
21	20	"	N. W	28	"	"	" "
22	28	Cloudy	Calm	38	Cloudy	Calm	" "
23	30	"	"	32	"	NW	" "
24	38	"	"	52	"	NE	" "
25	52	Clear	"	59	Clear	Calm	" "
26	38	Cloudy	NE	"	"	"	Very little Ice runing no Ice
27	30	C. a. R	W. SW hard	28	"	W. hard	" "
28	20	Clear	Chng	20	"	"	river raised 2 feet Ice rung
29	30	Cloudy	"	40	Clear	Calm	" "
30	46	Clear	calm	55	Clear	"	" "
31	50	Cloudy	"	50	Cloudy	E	" "

REMARKS

- 1 This Day Cloudy & Warm
- 2 This Day Cloudy and same. Rain & warm in the morning
- 3 Flying Clouds to day with occasional Sunshine
- 4 Arrive A Woman three Children & a Man of the Menominee Tribe
- 5 Foggy & very warm morning some Sun shine & very warm this evening.

LOUISE BARRY is in charge of the Manuscripts division of the Kansas State Historical Society.

- 7 This day Cold & Freezing Cloudy Morning, and Clear evening Beaver a female Indian of the Cherokee Nation arrives from Fort Meggs¹⁰² on her way to Arkansas.
- 8 This morning some Snow, the evening cold & Cloudy
- 9 S. B. *Plough Boy* leaves for Louisville & arrived Monday night
- 10 This morning Clear but the Evening Cloudy & like Rain
- 11 This morning Clear & Evening Cloudy & like for Snow
- 12 Dark rainy morning Still continues to rain.
- 13 This morning Clear & cold the Evening Cloudy & like Snow
- 14 Sleet this morning Ice running. still Cloudy cold, and freezing
- 15 Cloudy & Ice running. this Evening still Cloudy & like for Snow
- 16 S. B. *Velossipide* arrives Still cloudy & Ice running. ground covered with Snow about 2 Inch deep
- 17 Very cold morning & Ice running this Day Clear but very cold
- 18 Clear but cold morning. this Evening Cloudy & Cold
- 19 S. B. *Velossipede* leaves Ice in the river this morning. the coldest day so far this winter
- 20 Cold & Ice running. thawing a little from 10 to 12 OClock
- 21 Cold weather still & Ice increasing in River which is falling
- 22 Cloudy, some hail last night, thawing this evening. Five Shawnees arrive from the Osage River (Fish¹⁰³ & his party.)
- 23 Cloudy & like for Snow this morning. Still cold Ice & like for Snow
- 24 Ice still running Cloudy, & has the appearance of Rain this day
- 25 Some rain last night & this morning warm. Dined to day with the windows raised Black Feather & his party set out this morning for the Kansas River.¹⁰⁴
- 26 No Ice this morning, but cloudy & raining
- 27 rained last night wind hard and Cold all Day & part of the night preceding

102. "Fort Meggs" possibly referred to the Cherokee Indian agency in Tennessee, where Return J. Meigs (1740-1823) was agent for many years.

103. Senewathquakaw, or Fish, "signed" the Indian peace treaty of October 12, 1826. See Footnote 39. He was chief of a band of the Shawnee Indians who removed from Missouri to a reserve in present Kansas in 1828. According to contemporaneous accounts he was a white man, taken prisoner when a small boy.—*The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 5, p. 343; Houck, Louis, *A History of Missouri* (Chicago, 1908), v. 1, p. 211.

104. Apparently this refers to the Shawnees mentioned under date of January 22. "Fish" was written in the diary just preceding "Black Feather," and inked out.

- 28 Some Ice Cloudy. S. B. *Muskingum* arrives from Louisville
 29 Ice running this morning S. B. *Jubilee* arrives from Orl. Last night Clear & Cold
 30 Clear morning. Some Ice running. S. B. *Muskingum* leaves for Louisville
 31 S. B. *Jubilee* leaves to day for Orleans Rain, but little Ice

February, 1828

WEATHER AND RIVER DATA

Date	Tem. at 8 A. M.	Weather	Wind	Tem. at 4 P. M.	Weather	Wind	Rise & fall of River
1	56	Foggy	Calm	54	Rain	East	River rose about 2 feet, today
2	64	Clear	SE	64	Clear	E. Strong	" Rising
3	50	Smoky	S.	55	Clear	Calm	" Falling
4	40	Cloudy	S.	50	Cloudy	S.	River Rising
5	46	"	Calm		Clear	South	Rising Fast
6	52	Rain	S	54	Cloudy	"	" "
7	52	Clear	S. E	58	Clear	Calm	" "
8	52	"	S. E	62	Cloudy	S. E	" "
9	50	Cloudy	E	50	Snow [?]	NE	Rise about 2 feet
10	32	"	N	40	Clear	N	River still rising.
11	42	Clear	N	52	"	NE	River rose 2 feet since Satrday
12	40	"	NE	54	"	E	" rising
13	42	"	Calm	50	Cloudy	NE	Falling
14	48	Cloudy	"	50	Smoky	E	River rising
15	52	Clear	"	58	Clear	Calm	" falling.
16	50	"	"	56	"	"	" "
17	60	"	South	62	Cloudy	"	River falling
18	42	Rain	West	40	"	West	" "
19	42	Clear	Calm	50	Cloudy	S	River fallen about 3 feet
20	62	Cloudy	Blustry	68	Clear	S. W. hard	River still falling & very Rough to day.
21	60	"	SW	46	Cloudy	North	River falling.
22	48	Clear	North	50	Clear	"	" "
23	40	Cloudy	"	52	Cloudy	N	" "
24	38	"	North	42	Cloudy	"	" "
25	38	Clear	"	42	"	"	" "
26	42	Cloudy	S. W	50	Rain	S. W	
27	30	Snow	S. W.	30	Clear	N	
28	30	Clear	N	30	Cloudy	N	River on a stand
Leap Year							
29	18	Clear	N	34	Clear	N	

Leap Year.

REMARKS

- 1 Very little Ice running today. Parson Gideons died early this morn^g¹⁰⁵
- 2 Wind, hard & River very rough this morning. continues. Mr Bursro's leg taken off

105. The Rev. Salmon Giddings, Presbyterian pastor, and conductor of a grammar school in St. Louis, was a much respected man. His funeral was attended by "about 12 or 1500 persons."—*Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, February 7, 1828; Wetmore, Alphonso, comp., *Gazetteer of the State of Missouri* (St. Louis, 1837), p. 180.

- 3 Warm & Smoky. S. B. *Liberator* arrived last night from Orleans Clar & warm this Even Chief Perry ¹⁰⁶ with Two men & two Squaws arrive from the Osage River
- 4 The forenoon warm, but the afternoon Cloudy and cold
- 5 Cold morning Sun Shine nearly all day. S. B. *Plough Boy* arrives Two Kickapoo Indians arrive
- 6 Very rainy morning. No rain this evening but cloudy S. B. *Liberator* leavs for O. Two Shawanees leave on Board the *Liberator* for Kaskaskia
- 7 Clear morning. S. B. *Plough Boy* leaves for Louisville. Mr Busro ¹⁰⁷ died last evening Chief Perry and two Squaws leave here for the Osage river.
- 8 A fine clear morning. Clōdy this Evening and expect Snow
- 9 Some rain last night & this morning Cloudy Snow this evening.
- 10 A cold cloudy morning. S. B. *Velossipede* arrived yesterday. S. B. *Josephine* to day
- 11 A clear but cool morning. S. B. *Origan* from Orleans. Evening not very clear
- 12 not entirely clear this morning. clear evening & pleasant weather
- 13 clear morning this evening Cloudy & looks like Rain
- 14 A Cloudy, Smoky & damp morning S. B. *Josephine* Starts for Fever River & *Oregon* for Orleans
- 15 A clear & pleasant morning & evening. S. B. *Pilot* arrived this morning from Louisville 4 Delawares Indians arrive 3 Men & 1 Squaw
- 16 Clear & temperate weather. S. B. *Clopatra* arrive[s] from Orleans. Pleasant evng
- 17 Very pleasant morning. S. B. *Pilot* leaves for Louisville. like rain this Even
- 18 Rain with some appearance sleet S. B. *Plough [Boy]* arrives from Louisville with J. Kennerly on board 3 Kickapoo Indians arrive 4 Delawares & 1 Squaw depart

106. Two Shawnee chiefs named Perry, John Perry (Lah-lo-mah) and William Perry (Pem-sah-tah), "signed" the Indian peace treaty of 1833, at Fort Leavenworth.—Copy of treaty signed November-December, 1833, by Delaware and other tribes, in journal of commissioners appointed under act of July 14, 1832, in "Records of the Office of Indian Affairs," The National Archives.

107. This was evidently Charles Bosseron, blacksmith, for some years a resident of St. Louis, formerly of Vincennes, Ind.—*Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, February 7, 1828; Billon, F. L., *Annals of St. Louis in Its Territorial Days* (St. Louis, 1868), p. 224.

- 19 A clear morning but cloudy evening. three Kickapoo Indians depart
 20 hard thunder Stormy & high wind.
 21 Cold & much like snow. Snow. S. B. *Velocipede* leaves for Fever River
 22 Beautiful morning Pleasant Weather & a considerable change
 23 Genl Clark attendd the Military Ball at Jefferson Barracks last evening. Rain
 24 This day Cloudy & Wind blowing cold from the North
 25 S. B. *Velossipede* arrived last night from Louisville, Cold day
 26 S. Boats *Jubilee* & *Lady Washington* arrive last night the former from Orleans, latter from Pittsburg *G. Packett*, Louisville the *Maryland* from Pittsburg
 27 S. B. *Velossipede* leaves for Louisville. Clear & Cold freezing fast
 28 S. B. *Illenois* arrived last night.¹⁰⁸ much like Snow
 29 S. B. *Muskingum* & *Bolivar*¹⁰⁹ arrive. *Lady Washington* leaves. Very Cold

March, 1828

WEATHER AND RIVER DATA

Date	Tem At 8 A. M	Weather	Wind	Tem At 4 P. M	Weather	Wind	Rise & fall of River
1	30	Cloudy	S. W	28	Cloudy	S W	River Rising
2	30	Rain	E	26	"	N	" "
3	20	Clear	NW	30	Clear	N	River on a stand
4	18	"	N	40	"	NW	
5	28	"	NW	30	"	"	River fallen, much.
6	40	"	NW	60	"	SW	River still falling, & but little Ice
7	50	"	S	64	Cloudy	S	" " " & Clear of Ice
8	52	Cloudy	"	62	Clear	S	" " " "
9	56	"	S	62	"	S	River rose this day about 8 Inch
10	58	Clear	Calm	64	Clear	N. W	River rising.
11	48	Cloudy	N E	52	Cloudy	"	"
12	40	"	N E	62	Clear	S W	"
13	48	Clear	N W	48	Clear	N W	"
14	38	Cloudy	N	40	Cloudy	N	"
15	48	"	"	46	Clear	N	"
16	42	Clear	N	42	"	N	"
17	42	"	S E	36	Cloudy	S. E.	"

108. The coming of the "new and substantial steam boat Illinois . . ." was advertised in the *Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, of February 26, 1828. Hall, James, *Notes on the Western States* (Philadelphia, 1838), p. 256, lists a steamboat *Illinois*, built at Pittsburgh in 1826, weight 130 tons. Her "new" designation in 1828 possibly meant newly-renovated. The *Illinois* was lost by being "snagged," on January 16, 1829. See diary entry of January 22, 1829.

109. This is the first diary mention of the *Bolivar*, though she was built in 1825.—Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 252.

Date	Tem At 8 A. M	Weather	Wind	Tem At 4 P. M	Weather	Wind	Rise & fall of River
18	48	Cloudy	N.E.	46	"	N E	"
19	40	Clear	E	60	Clear	Calm	"
20	50	"	Calm	62	Cloudy	"	"
21	50	Clear	N E	60	"	"	River " taken a considerable rise.
22	30	Cloudy	E	56	"	E	River at a stand.
23	42	Clear	Calm	58	Clear	S	
24	50	Clear	N.W	60	Clear	Calm	River still Rising.
25	58	"	Calm	60	"	E	
26	60	Rain	E	62	Rain	S.E	River Rising.
27	52	Clear	N E	54	Clear	N E	" "
28	58	"	N E	60	"	N E	" "
29	50	Cloudy	N. W	40	Cloudy	N E	River rising just within the Banks on E. side from the Missouri principally.
30	43	Clear	N W.				River rising Nearly out of bank on the Illinois side.
31	42	"	N W	60	Clear	N W	River out of its Banks on the Illenois side.

REMARKS

- 1 Cold & Cloudy morning. Snow at night
- 2 Cloudy & damp weather. this evening very cold *Muskingum* & *Bolivar* leave. *P. Boy* arrives & *Nashville Packett*
- 3 Very cold Ice running. Snow disappears freezes hard about zero[?]
- 4 S B *Nashville Packet* started this morning Clear & cold morning. S Bs *Ploughboy* and *Illinois* Departed for Lewisville
- 5 Ice Yesterday & to day running. S B *Belvideer* arrived yestarday morning and Departed this evening for L. v
- 6 S Bs *Hercules* and *Rover* arrived last evening from Louisville (vary warm evening) White Feather¹¹⁰ & Wife arrive from the Kansas
- 7 S. B. *Hercules* Chartered for \$100. to go to Camp on occasion of Genl Atkinsons party.¹¹¹
- 8 S B *Hercules* arrived from Camp this morning departs for Louisville S. B. *Clopatra* arrives from Louisville
- 9 This morning foggy preceded by Rain, after 10 OClock a clear fine day
- 10 A clear fine day. S. Bs. *Liberator* arrives from Orleans. *Cleopatras* departed for Louisville
- 11 A cloudy and misty morning S B. *Oregon* arrived from Orleans last night. *Velocipede* arrived from Louisville
- 12 A cool morning S Bs. *Oregon* departed for Orleans last night S B *Rover* Departed for Naples last night

110. "White Feather" may possibly refer to the Kansas chief White Plume, mentioned later (April 21, 1829), in the diary.

111. "Camp" evidently meant Jefferson Barracks where Gen. Henry Atkinson was commanding officer at this period.

- 13 A beautiful clear & fine Spring morning. S. B. *Plough Boy* arrives from Louis[ville] *Bolivar* from Franklin *Josephine* from Fever River 4 Fox Indians arrive & wish to have a talk. 7 Socks arrive. 3 Men & 3 Squaws with one Child
- 14 A Cloudy cold morning S B *Velocipede* Departed for Cincinatti.
- 15 " " " " S B *Ploughboy* Departed for Louisville
- 16 A clear and cool morning. S Bts. *Bolivar* & *Josephine* leaves for F. River S Bs. *Illinois Muskingum* & *Phoenix* arrived from Louis[ville]
- 17 The Air this morning pleasantly cool. S. B *Illinois* departes for fever River
- 18 Cold. Rainy morning S. B. *Liberater* & *Muskingum* Departed for Orleans
- 19 A beautiful clear and fine morning. S. B. *Phoenix* departs for Fever River
- 20 Clear in the morning Evening Cloudy & Smoky
- 21 This day cloudy with Smoke
- 22 Raining a little this morning. this evening Cloudy & Smoky, like Rain
- 23 " A clear day. Col P. Manard arrives from Kanzas.¹¹² S. B. *Maryland* arrives from Pitt[sburg]
- 24 S. Bs. *Cleopatra* arrive this morning S B *Maryland* arrived from Pitt Last night S. B. *Indiana* Fever River
- 25 S B *Boliver* arrives from F River Fine weather. S. Bts. *Rover* & *Ilenois* arrive from Fever River. *Jubilee* from Orleans
- 26 S Bs *Maryland* & *Cleopatra* departed for Louisville yesterday S B *Bolliver* for Fever River this morning & *Galena Packet* arrived last night from F. River (Violent storm of Wind last night at 10 Clock)
- 27 Fine & Clear weather. Genl Street arrive[d] night before last from Prairie du Chein ¹¹³
- 28 Fine & Clear weather S. B. *Velossipede* arrived from Louisville Kickapoos arrived
- 29 A cold rainy day. S. B. *Plough Bow* Set[s] out for Louisville
- 30 S. B. *Jubilee* leave[s] for Orleans

112. Both Colonel Menard and his son, Pierre (or Peter) Menard, Jr., are mentioned in the diary. Pierre Menard, Sr. (1767-1844) was a Canadian who settled at Kaskaskia in 1790. He was prominent in Illinois affairs, holding many civil offices. For some years he was Indian subagent at Kaskaskia. A county in Illinois was named for him in 1839.—Reynolds, John, *The Pioneer History of Illinois* (Chicago, 1887), pp. 291-294. His arrival "from Kanzas" is unexplained.

113. Joseph M. Street (1780?-1840), a Virginian who removed to Kentucky, was appointed Indian agent at Prairie du Chien in August, 1827, succeeding Nicholas Boilvin (see Footnote 66). Street was later (1836) Indian agent at Rock Island, Ill.—*Wisconsin Historical Collections*, v. 11, pp. 356, 357.

April, 1828

WEATHER AND RIVER DATA

Date	Tem At 8 A. M	Weather	Wind	Tem At 4 P. M	Weather	Wind	Rise & fall of River
1	50	Clear	SE	60	Clear	S.	River rose about 4 feet since Saturday
2	40	"	W	60	"	W	River falling a little
3	40	Cloudy	W	40	Cloudy	W	River still falling
4	30	Clear	NW	30	"	NW	" " "
5	22	Cloudy	NW	22	"	N	River falling.
6	26	Clear	NW	28	"	NW	" "
7	30	"	NW	34	Clear	W	" "
8	38	Clear	"	60	"	Calm	" "
9	50	"	Calm	62	Cloudy	E	" "
10	60	Cloudy	S	64	Clear	E	" "
11	64	Clear	S	80	"	S	" "
12	64	Rain	S	82	Rain	S	" "
13	64	Cloudy	S	56	Rain	N	" "
14	58	Clear	NW	62	Clear	NW	" "
15	50	"	"	50	"	NW	River on a rise
16	54	Cloudy	NW	60	Rain	NE	River rising fast
17	48	"	"	62	Rain	NE	" " "
18	54	Cloudy	NE	56	Cloudy	NE	River rising again
19	58	"	NW	54	"	NW	" "
20	56	Clear	W	62	Clear	W	" "
21	58	Clear	Calm	62	"	W	" "
22	58	"	"	64	"	"	" "
23	58	"	S.W	82	Cloudy	S.	" "
24	72	Cloudy	S.W	78	Clear	SW	" "
25	64	Clear	Calm	62	Rain	S.W	River falling fast
26	42	Rain	NW	40	Cloudy	NW	" "
27	58	Clear	NW	53	Clear	NW	" "
28	56	"	NW	56	"	NW	" "
29	58	"	NW	58	"	NW	" "
30	56	"	Calm	62	"	E	" "

REMARKS

- 1 Fine clear weather. S. B. *Rover* leaves for Fever River
- 2 This day Clear with cool Breeze from the West 9 Indians from Merimac ¹¹⁴ arrive to day Fish's party.
- 3 This day quite cold. S. B. *Illinois* from Fever River 8 More [Indians] arrive Osage
- 4 S. B. *Muskingum* arrived last night. Cold & Cloudy 3 [Indians] from Kaskaskia
- 5 A Cold morning accompanied with a light Snow
- 6 Clear and cold morning. S. Bs. *Criterion* & *Courtland* arrives from Orleans ¹¹⁵ & *Illinois* departed for F River

¹¹⁴. The Meramec river of Missouri empties into the Mississippi a few miles below St. Louis. A band of Shawnees and Delawares had a town "between Bourbeuse and Maramec rivers."—Houck, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

¹¹⁵. The *Criterion*, a new boat, of 200 tons, was built at New Albany, Ind.; the *Courtland* (212 tons, built at Cincinnati in 1826), is first mentioned in the diary here.—Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

- 7 Fine weather S B *Cleopatra* arrives from Lewisville. S B *Missouri*¹¹⁶ arrives from Louisville
- 8 S. B *Lagrange*¹¹⁷ arrived last evening from Wheeling & S B *Orregon* arrived this morning from Orleans. S B *Lagrange* departed for Franklin S B *Rover* arrives from F River
- 9 S B *Cleopatra* departed yestarday for Lewisville. S. B. *Gallena packett* arrive[d] last night from Fever River. S B *Criterian* departed for Orleans yestarday Fish's party set out home. the Osage party for home
- 10 S B *Courtland* departed yestarday morning for Louisville. S B. *Liberator* arrives this morning [from] Orleans
- 11 S. B. *Plough Boy* arrives from Louisville. Storm of Thunder lightning & rain
Steam Boat *Rover* Departed for Galena

"	"	<i>Oregon</i>	"	"	New Orleans
"	"	<i>Courtland</i>	"	"	New Orleans
"	"	<i>"Maryland"</i>	"	"	Louisville
- 3 Piankeshaw Indians (Jim) & 2 of his party arrive
- 12 S. B. *Oregon* arrives this evening from Kaskaskia. hard rain to day Steam Boat *Galena Packet* Departed for Galena
- 13 S. B. *Liberator* for the Platte This day Cool with Some Rain in the Evening
- 14 S. B. *Cleopatra* arrives. Clear fine Weather. Col. Manard & Son,¹¹⁸ arrives
Steam Boat *Liberator* Departed for Cantonemint Leavensworth

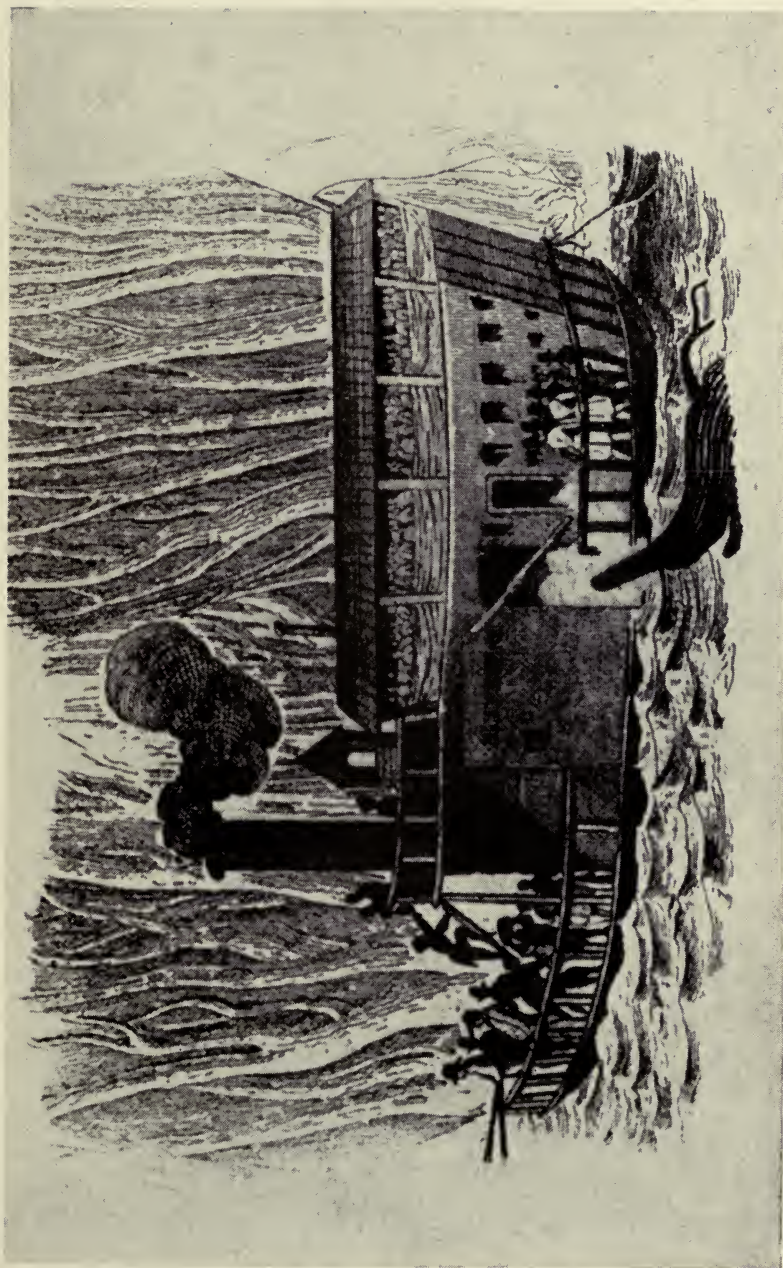
"	"	<i>Ploughboy</i>	"	"	Louisville
"	"	<i>Velocipede</i>			Arrived from Louisville
- 15 This day Clear but somewhat cool
Steam Boat *Criterion* Arrived from M[outh] of Cumberland

"	"	<i>Indiana</i>			Departed for Galena
---	---	----------------	--	--	---------------------
- 16 S. B. *Josephene* from Fever River. *Cleopatra* leaves for Orleans
- 17 Rainy a[nd] Cold weather, fire quite pleasant Steam Boat *Illinois* Arrived from Galena
- 18 Much like Rain, the air damp & cool

116. An advertisement in the *Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, March 4, 1828, stated: "The New Steam Boat *Missouri*, will leave for [Prairie du Chien, Fever River, &c.] . . . and intermediate ports, on the 15th instant." The advertisement further stated that she had been built for the Fever river trade and "will carry and tow 200 tons, and run light on 22 inches water. She has a handsomely furnished *Safety Barge*; and every attention paid to the comfort of passengers. . . ." Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 258, listed the *Missouri* as a 150-ton boat. See, also, diary entries of August 30, 1828, and January 7, 1829.

117. The *La Grange* was a new, small boat (135 tons), built at Wheeling.—Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 257.

118. Col. Pierre Menard (see Footnote 112), and his son Pierre (or Peter) Menard, Jr., were both Indian subagents. Peter Menard, Jr., was appointed to the subagency at Peoria, Ill., in the spring of 1827.—April 4, 1827, letter of Peter Menard, Jr., in office of Indian affairs, "Registers of Letters Received," v. 2.



CONTEMPORANEOUS SKETCH OF THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER STEAMBOAT "BELVIDERE." THE AVERAGE LIFE OF SUCH A BOAT IN THE LATTER 1820'S WAS FOUR YEARS. SINCE THE "BELVIDERE" SURVIVED SIX YEARS (1825-1831) SHE WAS MORE SUBSTANTIALLY BUILT THAN THE DRAWING WOULD INDICATE. ILLUSTRATION FROM "A HISTORY OF TRAVEL IN AMERICA." COPYRIGHT 1915. USED BY SPECIAL PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHERS, THE BOBBS-MERRILL COMPANY.

- Steam Boat *Criterion* Departed for Orelans last night.
 " " *Rover* Arrived last night from Galena F River
- 19 Rainy & muddy weather. the Sun seen this evening at setting
 Steam Boat *Pilot* Arrived from Louisville
 " " *St. Mary's*¹¹⁹ " " Nashville Ten.
 " " *Missouri* Arrived from Galena
- 20 A fine clear morning & clear evening, the first for nearly a week
- 21 Fine Weather. Part of the 1st. Regiment go for the Platt¹²⁰
 Steam Boat *Pilot* Departed for Louisville
 " " *Cleopatra* Arrived from Louisville
 Jim & his party set out for home.
- 22 Fine Weather. Part of the 3rd. Regiment go for the Prairie¹²¹
 Steam Boat *Cleopatra* Departed for Louisville
 " " *Illinois* Departed for Prairie du Chien with the
 Troops of the first Regiment¹²²
 Steam Boat *Indiana* Arrived from Galena
 " " *Jubilee* Arrived from New Orleans
 " " *Maryland* Arrived from Louisville
- 23 A very warm day. this evening much like rane Steam Boat
Missouri Departed for Cantonement Leavensworth with the
 Troops of the third Regiment¹²³
 Steam Boat *Galena Packet* Arrived from Galena
 " " *Muskingum* " " Louisville
- 24 Warm & Sultry weather. continues very warm to day
 S. B. *Indianna* from Fever River
 " " *Gallena packet* arrive[s] from Fever River
 Fish's Son with 3 others arrives.
- 25 This morning warm, the evening a thunder Storm
 S. B. *Gallena packett* departs for Franklin
 " " *Genl. Hamilton* arrives from Cincinnata
 " " *Legrange* " " Franklin

119. Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 261, lists the *St. Mary* as built in Nashville in 1828, weight not given. She is not mentioned again in the diary.

120. See Footnote 123.

121. *Ibid.*

122. *Ibid.* The diary seems to be in error: The *Illinois* carried troops to Fort Leavenworth and the *Missouri* to Prairie du Chien.

123. "The steam boats Missouri and Illinois left Jefferson Barracks last week, the former carrying six companies of the 1st and two of the 3d U. S. Infantry, under the command of Col. [John] M'Neil, destined for the Upper Mississippi; and the latter, with four companies of the 3d Regt. of Infantry, commanded by Col. [Henry] Leavenworth, and bound for Cantonment Leavenworth on the Missouri River." This movement was in accordance with War Department orders "That the six companies of the 3d Inf. at Jefferson Barracks, be removed, four companies to Cantonment Leavenworth, and two to Fort Armstrong (Rock Island;) That the 5th Infantry, which now garrisons the Posts of Forts Snelling, Crawford and Armstrong, when relieved as above, shall concentrate at Jefferson Barracks. . . ."—*Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, April 29, 1828.

- 26 The wind blows hard & cold all this day from the NW
 S. B. *Rover* arrives from Gallena
 " " *Jubilee* departs for N. Orleans
 " " *Plough Boy Do.* Louisville
 " " "*Maryland*" from Annibold [Hannibal]
 " " *Legrance* departs for Orleans
 [Fish's son and party] Set out home
- 27 A Clear but somewhat cool morning. Evening cool. Sunday
 S. B. *Criterion* broke her Shaft & lying at the mouth of the
 Ohio
 " " *Liberator* unloads at St Charles & ascends the River to
 Annibold [Hannibal]
 " " *Hamilton* leaves for Fever River
- 28 Clear fine weather. A Negro drowns himself in Mississippi
 Monday Left home, cloudy morning with a rainy ride [?]
 S. B. *Rover* leaves for Fever River Two Delawares from Big
 Mackanaw arrive on business
- 29 Clear fine weather R. Graham Int died this evening ¹²⁴ S.
 B. *Liberator* arrives from Annibold [Hannibal]
- 30 This evening Cloudy and Rain all night Two Delawares de-
 part for Mackanaw

May, 1828

WEATHER AND RIVER DATA

Date	Tem at 8 A. M	Weather	Wind	Tem at 4 P. M	Weather	Wind	Rise & fall of River
1	80	Clear	S.W	82	Clear	S.W	River is still falling
2	80	Rain	E	70	Rain	NW	" " "
3	80	Clear	E	84	Clear	NW	" " "
4	72	"	Calm	90	Clear	NW	River rising a little
5	80	Cloudy	E	90	"	SE	" " "
6	50	Clear	NW	72	"	NW	" " "
7	52	Cloudy	NW	70	Clear	NW	" " "
8	52	Clear	NW	69	"	"	" " "
9	60	"	NW	64	"	W	" " Fast
10	60	"	E	62	Rain	E	" " Rising.
11	62	Rain	E	66	Wind	S.E	River rising very fast
12	62	Clear	S.W	66	Clear	S. W	" " a little
13	52	"	NW	82[?]	"	Calm	" " "
14	62	Clear	Calm	68	"	SE	River rising very fast
15	64	Clear	Calm	72	"	S	" " "

124. The *Republican*, of May 3, 1828, noted the death of " . . . Richard Graham, jr., a native of Kentucky, and son of Major Richard Graham, of St. Louis county." He had apparently been employed as an interpreter. See, also, diary entry of May 1, 1828, and Footnote 125.

Date	Tem at 8 A. M	Weather	Wind	Tem at 4 P. M	Weather	Wind	Rise & fall of River
16	68	"	S.	92	"	S	" " " "
17	70	Clear	S	92	"	S	River about upon a S nd "ha! ha! ha! ha!"
18	68	Cloudy	W	68	Cloudy	E	" " " "
19	58	"	S	80	Clear	NE	" " " "
20	60	Clear	S	68	Cloudy	N.E.	" " " "
21	68	Clear	N.W.	74	Cloudy rain	N.W.	" " " "
22	66	Clear	N.	73	Clear	N.W.	" " " "
23	69	"	N.W.	76	"	N.W.	" " " "
24	70	"	W.	76	"	W.	" " " "
25	74	Clear	W	80	Cloudy	W	River rising very fast
26	76	Clear	N.W.	88	Clear	S.W.	" " " "
27	65	Clear	N.	73	"	N.W.	" " " "
28	66	Cloudy	S.E.	70	Clear	W.	" " " "
29	73	Clear	S.E.	81	Clear	SW.	" " " "
30	69	Clear	S.	78	Clear	S	" " " "
31	71	Clear	W	75	"	S	" " " "

REMARKS

- 1 Richard Graham Jnr. Son of Majr. R. Graham ¹²⁵ buried, C[ity] B[urying] G[round] Thursday. at Ross' F. S. B. *Liberator* departs for N. Orleans
- 2 Friday Rain with much thunder and lightning. Left S. B. for St. Louis S. B. *Coffee* arrives from Florence. S. B. *Indianna* arrives from Fever River
" " *Josephine* arrives from Prairie.
- 3 A clear fine morning. A very warm evening
S. B. *Cleopatra* arrives from Louisville
" " "*Maryland*" from St Peters withe Troops of the 5th Regt. for J[efferson] Barracks 5th Reg. arrives from Prairie du Chein to day ¹²⁶
- 4 Warm morning, continues very warm [The *Maryland*] Depts for Louisville S. B. *Pilott* departs for Louisville
S. B. *Rover* arrives from Gallena
" " *Gallena packett* from Gallena
- 4 Flat Bot. Boats decend to day.
- 5 Very Warm. still very warm & slight Shower Rain
S. B. *Missouri* depart[s] for Fever River
" " *Josephene* depart[s] for Fever River
" " *Hamilton* arrives from Fever River

125. Richard Graham, later referred to in the diary (e. g., entries of August 30 and December 10, 1828), was an Indian agent from 1815 to 1829. He was first appointed July 14, 1815, as agent of Illinois territory; in the 1820's he was agent for the Osages, Delawares, etc. in Missouri, and for the Delawares, after they removed to present Kansas in 1828. He made his home in St. Louis county, and married a St. Louis girl, Catherine Mullanphy. 23 Cong., 1 Sess., *House Report* 474 (Serial 263), p. 43; *American State Papers* (Indian Affairs), v. 2, p. 450; Billon, *op. cit.*, pp. 198, 395.

126. See Footnote 123.

- 6 Fire quite comfortable this morning cold this Evening
S. B. *Origon* arrive[s] this morning from N. Orleans
" " *Hamilton* leaves this [place] about sun Set for Orleans
" " *Illenois* arrive[s] late at night from the Platt
" " *Rover* leaves for River Fever
" " *N. America* ¹²⁷ 9 Days from PittsBurgh (*new & first trip*)
arrives Majr Hamtranck ¹²⁸ comes home sick from St Charles
having gone . . . as far as Morgan's 30 miles from Jefferson
City on his way to his Agency.
- 7 Cool mornings & Evenings still continue S. B. "*Maryland*"
arrives from Louisville
- 8 Cool morning this evening warm again J. Benton
S. B. & I. *Plough Boy* arrive from Louisville
" " *Plough Boy* leaves about 6 OClock this Evening for
Louisville.
" " *Oregon* leaves about 6 P. M for Orleans
" " *Indianna* leaves for Fever River
87 Kickapoo Indians arrive from Osage River
- 9 This morning warm. this Evening warm S. B. "*Maryland*"
leave[s] for Louisville
- 10 Mr. Rules Daughter Eliza dies to day of a burn ¹²⁹
- 11 Thunder Storm this morning & Cloudy & high wind all day
S. B. *Cortland* arrive[s] with Troops from N. Orleans ¹³⁰
" " *Missouri* arrive[s] from Fever River
- 12 This day Clear and moderately warm
S. B. *Illenois* leaves this place for Fever River
" " *N. America* leaves for N. Orleans *1st Trip down*.
" " *Rover* arrives from Fever River
" " *Pilott* arrives from Louisville
" " *Missouri* ascended to day from Camp with Troops

127. The *North America*, built at Pittsburgh in 1828, 300 tons, was one of the larger class steamboats on the Mississippi.—Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 259.

128. John Francis Hamtranck (1798-1858), of Indiana, after a youthful military career in the War of 1812, entered West Point. He left the army in 1822 and was appointed Indian agent to the Osages in 1826. He resigned this post in 1831, removing from St. Louis to present West Virginia.—*Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1932), v. 8, pp. 215, 216.

129. Eliza Rule has not been identified further.

130. "The Steam Boat Courtland, Capt. Edgerton, arrived on Sunday last from New Orleans having on board four companies United States Troops, destined for the Upper Mississippi. The troops were landed at Jefferson Barracks, but will, we understand, proceed to-day on their destination. The following is a list of the officers. Lieut. Col. [Zachary] Taylor, Capt. [Thomas F.] Smith, Lieutenant [William R.] Jouitt [Jouett], Lieut. [John] McKenzie [Mackenzie], Lieut. [William] Reynolds, and Lieut. [George W.] Garey."—*Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, May 13, 1828. These were troops of the First infantry regiment.

- Mr. Wiggin's Ferry S. B. arrives this Evening¹³¹ 8 Fox Indians arrive from Rock River
- 13 A cool, but pleasant morning. this Evening quite warm
- 14 A Warm morning. A light Shower Rain *St Clair*. 1st time¹³² S. B. *Missouri* leaves for St. Peters & Prairie du Chein with 4 Com. of Col. Taylors Regt.
- 15 this morning quite warm. A little Rain in Evening
S. B. *Cortland* leaves for Hannible
" " *Pilott* leaves for Fever River
" " *Cleopatra* arrives from Louisville
- 16 A very warm and sultry day
S. B. *Cleopatra* leaves to day for Louisville
" " *Rover* leaves to day for Fever River
Gal. Packet arrives to day from Fever River S. B. *Lady Washington* arrives from Wheeling
- 17 Some Rain this morning before day. Very Warm
S. B. *Indiana* arrives from Fever River
" " *Illenois* from Fever River
" " *Cortland* arrive[s] from Salt River
The Kickapoo Prophet¹³³ with 20 of his party arrive. The Fox Indians of Rock River depart, and likewise the Sauks
- 18 Cloudy & Cool this morning. continues so all day Sunday
S. B. *Gallena Packet* depart[s] for Fever River
" " "*Maryland*" from Louisville
" " *Cavalier* arrive[s] from Louisville 1st Time¹³⁴ bringing news of the distruction of the *Car of Commerce*¹³⁵ Steam Ferry boat bursts its boiler¹³⁶—The result nothing trajical save one Man scalded in the Leg. — The *Galena Packet* departs for Fever River. — The *Cavalier* S. B. departs this P. M. for Louisville
- 19 Part of this day Cloudy but the day warm. Monday. Steam Boats departs to Louisville — "*Maryland*" & *Courtland* for New Orleans. The Steam Boat *Illinois* for Fever River

131. Samuel Wiggin established a horse-team ferryboat across the Mississippi at St. Louis about 1819 or 1820. William C. Wiggin, a brother, arriving later, was in charge of the ferryboat for some 25 years, though the ferry was owned by a joint stock company after 1828.—Billon, *op. cit.*, pp 322, 323. J. T. Scharf (*History of Saint Louis City and County*, v. 2, p. 1071), says: "In 1828 a new boat, with steam-power, named the 'St. Clair,' was added, and made two landings each day, calling at the foot of Market Street, then at Morgan, and thence across to the Illinois shore." By 1830 the business increase demanded "another boat, and the 'Ibex' was added. . . ." The *Ibex* is not mentioned in the diary.

132. This was the new steam ferryboat first mentioned on May 12.

133. Kennekuk. See Footnotes 33 and 46.

134. The *Cavalier* was not new. Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 253, says she was a 180-ton boat, built in 1825 at Cincinnati.

135. The *Car of Commerce* disaster is further noted under entry of May 22.

136. Damages to the ferryboat *St. Clair* were repaired by June 22, the diary notes.

- 20 Fine morning. Steam Boat *Maryland* departs to Louisville Tuesday. No Arrivals or Departures this day The Shawanee Indians with Mr. Shane the Interpreter arrive from Lewistown¹³⁷
- 21 Morning Cool. Noon warm. Evening Cloudy, accompanied with rain. Wednesday. No Arrivals nor departures of Steam Boats this day —
- 22 Fine Cool Morning — Pleasant — Fine Evening The Steam Boat *Plough Boy* Arrived this Morning from Louisville. — Also Steam Boat *Jubilee* from N. Orleans, this night at 11 oClock; by this boat is received the melancholy intelligence, of the loss of twenty four lives, by the bursting of the boiler of the Steam Boat "*Car of Commerce*"; it is further ascertained that two of the aforesaid 24 encounterers of an untimely fate, were the first and second Engineers.¹³⁸ — The Egyptian Mummy from the Pyramids supposed to be 3000 years old is brought by this boat the *Jubilee* and is intended for exhibition when many of our fair citizens will be gratified by a sight of one of these rare relics of antiquity it being the first one that has ever honoured our City with a visit. The Sauk Indians arrive to-day — 21 in number.
- 23 Pleasant Morning. Warm at Noon. Evening Clear and warm.
- 24 Morning agreeable — Noon Warm — Evening " and " S. B. *Plough Boy* depart[s] for Louisville Mr. Reed of this place died by a fall from his horse.¹³⁹
- 25 last night some rain, much like rain this Evening. S. B. *Rover* arrive[s] this day in the morning from Fever River S. B. *Bolivar* arrive[s] this morning from Louisville
- 26 Morning fine — Noon Warm — Afternoon heat oppressive notwithstanding Wind high *Galena Packet* arrives this morning

137. The Shawnee Indians from the Lewistown, Ohio, area were removing at this time to lands set aside for them in present Kansas. See Footnote 70 for item on Anthony Shane.

138. The *Car of Commerce* was on her way from New Orleans to Louisville. The account in *Niles' Weekly Register*, Baltimore, June 7, 1828, says the accident occurred on May 13, when the boat was about 140 miles from the mouth of the Ohio. Out of 70 deck passengers, only three or four escaped injury; of the crew, only the captain and clerk were saved; of the seven cabin passengers, six were uninjured, one was scalded. Eighteen men were buried at once, 15 were missing, and half of the injured were not expected to survive. The *Car of Commerce*, the article stated, "was owned at Louisville, and is said to be an inferior boat, with an engine patched up from old machinery, and an old set of boilers—about fourth rate in size and appearance." Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 245, noted 28 killed and 29 wounded in this disaster; and listed the *Car of Commerce* as a 150-ton boat, built in 1827 (p. 253). The account in Lloyd stated that the accident occurred at a place called the Canadian Reach, on May 14, and was caused by a faulty force-pump, which failed to supply water to the boilers.—Lloyd, James T., *Lloyd's Steamboat Directory* . . . (Cincinnati, 1856), p. 120. It was one of the worst steamboat disasters ever to occur on Western waters. The boat was repaired, however, and "survived" until 1832.—Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

139. James Reed died at Galena, Fever river, on May 17.—*Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, May 27, 1828. He was the son-in-law of Charles Bosseron (see Footnote 107), having married Therese Bosseron on October 12, 1825.—Billon, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

- from Fever River with which comes Majr Taliaffero¹⁴⁰ Indian Agent. S. Boat *Pilot* from Galena arrived this day at 12 o'clock. The Emigrating Kickapoo Indians arrive¹⁴¹
- 27 Morning Cool & Pleasant—Noon Agreeable—Afternoon warm yet agreeable Steam Boat *Cleopatra* arrived this Morning from Louisville—Steam Boat *Liberator* Captn. McGunnegle 10 days from N. Orleans.—S. Boat *Missouri* this P. M from St Peters on board of which comes down the 5th Regiment to be stationed at Jefferson Barracks.¹⁴² The Shawanees with Interpreter Shane depart The Sauk Indians of the Mississippi depart
- 28 Cloudy Morning—Noon Cloudy & Light rain—Afternoon Clear and pleasant Wednesday. No Arrivals or Departures of Boats this day.
- 29 Warm Morning. Noon Warm with Little rain—Evening fine Thursday S. Boat *Cleopatra* departs this P. M. for Louisville A band of the Kickapoos 22 in number arrive to day.
- 30 Pleasant Morning—Noon Warm—Evening fine with thin fleecy clouds. Friday. S. Boat *Missouri* departed this morning for Galena Likewise arrived this morning 3 boats belonging to the American Fur Company with furs and peltries.¹⁴³ The S. Boat "*Maryland*" from Louisville.—
- 31 Morning fine—Pleasant Weather—Evening warm but pleasant

June, 1828

WEATHER AND RIVER DATA

Date June	Therr at 8 A. M	Weather	Wind	Therr at 4 P. M	Weather	Wind	Rise & Fall of River
1	60	Clear	E	—	—	—	River rising this day
2	72	Clear	SE	82	Clear	S.	Ditto rising — —
3	78	Cloudy	S.	88	Clear	S.E.	" " " "
4	81	Clear	S	85	Cloudy	SE	" " " "
5	81	Cloudy	N.E	84	Cloudy	N.E.	River about upon a Stand.
6	81	Clear	S	86	Clear	SW	" " " "
7	74	Clear	S.W.	81	Clear	SW	River rising & now very high
8	68	Clear	SW	80	"	S.W	River falling a little.

140. Lawrence Taliaferro (1794-1871), was Indian agent at St. Peters (Fort Snelling), from April, 1819, to January, 1840. The Indians of his agency were principally Sioux. Taliaferro retired in 1840, and lived the rest of his life at Bedford, Pa.—"Auto-Biography," in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, v. 6, pp. 189-255; also, *ibid.*, v. 4, p. 40.

141. These were apparently Kickapoos from Illinois, joining others of their tribe on the Osage river, Missouri, where they had a 60-mile-square tract at this time.—23 Cong., 1 Sess., *Senate Doc. 512* (Serial 245), p. 584.

142. See Footnote 123.

143. One of the very few mentions in the diary of fur-trading activities. The American Fur Company, organized in 1808, had established a branch in St. Louis in 1822, and by 1828 had almost a monopoly on the U. S. fur trade.—*Dictionary of American History* (New York, 1940), v. 1, p. 61.

Date June	Therr at 8 A. M	Weather	Wind	Therr at 4 P. M	Weather	Wind	Rise & Fall of River
9	72	Clear	N.E.	79	Cloudy	N.E.	" " " "
10	74	Cloudy	SW.	74	"	S.W.	" " " "
11	69	Clear	W.	72	Clear	W.	River falling (not much)
12	68	Clear	NW.	69	"	N.W	" " " "
13	69	Clear	W.	78	"	W	River about upon a Stand.
14	72	Clear	S.E.	78	"	S.E.	" " " "
15	"	Cloudy	S.W.	"	Cloudy	SW.	River falling a little (not much
16	76	Clear	S.	83	Clear	S.	" " " " "
17	79	Clear	SE	80	Cloudy	SE	" " " " "
18	78	Clear	W	"	Clear	W	River about upon a Stand.
20	73	Clear	SW.	"	Clear	SW.	River rising (slowly).
21	74	Clear	W	79	Clear	W	" " " "
22	79	Clear	E	84	"	S	" " " "
23	81	Clear	S	88	"	SW.	" " " "
24	83	Clear	SW	90	"	SW.	River about upon a Stand
25	84	"	S.E.	89	"	SW	" " " "
26	86	"	SE	88	"	SE.	River falling
27	83	"	W	86	Cloudy	W.	" " " "
28	82	"	SE	84	Clear	SE	" " " "
29	68	"	W	80	"	W	" " " "
30	76	"	SW	82	"	SW	" " " "

REMARKS

- 1 Morning Cool — Showering the fore-noon of this day — P. M. fine — Sunday S. Boat *Liberator* departs this day 12 oClock for New Orleans. The *Illinois* Steam Boat for Galena Fever River —
- 2 Pleasant Morning — Noon Fine but Warm — Afternoon pleasant Monday. S. Boat *Indiana* at noon from Fever River S. Boat *Criterion* Captn. Sparhawk 4 Days from Louisville The Fox Indians depart.
- 3 Morning fine — Noon Unpleasantly Warm — Evening Sultry appearance of rain Tuesday S. Boat *Indiana* departs for Fever River S. Boat *Criterion* for Louisville The Kickapoos depart.
- 4 Warm Morning — Noon Warm — Evening Heat oppressive Wednesday. S. Boat *Missouri* from Galena. S. Boat *Oregon* from N. Orleans. S. Boat *Lady Washington* from Fever River. "*Maryland*" for Louisville dept
- 5 Pleasant morning — Noon Cloudy & Warm — Evening warm unpleasantly so Thursday Steam Boat *Plough-Boy* arrived from Louisville. The *Saint Louis & Gal[ena] Packet* arrived at Noon from Galena & proceeded down to Kaskaskias for freight One Kansas [Indian] arrives
- 6 Morning fine after a little rain during the night. — Noon warm — Evening Warm Friday No Arrivals or Departures this Day A Seneca squaw [arrives ?]

- 7 Morning fine yet Warm — Noon Warm — Evening fine Moderately Warm Saturday The *North America* arrived Last Night in 10 days from New Orleans. — The *Illinois* this morning from Galena Fever River.
- 8 This day cool & pleasant, with Rain after night Sunday.
Steam Boat *Oregon* departs this morning for New Orleans
" " *Ploughboy* " " " " Louisville
" " *Criterion* Arrived to day from the Mouth of Ohio
- 9 Fine pleasant Morning after rain last night — Noon Cloudy & Warm — Afternoon Warm Monday. Steam Boat *Rover* arrived from Galena & Prairie du Chien. The *Criterion* departs this morning for Clarksville.¹⁴⁴ The *St Louis & Galena Packet* arrives up from Kaskaskias via St Genevieve.
- 10 Cloudy & still Morning after rain during night — Noon Cloudy with Showers — Afternoon Showery Tuesday. Steam Boat *Cleopatra* from Louisville. *Galena Packet* departs for Fever River.
- 11 Clear & fine Morning after a showery night. — Pleasant Weather — Evening fine Wednesday. Steam Boat *Illinois* departs for Fever River
- 12 Fine Cool Morning — Noon pleasant — Afternoon fine & agreeable Thursday. Steam Boat *Criterion* descends from Naples.¹⁴⁵ Steam Boat *Cleopatra* departs to Louisville. Steam Boat *Rover* departs to Prairie du Chien The Delawares arrive 52 in number
- 13 Pleasant morning — Pleasant at Noon — P. M agreeable yet a little warm Friday.
Steam Boat *Pilot* from Louisville.
Steam Boat "*Maryland*" " " "
- 14 Morning agreeable. — Weather pleasant Noon — Afternoon warm yet agreeable Saturday. Arrivals none — Departures none Ioways Arrive. 37 in number
- 15 Morning showery — Noon Cloudy — P. M. Cloudy and closes with thunder and rain. Sunday. Steam Boat *Missouri* from Galena Fever River with freight 2600 Bars of Lead and passengers 80. Steam Boat *Josephine* arrives from Galena Fever River.
- 16 Morning Fine after a rainy Night — Noon Warm — P. M. rather disagreeably warm Monday. The *Pilot* departed this Evening at 9 O'clock for Galena.

144. Clarksville, a village of Pike county, Missouri, was 105 miles up the Mississippi river from St. Louis.—Lloyd, *op. cit.*, p. 232.

145. Naples was a village of Scott county, Illinois, on the Illinois river.

- 17 Pleasant morning — Noon Showery with high Wind — P. M. fine yet warm Tuesday.
 The *North America* departs for New Orleans
 The *Josephine* " " Galena
 The *Missouri* " " Galena
- 18 Fine Morning after a tempestuous night of thunder, lightning & rain. — Noon Warm — P. M. fine Wednesday. The *Lady Washington* 6 days from Louisville freighted with Governmental Stores. The *Illinois* from Galena.
- 19 Thursday. The *Galena Packet* arrived Last Night with 3,700 bars of Lead.
- 20 Morning pleasant — Noon Warm yet agreeable — P. M. fine Friday. No Arrivals or Departures this day
- 21 Morning fine — Noon agreeably fine — Afternoon Warm & pleasant Saturday. The *Jubilee* Capt'n Hinckley arrived from New Orleans — freight 1462 packages dry goods — passengers 160.¹⁴⁶ By the arrival of this boat the Catholics of the city had the pleasure of seeing the Right Reverd Bishop Rosati appointed to officiate in this place.¹⁴⁷ — The *Rover* Capt'n. Newman descended from Galena and after a stay of but a few hours continued on to Louisville.
- 22 Morning pleasant — Noon Warm — P. M. Sultry & Warm. Sunday. The *Illinois* this morning for Galena. The accident of the 18th of May which the steam ferry boat of this city encountered, being now remedied it re-commences running. The *Ploughboy* this Evening from Louisville.
- 23 Warm Morning. Noon Warm — Evening Warm & sultry Monday. The Steam Boat *Indiana* from Galena. The *Galena Packet* departs to Galena, Fever River Kickapoo[s] arrive 34 in number
- 24 Morning warm extremely — Warm Extremely — Evening warm & oppressively sultry Tuesday. The *Cleopatra* arrived last night from Louisville in 4 days. The *Ploughboy* departs at 10 o'clock A. M. for Louisville The *Missouri* came down from Galena having in tow the *Galena packet* and Cargo-boat the *Lady Washington* an accident viz bursting of the boiler having

146. According to Baird "Even a boat of 100 tons often carries 50 cabin passengers; as many more, or perhaps twice as many, on deck; and withal 75 or 80 tons of freight!"— [Baird, Robert], *View of the Valley of the Mississippi* . . . (Philadelphia, 1832), p. 322. The *Jubilee* was a 205-ton boat.—Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 257.

147. Bishop Rosati removed to St. Louis in the fall of 1830. At this date his headquarters was at New Orleans.

- taken to the latter. No lives were lost. Fox Indians arrive 50 in number
- 25 Warm Morning—Noon Warm and oppressive. P. M. Warm & Sultry Wednesday. The *Jubilee* left here at 4 P. M. for New Orleans. The *Cleopatra* for Louisville One Poncan and Two Osage Indians arrive
- 26 Morning oppressive—Noon Warm—P. M. Pleasant more so than yesterday Thursday. The *Indiana* for Galena.
- 27 Pleasant but Warm Morning—Noon Warm—P. M. Cloudy & appearance of rain Friday. The *Pilot* Captain Elliott from Galena The *Red Rover*¹⁴⁸ (for the first time here) from Pittsburgh. 28 days. Purposed to be employed in the *upper Trade*. The *Essex* from Louisville. The *Liberator* from New Orleans—passage 9½ days.
- 28 Warm yet pleasant after rain yesterday Evening—Noon Warm—P. M. Cloudy and clear alternately Saturday. The *Lady Washington* arrived this morning from Galena and departed at Noon for Louisville. The *Red Rover* for Galena departs this day. 43 Delawares depart to-day also the Sacs & foxes
- 29 Pleasant morning after rain during night. Noon pleasant—P. M. agreeably cool Sunday. The *Illinois* from Galena. The “*Maryland*” Captain James Marshall from Louisville.
- 30 Morning cloudy with appearance of rain—Noon warm—P. M. Warm & cloudy Monday. No arrivals or departures this day.

July, 1828

WEATHER AND RIVER DATA

Date	Therr. at	Weather	Wind	Therr. at	Weather	Wind	Stage of Water
July	8 A. M.			4 P. M.			
1	72	Clear	W.	80	Clear	SW	River falling
2	70	"	SW.	76	"	SW	" "
3	71	"	S	76	"	SW	" "
4	72	"	S	77	"	SW	" "
5	72	Clear	S.	89	Clear	S	River falling not much
6	80	"	S.	88	"	S.	" " " "
7	78	"	SW.	83	"	SW.	" " " "
8	73	Clear	SE	81	"	SE	" " " "
9	74	"	S	79	"	S.	" " " "
10	74	"	SW.	83	"	SW	" " " "
11	75	"	S	82	"	S	River falling not much
12	74	"	SE	82	"	SE	" " " "

148. This *Red Rover*, a new 50-ton boat, was intended for the lead mine trade on the upper Mississippi. In 1829, a 500-ton *Red Rover* was built, but there is no mention in the diary of this latter steamboat.—Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 260.

Date July	Therr. at 8 A. M.	Weather	Wind	Therr. at 4 P. M.	Weather	Wind	Stage of Water
13	"	Clear	W	"	Clear	W	" " " "
14	72	Cloudy	NW	80	Cloudy	W	" " " "
15	"	Clear	W	"	Clear	W	" " " "
16	72	Clear	W	79	Clear	W	
17	73	Clear	W	81	Clear	W	River falling not very much
18	75	Clear	SW	82	Clear	SW.	" " " "
19	80	Cloudy	W	87	Clear	SE	River falling not very much
20	84	Clear	SW	88	Clear	SW	River upon a Stand
21	84	Clear	S	87	Cloudy	SW	" " " "
22	82	Cloudy	W	89	Clear	W.	" " " "
23	83	Cloudy	W	90	Clear	W	" " " "
24	79	Cloudy	W	85	Cloudy	S.W.	
25	85	Cloudy	SW	89	Cloudy	SW	River falling a little
26	86	Cloudy	SW.	90	Clear	SW	" " " "
27	72	Cloudy	W.	86	Cloudy	W.	" " " "
28	73	Clear	W.S.W	84	Clear	S.W.	" " " "
29	73	Clear	NW	80	Clear	NWN	" " " "
30	76	Clear	S.E.	84	Clear	S.E.	" " " "
31	75	Clear	S.W.	83	Cloudy	SW	" " " "

REMARKS

- 1 Fine morning — Noon pleasant — Afternoon warm Tuesday. The *Oregon* 9 days from New Orleans met the *Jubilee* 30 miles below Memphis all well.
- 2 Morning fine — noon pleasant — P. M. fine Wednesday. The *Illinois* departs for Louisville
The *Josephine* " " Galena
The *Liberator* " " New Orleans.
- 3 Morning fine — noon Fine — P. M. pleasant Thursday. No arrivals or Departures this day
- 4 Morning fine — Noon Warm yet fine — P. M. Warm Friday. S. B. *Rover* from Louisville.
- 5 Morning Clear and pleasant. — Evening quite warm Saturday *Red Rover* from Galena
- 6 Morning fine — Noon Warm — P. M. Warm yet pleasant Sunday S. B. *Plough-boy* from Louisville late this Evening
- 7 Warm Morning. — Noon Warm — P. M Warm and oppressive Monday S. Boat *Rover* for Galena Fever River. Col Menard [from] Green Bay *Galena Packet* for Galena Fever River S. Boat *Indiana* from Galena Fever River S. Boat *Columbus* arrived at half past 10 from Louisville and Will as is thought descend to the Mouth of Ohio for a load of Timber — *Her 1st. Appearance Here.* Large Boat.¹⁴⁹

149. The *Columbus* sank a few months later. See diary entries of October 17 and 19, and accompanying footnote. She was a 220-ton boat, built at Pittsburgh in 1826.—Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

- 8 Pleasant Morning—Noon Pleasant—P. M. fine & pleasant
Tuesday *Plough boy* for Louisville *Red Rover* for Galena
in which went *D. D. McNair*¹⁵⁰ as an Express from the Depart-
ment to Genl. Street to advise and Warn the tresspassers on
Indian lands to Cease ere force be resorted to.
- 9 Fine Morning—Noon warm—P. M. fine and agreeable
Wednesday No Arrivals or Departures
- 10 Morning pleasant—Noon Warm—P. M. fine and Warm
Thursday The S. Boat *Cleopatra* from Louisville The S.
Boat *Missouri* from Galena
- 11 Morning fine—Pleasant Noon—P. M. Fine Friday The
Columbus departs to the mouth of Ohio for Planks The *Essex*
from Louisville The *Lady Washington* from Louisville
- 12 Morning Clear & pleasant.—Noon Warm—P. M. Warm &
Sultry Saturday The *Cleopatra* for Louisville The *Essex*
for Louisville
- 13 Fine Morning—Noon Pleasant—Afternoon fine yet warm
Sunday No arrivals or Departures
- 14 Cool Morning—Noon Agreeable—P. M. fine and pleasant
Sunday [Monday] S Boat "*Tecumseh*"¹⁵¹ from Louisville
Lady Washington for Camp Millar
- 15 Pleasant Morning—Noon Pleasant—P. M. fine and agreeable
- 16 Morning fine—Noon Fine—Afternoon Pleasant Wednesday
S Boat *L. Washington* for Louisville S. Boat *Illinois* from
Louisville Fine S. Boat, "*Columbus*," from the Mouth towed
up the *North America* above St Genevieve. S. Boat *Red Rover*
from Galena
- 17 Morning Cool Weather Clear & dry—Noon fine—After-
noon warm. Thursday S. Boat *North America* from New
Orleans—took on board as passing Natchez and brought up
to here Mr. Caldwell's *Company of Theatricals*¹⁵² The S Boat
Rover from Galena

150. Dunning D. McNair was an interpreter for the Shawnee Indians, and, also, a clerk in the superintendency office at this period. In the spring of 1831, shortly after being appointed subagent to the Osage Indians, he was struck by lightning while crossing the prairie, and killed.—*St. Louis Beacon*, June 23, 1831; Superintendency of Indian affairs, St. Louis, "Records," v. 4, p. 229; list of interpreters for the Indians, in *The National Calendar for MDCCCXXIX* (Washington City, 1829), p. 120. See, also, diary entry of March 19, 1830.

151. The *Tecumseh*, first mentioned here, was a 212-ton boat, built at Cincinnati in 1826. By 1830 she was worn out.—Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 262.

152. Mr. Caldwell was the owner of theaters in New Orleans and Nashville, and of Natchez and St. Louis theater companies.—*Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, September 2, 1828. The opening play at St. Louis, on the evening of July 19, 1828, "Town and Country," seems to have been well received.—*Ibid.*, July 22, 1828. Performances were advertised for four evenings a week during the season. The company remained in St. Louis until mid-October. See diary entry of October 16.

- 18 Morning warm and rain wanted — Noon Warm — Afternoon fine and warm. Friday The *Illinois* for Louisville. 17 Piankashaw arrived — 3 others arrive making 20
- 19 Morning Sultry appearance of rain — Noon Warm — Afternoon Warmth Oppressive Saturday No arrivals or Departures this day.
- 20 Morning Sultry and Very Warm — Noon Warm — P. M. Oppressively Warm Sunday The S Boat *Jubilee* from New Orleans 75 Sauks arrived to-day
- 21 Morning Warm Very — Noon Cloudy — P. M. Showery light rain. Monday The *Galena Packet* for Galena 27 Kickapoo arrive this day
- 22 A comparatively cool Morning after a happy rain last evening — P. M. Warm very Tuesday The *Illinois* for Franklin 2 Poncans Indians depart — also Shawonee 5 in number
- 23 Warm Morning — Noon Warm very — P. M. Very Warm oppressive Wednesday The *North America* for New Orleans The *Missouri* from Galena
- 24 Rain a heavy shower with thunder & lightning — Noon Cloudy — Afternoon Cloudy appearance of rain Thursday The *Essex* 4 days from Louisville
- 25 Warm Morning — Noon Warm Cloudy — P. M. Warm extremely so Friday
Steam Boat *Essex* for Louisville
“ *Missouri* “ Fever River
“ *Red Rover* from Galena
- 26 Sultry Morning appearance of rain — Noon Warm — P. M. Warmth oppressive Saturday No arrivals or Departures The Kickapoo depart 25 in number The Sauk depart 82 in number
- 27 Fine Morning Rain — Noon Cloudy pleasant — Afternoon Pleasant cloudy No arrivals or Departures The Fox Indians arrive 23 in number.
- 28 Fine & comparatively cool morning — Noon pleasant — Afternoon warm yet pleasant The *Republican* from Louisville The Piankashaws depart. The Delaware depart (3 in number)
- 29 Fine cool morning — Noon Warm — P. M. pleasant though warm The *Republican* departs at Noon for Louisville
- 30 Morning warm yet not disagreeable — Noon pleasant — Afternoon pleasant The *Illinois* Came down last night from Frank-

- lin The *Galena Packet* from Galena — Cargo 2,500 pigs of Lead.¹⁵³ The *La Grange* from Louisville
- 31 Morning pleasant — Noon warm — P. M. pleasant The *Rover* Came down from [*sic!*] this morning from Prairie du Chien — 4600 pigs of Lead from Galena

August, 1828

WEATHER AND RIVER DATA

Date August	Thermom at 8 A. M.	State of Weather	Points of Wind	Thermom at 4 P. M	State of Weather	Point of Wind	Stage of Water
1	81	Clear	S	86	Clear	S.	River falling a little
2	82	Clear	S	87	Cloudy	S	" " " "
3		Cloudy	NW		Cloudy	N.W.	" " " "
4	74	Clear	SW	84	Clear	S	" " " "
5	73	Clear	SE	84	Clear	SE	" " " "
6	75	Clear	S	83	Clear	S.	" " " "
7	80	Clear	S	82	Cloudy	S	" " " "
8	79	Clear	S	83	Clear	S	River falling "
9	82	Clear	S	87	Clear	S	" " "
10	74	Clear	SW	88	Cloudy	W	River falling "
11	72	Cloudy	W	80	Clear	W	" " "
12	72	Cloudy	SW	80	Clear	SW	" " "
13	74	Cloudy	S.	82	Cloudy	S.	" " "
14	74	Cloudy	S.	84	Clear	S	" " "
15	73	Clear	SE	81	Clear	SE	River falling fast
16	75	Clear	S	80	Clear	S	" " "
17	78	Cloudy	SW	82	Clear	SW	" " "
18	73	Clear	S. E.	79	Clear	SE	" " "
19	74	Clear	S.S.E	76	Cloudy	S.	" " "
20	73	Cloudy	E.	82	Clear	S.E.	" " "
21	78	Cloudy	SW.	83	Clear	S.W.	River rises a little
22	79	Clear	S	86	Clear	S	" " "
23	82	Clear	S	86	Clear	S	" " "
24	82	Clear	SE		Clear	SE	" " "
25	83	Cloudy	S	87	Clear	S	" " "
26	84	Clear	S	86	Clear	S	" " "
27	83	Clear	S. E.	88	"	S	" " "
28	80	"	S.	88	"	S	" " "
29	84	"	S.	88	"	Calm	" " "
30	82	"	S		"		" " "
31	82	Cloudy	S	84	Cdy. a R	S.	River falls a little

REMARKS

- 1 Warm morning — Noon Warm — P. M. Pleasant yet warm
The *Criterion* from Louisville The *La Grange* for Louisville
The Foxes 13 in number with Morgan the Chief¹⁵⁴ depart
from the Department this day

153. The trade from the lead mines had grown rapidly since 1826. *Niles' Weekly Register*, October 18, 1828, reprinted an article from "Vandalia, Aug. 3," stating that the town of Galena, mining center, founded in 1820, already had a population of nearly 700, and "there have been 75 steamboat and 38 keel boat arrivals since 1st March. About eight million pounds of lead were exported during the year ending 1st of June last. The population in the neighborhood of the mines is estimated at 10,000."

154. "Among the Sauks and Foxes, Keeokuk and Morgan, the head warriors of the two tribes, were their orators."—Atwater, Caleb, *Remarks Made On a Tour To Prairie du Chien* . . . in 1829 (Columbus, Ohio, 1831), p. 123. Keeokuk is also mentioned in the diary in February and April, 1829.

- 2 Warm morning — Noon Sultry — P. M Rain and much wished for *Missouri* from Galena
- 3 Pleasant morning showery after rain all night — Noon Cloudy — P. M. fine and pleasant no departures — No arrivals
- 4 morning agreeably cool. — Noon Warm — P. M warm The *Oregon* arrived last night from New Orleans — report that the *Liberator* took freight for the mouth of Cumberland which Causes its delay. The *Oregon* left New Orleans on the 24th of July. The Returns of the General Election Ticket gives 34 Administration — 25 Jackson — Derbigny Governor & White, Gurley and Overton for Congress &c.¹⁵⁵
- 5 Morning agreeably pleasant — Noon Warm — P. M Warm. Tuesday The Steam Boat *Liberator* from New Orleans via Smithland.¹⁵⁶
- 6 Morning warm yet pleasant — Noon warm — P. M. Warm Wednesday The *Essex* Steam Boat from Louisville The *Oregon ditto ditto* from New Orleans (a mistake) "Dont take them" [?] N. B Ten Fox depart this morning Fourteen Delawares arrive this Evening
- 7 Morning Warm & Sultry — Noon cloudy — P. M rainy and pleasant Thursday no arrivals or departures These above Fourteen Delawares depart this Evening
- 8 Morning pleasant — Noon warm — P. M. warm yet not unpleasant
- 9 Warm morning — Noon warm — P. M warm and Sultry
- 10 Warm morning — Noon sultry appearance of rain — P. M fine rain this evening Sunday The *Criterion* from Louisville The *Missouri* for Galena The *Oregon* for New Orleans
- 11 Cool morning after the rain of last evening — Noon warm — P. M. warm very Monday no arrivals or departures
- 12 Cloudy morning with appearance of rain — Noon warm — P. M. warm & pleasant Tuesday The *Galena packet* from Galena Mr Blake's party of Creeks arrive.¹⁵⁷
- 13 A severe storm from S. W. accompanied with hail — Noon pleasant — P. M agreeably pleasant Wednesday no arrivals or departures

155. Although these Louisiana returns favored John Quincy Adams for president, Andrew Jackson was the country's choice in the 1828 elections. Pierre A. C. B. Derbigny was elected governor of Louisiana and the three representatives to congress chosen were Edward D. White, Henry H. Gurley and Walter H. Overton.

156. "Smithland" or Smith's Landing, Ill., was 20 miles down the Mississippi river from St. Louis.—Lloyd, *op. cit.*, p. 231.

157. Luther Blake, acting agent for the Western Creeks, and three Creek Indians, arrived at St. Louis on this date. See, also, entry of August 21.

- 14 Rainy morning & comparatively cool — Noon warm — P. M. warm yet pleasant Thursday Steam Boat *Sl Frisbee*¹⁵⁸ from Louisville *1st Time* with which come an addition to Mr. Caldwell's Company of Comedians viz Mr *Kinney & Lady*¹⁵⁹
- 15 Morning pleasant — Noon agreeable — Afternoon fine yet a little warm Friday no arrivals or departures
- 16 Pleasant morning & cloudless. — Noon agreeably cool — Afternoon fine Saturday *Saml Frisbee* Steam Boat departs to Louisville
- 17 Warm Morning yet pleasant — Noon warm — P. M. pleasant Sunday S. Boat *Republican* from Louisville *1st Time*.¹⁶⁰
- 18 Pleasant & cool morning. — Noon pleasant — P. M. agreeably cool Monday *The Criterion* for New Orleans *The Frisbee* for Louisville *The Galena Packet* yesterday for Fever River A [Pawnee] Loup with wife and 2 Children arrive.
- 19 Morning fine and pleasant. — Noon showery — P. M. light rain & pleasant Tuesday *The Republican* last night for Fever River *The Missouri* arrived at Noon from Fever River
- 20 rain last [night] which continues severely this morning from the East — Noon warm — P. M. warm Wednesday No arrivals or departures
- 21 Dark morning appearance of rain — A. M. rain — P. M. Clear & warm Thursday Note. Mr. Blake arrives at St. Louis with a party of Creek Indians on the 11th August & sets out back for the Chickasaw nation with a letter from Capt. G. H. Kennerly to Chickasaw Chief on the evening of the 18th, August. On the evening the 19th the Revnd. Mr. McCoy leaves with the Party on their exploring expedition.¹⁶¹
- 22 Warm morning — Noon Warm — P. M. Warm & sultry Friday *The N. America* 15 days from New Orleans

158. The *Samuel Frisbee* is mentioned in the diary through the succeeding months of 1828, but not after December. Hall, *op. cit.*, does not list this steamboat.

159. See diary entry of July 17.

160. *The Republican*, not a new boat, is first mentioned in the diary under entry of July 28, 1828.

161. A conducted tour of lands in present Oklahoma had been planned for representatives of the Creek, Chickasaw and Choctaw tribes. It was hoped that these Indians could be induced to remove to the new Indian territory. Agent Blake, arriving with the Creeks and learning that the Chickasaw and Choctaw delegations had not arrived, set out for their nations to persuade them to come to St. Louis. Over a month earlier, the Rev. Isaac McCoy had reached St. Louis with a delegation of Pottawatomie and Ottawa Indians who were to view lands in present Kansas with a view of removing their peoples from Michigan and Indiana. Rather oddly, the diary does not record their arrival, which McCoy in his journal stated was on July 16. Capt. George H. Kennerly had been named leader for the expedition west. But when it was decided to send the Pottawatomies and Ottawas on ahead, McCoy was put in charge of them. His journal of this tour has been published in the *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 5, pp. 227-277. Fifty days after setting out, the party returned. On October 7, 1828, McCoy went into St. Louis, and made a brief written report of the expedition for Governor Clark. For note on the second expedition of 1828, see Footnote 180.

- 23 Warm morning — Noon warm P. M very warm
 24 Warm yet pleasant morning — Noon pleasant — P. M. warm & Sultry
 25 Warm & cloudy morning with appearanace of rain — Noon warm — P. M warm
 26 Warm & clear morning — Noon Warm — P. M warm & Sultry
 Tuesday The *Essex* came up last night from Louisville The *Jubilee* departs for New Orleans Kickapoos (four) arrive this day from Illinois
 27 Warm yet pleasant morning — Oppressively warm this evening
 28 Warm & dry weather very warm and sultry this evening Shawnees (4) arrive from the Current ¹⁶²
 29 Weather clear & still very warm. Continues very warm
 30 Very warm this morning Rain a few miles W S. B. *Attakapas* ¹⁶³ arrive[d] this day from Orleans. Majr. R. Graham & W. Radford ¹⁶⁴ arrives in the *Essex* from Kty. on the night of the 26th Inst. S. B. *Missouri* Sinks on the evening of the 29th 90 miles above St. Louis in 12 feet Water. ¹⁶⁵ Little Turkey & his party set out for Illinois
 31 like for rain.

September, 1828

WEATHER AND RIVER DATA

Date Sept	Thermomr at 8 A M	State of Weather	Points of Wind	Thermomr at 4 P M.	State of Weather	Points of Wind	Stage of Water or River
1	88	Clear	S.	84	Cloudy	W	River falls a little
2	72	Cloudy	W	62	"	W	River still falling
3	62	Clear	W	68	Clear	W	" " "
4	62	"	S	68	"	"	" " "
5	60	"	S	71	"	S	" " "
6	72	Clear	S	72	Clear	S	The River falling
7	70	Cloudy	S	70	Rain	S	" "
8	62	Clear	NE	64	Clear	NE	River falling
9	64	"	NE	68	"	NE	" "
10	62	Foggy	NE	66	Clear	NE	" "
11	62	Clear	S	64	Clear	S	" "

162. The Current is a small river of Missouri and Arkansas.

163. Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 252, lists the *Attackapas* as built at Louisville (no date given), a 124-ton boat.

164. Maj. Richard Graham, Indian agent (see Footnote 125), and William Radford, Clark's step-son, a navy midshipman at this time. Radford (1809-1890) had a notable career in the navy. He served with distinction in the Civil War, and was made a rear admiral July 25, 1866.—*Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1935), v. 15, pp. 319, 320.

165. The *Missouri*, a new boat (see Footnote 116), was descending the Mississippi from Galena with a load of lead from the mines, when she struck a snag. Her passengers were brought to St. Louis on the *Galena Packet*.—*Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, September 2, 1828. In the issue of November 4, 1828, the *Republican* reported: "We are gratified to have it in our power to state, that the Steam Boat *Missouri*, of the sinking of which we published an account some time ago, has been raised without injury. She is now refitting, and will be ready to recommence running in a few days." The next mention of the *Missouri* in the diary is on January 7, 1829.

Date Sept	Thermomr at 8 A M	State of Weather	Points of Wind	Thermomr at 4 P M.	State of Weather	Points of Wind	Stage of Water or River
12	64	Clear	S.	66	"	S	" "
13	72	"	S.	72	Cloudy	SE	River falling
14	70	Cloudy	SE	74	Rain	SE	" "
15	72	Clear	SE	80	Cloudy	Calm	" "
16	68	Rain	S	73	Clear	calm	River still falling
17	70	Clear	E	76	clear	calm	" "
18	70	fine Clear	calm	78	Clear	S.E.	" "
19	70	Cloudy	S.	80	Clear	S.	" "
20	74	Cloudy	S.	80	Clear	S.	" "
21	78	Cloudy	S.	80	Rain	"	" "
22	72	Rain	"	67	Rain	"	" "
23	71	Fair	S.	76	Clear	S.	Rising
24	70	Clear	S.	74	"	N.W.	"
25	76	Fair	—	76	Clear	NW	"
26	74	Clear	—	70	"	NW	"
27	70	—	S	72	Cloudy	S	"
28	70	—	S.	72	Clear	—	River falling
29	68	Cloudy	—	72	Cloudy	—	" at a stand
30	62	Cloudy	—	62	"	S	River at a stand

REMARKS

- 1 Clear & very warm. Wind from the West & cool & pleasant
- 2 Cloudy & pleasantly cool this morning. Cold evening 8 Delawares arrive from White River 4 Shawanees leave for the Current 9 Kickapoos arrive from Prophets Village
- 3 Clear cool morning. this evening clear & warmer A Delaware man & woman from Ohio leave for Kansas River (Step Son of Shain ¹⁶⁶)
- 4 Clear cool & pleasant morning. tolerably warm evening S. B. *Gallena packet* for fever River
- 5 Some frost this morning. Warm evening Kickapoo Prophet with 25 of his party arrive on the 5th Sept. ¹⁶⁷
- 6 Clear & rather warm morning. much warmer than for 2 or 3 Evenings
- 7 Cloudy & much like rain. Rain & cool this evening S. Boats *Illinois & Frisby* from Louisville
- 8 Clear & cold morning. Still cool but pleasant evening. S. B. *Josephene* arrives from fever River
- 9 Clear with some frost. Clear and Cool
- 10 Fog this morning. Evening Clear and cool. S. B. *Republican* leaves for Louisville Troops of the 5th Rgt. leave for the Lakes. ¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁶. Evidently a reference to the stepson of Anthony Shane, the interpreter. See Foot-notes 70 and 137.

¹⁶⁷. Kennekuk, the Kickapoo Prophet, came frequently to see Clark. His previous visits were noted in the diary, entries of August 29, 1826, February 10, 1827, and May 17, 1828.

¹⁶⁸. By War Department orders, eight companies of the Fifth regiment were to go from Jefferson Barracks to the following posts: two companies to Fort Brady, four companies to Fort Howard and two companies to Fort Dearborn.—*Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, September 9, 1828.

- 11 Clear and fine morning. Evening pleasant [Prophet and party] leave on the 11th.
- 12 Clear & warm morning. Evening warm
- 13 Clear, some rain at 11 O'clock. Evening Cloudy
- 14 Cloudy morning & appearance of rain this morning. Rain
- 15 Foggy morning This evening warm and cloudy threatening Rain.
- 16 Rain this morning This evening warm & sultry. This Evening S. Boat *Facility*¹⁶⁹ arrives from Louisville 1st Time on board of which Majr. L Talliaferro¹⁷⁰ & Lady arrives from Bedford Spring Pennsylvania. By this Boat we are informed that the S. Boat *Essex* had sunk in the Ohio River on her trip to this place; owing to a *hell stone*[?] in her bottom.¹⁷¹
ha! ha! ha!!! "assuredly."
- 17 Clear fine morning This evening, pleasant &c. S. B. *Gallena Packett* arrives this morning Departed Steam B. *Facility*, for Louisville.
- 18 Clear fine morning & weather. Evening warm & pleasant Arrived S. B. *Oregon* from N. Orleans. 11 days. Arr. S. B. *Lady Washington* from Galena.
- 19 Fine morning somewhat cloudy. Fine pleasant Evening.
- 20 Cool morning cloudy. hard & stormy wind from South.
- 21 Stormy Winds from the South. Violent Rain this Evening S. B. *Lady Washington* leaves for Gallena with Mjr. L. Taliaferro & Lady on board. S. B. *Illinois* leaves this day for Orleans burg[?]
- 22 Hard wind from the South from 6 O'clock last Evng to 5 this morning Gloomy Evening Departed S B. *Maryland* For N. Orleans. 2 Rifles sent to Winnebagoes. 1 Do. given to Ottawa Chief. 1 Shot gun to Mjr. Campbell¹⁷² 1 Rifle given to Shanes step son. 2 Rifles given at shop to Shawanees with two left in place. 2 Rifles given to Weas. 3 Rifles given to Mescos[?] out of Box by Capt G. H. Kennerly
- 23 Clear morning. Fair pleasant Evening Arrived S. B. *Isabella*¹⁷³ from Orleans. 1st Time here. S. B. *Criterion* from Orleans.

169. The *Facility*, 117 tons, was built at Cincinnati in 1827.—Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 255.

170. See Footnote 140.

171. The *Essex* was reported wrecked on the rocks at Scuffleton bar, in the Ohio river.—*Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, September 23, 1828. But her arrival at St. Louis is mentioned in an October diary entry, so she was evidently raised and repaired.

172. John Campbell was subagent for the Delaware Indians at this date.—*The National Calendar*, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

173. The *Isabella* (250 tons), was built at Marietta, Ohio, in 1827.—Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 256.

- 24 Pleasant morning. Fair pleasant Eve.
 25 Beautiful mornng Fine Clear Evening
 26 Fine fair morning. Fine & pleasant evening. Arrived S. B. *Josephine* from Fever River.
 27 G. R. Clark ¹⁷⁴ leaves to day for Augtor [Augusta] Ky Last night & this morning cold a little Cloudy—pleast
 28 This morning clear and fine. Fine Evening S. B. *Jubilee* arrive[s] from Orleans with Mr. Blake ¹⁷⁵ on board. Intreprt for Creeks S. B. *Rover* from Louisville.
 29 This morning pleast Pleast Evening Departed S. B. *Isabella* for Orleans. Capt D. M. Greene
 30 Cloudy & gloomy morning. the evening Cloudy No arrivals or departures—

October, 1828

WEATHER AND RIVER DATA

Date October	Thermomtr at 8 A M	State of Weather	Points of Wind	Thermom at 4 P M	State of Weather	Points of Wind	Stage of Water or River
1	64	Clear	—	64	Clear	N.	River at a stand
2	62	Foggy	—	63	Clear	S	" "
3	62	Clear	—	68	Clear	S.	" "
4	62	Clear	—	68	"	S	" "
5	60	Clear	S.	68	Clear	S.W	River falling
6	50	Cloudy	S.	72	Clear	SW	" "
7	62	Clear	S	78	Clear	"	" "
8	70	Clear	S	84	Clear	S	River falling
9	74	Clear	S	82	"	S	" "
10	84	Clear	S	84	"	"	" "
11	78	Clear	S	84	Hazy	S.	" "
12	60	Ind. Sum	S.	88	Clear	S.	" "
13	74	Smoky	S	65	Smoky	W	" "
14	65	Smoky	W [?]	54	"	N.	" "
15	74	Cloudy	S	54	Cold	S	" "
16	42	Clear	N	58	Cool	N	River Rising
17	44	Clear	S.	82	Clear	"	" "
18	58	Smoky	S.	66	Smoky	—	River at a stand
19	68	"	S	62	"	N	" "
20	50	Cool	N	66	Smoky	"	" "
21	58	"	N	68	"	S	River falling
22	56	pleast.	"	72	Cloudy	"	" "
23	62	Cloudy	S	72	Clear	"	River falling
24	68	"	—	67	Cloudy	"	" "
25	70	Cloudy	N	68	Clear	"	" "
26	68	Rain	S.	68	Rain	"	" "
27	60	Clear	S.	70	Clear	W	" "
28	68	Clear	N	70	Fair	—	" "
29	68	"	E	70	Cloudy	E	River falling
30	62	Cloudy	—	72	Clear	S	" "
31	64	Clear	E	72	"	S	" "

174. See Footnote 100.

175. See Footnotes 157 and 161.

REMARKS

- 1 Clear & pleasant morning. cool & pleasant evening no arrivals or departures
- 2 Cool Foggy morning. cool temperate evening Departed S. B. *Josephine* for Fever River
- 3 Fine pleasant morning. temperate evening
Departed S. B. *Rover* for Fever River
" " " *N. America* For Orleans
- 4 Fine Cool morning. Clear evening
- 5 A calm & pleasant morning. S. W. wind strong this evening S. Boats *Jubilee* & *Criterion* depart for Orleans. Arr. S. B. *Sam Frisbee* fr[om] Trinity.
- 6 Somewhat cloudy & cool Warm Evening.
- 7 Pleasant morning. " "
- 8 beautiful morning. warm evening & Clear. *Tecumseh* & *Maryland* depart for Orleans Steamer *Columbus* Fine b[oa]t departed for Orleans
- 9 This morning warm. Warm Evening. Races begin.¹⁷⁶ 38
Saux from White River with their Chief Shawanauqua
- 9 & 10 Races commenced. no arrivals or departures
- 10 Warm morning. Indian Summer commences
- 11 Pleast " " " & smoky weather Arrived S. B. *Fairy*¹⁷⁷ from Louisville 1st time. Mr G. K. & Mr Metty¹⁷⁸ 1 Rifle & Shot Gun Pottawattamies & Ottaways (5) of the Rev'd Mr McCoys party¹⁷⁹ left yesterday for their homes
- 12 Smoky & warm. hard wind from the South This day The S. B. *Crusader* Arrived from N. Orleans with the long looked for *Choctaws* & *Chickasaw* delegation from Tenn. & Alabama, exp[er]ior party. Mr. Dunkin with a party of Chickisaws & Chock-taws arrive to day¹⁸⁰

176. The horse races were run for three days, as advertised: "First Day, 3 miles and repeat, for a purse of \$200. Second day, 2 miles and repeat, for a purse of \$150. Third Day, 1 mile and repeat, for a purse of \$100. Free for any horse, mare or gelding. . . ." They were run "over the St. Louis Turf," and there was evidently an established racing association at this date. The advertisement was published by its secretary Benj. Ames.—*Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, August 26 and October 7, 1828.

177. The *Fairy*, an 80-ton boat, was built at Cincinnati in 1827.—Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 255.

178. Capt. George H. Kennerly, and the interpreter, Jacques Metté.

179. See Footnote 161.

180. John B. Duncan and D. W. Haley, subagents for the Chickasaws and Choctaws respectively, arrived on this date with the Indian delegations for the trip west. (See Footnote 161.) On October 17 the Chickasaws and part of the exploring party set out, followed by the Choctaws, Creeks, and the balance of the company on the 18th. (See diary entries for these days.) Isaac McCoy, a member of the party, described the expedition as follows: "Our company . . . consisted of Cap. G. H. Kennerly, leader; Lieut. Hood Topographer, Mr. John Bell assistant topographer, and G. P. Todson surgeon. . . . The Chickasaws Delegation consisted of 12 Indians, and an interpreter, accompanied by three white men

- 13 Hard wind before day light from South fresh breezes from Wd. & hazy
- 13 & 14 no arrs or deptur. these days
- 14 Last night & this morning cool. Cool & pleasant.
- 15 Cloudy morning. this evening Cool & smoky Arr S. B. *Gal. Packet* from Fever River.
- 16 Cool Frosty morning. Clear & pleasant Evening. Deptd. S. B. *Crusader* For N. Orleans with the *Theatricals*.¹⁸¹
- 17 Weather still Clear & fine. This Evening warm. Dpt. pt. of Exp[loring] party¹⁸² S. B. *Lagrange* from Orleans arrive[s] brings news that the *Colmbs* sunk mouth Ohio and lost entirely S. B. *C[olumbu]s*.
- 18 This morning very smoky Smoky Evening warm. 2nd pt. Ex[ploring party] depart¹⁸³ No Arr — or Depters.
- 19 The weather still warm & smoky. Very smoky evening *Col-umbus* Lost at Mouth of Ohio.¹⁸⁴ Arr S. B. *S. Frisbee* from Trinity. Saved nearly all the furniture & Engine of the *Columbus* & transferred it to the *Tecumseh* Deptd S. Boat *Galena Packet* for Trinity.
- 20 Cool & smoky weather Warm and smoky Evening
- 21 Clear & warm morning. A clear & pleasant evening Dept. S. B. *Lagrange* for N. O. Mr. Rousseau dep.¹⁸⁵ Dureing the Day light airs and pleasant Dept S. B. *Sam Frisbee* for Trinity
- 22 Cloudy morning warm cloudy pleast evening S. B. *Illinois* arrived from Orleans about dark
- 23 Cloudy & Smoky warm morning. warm Evening. 15 Cour-ates[?] Tobacco given to Saux 5 Rifles delivered to Shawonees.
- 24 Cloudy & warm morning. Cloudy Evening Rain
- 25 Cloudy warm morning. Evening Cloudy

chosen by themselves, in all 16, with Mr. John B. Duncan Sub. Agent, as their leader. The Choctaw delegation was composed of six Indians, and lead by Mr. D. W. Haley. The Creek delegation consisted of three, and was lead by Mr. Luther Blake. We had one interpreter to Osages and Kanzas, seven hired men, and a black servant belonging [to] a Chickasaw Chief. In all 42. We had with us upwards of sixty horses." The expedition returned from the west in late December. The account of this tour "Isaac McCoy's Second Exploring Trip in 1828," has been published in the *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 13, pp. 400-462.

181. The last performance of the "theatricals," prior to their departure for Natchez, consisted of two plays: the "Grand Melo Dramatic Opera of GUY MANNERING; or, a Gipseys Prophecy. Dramatised from Walter Scott's popular Novel of that name. . . . After which, first time here, Moncrieff's new and unrivalled Drama, entitled THE SONNAMBULIST; or, the White Phantom of the Village. . . ."—Advertisement in the *Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, October 14, 1828.

182. See Footnote 180.

183. *Ibid.*

184. The *Columbus* (see Footnote 149), struck a snag and filled with water. The engine, and a few pigs of lead were saved, according to the *Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, October 21, 1828.

185. Mr. Rousseau has not been identified. He may possibly have been Pierre Rousseau who was interpreter on Pike's expedition of 1805-1806.

- 26 Rainy morning. continues to rain with thunder & lightning at night No Arrivals — 23d 24th & 25th & 26th or Departures
- 27 Rainy Showery — fair — fine Clear Evening — pleast Deptd. S. Bt *Illinois* with Yellow boy Ben. fireman for Orleans.
- 28 Beautiful morning warm Fair pleasant evening
- 28 - 29 No Arrivals or Departure to Day
- 29 The weather warm Mr. A. Clark¹⁸⁶ sets own [?] in Carriage for Louisville
- 30 Pleast morning. Cloudy Genl. Clark & Miss H. Preston¹⁸⁷ depart in the stage The Gnl for Washington City.¹⁸⁸ Arrived S. B. *Sam Frisbee* from Trinity Steamer "*Maryland*" from N. Orleans. This day Genl. Clark Deptd for Washington City by the Stage.
- 31 morning Clear cold & smoky. Eveng Clear & warm Arrived S. B. *Essex* from Louisville.

November, 1828

WEATHER AND RIVER DATA

Date Novem- ber	Thermom at 8 A M	State of Weather	Points of Wind	Thermom at 4 P M	State of Weather	Points of Wind	Stage of Water or River
1	60	Smoky	N	62	Cloudy	SW	River falling
2	48	Cloudy	NW	46	Cloudy	NW	River Rising
3	46	Clear	E	62	Clear	S.	River still rising
4	58	"	S	62	Smoky	N.	" "
5	52	Smoky	NW	60	"	N.W.	" "
6	50	"	"	52	"	NW	River falling
7	54	"	NW	54	"	NW	" "
8	60	"	NW	62	"	S	" "
9	62	Calm	S.	62	Calm	S	River falling
10	60	Cool	N.	60	Windy	W.	" "
11	54	"	N.W.	58	"	N.W.	" "
12	52	Cold	N.	52	Frosty	NW	" "
13	60	Pleat	E	62	Rainy	E	" "
14	60	Cool	N	52	Rain	F.	" "
15	52	Cold	N. E.	52	Clear	W.	" "
16	60	pleast	W	52	Clear	W	" "
17	58	pleast	S	58	Cloudy	S	" "
18	62	pleast	S.W	60	Cloudy	S.	" "
19	62	Cloudy	S	60	Clear	calm	" "
20	51	"	W.	52	Cloudy	W.	River at a Stand
21	48	Rainy Freezing	N	42	"Snowing"	N	" "
22	38	Cloudy	N.W.	40	Cloudy	N.W.	" "

186. Mr. A. Clark has not been identified.

187. The Preston and Kennerly families were closely related. Henrietta Preston, mentioned above, was the daughter of William and Caroline (Hancock) Preston, and a relative of William Clark's second wife. See Footnote 98.

188. William Clark was apparently absent from St. Louis until March 29, 1829. (See diary entry of the latter date.) The Secretary of War had written Clark, and Governor Cass (of Michigan), asking that they come to Washington to aid in preparing a new code of regulations for the Indian department. In his report dated November 24, 1828, the Secretary of War stated that both men had arrived and were engaged on this work.—*The National Calendar*, op. cit., p. 275.

Date Novem- ber	Thermom at 8 A M	State of Weather	Points of Wind	Thermom at 4 P M	State of Weather	Points of Wind	Stage of Water or River
23	60	Cloudy	S.	51	Cloudy	S	" " "
24	62	Clear	W	52	Clear	S	" " "
25	62	Clear	Calm	51	Cloudy	E	" " "
26	70	Clear	S	62	Cloudy	S.	" " "
27	70	lear	Calm	63	Clear	S.W.	River at a stand
28	64	Clear	W.	54	Cloudy	W	" " "
29	58	Clear	W.	62	Clear	W.	" " "
30	56	Clear	S.	56	Clear	W	River rising Little

REMARKS

- 1 A very Smoky day with strong appearance of rain
- 2 This morning not so smoky. Col. Sanford arrives¹⁸⁹ *Frisbee* for Louisville departs. S. B. *Essex* Depts for Louisville.
- 3 This day pleasant Election running for Jackson Presidential Election. S. B. "*Maryland*" for N. Orleans
- 4 Foggy morning polls closed For "A" 330 For "J" 299 — 31 majr. for A.¹⁹⁰
- 5 Cloudy in morning & smoky. Cool pleast Evening
- 6 Cool smoky morning Warm Evening
- 7 This day warm & Smoky
- 8 This morning in the Evening
- 9 S. B. *Essex* arrived from Trinity
- 10 Cool morning tho pleast. Colder towards Evening
- 11 Cool morning Frost Colder in the Evening windy The *Essex* departs for Trinity. The *Rover* Arrives from the Rapids.
- 12 Cold morning Frost & little Ice. Colder Cloudy Evening.
- 13 Cloudy — rain Last night Colder Gloomy rainy Evening Miss F. Wright *arrives to day* & holds Lectures at Theatre.¹⁹¹ S. B. *Jubilee* Arrives from N. Orleans. Struck a Snag on her way S. B. *Rover* departs for the Rapids.
- 14 S. B. *Jubilee* arrived from N. Orleans struck a snag on her way up Miss Fr. Wright & Doct. Jennings passengers. *Delivrd* three lectures. No Arrvls or Departures.

189. John F. A. Sanford, subagent to the Mandan Indians. See Footnotes 37 and 53.

190. The results of the Missouri elections for President were: Andrew Jackson, 8,272; John Quincy Adams, 3,400.—*Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, November 4, 25, 1828.

191. Miss Frances Wright (1795-1852), lecturer, reformer, "free thinker," was of Scottish birth. She was a woman of intellect and courage. Following her first visit to the United States, 1818-1820, she wrote a book, *Views of Society and Manners in America* (1821), which won her the friendship of General Lafayette. In 1824, Frances Wright and her sister toured the U. S. with the general. A few years later she began lecturing, shocking public opinion not only by this boldness, but even more by advocating such modern ideas as birth control, emancipation of women, incompatibility as grounds for divorce, freedom of slaves, etc. Her ideas were influenced by those of Robert Dale Owen, with whom she joined in editing his colony's *New Harmony Gazette*.—*Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1936), v. 20, pp. 549, 550. The *Missouri Republican*, issue of November 18, 1828, stated: "The celebrated Miss Frances Wright has been in this city for some days. She has delivered several Lectures to crowded audiences."

- 15 S. B. *Frisbee* arrived warm evening No Arrivals or Departures
- 16 Fine morning Cool Evening wind from west This day the S. B. *Frisbee* arrives from Trinity
- 17 Warm morning & Cloudy Cloudy tho' pleasant. S. B. S. *Frisbee* departs for Louisville.
- 18 Fine morning & warm Cloudy warm evening S. B. *Jubilee* departs for N. Orleans to day
- 19 Little rain Last night warm morning. Fine plast evening. S. B. *Isabella* arrived from N. Orleans S. B. *North America* arrives from N. Orleans.
- 20 Cool morning tho' pleasant Evening cool & Cloudy. This day *The Pardon of the 2 Winebagoes* at P. du Chien Arrives¹⁹² Steamer *Cleopatra* Arrived from Louisville.
- 21 Warm morning & rainy at 12 commenced "snowing." continued in eveng. Steamer *N. America* departs for Trinity to day To day an *Express* starts for *Prairie du Chien*, bearing the *Pardon of the two Winnebagoes*, confined & condemned to be hung the 26th Decr next, for murder. At this time there has information been received from Cant. Leavensworth, that the *Grand Pawnees, & Pawnee Loups*, of about 1200 warriors, had gone *en masse* in a war excursion against the whites; and their attention will be directed principally to the *Santa Fe* road to intercept our traders, and should they fail there, to fall on the frontier settlements of Arkansaw, having declared their determination to scalp all white men whom they meet.¹⁹³ This day our first "Snow" commenced at about 12 A. M. Snowed briskly in the Evening till about ½ past 8 accompanied with a driving N. wind.
- 22 "Snowed" briskly last night. "1 inch." Cool Morning turning colder this Eveng. Cold morning. freezing before day, & continues so. Wind from N. W.
Last night Little Steamer *Plough Boy* arrivd from Louisville.
To day a new Steamer *Wm D. Duncan*¹⁹⁴ " " "

192. Eight Winnebago Indians were indicted at Prairie du Chien for the murder of Registre Gagnier and Solomon Lipcap, the scalping of Louisa Gagnier, and other depredations, in 1827. Red Bird, one of the principal offenders, died in prison. Of the seven Indians brought to trial in October, 1828, before a U. S. circuit court in Crawford county, Wisconsin, five were discharged, and two, Wan-i-ga ("the Sun") and Chick-hong-sic (or, "the Petit Boeuff"), were sentenced to be executed on December 26, 1828.—*Wisconsin Historical Collections*, v. 11, pp. 366, 367, 395, 396; *Niles' Weekly Register*, November 1, 1828, p. 151.

193. This information was in a letter written by Indian agent John Dougherty, of Cantonment Leavenworth, and dated November 10, 1828.—*Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, November 18, 1828.

194. Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 262, listed the *Wm. D. Duncan* as a 100-ton boat, built in 1827 at Pittsburgh.

The *Steamer Cleopatra* departed for Louisville.

" " *Isabella* " " Orleans.

- 23 pleast morning. Strong south wind warm Evening.

Little Steamer P. Boy departed for Louisville

" " *Wm D. Duncan* " " 1st Time

- 24 Fine morning warm pleasant Evening Old *Steamer Muskingum*¹⁹⁵ Arrived from Louisville.

- 25 Fine morning Some Frost. Cool pleasant Evening. J. B.

Steamer Criterion Arrived from N. Orleans

" *Muskingum* departed For Louisville.

- 26 Spring mornng. Strong South wind. Warm Strong S. Wind
river rough No Arrivals or departures to day

- 27 Beautiful Spring morning. Warm. Fine Warm Evening Little
Steamer Rover arrived from Lower Rapids up[per] Mppi
Little *Steamer "Cumberland"*¹⁹⁶ from Smithland. 1st time
To day Mr. Sanford departs for *Washington City* in the stage.

- 28 Beautiful Clear morning. Cloud[y] Evening tho pleast. Fine
Steamer North America arrives from Trinity.

- 29 Fine morning *tho cool*. Strong W. wind pleast Evening
Steamer Cumberland departs for Trinity.

- 30 Fine delightful morning. Decrs. Strong S. Wind. pleasant eye
Steamer North America deptd. for N. Orleans.

" *Criterion* " " Louisville.

December, 1828

WEATHER AND RIVER DATA

Date Decem- ber	Thermom at 8 A M	State of Weather	Points of Wind	Thermom at 4 P M	State of Weather	Points of Wind	Stage or Height of River
1	60	Clear	S.	60	"	S	River rising Little
2	50	Clear	S	62	Cloudy	W.	River Still rising.
3	50	Rainy	N.W.	52	Cloudy	W.	" " "
4	51	Cloudy	N.W.	50	Clear	S.W.	" " "
5	52	Clear	Calm	54	Clear	W.	" " "
6	48	"	S.W	48	"	S.W	" " "
7	42	"	W	40	"	W	" " "
8	42	Cloudy	S.E	42	Rain	E	" " "
9	40	Cloudy	S	41	Rain	S	
10	40	Rain	S.	40	Rain	S	
11	40	Clear	W	40	Clear	W	River rising a little
12	36	Clear	NW.	38	Rain	W.	River rising
13	50	Rain	W.	40	Clear	W	River still rising.
14	30	Clear	NW	30	"	NW	" "
15	28	Clear	N	54	Clear	S	" " "
16	30	Clear	S.	60	"	S	" "

195. The *Muskingum*, a 150-ton boat, was built at Marietta, Ohio, in 1825. She was "snagged" on Red river in 1829.—*Ibid.*, p. 253. See diary entry of April 3, 1829.

196. The *Cumberland*, built at Pittsburgh in 1828, was a 100-ton boat. She was sunk in 1831.—Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

Date Decem- ber	Thermom at 8 A M	State of Weather	Points of Wind	Thermom at 4 P M	State of Weather	Points of Wind	Stage or Height of River
17	[?]	Cloudy	N.	28	Cloudy	NW	" "
18	28	Clear	N		"	NW	River falling
19	36	Clear	S	36	Clear	S.	" "
20	30	Cloudy	S.	28	Clear	NW	" "
21	28	Clear	NW	26	"	NW	River falling & Low
22	27	Cloudy	N.	28	Cold	NW	Little Ice in the river this morning
23	26	Clear	Calm	28	Calm	Calm	River falling
24	28	Clear	W.	34	Clear	N.W.	River Low & little Ice running
25	26	"	NW	28	"	NW	Much Ice in the River which is falling very fast
26	30	"	NW	32	"	NW.	
27	64	Clear	S.	62	"	S.	
28	63	Clear	S	61	Clear	Calm	
29	64	Clear	Calm	63	Clear	S	River Clear of Ice.
30	62	Clear	W	60	Clear	NW.	
31	58	Clear	W.	56	Clear	W.	

REMARKS

- 1 Clear & warm with strong wind from South *Spring Weather*. Fine day Little Steamer *Genl. Pike*¹⁹⁷ arrived from Louisville. *1st time*
- 2 Fine morning Strong wind from W. Cool evening *Spring Morning*. Fine Weather J. B. Arrived Steamer *Illinois* from N. Orleans. Cool.
- 3 Cold morning raining hard. wind W. Cool, raw, Evening. No arrivals, or departures.
- 4 Cool morning tho' pleast. Fine Clear Evening & pleast. No Arrivals or departures To day
- 5 Pleasant morning. Little Ice. Fine warm Evening. Thaw Steamer *Rover small* departed for New Orleans. This day recovered a stolen *axe* by a *black fellow* who escaped.
- 6 Hard frost But a fine plesent day Arrived Little Steamer *Frisbee* from Louisville. S. B. *Diana*¹⁹⁸ from Louisville Genl Atkisson[?] & Lady arrive¹⁹⁹
- 7 A beautiful morning & fine day
Steamer *Frisbee* departs for Louisville
" *Illinois* " " N. Orleans
" *Criterion* arrives from Trinity.
- 8 Cloudy morning. Rain this evening
Little Steamer *Plough Boy* arrived from Louisville
" " *Diana* departed for "
" " *Genl. Pike* " " Trinity.

197. The *General Pike*, a 150-ton boat, was built at Big Bone [Ky.?] in 1824.—*Ibid.*, p. 255.

198. The *Diana*, a 100-ton boat, was built at Brush Creek, Ohio, in 1828.—*Ibid.*, p. 254.

199. Gen. Henry Atkinson and his wife, the former Mary Ann Bullitt of Louisville, Ky. They were married January 16, 1826.—*Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, February 2, 1826.

- 9 Col. Menard²⁰⁰ arrives from K[askaski]a some rain Last night. Cloudy Evening & gloomy.
Arrived Steamer *Cleopatra* from Louisville
Departed " *Criterion* for Trinity.
- 10 Majr. Graham²⁰¹ from Del[aware] agency Warm morning
Cloudy, gloomy Evening. Little Steamer *Plough Boy* departed
for Louisville S. B. *Maryland* from Orleans
- 11 Clear & pleasant weather. *Mr. Hamtranck*²⁰² arrives.
Steamer *W. Duncan* from Louisville
- 12 Cold. Heavy frost. 11 A. M. appearance of snow. rainy
evening Steamer *Cleopatra* departs for Louisville, Ky
- 13 Warm rainy morning Spring weather. Cool & Clear Evg
Little Steamer *Wm Duncan* departed for Trinity.
- 14 Hard freeze with ice this morning. Cool Evening Steamer
Maryland departs for Trinity. Steamer *Muskingum* arrives
from Louisville
- 15 Cold. Freeze this morning. Fine pleasant evening. Steamer
Oregon arrived from N. Orleans.
- 16 Clear warm morning. Still clear and warm Mean Steamer
Pilot departed for N. Orleans, etc.
- 17 Very Cold & Cloudy. continues very cold [Steamer *Pilot*]
sunk 30 miles below St. Gnve. being too heavily Laden.²⁰³
Steamer *Muskingum* departs for Louisville.
- 18 Extremely cold morning. Pleast Evening Str. *Oregon* de-
parted for New Orleans. Arrived Little Steamer *Wm D.*
Duncan from Trinity *Ohio*.
- 19 Beautiful morning Warm. Fine Evening. Arrived Steamer
Maryland from Trinity. Little Steamer *Diana* from Louisville
- 20 Fine warm morning, pleast. Cool evening Clear Departed
Steamer *Maryland* for N. Orleans Little Steamer *Wm D.*
Duncan for Louisville
- 21 Fine pleasant morning Pleasant evening. Departed Steamer
Diana for Louisville
- 22 Pleasant morning a little freeze. Clear and cool Arrived
Little Steamer *Ploughboy* from Louisville. Steamer *Bolivar*
from Trinity. Christmas week. J. B.
- 23 Beautiful morning. Spring weather. Clear and pleasant. no
arrivals or departures these days

200. See Footnotes 112 and 118.

201. See Footnote 125.

202. See Footnote 128.

203. "The Steam Boat Pilot, on her passage hence to New Orleans, sprung a leak, and sunk [near] Ste. Genevieve. She was laden with lead."—*Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, December 23, 1828.

- 24 Beautiful morning warm. Clear & pleasant. *Christmas Eve*.
 Departed Little Steamer *Ploughboy* for Orleans
 " Steamer *Bolivar* " "
 This Evening Capt G. H. Kennerly with some other of the exploring party arrives.²⁰⁴
- 25 Christmas day. Pleast.
- 26 Fine pleast weather For Christmas. Turning warm & sultry
- 27 " " " Very warm to day *Masonic* procession
St. John the Evans day
- 28 Fine pleast weather Warm sun shining day. pleasant evening.
 Sunday
- 29 Charming morning & Clear. Fine pleast Eve.
- 30 Writing with the windows raised *Fine* morning warm.
 "Alas! Time's drawing to a close
- 31 Fine day & pleast. Beautiful morning. Last Day. *F I N I S*
- 29 & 30 - 31st Nothing transpires these days no S. B. Arrivals
 — or departures. River lower at present than it has known to be
 for the last 5 years at this season. The weather delightful &
 dry and has been so for the last 3 weeks. So ends the year 1828.
 Here the Year 1828 Ends and a New Year commences consequently we shall begin on a new page for which turn over a
 new Leaf and change our ways J. B.²⁰⁵

TO THE DIARISTS.

Turn over here a Leaf again
 "Together with a year.
 Fill *Leaf & Year* without profane
 "For *time & Paper's* dear.

W. P. C.²⁰⁶

204. See Footnote 180.

205. The initials "J. B." were those of "diarist" Jesse Benton, the clerk in the superintendency office. They appear a number of times in the volume.

206. "W. P. C." was undoubtedly Clark's 17-year-old son William Preston Clark.

[Part Three, 1829, Will Appear in the August, 1948, Issue]

Letters of Julia Louisa Lovejoy, 1856-1864

PART FIVE, 1860-1864—CONCLUDED

BRADFORD, VT., Dec. 25, 1860.

WHEN we left Kansas a few brief months since, we left as lovely a daughter as God ever gave to a fond mother, in perfect health, and today, whilst we write, with hearts wrung with the keenest grief, amid the snow-clad hills of Vermont, we are written daughterless—our cherished one sleeps on the prairies of Kansas. . . .

Mrs. Juliette Louisa, wife of Dr. Samuel Whitehorn, and only daughter of Rev. C. H. and J. L. Lovejoy, fell asleep in Jesus, in Manhattan, Kansas, Nov. 20th, 1860, aged twenty-one years.¹³⁷ The disease which terminated her earthly existence was typhoid fever. She loved the Savior, and feared not to die, but said to her grief-stricken companion, "I have much to make me desire to live, but I fear not death, and the will of God be done." The last words that trembled on the lips of our darling one, quivering in death, were to her brother, who stood over her, and who had been her constant playmate from childhood to riper years—"Yes, ready." Thus passed away our beloved daughter, without a struggle, leaving a desolate companion, and only child of nearly three years of age, who was at death's door with the same dire disease when the mother went to God. . . .¹³⁸

JULIA L. LOVEJOY.

MONTPELIER, VT., April 24, 1861.

BRO. ELLIOTT¹³⁹: . . . At the last session of the Kansas Conference we were transferred by Bishop Morris to these hills where, a dozen years ago, we fought side by side with these veterans of the cross, of whom but a few remain of the original battalion, who once nobly battled for truth along the shores of Lake Champlain, where, for eight years, we witnessed signal victories in the Conqueror's name, hundreds of whom can still be found with faces Zionward. It was not without many a pang, and tearful strugglings before the throne, that we asked divine guidance in the matter of leaving

137. The grave of Juliette Lovejoy Whitehorn is in Sunset cemetery, Manhattan. "Among the first to occupy our city of the living, she is also among the first to occupy our city of the dead," the *Manhattan Western Kansas Express* reported in its issue of December 15, 1860. Juliette avenue, Manhattan, was named for Mrs. Whitehorn.

138. The paper which published this article has not been identified.

139. *The Central Christian Advocate*, St. Louis.

Kansas for a time, and the dear brethren in that distant field—Kansas, the scenes of more sorrows than was ever crowded into our life's history at any previous time—Kansas, where our poor desolate hearts lie buried; for there rest the precious remains of our own dear children, and God only knows the thrill of agony that pierces our inmost souls at the bare mention of the name! Oh ye who wander o'er those distant prairies, or halt on Mount Oread, overlooking Lawrence, or wend your way to the mouth of the Big Blue River, where the setting sun shines on that Western city—Manhattan, pause and drop a tear for the silent slumberers, for whom tears will never cease to be shed, until Jesus' own hand shall wipe away the last tear, and "mortality is swallowed up of life." Oh, haste the hour. . . .

This letter has already attained an unpardonable length; but my heart is still running over with "talk." We would say to our dear Western brethren, from whom we felt compelled to be separated for a time, on account of the suffering condition of Kansas, that our field of labor the present conference year is among old and tried friends, on the picturesque shore of old Champlain. Our P. O. address is Milton Falls, Vt.; and we shall listen to the shrill whistle of the locomotive with peculiar interest, as it announces, among other subjects of interest, the weekly advent of the *C. C. Advocate*. That will be doubly dear, as "distance lends enchantment to the view."

By your permission, Mr. Editor, we would, through the *Central*, solicit a line occasionally from former friends and co-laborers in the West.

Yours, in the great work of the world's redemption,

JULIA LOUISA LOVEJOY.

MILTON FALLS, VT.

DEAR SIR¹⁴⁰: . . . you know not how our souls cry out for Kansas in these terrible times. Kansas, the home of our adoption—in whose bosom are the graves of our children. Kansas, the scene of former labor and sufferings, where the great drama between freedom and slavery was so successfully played out; but the scene shifts, and lo! a whole nation is engaged in mortal combat; and O my God! when will the end come? Must we offer up our last offspring, our only son, save a "prattling one" of six summers, to swell the holocaust of victims to appease the slave power? In a few weeks,

¹⁴⁰. This excerpt was undated. It probably was published in the *Zion's Herald*, Boston, Mass.



MRS. JULIA LOUISA LOVEJOY
(1812-1882)

Newspaper correspondent and wife of a pioneer Kansas preacher. Photograph courtesy of Mrs. Florence (Fox) Harrop of Manhattan.

by the leave of Providence, we leave forever our native hills in dear old New England, and go back to Kansas to labor and to die in any spot, only at our post with the armor on. Our mission in New England is nearly ended—we have spent well-nigh one year and a half most delightfully, in a spiritual sense, with our brethren in Vermont; have witnessed glorious displays of the power of grace in the salvation of souls, though we have constantly borne about a bleeding heart for the “loved and the lost;” have gazed into the eyes of our aged parents, and sought their blessing for the last time; have bade the last “adieu” to kindred dear, and now only wait to sever our connection with our dear brethren and sisters on this charge, and then, should life be prolonged, our feet will tread the prairies of Kansas.

Our son writes us from Leavenworth, Kansas, that Missouri is pretty thoroughly cleansed of traitors. Gen. [James H.] Lane’s Division, with which he is connected, will move soon (probably about the middle of February,) it is conjectured to the “Cherokee Nation,” arming the different tribes through which he passes, and our souls tremble in view of the destruction and carnage that is sure to follow in their wake.

MRS. JULIA L. LOVEJOY.

MILTON FALLS, VT., Dec. 7, 1861.

MR. EDITOR ¹⁴¹:— . . . Recent intelligence from our son confirms the fact that the typhoid fever, that awful scourge of our army in Missouri, is still making sad havoc in the ranks of the loyal soldiers. He himself has but just escaped death, with a severe attack of the disease, while lying in camp with his command near Kansas City, Mo., he having remained nearly two weeks in an unconscious state; but God has heard our prayers in his behalf, and we hope he will yet live to preach Jesus from the walls of Zion.

It may interest your New England readers to learn something of the noble Christian patriots composing the company of which our son (himself a Methodist preacher) is captain. Rev. N. Taylor, Presiding Elder of Wyandotte District, Kansas Conference, is private in his company; so are also Rev. Mr. Sellers and Witten, of the Missouri Conference; also, Messrs. Stewart and Robinson, of the Kansas Conference, all privates in this company; and almost to

141. *Zion’s Herald*, Boston, Mass.

a man, the whole company are members of the church. They have what they call a "camp church," with regular class and prayer meetings, and God's blessing is manifested in their midst at these seasons of spiritual refreshing. . . .

JULIA L. LOVEJOY.

LEAVENWORTH, KANSAS, March 18, 1862.

BRO. HAVEN ¹⁴²:—We took the cars at Milton, Vt., March 4th, and turned our faces Kansas-ward, and for the first time in our journeyings to and from the "far West," concluded to take the Northern route, through Canada, Ogdensburg, N. Y., and Detroit, as we had been informed it was a shorter and cheaper route; but in this we were sorely disappointed, and paid dear for this additional experience; and we advise all travelers by all means to take the "N. Y. Central Railroad" to Chicago and all points beyond. From St. Albans, Vt., to Ogdensburg, N. Y., our route lay through a lonely country, where the snow was five feet in depth on a level, and we passed through snowdrifts 22 feet deep by actual measurement—quite a contrast, we thought on our arrival in Kansas, to see the green grass shooting up, and the wheeling as fine as in May in Vermont. The cars were filthy—the occupants, we judged, a low class of Canadians; but we endured our journey with as much good humor as possible till we left the cars at Ogdensburg to cross the St. Lawrence River, into Prescott, Canada. Here there were fifteen specimens of humanity crowded into a small boat, rowed with oars, where the river was a mile and a half in width. This perilous passage was performed on a bitter cold day, the boat rocking, the women and children trembling and weeping from sheer fright, whilst the itinerant and his little family looked to Heaven, and thought, "Well, this spot is just as near the better land as any other place, and 'tis all well, for Christ is here as elsewhere;" and as he sat in the bow of the frail craft, his voice rolled over the dark waters, as he lustily sung in his own peculiar way, "On Jordan's stormy banks I stand," &c.

At Prescott, Ca., we were close prisoners for 24 hours in a filthy, unfurnished depot, where there was neither wash-basin nor towel, nor any kind of lodging-place save the uncushioned benches, or any refreshment, only as our company ventured a mile or more in pursuit of it in breathless haste, lest the cars would come in their absence, as they had been coming for nearly a week, and one lady had

142. *Zion's Herald*, Boston, Mass.

been waiting in the depot from Tuesday till Friday, (the day of our arrival,) but no cars made their appearance till Saturday, P. M., about 5 o'clock. It was well for us that we had our own bread and cheese, and tin cup, for water, among our luggage, for there was actually but one article of convenience for travelers in this large depot, and that was a zinc cup, holding about two gills, chained to the walls of the room, (we were reminded of Luther's Bible, chained,) from which this thirsty crowd—vexed beyond endurance at such a long delay of a number of days in succession—washed the grumblings and curses from their profane lips. The family were sick with the small-pox at the only hotel within walking distance, and so we spent a day and night as miserably as we ever wish to spend one, our sleepless senses being regaled, as we were stretched on the hard bench, with carpet-sack for pillow, with oaths and vulgar love-songs from a low class of Irish and Scotch, although there was a goodly number of respectable ladies and gentlemen, who were emigrating West, and others who were returning from the East, in the same fix as ourselves, who durst not leave the depot lest the long-expected train would leave them, as it had others previously.

There were six engines that had run off the track, we were told, between Prescott and Montreal, and one had been demolished. For several miles there was a solid mass of ice on the track that had to be picked off with a hand-pick the entire distance. We had fixed for a start the dozenth time, when lo! the telegraphic dispatch from Montreal, "the trains have started"—then other telegrams, until the wires said, "only 20 miles out," all hands be ready; and such a rush to hear the distant whistle! In one matter all were agreed, never to be caught on that route again as long as there was another thoroughfare to the Mississippi River. But the train heaves in sight, headed by two locomotives, puffing and blowing as though they had just emerged from some straight place, as did Johnny Bull after the Mason and Slidell affair. The cars had been picking up travelers, who had been delayed all along the route from Montreal to Prescott, until there was quite a miniature world of living freight. Crossing the St. Clair River into Detroit, we were forced to pass through another vexatious farce, in having our luggage inspected at the Custom House; but happily for us, we had not one dime's worth purchased in the Queen's dominions; but one poor fellow of our party was not so fortunate, he having purchased a gun for eight dollars, was taxed three dollars; and another had a pair of stockings and a few skeins of yarn in his carpet-sack, for which he was taxed

one dollar, which was more than we would have given him for the whole amount.

How changed the phase of things as soon as the boat struck the Michigan side of the river! Here we found tidy cars, sumptuously furnished, and luxuries to which we had been strangers after we left the domains of the United States. We never desire to trespass again on the dominions of Queen Victoria—forty-eight hours will suffice us for a lifetime.

We ran into Chicago in season for Mr. L. to attend church, who listened to an interesting sermon from Rev. Mr. Tiffany. The earth was mostly free from snow around Chicago, but not as dry and settled as in Missouri and Kansas. Monday morning we were whirling along at a rapid rate through Illinois to Quincy, where we crossed the Mississippi River. At Quincy our trunks were opened and searched, our carpet-sacks examined, and not even one you carried in your hand but must be examined and sealed with Uncle Sam's insignia ere you pass into the land of Secesh, lest some documents may be concealed, or something found to brand you as spies. Every part of our luggage was sealed with 'sealing-wax, stamped with "U. S.," and a bit of red tape, about six inches in length, sealed across the mouth of the carpetsack. This is to prevent spies from passing in rebeldom and conveying important intelligence to Secesh. From Quincy, Ill., to St. Joseph, Mo., all along the route of the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad, troops are stationed at certain distances to watch the road and prevent the destruction of bridges and tearing up of the track. The entire route across the State of Missouri bears the marks of the ravages of war; here a house burned, fences demolished, windows nailed up; there a bridge burned, causing a great destruction of human life, and one bridge we crossed had been burned and re-built several times in succession; and every bridge must be examined ere the cars passed over it. We run only 14 miles an hour, and carefully scanned the whole distance across the State, lest some trap might be laid for our destruction.

Business is all stagnated throughout the State—fine farms deserted, and the sad effects of war seen on every hand. The secesh owner of a fine farm, not far from the Mississippi, said "he would give any man a warrantee deed who would furnish him with a team to get out of the State with;" but, like Noah's dove, he will find no place of refuge. Secesh is dead in Missouri, though deadly hatred to the United States is concealed in many bosoms, and this hatred

breaks out in murder and horse-stealing and robbing Union men at every opportunity.

A little out from St. Joseph we crossed the high bridge where so many were barbarously murdered by the burning of the bridge; and an incident connected with this bloody affair came to our knowledge for the first time. The cars were loaded with the wounded, and proceeding to St. Joseph for help, when they found another bridge on fire, as the traitors were bent on the destruction of all the wounded, but by prompt efforts they were saved.¹⁴³ The U. S. Marshall was returning with his bride from the East, who was among the dangerously wounded, and now bears on her person the fearful scars of the terrible tragedy. She is a member of our church in this town, (Leavenworth.) We were delayed so long on the road that we did not reach Leavenworth until after the Kansas Conference commenced its session at Wyandotte, 25 miles from Leavenworth. Mr. L. took stage the day following and immediately proceeded to the seat of the Conference, leaving his family in Leavenworth till his return. We are very agreeably and hospitably entertained with the family of Rev. G. W. Paddock, who the past year has been the pastor of the M. E. Church in this place, and who was formerly a member of the East Genesee Conference. This dear brother and his estimable lady stood at their posts unflinchingly during the days of famine that so sorely tried men's souls, and whilst many of their brethren either returned to their former fields of labor, or accepted of an agency to solicit funds for the suffering, Bro. Paddock stood firm as a wall of brass, resolved to stand by Kansas to the last, and God has honored him. There is a membership of 130 in the M. E. Church in this city, paying their pastor a salary of \$700, and they intend to complete their fine church in early spring.

Everything looks warlike here. The streets are constantly thronged with soldiers, and regiments are going and coming. Whilst we write, a company are on the march by the dwelling, with their stuffed haversacks strapped to their shoulders, bound in a southerly direction; anon a company of cavalry gallop into town. Yesterday, by special invitation, in company with Sister Paddock and two other Christian friends, we visited the hospitals for the sick soldiers, and those who were somewhat convalescent. Here were several who were in the terrible battle at Springfield, Mo.,¹⁴⁴ when the brave [Gen. Nathaniel] Lyon fell—some sick with typhoid fever, pneu-

143. The Platte River Bridge Massacre, September 3, 1861.—See *The Conservative*, Leavenworth, September 5, 1861.

144. Battle of Wilson's Creek, ten miles south of Springfield, August 10, 1861.

monia, measles, &c., and we found three who will soon breathe their last, far from home and kindred dear. There was the empty pallet from which one had just been lifted to his rude grave; there another soldier speechless, and grappling with the grim monster; there another emaciated to a skeleton, sobbing as though his heart would break, and trying to tell us of his poor mother away up in Wisconsin. Our own emotions at times quite overcame us as we grasped the skeleton fingers of one after another of these poor creatures, who had come hundreds of miles to fight for their country, and now must find a grave unmarked, and be buried by a stranger's hand. We tried to tell them as well as we could of that world where the inhabitants are never sick, and many a rough hand was drawn across the eyes as they told us in broken accents, "We do find Jesus precious."

We never spent an afternoon more profitably in our lives than in visiting the wards in that Mammoth Hospital. Everything about the premises bore the marks of neatness. The rooms were well ventilated, and kept in excellent order—the beds tidy; each cot had a pillow, sheets and coverlet, the most of the cots being single. The physicians are gentlemanly in their deportment, and the most of the nurses are pious men, and members of our church. Provisions are very plentiful in Kansas. Flour is six dollars per barrel, potatoes 30 cents per bushel, bacon 7 cents per pound, butter 20 cents, apples, very fine, one dollar per bushel.

O the changes that have taken place since we left Kansas, 18 months since—instead of a daughter come to welcome our return, the graves of two beloved daughters in solemn stillness tell us, "our loved ones are not here," and we in untold agony turn away to weep. God help us to feel "Thy will be done."

JULIA L. LOVEJOY.

P. S. Our P. O. address will be, Rev. C. H. Lovejoy, Baldwin City, Douglas Co., Kansas.

BALDWIN CITY, KAN., June 20, 1862.

MR. EDITOR¹⁴⁵: . . . A terrible state of affairs, politically, is now being enacted in the bloody drama that has brought death and desolation to so many families in Missouri. Whilst we write, a refugee from that ill-fated State, is at our son's table at dinner, who with his family escaped as by the "skin of his teeth," leaving a fine farm, farming tools, &c., behind him; not knowing how soon all

145. *The Independent Democrat*, Concord, N. H.

would be destroyed by those infuriated demons, who watched to shoot him for no crime only loving the government under which he had always lived. It would make your ears and the ears of every true Vermonter burn with indignant horror, to listen to those tales of woe and suffering that those patriots pass through,—you can find them by scores, if not by hundreds in every part of Kansas, eking out a bare subsistence for their families who have escaped from the bloody fangs of Secession. Hear from this pious man's lips—well attested facts:—A neighboring physician, a quiet, unobtrusive man, and withal a slave-holder, said he would have his right arm torn off before he would fight for the Southern Confederacy against his country.—Those fiends shot him and left him weltering in his blood, then fired his house and burnt his body up with it, and whether he was quite dead ere the fire reached him is more than his neighbors can tell. Another neighbor, a woman, they shot in the presence of her husband, who died the next day. Others started to flee, and were shot on the road, and left unburied. Union men are shot down like dogs, and their property destroyed in almost every part of Missouri. Four or five men whose families live at Black Jack, about 5 miles from here, were shot a few days since, near Independence, Mo.

Please say to our friends that Mr. Lovejoy is stationed the present Conference year, at Wyandotte City, a beautiful city about two miles from Kansas City, Mo., where so many bloody tragedies have been enacted during the present war. Our family remain at Baldwin City for a time.

This is quite a dry season in Kansas, but farmers have got an immense amount of crops, of different kinds. Provisions low—flour, \$5 per bbl; corn, 20 cts. per bushel; butter, 8 cts. per lb; eggs, 6 cts per doz; potatoes 5 cts per bush; extra 20 cts; ham, 6 cts; pork, 3 or 4 cts.

JULIA L. LOVEJOY.

BALDWIN CITY, DOUGLAS CO., KANSAS,
July 22, 1862.

MESSRS. EDITORS ¹⁴⁶: . . . Rumor says [Gen. Sterling] Price's army has again re-crossed the Mississippi River, and we fear another raid upon Kansas. Guerilla parties are making dreadful slaughter upon Union men in Missouri and stealing and destroying their property.—Anarchy reigns in Missouri. A man who came home with Mr. Lovejoy the last time he visited his family, was shot at in

146. The paper which published this article has not been identified.

Kansas City, Mo., the same day they journeyed together, and I have great fears for the safety of Mr. L. as he is stationed the present Conference year, at Wyandotte City which is only two miles from Kansas City. Our family will remain for the year at Baldwin City, Douglas Co., which is our P. O. address. The weather is very dry and unless we soon have rain, crops will come in very light. There is an immense breadth of land planted and sown. Wheat is harvested and a fair crop. Garden vegetables light—quite a failure on account of the drought, in some places. We have had green corn for weeks past. The prices current are as follows: Flour \$5 per bbl; corn 15 cents per bushel; butter 8 cents per pound; eggs 6 cents per doz; ham 5 and 6 cents per pound; pork, 3 and 4 cents; beef, 3 and 4 cents per pound; working oxen, 50 and 60 dollars; good cows, 10 and 12 dollars. We write this for the farmers of N. H. Heaven bless the dear old Granite State, and may her soldier-sons take the lead in striking the death-blow to the great cause of this rebellion.

JULIA L. LOVEJOY.

BALDWIN CITY, DOUGLAS CO., KANSAS,
Monday Morning, Sept. 8, 1862.

BRO. HAVEN ¹⁴⁷:—I write hastily this morning, whilst consternation and excitement are imprinted on every brow. That which we so greatly feared, has come upon us. Yesterday morning before light, [William C.] Quantrell's band of desperadoes numbering, report says, about 700, stole into Olathe, Spring Hill, and Squiresville [Johnson county], whilst the peaceable inhabitants were asleep, and sacked each of the above mentioned places, carrying off all the plunder they desired. At Olathe, a company of our boys had collected, to start for Fort Lincoln (near Fort Scott), to go into camp there; they took them all prisoners, and took two hundred stand of arms, all the commissary stores collected for the regiment; and a number of our soldier-boys broke and run, when they shot some half a dozen of them dead, and three or four citizens also. A young man who was stopping there for the night, from Spring Hill, was mounting his horse to flee to his home, when they seized his horse and shot him dead. Capt. Charles J. Lovejoy, (our Charlie), is quartermaster of this regiment, and was to have started with the Olathe soldiers this morning for Fort Lincoln; he has just gone, whilst his unfortunate comrades are weltering in their blood. "How

147. *Zion's Herald*, Boston, Mass.

long, O Lord, how long" must this state of things continue? This Quantrell, who is a second Nero, or fiend rather, in point of cruelty, was Charles Hart, formerly of Lawrence, Kansas, with whom Mr. Lovejoy was acquainted during our troubles in 1856 and '57. At the recent capture of Independence, Mo., four of our neighbors fought to the last, and refused to surrender until overpowered by numbers, and all were wounded—two severely. Capt. Thomas, of Independence, Quantrell shot dead and then kicked his body repeatedly. Capt. Thomas was a Methodist preacher, and had been a member of the Mo. Conference. About that time, Quantrell and his band murdered a man, in presence of his own son, and said, "Go back to Kansas city, and tell the people you saw Quantrell kill your father." We could not sum up the horrid murders committed by this notorious guerrilla leader and his band, who have eluded the vigilance of thousands who have been on their track, from every point of the compass, for months past. A woman, who bears the sobriquet of Nancy Slaughter, seated on one of the fleetest horses, accompanies this wretch on his bloody perigrinations. She is a "grass widow," and strange as it may seem, is the daughter of a respectable man now living in Kansas. A few weeks since, says the Lawrence Republican, he murdered Judge Paine, of Burlingame, and a man living with him. Quantrell sent one of his party on ahead, who pretended to be a weary traveler, and called for some whisky; the Judge went to his store to get some, when the party rushed upon him and shot him, and tumbled his body into the cellar—shot the other man and threw him also into the cellar, and then set fire to the building; the hired man crawled out of the cellar-window, but afterwards died; the remains of the Judge were partially consumed with the building. You are aware that Olathe is the county seat of Johnson Co., and is a place of considerable importance. It was our field of labor two years since, and Mr. L. has passed through the place going to and returning from Wyandotte, his present charge, during the summer.

Amid the clangor of war, we have glorious news of the triumphant march of the Prince of Peace. A camp meeting commenced at Centropolis [Franklin county], some three weeks since, and after formally closing the meeting at the expiration of the first week, such was the wonderful display of the power of God that it commenced again, and last night Mr. L. preached on the ground, and there were many new cases of individuals in the altar for prayers, and the work was progressing with unabated interest. We were there

two weeks since, and the altar was well filled with seekers, and those who were endeavoring to point them to the Lamb of God. From fifty to seventy found peace in believing. Many leave for their homes, so that it is difficult to number Israel. A number of young men came there to get religion who had enlisted in the army, and we heard their testimonies that Christ had sealed a pardon on their hearts. This is what our young men want, to shield them from the corruptions of camp life and prepare them to fall in defense of their country.

A camp meeting commences next week, on the University grounds, at Baldwin City, and we will endeavor to tell our New England friends the result of the meeting. Our school in this place has flourished beyond the most sanguine expectations of its friends, having the last quarter sixty students.

JULIA L. LOVEJOY.

BALDWIN CITY, DOUGLAS CO., KANSAS,
Oct. 8th, 1862.

BRO. WEBSTER ¹⁴⁸:—I know your good kind heart will pardon our tardiness, in performing pledges made to the *Messenger*. Two unfinished letters now lie in our own writing desk, with quite a chasm in the date, commenced by Mr. L. in different parts of the State, for the readers of the *Messenger* in the Green Mountain State, but having no time at command they must be "laid over" for the present, and my own letters are all written at double quick. We are having a heap of excitement at this writing in Southern Kansas. You have learned ere this, of the invasion of our beautiful State by "Quantrell," the famous Guerilla chief, and his gang of banditti, in which Olathe, the County seat of Johnson County, was sacked, and also the adjoining town, Spring Hill, and a little village called Squiresville, and some of the most cold blooded murders on citizens and soldiers rendezvousing at Olathe, were perpetrated by this fiend of which we have any record, even in Kansas. Mr. [Frank] Cook, a worthy citizen, was dragged from his bed, where he was sleeping with his wife, and murdered, and so was also a Mr. [J.] Judy, he too was an inoffensive citizen. They broke into the home of Rev. S. Brooks (formerly a member of the Iowa Conference now of the Kansas Conference, and the present year stationed at Olathe) frightening his wife almost out of her wits, Bro. B. being on the circuit, and lo! on the day following they were pulling, with goods and

¹⁴⁸. *Christian Messenger*.

chattels, and so was also the family of his steward, "bag and baggage" for Baldwin City to find home for the remainder of the year, if "Quantrell" does not pay us a visit, as we are expecting a "surprise," and I trust our citizens will be prepared to receive so *distinguished* a guest.

Report came to town last night that a terrible battle had been fought in the vicinity of Fort Scott, in Linn County Kansas, and the first Messenger said "7,000 of our troops have been taken prisoners;" the last report was to the effect that the Federal arms were victorious,—God grant that the latter may be confirmed. O, the terrible suspense, that shrouds some aching hearts in our midst, who have husbands and fathers in that Division of the Army. We met a little boy, the son of a Methodist preacher, as we were returning from town, (whither we had been to administer the holy sacrament to a dying woman) and said he, "Pa is now, we are afraid a prisoner." The sons of two of our neighbors were in the late battle at "Harper's Ferry" and Antietam. One, the son of Rev. N. Taylor, ex-Presiding Elder, the other of our good Methodist, Dr. Dollars, and oh, these pale-faced mothers with their quivering lips, tell a tale of heart-agony, such as thousands of mothers can now tell in our suffering Country. Missives came, one, two, three, after the terrible battle began, then all was silent as the grave. Not a word to tell their fate. O, Bro. Webster, can you fail to see that *this war* is the *exact* fulfillment of prophecy, as plain as can be spelled out to human intellect, and the different phases it has assumed and is assuming, seems clear to my own mind that it is the great battle of "Armagedden," in the Apocalypse, and we are *very near* the final consummation of time. Why Sir, there are to day probably, ten thousand God-fearing, praying men in our army, battling for the right, and if this does not look like the camp of the saints, that regiment of Methodist preachers that made me shout out-right, when I read of their patriotic zeal, is a photograph of one. I disclaim all sympathy with "Millerism,"¹⁴⁹ and its errors long since exploded, but I *do believe* from the "signs of the times" that the sound of the "Bridegroom cometh" is issued, and the "Great day of God Almighty," is just at hand.

Our late camp meeting in this place, was a glorious success.

149. Millerites or Adventists "were followers of William Miller who, during 1831-'44, preached that, according to Daniel's and Ezra's prophecies, at Christ's second coming in 1844 fire would destroy the earth. The advent failing to materialize and opposition from existing sects becoming intolerant, a new church, Adventist, developed in 1845. The adherents believed in Christ's personal, visible return. . . ."—*Dictionary of American History* (New York, 1940), v. 1, p. 15.

Twelve have already united with the Church as fruits of the meeting, and it is a difficult matter, here in the "far West," to tell the number of conversions at such meetings there are so many comers and goers. General [J. M.] Chivington, late Presiding Elder of the Rocky Mountain District, who with his command has accomplished such wonders of late in New Mexico, was present and preached from the stand in his regimentals. His persuasive eloquence, and clear, ringing stentorian voice swayed the multitude like a Western tornado, as it bends its massive oaks. The work of God is still going on, and we have meetings almost every night.

News came to Paola where the eleventh [Twelfth] Kansas regiment now rendezvous, that "Quantrell," was at Gardner, twelve miles from here, Sunday morning, and the soldiers who were horseless, pressed those belonging to the citizens, about one hundred of them, and started in pursuit. People who came to Church had their horses taken from their waggons, and they left in the streets. Charles, who is now Adjutant of this regiment, (late Quartermaster,) was awakened one night last week and called from his room by two men, who apologized when they found their mistake,—“he was not the man they wanted.” They went to another room, called out two men who started off with them in the night. The next morning our class-leader’s son, who is a soldier there, went into a piece of woods near by and saw a human hand protruding from a hastily dug grave, and there was one of the men dead, shot through the head, that they had called from their bed. Such is life in the army.

JULIA L. LOVEJOY.

BALDWIN CITY, DOUGLAS CO., KANSAS,
Jan. 16, 1863.

MR. EDITOR ¹⁵⁰:—You will rejoice to learn that we are enjoying the most powerful revival of religion on this charge that we have ever witnessed in Kansas. Between forty and fifty were at the mourner’s bench last Tuesday evening, and about twenty rejoiced in a sin-pardoning God. Twenty-two joined the class Wednesday evening who had found the Saviour within the two previous days, and the glorious work is progressing. The University Building, three stories high, where we are compelled to worship for want of a church, is becoming “too strait for us,” as there is hardly standing room for the eager crowd who are to hear the word of the Lord.

150. The paper which published this article has not been identified.

This is God's own work in answer to the prayers of his people, and he shall have all the glory.

There are now between eighty and one hundred students, ladies and gentlemen, in attendance at "Baker University," and a number have been converted during this revival, and we are expecting that at the close of the present term, as they will scatter in different directions to their homes, and bear with them the "impress of Jesus" received here, that others will be led to Christ through their faithful "personal effort." This is a very interesting and important field of labor, having the families of a dozen Methodist preachers to worship with us on the Sabbath, and usually from six to eight ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church, members of our congregation, who are located here that their families may enjoy the benefit of school. Mr. Lovejoy was called from his field of labor to become their pastor immediately after the death of the lamented Prof. [T. H.] Mudge, and we are hoping that hundreds of names will be enrolled in the sheaf, to be borne from this charge, who will all be found at the last day written in the Book of Life. The Conference which meets at Lawrence next March, will not be under the necessity of convening in a big tent as in 1857, but in a house owned by the Methodist Episcopal Church, though not entirely free from debt.

The Kansas troops have won laurels recently in Tennessee and Arkansas. Report says: "Quantrell has recently returned from the latter place with several hundred men, designing to make another raid into Kansas." The rumor needs confirmation. We learn this week that the Kansas 12th, with which our son is connected, has been ordered to Arkansas to re-enforce General [James G.] Blunt, and from thence to Vicksburg, Mississippi. Who can number up the bleeding, anxious hearts in our midst who have husbands and sons in the army? Whilst we worshiped night before last, the sad tidings went from lip to lip, "Coffran is killed!" fell pierced by a shell and died instantly at the late battle of Fredericksburg. He was son-in-law of Ex-Presiding Elder Taylor, a neighbor of ours, and his grief-stricken wife and four helpless little ones are with us in untold agony. At the same hour we received a missive, stating that Mr. Lovejoy's youngest brother, a steward and class leader from Old Landaff Circuit, N. H. Conference, was in the same terrible fight, and escaped unscathed, with two bullet holes through his pants, and another struck his rifle, but God spared him and permitted another relative youth to fall in the same rank by a murder-

ous shell. May God sustain the bereaved family. We bespeak the prayers of our dear brethren and sisters, with whom we have formerly labored, and wept and rejoiced, that God will take care of our dear sons that we have laid on the altar of our distracted nation, and bring them back to our arms again unpolluted by the corruptions of camp life, and that our dear boy may again stand on the walls of Zion to blow the gospel trump[et]. We have known of but few cases of sickness in Kansas the present year, save a number of cases of diphtheria in this locality, and at one time forty cases of small pox in the Kansas 12th, not one of which proved fatal.

JULIA A. LOVEJOY.

BALDWIN CITY, DOUGLAS Co., Ks.,
January 23, 1863.

MESSRS. EDITORS ¹⁵¹: I have no apology to offer in calling your attention, and through the medium of the *Daily Record*, that also of the State Legislature, now in session, to the object of this communication, which is to bring before the people of Kansas, more fully and definitely, through their honorable representatives, the Deaf Mute Institute, located at Baldwin City, and which has, since December, 1861, been in successful operation, tirelessly pursuing its noiseless, unostentatious course, grappling with poverty, and struggling against fearful odds, to be self-sustaining, and actually keeping gaunt poverty at bay, by almost superhuman effort and energy of character, exhibited by the indomitable principal, Prof. P. A. Emery, A. M. And, sirs, permit me to say, this article is entirely unsolicited, on the part of the worthy Principal, or any others connected with the institute, but wholly gratuitous, and prompted by philanthropic sympathy alone for the unfortunate beings, who, by some mysterious Providence, are compelled to drag out a voiceless existence, and never hear the "sweet music of speech," or feel the mystic power of soothing words, and so completely was sympathy intensified (at a recent visit and exhibition impromptu by the mutes), that I should have been, with my pen, at the opening session, knocking at the doors of the Senatorial or Representatives' hall, followed by a train of some half dozen mutes, who, with pleadings unutterable, seek their sympathy, aid and co-operation, but sudden illness alone prevented. Go sirs, with me, and witness, if you can, without emotion, eight immortal beings, endowed by their Creator, with intellectual faculties and mental capacities of a grade

151. Topeka Tribune.

equal with your own, whose lips are forever sealed to soul-communion, or the interchange of thought, only by silent sign, words or hieroglyphics, and suppose these were your sons and daughters, allied by the strongest ties of consanguinity, who, for no act of their own, must grope along life's dreary way, unheeded by no glimmering ray from science, but doomed in mantal darkness to live and die? Fancy one of these, the bosom partner, of life's joys and sorrows, as is literally the case with the accomplished lady of Professor Emery, and the mother of two interesting children. Mrs. E., we learn, has almost from childhood been a mute, though well educated and intelligent, conducting herself with lady-like propriety, and entertaining her visitors, in "conversational style," with slate and pencil, with remarkable tact. She writes rapidly, and her chirography is elegant, and orthography might possibly compare favorably with some of our wisest and best statesmen high in office.

We have not been initiated into the mysteries of "mute language," but from what we witnessed of their unpremeditated performances, we should judge the mutes had made as great proficiency in book-learning, as their parents or guardians had a right to expect; and to prove that these performances were not parrot-like, the indefatigable Professor gave us leave to introduce what subject, or rather objects, we pleased, within their capacity, and the various objects, were with suprising facility written upon the "black-boards." These mutes (as we have also observed in those blind from birth or through a series of years), seemed gifted with a kind of instinctive knowledge, far superior to those who are gifted with the power of speech, and recognize a look, or a sign as readily as the loquacious do the well-known voice of a friend. Now, gentlemen, we ask your influence, your patronage, your money, to aid this worthy Institute, which is poor, very poor, and no resources, unless your clemency and sympathy provide them, as the parents of the children, now in attendance, are scarcely able to defray the actual expenses of board, for which the benevolent Principal informed us, he charged only about half the sum required for the students of his next door neighbor "Baker University." We earnestly hope the present Legislature will appropriate no meager sum to this God-like enterprise, "but devise liberal things." . . .

Respectfully,

JULIA LOUISA LOVEJOY.

CORINTH, MISS., April 22, 1863.

BRO. SCOTT ¹⁵²:—For the information of my old friends in Vermont, as well as others, I pen a few lines for the columns of the *Messenger*, should it in your judgment be fitting. It will be seen by the date of this letter, that I am in the enemy's land, on the very spot where the contending forces met in the deadly conflict on the 3d and 4th of October last, in which hundreds of lives were lost, and where the enemy met with a fearful loss, and to them a most overwhelming defeat, after two days of hard fighting. I have walked over this field of blood, looked with tearful eye upon the graves of those sons of Freedom, who freely gave their lives to save their country from the tyrannical reign of Southern despots. Never was I so deeply impressed with a sense of the great wickedness of this causeless rebellion, as now, yet I can view it in no other light than as the legitimate fruit of the Godless system of human bondage, which has diffused its poisonous miasma through the entire body politic;—and these are its death throes. Yes, Slavery has awfully corrupted state and church, and God in his righteous displeasure is working out by this terrible scourge, the freedom of the poor bondmen, and this nation is yet, (as we believe,) to come out of this dreadful ordeal a purified and free people.

The colored race are destined to be elevated, and to become a people among the nations of the earth. This war has laid waste this whole country. Sad to think of, while thousands of precious lives are being sacrificed, and the land is filled with lamentations and mourning.

At Memphis, on my way to this place, I visited the hospital, where hundreds of our brave men are suffering from various diseases. I was glad to find that no pains was spared to make their condition as comfortable as it was possible. I heard no murmurings or complaints, but all seemed astonishingly cheerful. But the saddest sight, and that which so affected me that I could not refrain from weeping was what I witnessed at the levee in Memphis, where they were loading upon a hospital-boat some five hundred sick and wounded, to send them up the river to St. Louis and other points. Here were men on which the stoutest heart could not look without weeping. Men, who at the call of their country left all,—wives and children, mothers, fathers, sisters, and homes of plenty—strong and

152. This letter, printed in the *Christian Messenger*, was written by Julia Lovejoy's husband, the Rev. Charles H. Lovejoy, three days after he was mustered into service as chaplain of the Seventh regiment, Kansas Volunteer cavalry.—*Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Kansas, 1861-65* (Topeka, 1896), v. 1, p. 214.

healthy, to defend their country from the usurpation of Southern despots. Exposure in camp life or on the battle field, in a few short months has fastened upon them disease of which they may *never* hope to be freed, and many, alas, will never reach their homes. Alas, how many desolated homes are the fruits of this cruel war. In conversing with these noble sons of freedom, I was deeply impressed with the patriotic zeal and patience they manifested in their sufferings. No words of complaint escaped their lips. In the large crowd of sufferers waiting to get aboard or to be carried, I saw a lady standing by an emaciated form, on whose countenance was the picture of deep sorrow. I approached to say a word of comfort. I found her to be the wife of the suffering individual who sat at her feet on his haversack, wasted to a skeleton, and who to all appearance could not live long. That wife had come all the way from Northern Iowa to attend upon that sick husband and accompany him home, if it was possible to get him there.

Another, was brought in to the public house where I stopped, being taken by his friends to his home in Iowa; but alas! he meets that weeping wife and children, who are anxiously waiting his arrival no more, for in a few hours he closes his eyes in death. But I must stop, for there is no end, it would seem, to these tales of woe.

There is another subject of interest to the northern people, on which I would say a few words. On yesterday I met with the chaplains who are now at this post, to counsel, as to the best way of accomplishing good, and prosecuting our responsible work as chaplains in our Country's service. From the chaplain who has in charge the "contrabands," at this post, we learned the following facts. There are now in this department, twenty-five thousands of these colored people, and at this place twenty-five hundred. Fifteen hundred of whom are hired out to the Government for various purposes, and are receiving wages. One thousand are in camp at this place, under the care of white men. A school has been opened among them which is well attended, and promises much. Scholars learn rapidly.

A large garden of one hundred acres, is put in cultivation, to raise vegetables for the army, &c.

A farm is opened on which these colored hands are employed and one thousand acres of cotton is being planted.

Steps are now being taken by which *every* man able to bear arms is to be mustered into the U. S. service, under white officers. One company is now organized. Those not able to go into the service

are to be employed on the farm. These people are receiving larger donations from the benevolent, mostly from the Quaker, or Friends which is distributed among them. The donations are mostly in clothing. Most of these colored people owing to the manner of their treatment as slaves know nothing of taking care [of] themselves, any more than children; and we learned that one object of those who had them in charge, was, to teach them lessons of self-reliance, which we conceive to be the true policy. It is evident from all that we can learn there is a hopeful, yea, glorious future for this long oppressed and degraded people.

Quite a force moved southwest from this place last week, and some thirty miles out, their advance guard met the enemy; a skirmish ensued, and the union forces fell back a few miles, as the enemy greatly outnumbered them. A strong reinforcement has been sent out. No doubt a battle has been fought, or will be soon. There is much anxiety here to hear the result. May God speed the right.

C. H. LOVEJOY,

Chaplain 7th Kansas Vol.

[BALDWIN, August, 1863?]

MR. EDITOR ¹⁵³:—For eight years past when we first trod the soil of Kansas, no intervening year can compare with the present, with regard to fruitfulness, save the year 1861 that we spent in New Hampshire and Vermont. The earth is like a sponge well filled with water. Rain, rain, almost constantly in this locality, so that the pools are full, and streams almost constantly pouring down the sides of the bluffs. The weather has been so cool the most of the time thus far, that one has needed winter garments, save a few days. We are looking for agues and fevers to prevail, there has been so much rain, and there will be such a large amount of vegetation to decay on the ground.

The wheat crop is already secured uninjured, a very large yield, and every other crop promises an abundance for man and beast. All is quiet, politically, save an occasional raid by guerrillas along the southern border. I hope my brethren in New England, both the ministry and the laity, will heed the call from Missouri in a late number of the Herald. We know of no other spot on the American Continent, that holds out such inducements to the emigrant either to do good or benefit himself temporarily. It will soon be as safe to settle here as it is to live in New England.

JULIA A. LOVEJOY.

FOREST LODGE, NEAR BALDWIN CITY, DOUGLAS CO.,
KANSAS, Aug. 22, 1863.

MR. EDITOR ¹⁵⁴:—Little thought we when we sent off those letters to *Zion's Herald*, three days since, with this note appended, "all quiet here," that even then a gang of murderous banditti were but a few miles distant, and that in a few hours such horrid scenes would be enacted in our midst as would make the cheek of darkness turn pale. Such a day as yesterday and the previous night, Kansas, with all her former scenes of blood, never witnessed. I and my little boy live alone during Mr. L.'s absence in the Army of the Mississippi, on a claim between Baldwin City and Lawrence, two miles from the former place, and ten from the latter. A Methodist preacher on his way to Lawrence had stopped with us for the night, and our son, Capt. C. J. Lovejoy, Adjutant of the 12th, was at home on a visit.

At an early hour Friday morning, looking in the direction of Lawrence, said he, "Mother, Lawrence is all on fire," and in a trice he was in the saddle and galloping down street. I rushed out and saw the smoke of the burning city, and met the preacher who had spent the night with us, and had started for Lawrence, panting for breath, and urging on his horses to hide them in our woods; having left his wagon by the wayside, he cried out, "Sister Lovejoy, Quantrell has burnt Lawrence, and is within two miles of us with 3,000 men" ¹⁵⁵—some have since thought not so many—and I could then see every house this side of Lawrence, with a volume of dense smoke arising from them as they advanced, firing every house in their march of death. My neighbors began to clear their houses of all their valuables, and secrete them in the woods and cornfields. I caught a little tin trunk with our valuable papers and husband's watch in it, that he had left as a kind of memento if he never returned from the war, and concealed it in tall weeds, and dragged out a trunk of clothing, and looked to Heaven for help in this time of need. Nearer and nearer they came; again I hied to my watchtower. Thank God they have taken another road—the Santa Fe Road, running parallel with this from Lawrence to Baldwin City. At this instant rode up a squad of United States troops—three hundred in the whole, who had been in saddle during the night, and nearly famished. I emptied the contents of my bread box, which sufficed for a few; they ate as they rode along. The robbers were at that moment firing Brook-

154. *Zion's Herald*, Boston, Mass.

155. William E. Connelley states that Quantrill's band numbered 448 men.—William E. Connelley, *Kansas and Kansans* (Chicago, 1918), p. 742.

line,¹⁵⁶ two miles off, and there our men, hundreds of whom were galloping over the prairies in every direction, headed them off from Baldwin City and Prairie City, both of which they had designed to burn, and murder the inhabitants. These soldiers had learned their intentions, and had followed them from Kansas City, Mo., thirty miles, and traced them by the smoke of the burning buildings after they left Lawrence, and headed them just the moment they were to burn our city; and had it not been for the promptness of these troops, who had ridden until a number of their horses fell dead in the road, our beautiful University Building would today be a heap of ruins. At Prairie City our company of troops and citizens had augmented to 800 or 1,000 men.¹⁵⁷ Our men chased them, loading and firing, to Paola, twenty-five miles, killing seven of them on the road, and not one of our boys killed. Then Quantrell's band broke and run into the woods and cornfields, and up to midnight last night they had killed twenty of them, and were still chasing them in Missouri.

Our son and a near neighbor are amongst the missing ones, though they may be in the large army that are now in pursuit. But hark! the report of a pistol; I drop the pen; a company of horsemen just returning. "Where's my boy?" "All safe, we hope, but has gone in command of the troops that are still chasing Quantrell in Missouri. Heaven protect him and bring him safe to his mother."

Up to last night, one hundred and twenty had been found and buried in Lawrence, and it was thought that from 150 to 200 had been killed,¹⁵⁸ and many burnt up in the great Free State Hotel,¹⁵⁹ and their remains are buried beneath the rubbish. There were a great many guests and boarders in the house, and as they rushed out they shot them down, and threw their bodies back into the fire. One neighbor saw a pile of charred bodies yesterday, some with their whiskers and hair burnt off, and their boots partly burned; and he heard one man speak for 75 coffins, and his opinion was that 250 at least were murdered in Lawrence. Quantrell intended to butcher every man there, but some escaped in woman's apparel, and others concealed themselves.

156. Brookline or Brooklyn was a town on the Santa Fe road about twelve miles south of Lawrence. It is now extinct.

157. This number is possibly far too large.

158. The exact number was never known. Dr. Richard Cordley thought that one hundred and fifty would not be far out of the way.—Richard Cordley, *A History of Lawrence* (Lawrence, 1895), p. 246.

159. The guests were allowed to leave the Free-State Hotel (Eldridge House) before the destruction began.—*Ibid.*, p. 204.

Gen. Lane ran out of the back door as they entered the front door, and escaped, although they burnt his house; he is after them now, and says "he will follow them to....., but what he'll have the last one of them." His house was a beautiful and superb brick house, just built. Major [Geo. W.] Collamore, well known in Boston, secreted himself in a well and was smothered to death by the smoke of burning buildings. One lady threw her arms around her husband, and begged of them to spare his life. They rested the pistol on her arm as it was around his body, and shot him dead, and the fire from the pistol burnt the sleeve of her dress. Mrs. Reed [Mrs. F. W. Read?] put out the fire six times to save her house, and they would fire it anew, but she by almost superhuman exertions saved it. Mrs. Fisher, wife of the Rev. H. D. Fisher, of the Kansas Conference, formerly of the Pittsburg, now chaplain of the Sixth Kansas Regiment,¹⁶⁰ a spunky little Dutch-Irish woman from Pennsylvania, by her own exertion saved the L part of her house, whilst the front, a splendid new brick establishment, was burnt, worth \$2,000 probably. All the business houses, banks, stores, &c., in the city were robbed and burned save one, and the most of the business men killed. It is estimated that half a million in money has been carried off.

Rev. Mr. [S. S.] Snyder, Presiding Elder on the Lawrence District, (United Brethren) who had been in Kansas since 1855, and one of the best men in the State, living about half a mile from the city on his farm, was killed, and his house burnt. Five men were killed in front of Bro. [G. W.] Paddock's house, pastor of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Although seven of our preachers were in Lawrence, not one of them was killed, but five lay members were murdered. Such a day of mourning as was yesterday never dawned upon Kansas. The air was dense with the smoke of burning buildings, and the prince of darkness and his allies never devised greater schemes of cruelty, to throw back half-murdered victims into the flames and roast them! Their death in a number of instances were signally avenged.

A number of children were killed, but the excitement is so intense it is difficult to find out the particulars. Between Lawrence and Brookline they compelled a woman, with her neighbors' houses burning all around her, to swear "secesh," and then get the whole gang breakfast; then passing along they soon burnt a church, and

¹⁶⁰. The Rev. H. D. Fisher was chaplain of the Fifth regiment, Kansas Volunteer cavalry. —*Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Kansas, 1861-'65*, p. 125.

shot the Dunkard preacher, [the Reverend Rothrock,]¹⁶¹ putting seven balls in his neck.

I used to wonder, Mr. Editor, how Charlotte Corday, a delicate lady of fine sensibility, could nerve her arm to plunge her dagger up to the hilt in the heart of the detestable Murat, but I did not wonder a bit when I stood in the door and saw those houses lighting up with their lurid glare the surrounding country, and looked every moment to see the cutthroat villians ascending the bluff whose crest is crowned by Forest Lodge.

JULIA L. LOVEJOY.

P. S. The *Christian Messenger* and *Independent Democrat*, and other New Hampshire and Vermont papers, will confer a favor on friends and relatives by copying the above into their columns.

J. L. L.

POST HOSPITAL, CORINTH, MISS., Jan. 11 [1864].

DEAR OLD HERALD¹⁶²:—Most heartily do we wish thee and thy numerous family (whose names are duly registered on the subscription list) a "Happy New Year," a life of usefulness, a triumphant death, and what is sure to follow the foregoing, a glorious resurrection. From the land of Dixie we greet thee, as an old, long-tried friend who hath borne to our home good cheer, lo! these many years; and thy columns, richly freighted with the choicest blessings, like clouds surcharged with rain, have gladdened our hearts with "good news from a far country." The fat of the land be thy portion, with Benjamin's mess, and "may thy shadow never be less."

The Post Hospital at this place with which we are connected has witnessed heart-rending scenes of sickness and death, and Corinth is one vast Aceldema, where graves meet your gaze at every turn, and sometimes you read a long list of names on one head-board; and after the battle of Oct., 1862, 2,500 were buried here, besides the hundreds who have died in the different hospitals.

Two whole brigades and one regiment of regulars arrived here yesterday and to-day in pursuit of [Gen. N. B.] Forrest, a noted guerrilla chief, who has been committing depredations all through this region of country. A large Union force is constantly guarding the railroad between here and Memphis, Tenn., which is about 90 miles distant, but scarcely a week passes without the track being torn up, stopping the trains, and a number of times the trains have been fired into by guerrillas.

161. William E. Connelley, *Quantrill and the Border Wars* (Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1910), p. 382.

162. *Zion's Herald*, Boston, Mass.

There is great suffering at this place amongst the contrabands for food and clothing, and also by the refugees, who would starve did they not receive some rations for their families from government stores.

The Post Hospital was until quite recently a superb family mansion, belonging to a wealthy planter, on his plantation, about one mile and a half from town; but being in constant danger of being gobbled up by secesh, as we were so far from the guns of the forts, we removed to our present commodious quarters, which are of brick, three stories high, and was formerly a college edifice where the Southern chivalry were educated, probably by "Northern mud-sills," who are now the sole proprietors of this princely establishment. On the first floor are the chaplain's, surgeon's and physician's quarters, dining-hall, room for the convalescents, with an ample hall running through the centre of the building; and on the second floor are the wards for the sick and wounded men, in convenient rooms with fire-places, on either side of a hall extending throughout the building; on the third floor are the rooms for the employees connected with the hospital, linen room, ironing room, &c. What foreseeing prophet could have predicted that in the year of grace 1864 the hated Yankees would be in possession of this town and surroundings?

The climate thus far has been very salubrious for the soldiers, though at other seasons not cold like the past there must be a large amount of deadly miasma exhaled from these low grounds, where there is so much stagnant water at all seasons of the year. We are far from being pleased with the State of Mississippi, as far as we have had an opportunity of seeing it. The land is quite level, with a superabundance of heavy timber. That part of the State of Tennessee through which we passed was very beautiful, and considered quite healthy. Here also we discovered a greater supply of heavy timber than is usually found in any New England State, and to us who had lived so long in Kansas, where our native pine and spruces and other ever-green trees are missing, it was a welcome sight to see them in such profusion. The winter has been as mild the most of the time as the autumn in New England, and we think the State of Tennessee must be desirable for emigrants from the rigors of a Northern winter. When the war is ended and new lords make new laws, and the curse of slavery is entirely wiped out, Yankee preachers and Yankee teachers will find here a vast field of usefulness opened for them to enter and reap a rich harvest.

Chaplain Lovejoy, in addition to his duties at this post, is teaching a colored school, with some eighty names enrolled of all grades, men, women, and children, and also an evening school composed of men who labor during the day and can find no other time to learn to read. Our own peculiar work is teaching the whites in a day school and a separate school of colored in the evening, and we have never found in New England or elsewhere children with such ambition to excel, nor those who make such rapid proficiency in so short a time. The most who commenced with the alphabet now read in "easy lessons," and I have one old Aunt Sally now learning her A, B, C's, who must have been a slave, judging from her physical contour, at least 60 years, and how her eyes danced with joy when she could spell A, X, ax. They are deplorably ignorant of everything but hard fare, hard labor, and the overseer's lash; and on the back and shoulders of our washwoman, I could lay my finger into the scars of the deep-cut gashes of the slave-driver's whip, for failing to make up her quota of cotton picking. Slavery, accursed of God and humanity, how art thou fallen from thy lofty estate!

The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, which has been first and foremost in riveting the chains of the slave, is now doomed, forever doomed, to utter extinction, without a forlorn hope to rise from her utter degradation; for the curse of the Most High is upon her. . . .

The entire South will in our humble opinion be missionary ground, for not one in perhaps twenty or more of the white inhabitants can read or write. We had heard of their ignorance before, but were unprepared to credit what we have found true, and we strongly desire if the climate in summer should agree with our constitution, to return and labor here as a teacher and life-long missionary of the cross.

JULIA L. LOVEJOY.

BALDWIN CITY, Feb. 21, 1864.

MR. EDITOR ¹⁶³:—At home again, after a tedious journey of four weeks' duration, and passing through a series of perils by land and perils by water on our way from a Mississippi hospital to our own rural domicile on the hither margin of Coal Creek. And, sir, in the on-coming future, when files of the old *Herald* shall be eagerly sought after by our children's children, it may be considered a grave offense of the editor, should he fail to chronicle the important forthcoming items in said journey, for the benefit of his 60,000 readers and all succeeding generations! We were quietly pursuing our daily

163. *Zion's Herald*, Boston, Mass.

routine in the post hospital, with a flourishing school of both whites and colored, when, lo! the orders from the commanding general come in quick succession, "To-morrow remove this hospital, with every appurtenance thereof, and all the sick and wounded, to Memphis, Tenn.;" and ere the morning's dawn there was one universal clatter throughout the mammoth establishment, and cars were loaded with their precious freight of brave men with no legs, and men with mended legs, all splintered and bandaged, and men with almost sightless eyes, and maimed and battered in various ways; all for patriotism that glowed in their mangled forms; and not from one have I heard (as I have stood by their cot endeavoring by acts and words to assuage their anguish) the expression, wrung from their lips in their keenest agony, O that I had not laid my life on my country's altar; but the sentiments expressed by a young man about twenty years of age, who was applying a sticking plaster to a bullet-hole in his breast, where a minnie ball had entered, coming out at his back, and whom I was endeavoring to console with these words, "Young man, you will henceforth be a pensioner on the bounty of this country." He interrupted me with, "I don't want a pension; I want to live long enough to meet the rebs once more in battle, and draw a bead on the man who put his bullet through me, for I know the man."

In connection with the removal of the hospital, was another order from headquarters, "The 7th Kansas Cavalry are ordered without delay to report to Leavenworth, Kansas; and Corinth, Miss., is ordered to be evacuated and burned forthwith," which order has been executed, and to-day Corinth is in ruins.

Memphis, Tenn., ninety miles from Corinth, is the most beautiful and healthy of all the cities in the South we have yet visited, and so captivated were we with the city and its environs, after a week's sojourn, that we hope at no distant day to dispatch greetings to *Zion's Herald*, dated "Memphis, Tenn." The Kansas 7th were obliged to wait a week at Memphis to get transportation to Cairo, Ill., for every boat that ploughs the turbid waters of the Mississippi, above Memphis, had been seized by government and pressed into the service of transporting troops down the river; but to what point none but those in the secret were permitted to know; and during our stay 15,000 or 20,000 had collected, and it was a grand sight to behold that line of transports anchored at the foot of the bluff, or rather succession of bluffs on which Memphis is built, and to see regiment after regiment like an unbroken thread file past us and

through the gangways of the boats, and then like swarms of bees darken every part of the rigging as they filled the boat quite to the stern; and tears fell thick as rain drops for the mothers at home, from at least two pairs of eyes, for many of those stalwart forms will fill a Southern grave. And there too lay the sullen-looking gunboats, growling like so many angry mastiff's impatient for their prey, as they belched forth huge volumes of smoke, with guns of heavy calibre peering from every port-hole; and, sir, were it not that Heaven is merciful and long-suffering to guilty man, the oaths and curses that fell from the lips of profane captains of steamboats during that eventful week, as each boat was taken possession of against their remonstrances and filled with troops, would suffice to sink the whole river craft to the bottom of woe. The Belle Memphis, one of the most splendid boats that ply on the waters of the Mississippi River, was at last secured for the special benefit of the Kansas 7th, and the night previous to her leaving the wharves at Memphis she was packed literally with living freight, and some conjectured there were over 1,500 souls on board, including the Kansas and part of one Ohio Regiment, and the families of numerous officers and soldiers who had left with the Southern expedition, and had sent their families to their Northern homes. We never felt more forcibly these words,

"On what a slender thread,
Hang everlasting things,"

than during those two days and nights on board that crammed boat, her hold packed with cotton, with the shocking incidents of the burning of the Sunny-Side in the same waters so recently, and our boat throwing fire from her chimneys so that the deck once caught fire and blazed, and almost every combustible matter on the upper deck, even the soldiers' hats, overcoats and blankets caught fire, so that numbers were entirely ruined, and in repeated instances the fires in the bedding could not be extinguished, and they were committed to the deep a flaming mass; and many a soldier cast a last lingering look at the remnant of his pallet, as it smoked in the wake of the boat and then disappeared, like all sub-lunary enjoyments, forever.

But would you believe, Mr. Editor, that even then, when some watchful ones were turning pale with fear, and the soldiers were shouting from the deck, "Fire, fire," that a dance was proposed in the cabin, and entered into with a zest, even by some who had once borne the profession of Christianity and worn the badge of Christ's

disciples! Wives participated, whose husbands had but just bid them farewell as they joined the fleet that was to sail the following day, and many of them their eyes had beheld for the last time. Deep-seated sorrow, how easily art thou dissipated by mirth, in a volatile spirit! We had retired to our state-room to sing old-fashioned Methodist hymns, strangely contrasted with the violin and guitar at the door entrance, when the chaplain knocks for admittance, and says, "Please hand Bro. North his Bible from his carpet-bag; he wants to search the word of the Lord as he has been wont to do at the close of each day at home or abroad." Some of your readers will remember C. C. North, of New York city, who has in the *Advocate* and other religious periodicals given us such interesting communications from his classic pen, and whom God will assuredly honor, for he honors God by dispensing his bounty on a Mississippi River boat, by aiding poor soldiers' families in need, and in a giddy throng hies to the Fountain Head for the all-soothing balm for a disturbed spirit. At Cairo, Ill., our officers, after a delay of a number of days, succeeded in chartering a train of cars of sufficient numbers to transport horses, baggage, regiment and all connected therewith, as far as Quincy, Ill.

If your readers ask for a description of Cairo and its surroundings, we would answer, fancy a town built on a foul morass, with almost every house labeled "Hotel," the streets barricaded by mud, the sidewalks on stilts, and fever and ague, and mosquitoes in mosquito time, and we opine these would make one with prospective proclivities have the night-mare, in solving the problem whether cause is sure to follow effect, or visa versa. We hastened to shake the mud from our feet as we joyfully climbed the steps of the cars, the foremost of which was appropriated to the officers, and we doubt if a larger number of cars were ever connected with one Western train, and whilst one locomotive puffed before, another pushed and snorted in the rear. And it must have been an unusual sight to the loyal towns in Illinois to elicit such huzzas and the waving of flags and handkerchiefs as we swept along, our band of musicians on board in the meantime playing Yankee Doodle; even old, grey-headed ladies would hasten to the gate and wave a napkin or an apron, and cheer us lustily, no doubt letting fall a tear at the remembrance of some loved son in the army, or who had fallen on the battle-field. Silence plainer than words told us when we reached a copperhead town, or a hotel with a copperhead for a landlord, one of which charged the soldiers 75 cents per meal, and at the same

time charged citizens 50 cents, but he was compelled to refund all the money, and in the most ludicrous manner scatter his cigars broadcast among the greedy smokers. The ladies in the place got wind of the matter, and in less than an hour had a load of apples and food of one kind and another to feed them at the depot, till they reached another stopping-place, which proved to be copperhead of the biting character, for some of the soldiers had their overcoats stolen, and in the interim the losers gathered up all the hats they could find and made for the cars, some wearing two or three hats apiece, one above another.

Electricity out-travels steam, and the tell-tale wires had told the citizens of Leavenworth that the "jayhawk regiment" would soon be in their streets. This was enough, and the city corporation voted \$800 to give them a grand reception and supper, which was on a magnificent scale, for the ovation began as soon as the "jay-hawkers" crossed the river at the ferriage. There a large delegation of mounted officers met and escorted them to the fort, amid the booming of cannon and almost deafening demonstrations of joy, and the day following was a gala-day throughout the city, and was ushered by the firing of cannon; and as the long cavalcade of military officers and soldiers formed at the fort, two miles from town, it was a grand and imposing sight as they marched from street to street, with banners flying, flags streaming from house tops and windows, martial music discoursing patriotic airs as cheer after cheer rent the air. They had dearly earned the laurels that the Kansians with right good will gratefully placed upon their brow, for nearly three years of hard service in the field had told upon their ranks, though oft replenished by new recruits; and, alas! how many were left amid the miasmatic swamps of Mississippi and Alabama. Gen. [C. R.] Jennison in that triumphant entry into the city headed the procession on a richly caparisoned horse, who seemed to understand the pomp and pride of war as well as his rider; and there too rode the youthful Major [Francis M.] Malone, the pet of his regiment, of whose exploits they are justly proud. Not six weeks previous to that eventful day, when under full headway in a cavalry charge on the enemy in Mississippi, both horse and rider found themselves in a trice at the bottom of a dry well thirty feet deep. The horse was killed in the descent, but the rider escaped—not unscratched, however, and unbruised. When the history of this war shall have been written by an impartial historian, it will no doubt be found that the "jay-hawkers," that have so long been a terror to border ruffians in

Missouri and the rebels of Mississippi and Alabama, have exceeded all other Western regiments in daring exploits and continuous skirmishing and hard toil, being almost constantly in the saddle in pursuit of the enemy. We speak not here, nor need we, of the morality of the regiment, for there is room for improvement in this respect as well as in other regiments which have so long been severed from the restraining influence of home.

We have already trespassed upon your patience and the space allotted to correspondents in your excellent paper, and you can curtail or retrench with pen and scissors to your liking, or kindle a fire some cold morning in your stove, with these hastily-penned jottings, and the world will still move along.

JULIA L. LOVEJOY.

ST LOUIS MO. Apr. 26th 1864

DEAR JULIA & MASTER IRVIN ¹⁶⁴:—I expected a letter this morning, it now being over two weeks since the date of your last. You want me to write *every week*, & how often do you propose to write? I think I have received one letter, for four. Now I propose to write once a week, and shall expect you to do the same. This is a most lovely morn. By far the loveliest of the season. We have had a long wet & cold weather, & for three days a heavy rain. Every thing in nature is rejoicing, & every thing is very quiet in camp. It is acknowledged by all, that there is a decided improvement in the morals of the Reg[iment]. Quite a religious influence in Camp. At our prayer meeting 7 arose for prayer, with tears in their eyes told me that they were resolved to lead new & Christian lives. There is every prospect of a revival, if we can have a place to worship. Have held our meetings in the Hospital but, last Sabbath, it was so occupied by the sick that we could have no service. Had a Bible class in my Reg. Very interesting time. About 150 have joined the temperance pledge & many more will do so. As I went out with 30 of them to join the good Templers (I took them out of our Comp[any] lines in a Co.) the Col. met us, & Smiling, he inquired if there were any men left in the Comp. He told me he would join our society. We shall send a full report, with the doings of our Temperance Society for publication in a no. of the Kans papers, the first of the week, as there has been a vote to that effect. Yesterday morn I met Bro. Paulson, as I was down for the mail. We chatted for a few minutes, & as he expected to stop in town for a number

164. From Chaplain Charles H. Lovejoy to his wife Julia Louisa, and son Irving.

of days, we passed on. I will call this afternoon, at the publick house where he stops to see him. I expect to draw one or two Hospital tents to-day for the purpose of haveing them to hold meetings in. I think I can get them. The Col. appears willing to aid me in any thing I desi[g]n, to prosicute my work as Chap[lain].

As I wrote you in my last, we have had much sickness among our new recruits mostly. Four have died who have been taken to the Hospital in town two with the small Pox. Another has just been taken out of Camp with vereloyed. Over 20 of our men are in the Hospital in town. . . .

Since I have been here I have been living in the past, in thought. What a changing & checkered life ours has been. Will it appear in the great day that *any* seed sown by us, has borne fruit unto *eternal* life? It does now appear to me that in many instances, to accomplish our *great* mission, we have taken it by the *hardest* (way), & I feel if I live to the end of the war, I will live an *independent* life, to do good the rest of my days. . . .

As to the state of the war, you will learn by the papers, that our army under Banks, & in N. C. has met with some reverses as well as at Fort Pillow. The enemy are take[ing] advantage of our men be[ing] absent on furlough but the clouds are thickening, and the most *desperet* fighting of the war will be in the course of a few weeks. Should Grant fail as all others have done, before Richmond, it will be an awful disaster to the American people. I think however his campaign will be so planned & his force sufficiently strong to accomplish his purpose, & if so it will use up the rebellion. There appears to be great hopefulness with those who are better informed. Heaven spead the right.

At the Lodge meeting last night, I had a card sent me with the compliments of a young Mrs. Robinson, who formed my acquaintance in a Lodge of g[ood] T[emplars] at Sumner also I met with Bro. Keefers (?) Son,¹⁶⁵ who is in the City on detached servis. His Reg[iment], is on Provo duty at Alton, Ill. You see by the date of this we are yet in St. Louis, & it is uncertain how long we remain here. There are some six Reg. here to be supplied with horses & our[s] is about the last. One Reg. has got their horses & leave tomorrow. Horses, I understand, are now coming in at the rate of about 100 a day. Soon as we get our horses we will go South, it is not known where. So uncertain is life, we may never meet again. Above all let us be ready. I hope dear Irvin will be a good boy,—learn

165. Possibly Asbury D. Keifer, of Baldwin, then in the Tenth regiment, Kansas Volunteer infantry.—*Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Kansas, 1861-'65*, p. 376.

all the good things he can. You will have many leasure moments that you can learn him. Keep a good lookout & take care of your Pals fruit trees. Has Jack wed out the strawberry bed? He should stake the grape vines in the timbers if he has not done it already. Those chores he can do when it is to wet to ploug. He should not plougt when the ground is wet, it will inger the ground. My love to "Jack" & "Mag." tell them to be *good*, & do well for me & he will do well for himself. Take good care of the team. I will close this time and go to supper. I would like your company. Good evening.

Yours in Fidelity—

C. H. LOVEJOY,

Chaplain of 7 Kans. Com. Vol. Vet.

[On the margin of the letter is written:] Cut out your letter in the *Herald* & send it I cannot get that no. & any letters of interest. I have a *very* sore arm, from vasionation. It has broak and runs profusely.

FOREST LODGE, BALDWIN CITY, DOUGLAS Co., May 10th, 1864

Tuesday P. M. *All alone and all alone!*

DEAR FATHER, BROTHER DANIEL, SISTER SARAH, GEORGE, AND ALL MY BROTHERS AND SISTERS IN LEBANON, HANOVER, CROYDEN, GROTON, AND ELSEWHERE:—

Lonely and weary, with continual watching and anxious solicitude, I seat myself to talk with those I love far, far away. O the days and nights, I number o'er, on the borders of this extensive forest with none (save those too young to understand or sympathise with me) for society, and continually anxious for "father and son," lest one, or both will fall a martyr on their Country's altar, and to add to my sorrow, we are looking every hour for "Quantrell", with his horde of fiends, to sweep through this entire region, and murder indiscriminately and burn every house, in his march of death! We are told he is VERY NEAR us and about to make another raid, thro Kansas and he says "he will make clean work this time." I should leave the Country immediately, if we could, without having everything we have got destroyed. I lay awake nights and think every hour he may issue from the woods. "Our nigger" has a "six shooter," every barrel loaded to sell his life as dearly as possible, for he well knows no mercy will be shown him. I had him learn me how to fire it and I surely shall if I am not shot before I can seize it, if they begin their murderous work here. Sometimes I think I will flee to another State, but there is Charles, and his family and

the Dr. [Whitehorn] will not let me carry Arthur away from him, so I must trust in God and meet the result. They are preparing to give him (Quantrell) a warm reception with what few men they have left them, and I learn are already fortifying Lawrence.¹⁶⁶ This is the darkest, and least hopeful time, for our Country, since the war commenced, not even excepting the "Bull Run" defeat and if Grant fails before Richmond, like his predecessors, woe, woe, to our Country! Maj. Bradford, who was murdered in that awful massacre, at "Fort Pillow,"¹⁶⁷ sent three children to school to me, last winter and the other Officers, of the colored troops, I suppose some of them, our personal friends. Charles, is gone [to war] and I fear he will be massacred. I walk the room and groan in agony of spirit before God in his behalf. He does not enjoy religion, as he did, before he went into the Army, but his father is growing more and more devoted and consecrated to God and dead to the love and praise of the world—ready to go, when His Master calls him home. Precious man, how I miss him every day and every where—I send his last letter to you—his arm was sore from vaccination for the "small pox." Expect another letter tomorrow; If he lives to get out of the Army, he does not intend to be trammelled by Con [ference] authority to be confined to any circuit or station, but have a home, somewhere, and travel slow-like and hold protracted meetings and labor to save souls, in any spot and place. He thinks he might have enjoyed life better and his family too, and done more good, had he done so years ago. What he styles in his letter, an independent life, "like Perez Mason," the City Missionary of Boston, or like a "home Missionary" among the Baptists. I am glad to learn there is a prospect of a revival in his Reg. for it is greatly needed. Tell us in your next what Uncle Asahel's house could be bought for, or Gransire Packard's place or what other cozy little place could be bought for in any part of Lebanon, but dont say to any body that "Quantrell" has scared ME out of Kansas, for I may never leave here, but if my house is burned, and all we have destroyed, most certainly, if I live, I want a "shelter" somewhere. The Spring is remarkable backward here— Cold and rainy. Sarah, I got out all my daggueratypes the other day and amongst my own loved dead, there was father, and little Mary, and many others, to

166. Frequent rumors of the return of the guerrillas kept the citizens of Lawrence and eastern Kansas in a state of alarm for months after the Lawrence raid.—Cordley, *op. cit.*, pp. 254, 255.

167. The massacre at Fort Pillow, Tenn., took place on April 12, 1864.—*Dictionary of American History* (New York, 1940), v. 4, p. 272.

weep over; but O they are at rest, and beyond the terrible realities of this cruel war, that falls upon me so heavily. . . .

. . . I hope all my brothers and sisters will be good and do right, for life is so short, and eternity so near there is no time nor place for contentions here. I as much believe that the "end of all things is at hand," as I believe I am now writing. & love each other, all of you, or you will regret it when it is too late to make amends. You are all dear to me and very dear. Love all the family. Please send this to Colby; I meant to have answered his kind letter, but I have about as much writing as I want to attend to with my other cares, I drop the pen; Our next door neighbor has just passed and says "a dispatch" came to Lawrence, last night, that Quantrell was not far from Olathe, Mr. L's old field of labor, and may be here before tomorrow night. I must wait till I get the mail, tomorrow, before I finish this, to see what husband writes. Do answer this at once; and what perilous times these! Good night. Please tell Colby that money and shawl came safe. I had to pay 2.75 freight on the shawl, because it was sent by "Express." I thank you, father for your kind remembrance of your absent and afflicted daughter. That money, I at once, put out on interest, for my boys, if I don't need it to buy bread with, or get necessities, of life with I want they should have something from their grandparents.

Wednesday Morn. I am now in Charles' sitting-room writing on his table whilst Sarah [Charles' wife] is getting dinner. I walked up here this morning; it is two miles. Charles came home last night will soon go to Little Rock, Ark. I dread to have him go but such is war, and I must submit and can only pray God to protect and save him. He is very healthy and his family well. Please write him any of you. He would be glad to hear from any or all of you, and would answer it. Direct to Baldwin City. He has a splendid residence here, and beautiful grounds, tastefully laid out with a profusion of rare shrubbery. No letter from Mr. Lovejoy today. Glorious news from the Army of the Potomac almost too good to be true. Adieu; Do write immediately, Daniel, Sarah, father and all of you. Pray for us in this hour of our danger. Love to all. Your affectionate daughter and sister,

JULIA L. L.

BALDWIN CITY, KANSAS,

"FOREST LODGE," Oct. 29th, 1864.

MESSRS. EDITORS¹⁶⁸:—You will have learned long before this reaches you, of the invasion of Missouri and Kansas by Gen. [Sterling] Price, with an army estimated at from 20,000 to 40,000 men, and of his exit from the aforesaid states, on the "*double quick*" with the "avengers of blood" in close pursuit, if he, and his demoralized followers, were not already in their grasp. Kansas has been in a ferment of excitement of late, not unlike a seething cauldron, not knowing how soon the whole mass would be disintegrated, and fall asunder; but Heaven has interposed in our behalf—our soldiers and citizens, hastened to the rescue of our beautiful State from the invader's grasp—and to-day, the paeans of victory are being chanted in every village and city, from the Republican Fork on the North, to the Neosho Valley on the South. The Kansians were quietly pursuing their various avocations, when an order was issued on this wise: "*Every man in the State capable of bearing arms under sixty and over sixteen years of age, forthwith shoulder his gun, and advance to meet the foe,*" and the State turned out *en masse*, by hundreds and thousands, until the aggregate of "raw militia," amounted to 20,000 men, strung along the border towns, with 20,000 brave soldiers to co-operate with them, all prepared, and impatiently waiting for the "old fox" to make his appearance, whom they knew was being sorely pressed and unmercifully chased from one county to another, along Missouri River, with the gallant [Gen. W. S.] Rosecrans and forty thousand brave men close in the rear—and on he came, foaming with rage at one continuous defeat, after he crossed the Arkansas line, thinking the "coast was clear," and he could easily enter Kansas and devastate the entire State, when, lo! 40,000 men with bristling bayonets unexpectedly confront him, like spectres, rising from the tomb, and appal him with their defiant stubbornness.—The armies met at Westport, Mo., about fifty miles south [northeast?] of this place, and fought like heroes, for eight successive hours, our boys contesting every foot of ground, and forcing the whole mass back to Independence, Mo., twelve miles, when by a desperate effort, knowing that Rosecrans was hard after them, and by being re-inforced, the tide turned, and they in turn drove our men and regained the whole ground, with the dead from both armies strewing the line of contest. At this juncture, two of our citizen-neighbors thought that "all was lost" and broke from the ranks, put-

168. *The Independent Democrat*, Concord, N. H.

ting spurs to their horses, and thought of nothing but saving their families by flight. Their return, almost speechless from fright, created a panic such as we have seldom witnessed, even in Kansas, causing a general stampede to the forests for concealment, and the clearing of almost every house of valuables. This was Saturday, the 22d inst., and at an early hour, Sabbath morning, the 23d, Gen. Pleasanton [Gen. Alfred Pleasonton] with a large cavalry force came to the rescue of our troops, and another bloody battle was fought, resulting in a decisive victory to our arms. It was estimated that 600 were killed and wounded of the enemy, 200 taken prisoners, 3 guns taken, and but fifty of our men killed. These battles were fought on the State line, as Price was trying to get into Kansas, and a series of misfortunes have attended this "fugitive from justice," on this "flying tour" through the Southern counties of our unhospitable State, and a telegram has been received that his army is all cut up and wholly demoralized¹⁶⁹—Generals [John S.] Marmaduke and [W. L.] Cabell prisoners of war—his baggage wagons all taken by our men, save 300 they burnt in despair—their guns captured, and Price, with a shattered remnant, was skulking towards the Arkansas line, with the bold and dashing [Gen. James G.] Blunt, and the fearless "Jim Lane," who *delights in such mischief*, is following him up, and will have yet the veritable live General, or his scalp, as a trophy of victory.—The latest news is that Lane is bent on securing his prey, and will have it, if it is among the possibilities.

In the greatest haste,

JULIA L. LOVEJOY.

169. The Battle of Mine Creek in Linn county.

Bypaths of Kansas History

LITERAL REPORTING

A Missouri wedding as reported in *The Kansas Weekly Herald*, Leavenworth, June 27, 1857.

MARRIED.—In the county of Crawford and State of Missouri, by the Rev. E. H. Headlee, at two o'clock, June 11th, 1857, between a hazel thicket and the wagon, Mr. J. M. Vanslyke to Mrs. Matilda Morgan, both in a traveling condition.

AN OFFER OF PUBLIC SERVICE WITH NO TAKER

From correspondence of the executive department of Kansas territory, Archives division, Kansas State Historical Society:

COBOURG, CANADA WEST

TO THE SECRETARY OF THE STATE OF KANSAS

January 1st, 1858

SIR

As I am making arrangements for carrying on a very extensive Land Agency Establishment, on board the Leviathan Steamship, now being launched in England, upon the following principles, I should feel obliged by your informing me if your State will join in conferring on me, an appointment for the sale of your lands.

First I shall have an office on board the Ship under the name of the "American Land Agency Office, by authority" containing maps and all information relative to each district.

Secondly. I shall always sail with the vessel: and on the return trip from England, intend lecturing on Board, and Selling Lands by private contract and Auction.

Thirdly, While in England I intend delivering lectures on the advantages of America &c, distributing Pamphlets and selling Lands, returning with the purchasers, & taking them to their respective purchases in order to protect them.

Fourthly. To sell the already cultivated Lands for private parties in order to bring out capitalists, and a more respectable class of Farmers, thereby forcing the present occupants back on the wild lands.

Fifthly. After being furnished with all the requisites from the various States, Territories, Provinces &c I intend selling on commission paying all my own expenses.

Your early reply in order to facilitate my arrangements will greatly oblige.

I have the honor to be

Sir

Your most obedt Servt

THOS. F. NICHOLL Land Agent

THOS. F. NICHOLL,

LAWRENCE, K. T. Jan. 19, 1858.

SIR,

I have just received your letter of Jan. 1st, 1858, in which you propose to act as the agent for the "State of Kansas," "on board the Leviathan Steamship," and assist her in disposing of her public lands. There are two or three slight obstacles in the way which must first be removed before your wishes can be complied with. First, there is no such institution as the "State of Kansas," known to the Constitution or laws of the United States although there are two constitutions now before the people contending for the honor of transforming this Territory into a Sovereign State, and another proposition of a similar character is now being discussed by the Legislature. Which of these will have the honor of bringing the new state into the world, or whether either of them will be able to do so, is, just at this time a matter of some considerable doubt.

But this difficulty being removed, obstacle number two, presents itself. The "State of Kansas" expects to become the owner of a goodly quantity of lands, and should she determine to dispose of them at private sale it is very probable that she will find a number of gentlemen among her own citizens who are sufficiently patriotic to undertake the job, and who may be foolish enough to suppose they could do it as well as yourself, especially if they were to get a handsome per centage by way of commission on the sales and be under no obligation to account for the principal. It is possible, however, that you might convince such gentlemen and the "State of Kansas," that they are or would be in error in this matter, and thereby get rid of that objection.

Obstacle number three, is to this effect: Some people here are foolish enough to believe that it would not be possible for you to give exact and reliable information about every quarter section of land in this Territory without first personally inspecting the same, and they are too conscientious to allow an agent of theirs to make a misrepresentation. But this might be remedied by devoting your time for two or three years to travelling over and examining the country, by which time the "Leviathan" may possibly be launched and "afloat on the briny deep."

The fourth obstacle I fear you will find more difficult than all the rest. You say you propose to bring out "a more respectable class of farmers, thereby forcing the present occupants back on the wild lands." Some of us are silly enough to believe that our farmers here are as respectable as any you are likely to bring from England. In this we don't think we can be mistaken but energy and enterprise will overcome many difficulties, and as Richelieu said "there is no such word as *fail*," you, entertaining the same opinion, may try the experiment of bringing a cargo of the "respectable class of farmers" to whom you refer and make an exhibit of them on our western prairies, when it may be possible for you to procure an expression of opinion on this subject from *our* farmers.

Unless you think you can remove each and every one of these obstacles, it will hardly be worth while for you to prosecute this matter any farther.

Very Respectfully

Your Obt. Srvt.

J. W. DENVER

Secretary Kansas Territory.

BEFORE THE DAYS OF PADDED EXPENSE ACCOUNTS

The following claim for "expenses" incurred in the location of a territorial road is among the old records from the Kansas state auditor's office now in the Archives division of the State Historical Society:

E. P. HEBERTON & E. S. NASH
KANSAS TERRITORY

KANSAS CITY, Aug. 16th, 1859

To John P. Wheeler & Co. Dr			
	(2.00)		
5 gall Old Bourbon	.....	5\$	27.00
	(1.50)		
2 " Gin	.....	3\$	7.50
3 Boxes Cigars	.....	8\$	24.00
1 lb. Chewing Tobacco	.....		2.00
4 " Lead	.....	17	.68
1 Bag Shot	.....		4.50
2 lbs Can Powder	.....		2.00
3 Box Per Caps	.....	50	1.50
3 " Seidlentz Powders	.....	50	1.50
			\$70.68

Rec'd Pay

JOHN P. WHEELER & Co

That the territorial auditor had little trouble deciding the validity of this claim is evidenced by the boldness of the handwriting scrawled on the back of the document.

WHEELER & CO
TERRITORIAL ROAD
NOT AUDITED

NOT A NECESSARY EXPENSE IN THE LOCATION OF TER ROAD

No further records are available so it is not now known if the \$70 party, apparently paid for by the Messrs. Heberton and Nash, was a success. Thus, as sometimes happens, the door of history opens only long enough for a flash picture of the characters and a suggestion of the probable plot, but the fadeout shot can only be conjectured.

Kansas History as Published in the Press

The history of Linwood school, District No. 1, Johnson county, was reviewed in a double-column article in the *Johnson County Herald*, Overland Park, October 30, 1947.

A total of 37,330 students were enrolled in the 20 junior colleges and 22 senior colleges in Kansas in the fall of 1947 according to an editorial by Dr. Robert Taft in the December, 1947, number of the *Transactions of the Kansas Academy of Science*, Lawrence. Among other articles of interest were: "The Animal Industries of Kansas," by A. D. Weber, and "Censusing Wildlife," by H. Leo Brown.

The *La Cygne Journal* has continued to publish the historical column, "Across the Years—A History of La Cygne," by W. E. Baer. Some recent subjects were: The fire on December 17, 1892, which destroyed the La Cygne House, for more than twenty years the town's leading hotel; a letter received by the *Journal* in 1893 from Oliver M. Farrand, a prosperous diamond merchant of New York City, who recalled La Cygne as it was before 1861 when only one small cabin stood there; the graduating class of 1893; the first incubator in La Cygne; Miss Amanda Way, the Carry Nation of Pleasanton; the financial crisis of 1893; a destructive cyclone that swept through the area on April 3, 1893, and the opening of the Cherokee outlet for settlement. In the issue for February 6, 1948, a brief statement of the business, professional, social and religious life of La Cygne in 1893 was given. The report was taken from the *Journal-Clarion* published at that time by the Barber brothers. The story of L. B. Paxson appeared in the column on February 27. Mr. Paxson was an amnesia victim who disappeared in 1882 and was not seen again by his family or friends in La Cygne until 1894.

Historical articles of interest to Kansans in recent issues of the Kansas City (Mo.) *Star* included: "Julia Rockwell's Story," December 14, 1947; "He [Abner J. Zook of Larned] Went To Poland To Give a Lift To Peasant Farmers," by Alvin S. McCoy, and "Markers May Preserve Routes Where Oxen Trod Old Trails," December 21; "As Mt. Oread Will Appear at Completion of World War II Memorial at K. U.," by Edward R. Schauffer, "Little Trains Made in [Wichita] Kansas Thrill Nation's Children," by Dwight Pennington, and "Kansas Legislative Pattern Catches On," by Stewart Newlin, December 28; "A Gem-Cutting Hobby Pays Off

for a Kansan [H. E. Hostetter of Holton]," January 11, 1948; "When Carry Nation, the Smasher, Was Really Scared on Crusade," an episode in Hope, Kan., by C. M. Harger, January 18; "Your Gasoline Supply of Tomorrow May Not Depend on Oil Wells," plans for a plant in western Kansas to synthesize car fuel from natural gas, by Alvin S. McCoy, January 25; "Insurgents Who Formed Kansas Day Club Went Far in the State's Political Life," by Cecil Howes, January 27; "'Preacher' [Dr. Charles W.] Bailey of Baldwin Reaches a Century of Life," by Charles W. Graham, February 1, and "He [J. Frank Rice at Wichita] Puts Gas in the Pipe As You Turn on the Heat," by Alvin S. McCoy, February 15. Articles in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Times* were: "Fraser Hall, Aging Landmark, Helps K. U. To Serve Greatest Student Body," by Fred Kiewit, January 13; "Insignificant Rock in Kansas Marks [Geodetic] Center of United States," January 19; "A Great Stone Cross To Mark Father Padilla's Martyrdom," a story on the new marker to be placed west of Lyons by the Kansas council of the Knights of Columbus, by Cecil Howes, January 21; "'Fighting Dan' Anthony One of Strong Men of Kansas at Statehood's Birth," by Charles G. Pearson, January 29; British gift to Kansas of rock fragment from the Parliament building bombed in the German air blitz of 1941, by Robert H. Clark, February 12, and Walter Starnes, Negro aid at Winter Veterans Hospital, Topeka, called "Ambassador Extraordinary To Ailing," by Charles W. Graham, February 19.

A cover picture and a story of the Anthony family, publishers of the Leavenworth *Times* since 1871, were a feature of the January, 1948, *Graduate Magazine*, of Lawrence, official alumni association publication of the University of Kansas. The same issue also contained some excerpts from a widely known essay on Kansas written by Carl L. Becker, professor of history at the University from 1902 to 1916. The essay was published in *Turner's Essays in American History* (Henry Holt and Co.). Among the Kansas newspapers reprinting the excerpts in their issues of late January, 1948, were: Norton *Daily Telegram*, Meade *Globe-News* and Lawrence *Daily Journal-World*. The article consisted of observations by Professor Becker about the characteristics of the people of Kansas.

In an article in the Neodesha *Register*, January 1, 1948, Mrs. Kate Winter Pingrey named a number of local citizens who have contributed materially in preserving the history of that community.

Among those are: Kila Hays White, Mildred McGlenn, Lee Monroe Lockard, J. Kansas Morgan, O. L. Hays, Mrs. Grace Blakeslee and George Linn. Mrs. Pingrey related some of the early local history by describing the mural on the north wall of the Neodesha post office. The mural was painted by a local boy, Bernard Steffen, and installed in July, 1938. Given particular mention was Little Bear, chief of the Little Osages. At his death, Little Bear was buried on the mound northwest of Neodesha which now bears his name.

W. W. Graves' "History of Neosho County," has continued to appear in recent issues of the *St. Paul Journal*. On January 1, 1948, brief biographical sketches of the following newspapermen were printed: C. H. Howard, R. D. Kirkpatrick, John R. Brunt, Harold Claire Brunt, Dr. E. B. Park, A. J. Hopkins, W. W. Graves, F. S. Hopkins, H. T. Perry, John H. Scott, E. L. Conklin, Will M. Goodwin, Charley McKee and E. M. Dewey. Also in the issue of January 1, Mr. Graves commenced a history of the newspapers of Neosho county. Each paper was traced from the beginning, through the hands of its various owners and publishers, up to the present, or until publication was suspended. The newspaper history is continued through the issues of January 8, 15, 22, 29 and February 5. On February 12 and 19 a list of the public officers who have served Neosho county since 1864 was printed.

A story of the "Dust Bowl" and its spectacular come-back in recent years was told by Theo. W. Morse in the *Kansas City (Mo.) Daily Drovers Telegram*, January 2, 1948. The article reported that the relief money which congress appropriated for the dust bowl in 100 counties of the five southwestern states of Kansas, Colorado, Oklahoma, Texas and New Mexico has been put back into the wealth of the nation more than a thousandfold. Mr. Morse also dealt with the question of whether the dust bowl is returning. He pointed to the improved methods of farming, the introduction of new crops in the area and the healthy bank accounts as arguments that the days of the dust storms cannot come again. Henry M. Bainer, general agricultural agent for the Santa Fe railroad at Amarillo, Tex., was quoted as saying, "The Dust Bowl will not return."

The *Hutchinson News-Herald* has continued the publication of pictures of "Historic, Beautiful Kansas," by Russell Walker of St. John. Among the recent pictures were: Scott County State Lake, January 5, 1948; Waconda (Great Spirit) Springs, west of Beloit,

January 19; Scott County State Park and Lake McBride, north of Scott City, January 26; Pony Express station, near Hanover, February 2; Geodetic Center of the United States, 18 miles southeast of Osborne, and a highway sign showing 1,561 miles to New York City and the same number to San Francisco, near Kinsley, February 9; one of the largest trees in Kansas (an old cottonwood 30½ feet in circumference), near Hutchinson, February 16; Post Office Oak where westbound travelers on the Santa Fe trail left mail for eastbound caravans to pick up, at Council Grove, February 23; guardhouse at old Fort Hays, south of Hays, March 1; Pawnee Rock, near Larned, March 8, and the cabin near Smith Center in which Dr. Brewster Higley wrote "Home on the Range," March 15.

Histories of Abram and Lincoln Center, rival Lincoln county towns which were later merged, were sketched in the *Lincoln Sentinel-Republican*, January 15, 1948.

A history of the Mullinville schools by Benj. O. Weaver, for 28 years a member of the high school board, was published in the *Mullinville News*, January 15, 22, 29, February 5, 19, 26, and March 4, 1948. Mr. Weaver stated that the first school in Mullinville was a subscription school conducted by a Mr. Carpenter in 1885. The first term of a tax-supported school began November 1, 1886. J. B. Hunt and Belle Wells were the teachers and they had 50 pupils. W. W. Payne was county superintendent. A two-room schoolhouse was completed in the fall of 1887. This building was used until 1911 when part of the present grade school building was completed. The first high school class started in 1912. The high school district—Rural High School District No. 2—was organized in the spring of 1919. The high school used rooms in the grade school at that time. In 1925 a new high school building was started. The *News* for January 29, 1948, listed members of the school board of District No. 36 who have served the longest. Also listed are those who served on the high school board. In the same issue was a list of the graduates of the high school. There were 31 classes and 380 graduates from 1917 to 1947. In the issue for February 5, 1948, others were listed who attended the high school part time between 1911 and 1925, and later installments gave the names of the superintendents, principals and teachers.

The history of the Merrill Springs hotel, located about 14 miles south of Topeka near Highway 75, was sketched in the *Topeka*

Daily Capital, January 18, 1948. The hotel, now being razed, was built in the late 1880's.

A series of historical articles by Harry H. Seckler have been printed in the *Leavenworth Times* in recent months under the heading "Early Leavenworth." Some of the articles were: "City Was Enmeshed in Early History of the 'Pony Express,'" the story of the brief existence of the pony express, January 18, 1948; "This City Was the Gateway To the 'Great Unknown' in West," the part that Leavenworth played in the building of the West, January 25; "This City Once Was Largest in the 'Great American Desert,'" February 1; "Pioneer Days Were Exciting Ones in Platte County, Mo.," the early days in Platte county, Missouri, and Leavenworth, February 12; "Missouri River's Greatest Known Flood Was in 1844," February 19; "Hardy Pioneers Were Beset by Plagues, Disease and Crime," February 29, and "'Dream' Trip Along the City's Business Streets in Early Days," a story of early Leavenworth in the form of a letter that might have been written by someone who had passed through the streets in the early days, March 8.

Excerpts from letters and diary of E. D. Smith, selected by Lura Smith, were published in the *Meade Globe-News*, February 1-12, 1948. Mr. Smith was for many years a resident of Meade county, having come to Kansas from Iowa in 1886 after a doctor had told him that he had but a few weeks to live. Among other historical features published recently in the *Meade Globe-News* were the reminiscences of Mrs. T. B. Novinger of Plains, who arrived in Meade county in 1884 (reprinted in the issue of February 22 from the *Plains Journal* of February 5), and "Salt Well Was Scene of One of Meade County's First Manufacturing Plants" (February 29).

A column entitled "Early Day Frankfort History," has been appearing in the *Frankfort Index* beginning February 5, 1948. The column first briefly told of the Indians that once occupied what is now Marshall county. Among early settlers mentioned in the February 19 issue was Frank J. Marshall for whom Marshall county was named. On February 26 and March 4 the *Index* named many of the early settlers of the Vermillion valley.

A history of Easton was briefly sketched by Delores Gwartney in the *Leavenworth Chronicle*, February 12, 1948. A Kentuckian, A. J. Dawson, who came to trade with the Indians, was one of the first to settle in the Easton area. In 1855 the town became an or-

ganized settlement. It was first named Eastin, for L. J. Eastin, editor of the *Kansas Weekly Herald*, of Leavenworth, but soon an "o" was substituted for the "i" to make the name correspond with that of Gov. A. J. Reeder's home town in Pennsylvania. The first schoolhouse was built in 1855 and the first high school was established in 1908. The population of Easton is now about 200.

The Winfield *Daily Courier* published an 108-page diamond jubilee edition on February 16, 1948, in observance of Winfield's 75th year as an incorporated city and the *Courier's* 75th year of publication. The first issue of the *Courier* made its appearance in January, 1873, and Winfield was incorporated as a third class city on February 22, 1873. One of the principal features of the edition was the "Story of Early Days in Cowley," written in thirteen chapters, each chapter dealing with a different phase of the early life in Cowley county. Another historical article was "Cliff M. Wood's Own Story," in four chapters. Mr. Wood was the first to erect a building on the Winfield town site. Other items of interest included a biographical sketch of Col. E. C. Manning, founder of Winfield; a history of Cowley county newspapers; the census of Winfield taken in 1870, and articles on the following subjects: The fight for the county seat between Winfield and Arkansas City; the coming of the railroads to Winfield; the establishment and growth of the schools and churches; the grasshoppers, blizzards, droughts, floods, dust storms and other hardships through the years; the city government, and athletic teams from Winfield. Also in the jubilee edition were many pictures of Winfield and its citizens in early days.

The Gove County Advocate, Quinter, printed the history of the Quinter Methodist church in three installments, February 19, 26 and March 4, 1948. The church observed its fiftieth anniversary February 17. The Rev. W. E. Scott was the first pastor of the church. Services were held in a schoolhouse for several years until the completion of a church building in 1903. The building now in use was erected in 1910.

A history of the Gaylord family which has been featured for several months in the Protection Historical Society column, "Notes From the Early Days," published in the *Protection Post*, was concluded in the issue for February 20, 1948. The material was compiled by Mrs. Harry Vincent, a member of the Gaylord family, and is a part of the historical material assembled by Miss Ida Bare,

historian for the Protection Historical Society. The column for February 27 carried an article by John Webb about a baseball game in 1891.

"Wichita," by Charles B. Driscoll, one of a series of articles on America's most colorful cities being published by *The Saturday Evening Post*, appeared in the issue of February 21, 1948. According to Mr. Driscoll, Wichita's first permanent settlers were James R. Mead and William Greiffenstein who started trading posts there. The town was incorporated in 1870, and became a cowtown in 1872 when the Santa Fe railroad built to its borders. Famed for its flour milling, Wichita also received an oil boom in the 1920's and oil has been a steady source of income ever since. During World War II, Wichita became the site of several large airplane factories which still continue to operate. Some of the other items mentioned by Mr. Driscoll are: Wichita in 1878, the weather in Wichita, Jesse Chisholm, A. A. Hyde, the city's trees, South Wichita, the battle with the railroads over freight rates, the police department, colleges, schools and churches.

The March, 1948, number of the Shawnee County Historical Society's *Bulletin* included the following articles: "Topeka Transportation," a history of public transportation in Topeka by Arthur J. Carruth, Jr.; "Flour Mills—Important Industry," by Euphemia B. Page; the second installment by Mrs. Dorothy Crane Keller, of "Founders of Topeka," which concludes the biographical sketch of Dr. Franklin Loomis Crane and extracts from his journal; the third installment of the reprint of William W. Cone's "Shawnee County Townships"; "Topeka in 1856," by John E. Rastall, and a continuation of the "Chronology of Shawnee County," by George A. Root.

The *Russell Record*, March 1, 1948, printed a brief history of the first Russian colonies in Russell county. The initial colony consisted of 73 persons and was known as the Kratzka colony. They arrived in October, 1876, and settled ten miles south of Russell at Bender Hill. The second colony arrived in December, 1876, and the third in June, 1878. Of the 73 persons in the Kratzka colony 12 are still living. The names of the members of this colony appeared in the article.

Kansas Historical Notes

A contest for the purpose of securing historical material was planned at a meeting of the Meade county Council of Women's Clubs at Fowler on January 27, 1948. Cash prizes will be given for the best essays or manuscripts, and the material secured from the contest will be correlated and arranged into permanent historical records. Mrs. Theis Streiff of Plains, president of the council, appointed Mrs. W. S. Dingess of Meade, chairman of the project. Mrs. Dingess asked that each club represented in the county council appoint one member to form a historical council.

The Native Sons and Daughters of Kansas assembled at the Jayhawk hotel in Topeka the evening of January 28, 1948, for their thirtieth annual meeting. Dr. Kenneth W. McFarland, superintendent of the Topeka Public Schools, was the guest speaker. James B. Tucker, Kansas State College student and winner of the Capper award for the best oration in a contest held earlier the same day, gave his speech at the meeting. Miss Brownie Bothingouser of Osborne High School, winner of the essay contest, was also honored. Warren W. Shaw, retiring president of the Native Sons, and Mrs. C. I. Moyer, retiring president of the Native Daughters, presided at the meeting. After the addresses, an election was held. Will T. Beck of Holton was elected president of the Native Sons and Mrs. Kenneth McFarland of Topeka was elected president of the Native Daughters. Other officers elected were: Native Sons—William Ljungdahl of Menlo and Topeka, vice-president; Guy Josserand of Dodge City, secretary, and Edwin R. Jones of Topeka, treasurer; Native Daughters—Mrs. Carl Friend of Lawrence, vice-president; Mrs. Ella Reuhmann of Wamego, secretary, and Mrs. P. A. Petitt of Paola, treasurer.

Mrs. Loyal Payne spoke to members of the Riley County Historical Society at a dinner meeting held in the Congregational church in Manhattan, January 28, 1948. Mrs. Payne discussed some of the historical places in the county. Another meeting was held February 12, at which the marking of historic spots and the securing of a suitable museum were discussed. Places recommended by Alvin Springer for marking, are: Rocky Ford, Juniata, an Indian village on the Johns farm, Whisky Point, certain homes in

the College Hill community and some points in the Deep Creek and McDowell neighborhoods. Dr. J. W. Evans made a report on promoting and financing an adequate museum. Mrs. Loyal Payne spoke on the early history of Riley county and Homer Socolofsky of the college history department read a paper on Abraham Lincoln. Clyde Rodkey, president of the society, read a letter from a former Manhattan resident, Prof. John V. Cortelyou, giving some high lights of early local history.

The Finney County Historical Society was organized January 31, 1948, at a meeting in Garden City. Gus Norton of Kalvesta was elected president. Ralph T. Kersey, Frederick Finnup and Mrs. Josephine Cowgill were chosen vice-presidents. Other officers were elected as follows: Mrs. Ella Condra, secretary; Mrs. Eva Baker Sharer, treasurer; Mrs. R. E. Stotts, historian, and Mrs. Emma Weeks White, custodian of relics. Each township is represented by a director. They are: William H. Fant, Garden City township; Harry G. Carl, Garfield; Albert Drussel, Ivanhoe; S. B. Keller, Pierceville; J. E. Greathouse, Pleasant Valley; Tresmon Miller, Terry, and Mrs. Charles R. Brown, Sherlock. Directors from Garden City are: Mrs. P. A. Burtis, Judge William E. Hutchison, A. J. Keffer, Jean Norris Kampschroeder, Frank Schulman, Kate Hatcher Smith and Helen M. Stowell. The new society is sponsored by the Garden City Business and Professional Women's club.

Girard members were in charge of a meeting of the Crawford County Historical Society held in Pittsburg, February 9, 1948. Ralph Shideler presided and George Beezley reviewed the history of the Osage Indians in Crawford county. Mr. Beezley said that the Osages were the "very best" among Indians. He pointed out that there were many skirmishes in the early days between the Osages and rival Indians in the vicinity of Pittsburg. At one time during the Civil war when the Confederates attempted to organize the Indians to fight against the Union, the Osages attacked several groups of rebel soldiers and destroyed them. Another highlight of the historical meeting was a quiz contest conducted by Mrs. Lena Martin Smith. The contest was won by Mrs. Shideler.

A festival of Kansas arts and crafts was presented in Lawrence, February 18-22, 1948. An exhibition was held in the Community building and there were special programs featuring the work of

musicians, dramatists and dancers. A 119-page illustrated catalogue containing information about the exhibitors and their work was printed.

The Wichita Historical Museum Association held its annual dinner meeting March 5, 1948. Dr. Jesse Clyde Fisher, first vice-president, presided and gave a brief history of the early days of Wichita. The special feature of the evening was a talk by Miss Rea Woodman. Elected to the board of trustees for three-year terms were: Dr. G. G. Anderson, Dr. H. C. Holmes, Dick Long, H. D. Lester, Eldon Means, H. M. Quinius, Mrs. Don Tevis and Miss Eva Minnich. John Cauthorn was chosen to fill an unexpired term.



THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

August • 1948



Published by
Kansas State Historical Society
Topeka

KIRKE MECHEM
Editor

JAMES C. MALIN
Associate Editor

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
THE PICTORIAL RECORD OF THE OLD WEST: VI. Heinrich	
Balduin Möllhausen	<i>Robert Taft</i> , 225
With the following illustrations:	
H. B. Möllhausen, in Frontier Dress, 1854	
A Group of Sioux, 1851	
Trading Post of the American Fur Company at Bellevue (Nebraska), 1852	
Roubidou Trading Post (Nebraska) on the Oregon Trail, 1851	
	<i>between pp. 232, 233</i>
Fort Smith (Arkansas), 1853	
One of the Early Views of the Grand Canyon of the Colorado, 1858	
	<i>between pp. 240, 241</i>
W. E. CAMPBELL, PIONEER KANSAS LIVESTOCKMAN.....	<i>C. W. McCampbell</i> , 245
With a portrait of W. E. Campbell, facing p. 256.	
WILLIAM CLARK'S DIARY, MAY, 1826-FEBRUARY, 1831: Part Three, 1829	Edited by <i>Louise Barry</i> , 274
RECENT ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY,	
Compiled by <i>Helen M. McFarland</i> , Librarian,	306
BYPATHS OF KANSAS HISTORY.....	325
KANSAS HISTORY AS PUBLISHED IN THE PRESS.....	328
KANSAS HISTORICAL NOTES.....	335

The Kansas Historical Quarterly is published in February, May, August and November by the Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kan., and is distributed free to members. Correspondence concerning contributions may be sent to the editor. The Society assumes no responsibility for statements made by contributors.

Entered as second-class matter October 22, 1931, at the post office at Topeka, Kan., under the act of August 24, 1912.

THE COVER

The steamboat *Explorer* used in the exploration of the lower Colorado river, 1857-1858, by the Lt. Joseph C. Ives expedition. From a sketch by H. B. Möllhausen reproduced as a lithograph in the official Ives report.

THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Volume XVI

August, 1948

Number 3

The Pictorial Record of the Old West

VI. HEINRICH BALDUIN MÖLLHAUSEN

ROBERT TAFT

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IN the great flood of German immigrants to this country in the early half of the nineteenth century there were considerable numbers who found their way westward. Many established homes and eventually became absorbed in the American life stream. Others stayed but for a time and then returned to the fatherland, and still others were casual visitors. A few of each of these groups were articulate and have left personal narratives or written descriptions that are records of more or less value. One has only to recall, among our Western visitors, the names of Duke Paul William of Württemberg, Prince Maximilian of Wied, Frederick Wislizenus, Rudolph Kurz, Friederich Gerstäcker, Julius Fröbel, Friedrich Strubberg, Capitain B. Schmölder, George Engelmann (for whom the Engelmann spruce is named), as well as Heinrich Balduin Möllhausen, to appreciate their contributions to early Western literature.¹ Although some of these German writers have been dealt with individually, a comprehensive study of their contributions, which in toto would number hundreds of volumes, and of the effect of these contributions on German life and immigration to America remains to be made.²

Several of this group have also contributed to the pictorial record of the West but we are here concerned primarily with the work of

DR. ROBERT TAFT, of Lawrence, is professor of chemistry at the University of Kansas and editor of the *Transactions of the Kansas Academy of Science*. He is author of *Photography and the American Scene* (New York, 1938), and *Across the Years on Mount Oread* (Lawrence, 1941).

Previous articles in this pictorial series appeared in the February, May, August and November, 1946, and May, 1948, issues of *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, with the general introduction in the February, 1946, number.

1. The publications of many of the individuals mentioned above are listed in Henry R. Wagner's *The Plains and the Rockies*, rev. and ext. by Charles L. Camp (San Francisco, 1937). For Kurz, see "Journal of Rudolph Friederich Kurz," Myrtis Jarrell, tr., and J. N. B. Hewitt, ed., in Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, *Bulletin 115* (Washington, 1937); for Gerstäcker (1816-1872), see *Der Grosse Brockhaus* (Leipzig, 1930), v. 7, p. 230, and for Strubberg, see *The Life and Works of Friedrich Armand Strubberg*, by Preston A. Barba (Philadelphia, 1913).

2. The closest approach to such a study with which the writer is familiar will be found in the introductory chapter, "America in German Fiction," of Preston A. Barba's *Balduin Möllhausen, the German Cooper* (Philadelphia, 1914), cited hereafter as Barba.

H. B. Möllhausen (sometimes called Balduin, sometimes Baldwin; the Heinrich is seldom used).³ Möllhausen not only wrote personal narratives describing his three exploring trips in Western America, made many sketches "from nature" during these periods, but as the result of his personal experiences in the West, gave the major share of his adult life to the profession of letters. He wrote no less than 45 novels or books of short stories (some novels ran into as many as six volumes). To be sure, this literary output was not confined to the Western scene as a background, but the original impetus for Möllhausen's career came from his Western experiences. Indians, the plains, Utah and the Mormons, gold and California, the Santa Fe trail, the Civil War, the South, the Great Lakes, the sea were all used in his literary output. So frequent were the parallels between Möllhausen and Cooper that Barba, his biographer, calls Möllhausen "the German Cooper."⁴ It seems probable that Möllhausen's work, like Cooper's, was strong in description of scenery and surroundings, but the characters introduced were stiff and stylized, and Möllhausen's plots were frequently complicated and bizarre.

The narratives of personal experience written by Möllhausen are, however, documents of first-rate importance and the illustrations he drew to accompany them enhance their value. In addition, these narratives contribute to our biographical knowledge of the author. The sketches made by Möllhausen are here of primary concern and can conveniently be treated according to his three trips to America.

FIRST AMERICAN VISIT, 1849-1852

Möllhausen was born January 27, 1825, near the city of Bonn. His father, the possessor of a restless disposition, was a wide traveler and also possessed "an uncontrollable desire for collecting copper engravings";⁵ factors which undoubtedly played a part in the younger Möllhausen's career. After his father's early death, Möllhausen was reared by relatives, receiving some schooling at Bonn.

3. In addition to Möllhausen, I am referring to Kurz (see his journal, cited in Footnote 1, which contains reproductions of a number of his Western sketches), and to the work of Charles (or Karl) Bodmer who accompanied Maximilian. A discussion of Bodmer has been recently made by Bernard DeVoto; see his *Across the Wide Missouri* (Boston, 1947), "The First Illustrators of the West," pp. 391-416.

4. Barba, *op. cit.*, discusses Möllhausen's literary career at some length. How much Möllhausen's purely literary efforts (as contrasted to his own personal narratives of his Western experiences) would contribute to the history of the West is problematic. Barba is quite obviously unfamiliar with Western history, and the literary work of Möllhausen is difficult to secure in this country. It should be studied, however. There are, for example, several short stories and novels with territorial Kansas as a background written by Möllhausen during his long career: *Whip-poor-Will* (novelette, 1865); "Die Tochter des Squatters" (short story, 1881); "Der Ritt ums Leben" (short story, 1896); *Der Vaquero* (novel, 1905). These all may be based in part on personal experiences. In the same category is the short story, "Die Gräber in der Steppe" (1863), a description of farm life in the early 1850's near St. Charles, Mo.

5. Barba, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

He also seems to have early shown a talent for drawing but received no special training other than that given in the school at Bonn. After several years in military service, Möllhausen sailed for America in 1849.⁶ There is little record of Möllhausen's life for much of this three-year period (1849-1852) but he appears to have lived for a time in Belleville, Ill. (near St. Louis), and to have spent considerable time as a hunter in the region of the Kaskaskia river in southwestern Illinois.⁷

In the spring of 1851, however, he heard that his countryman, Prince Paul of Württemberg, was outfitting an expedition to the Rocky Mountains and he applied to Prince Paul for permission to accompany the expedition. The permission was granted and the outfit was on the plains of Nebraska (the Platte river) "when the spring sun was drawing out millions of buds among the herbs and grass."⁸ Prince Paul's expedition however, encountered such serious Indian and transportation difficulties that the trip was given up at Fort Laramie and the return to civilization was begun in the fall of that year (1851). Indians killed one of their four horses, fodder was scanty, they became almost buried in a snow storm which killed their remaining horses, and the two travelers were forced to make camp on Sandy Hill creek "where it falls into the Big Blue."⁹ Here the eastbound stage for Independence, Mo., passed them but as the stage had room for only one passenger, Prince Paul and Möllhausen drew lots to see which should go. Chance decreed that Möllhausen was the one to stay until help could be sent back. The help

6. This date is given in a brief biographical sketch of Möllhausen by his friend Alexander von Humboldt, the celebrated geographer, in a preface to Möllhausen's book, *Diary of a Journey From the Mississippi to the Coasts of the Pacific*, Mrs. Percy Sinnett, tr. (London, 1858), v. 1, p. xxi; cited hereafter as *Diary*.

7. Barba, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

8. Möllhausen makes this statement in the *Diary*, v. 1, p. 119, although the expedition of Prince Paul is not specifically mentioned. A fragmentary account of Prince Paul's expedition of 1851 by Prince Paul himself appears in the *New Mexico Historical Review*, Santa Fe, v. 17 (1942), pp. 181-225, 294-344, and is edited by Louis C. Butscher. Supposedly this account is a translation of an original manuscript by Prince Paul which was preserved in the Royal State Library of Stuttgart although nowhere in the published version is such a claim specifically made. The account is interspersed by Möllhausen's (spelled Moellhausen in the Butscher article) story of the 1851 expedition. Parts of the Möllhausen tale appear to be but variations in translation from Möllhausen's own story in the *Diary* cited in Footnote 6 (see especially pp. 323-344 of the Butscher account and pp. 119-130, 142-152 of the *Diary*). It is regrettable that the Butscher article was printed with so little documentation.

In the Butscher account, Prince Paul states that it "was near the middle of August, 1851" when he and Möllhausen set out from St. Louis on their Western expedition (Butscher, *loc. cit.*, p. 193).

9. Möllhausen, *Diary*, v. 1, p. 120. The location of the camp would place it probably in present Gage county, Nebraska. There is no Sandy Hill creek listed in modern gazetteers.

Whether Möllhausen and Prince Paul went much farther west than Fort Laramie is uncertain. According to Prince Paul (Butscher, *loc. cit.*, p. 209), Fort Laramie was reached on October 5 and a few pages later (p. 213) Prince Paul states that he concluded his westward journey "about the beginning of October"; one of the reasons being Möllhausen's ill health, a fact that Möllhausen does not state. Prince Paul expressed concern in several places for Möllhausen's health but his concern was apparently not so deep as to prevent him from abandoning Möllhausen at the camp on Sandy Hill creek.

Möllhausen (*Diary*, v. 1, p. 120; v. 2, p. 37) states that he "crossed the Rocky Mountains" in 1851. Possibly a side trip of a few days was made from Fort Laramie beyond the Front Range but if Prince Paul's account can be relied upon, the two travelers certainly couldn't have been much farther west than Fort Laramie.

failed to materialize and Möllhausen remained alone in his camp from the latter part of November until early in January. During his enforced stay, huge wolf packs, additional snow storms, illness so severe that he became unconscious, and hunger so violent that he was reduced to eating frozen wolf meat, were Möllhausen's lot. But the culminating drama was one that almost cost him his life. Toward the end of his stay he had forced himself to the top of a distant hill for observation, when to his horror he discovered two Pawnees creeping with extreme caution upon his camp unaware of his presence on the observation point. After hastily preparing for their arrival, he shot one Indian and mortally injured the second. Shortly after this experience, a friendly band of Otoes on the way to their villages at the mouth of the Platte passed by and Möllhausen joined them as they journeyed eastward. After traveling for four weeks, Möllhausen reached the settlement of Bethlehem on the Missouri.¹⁰ At Bethlehem¹¹ Möllhausen was again in the presence of white company, where he reveled in the homely satisfactions of "sitting by their warm fireside, eating good bread, drinking a glass of whisky-punch, and entertaining my hosts with the story of my adventures. . . ." ¹²

But after he re-outfitted at Bethlehem, Möllhausen returned to his Oto friends for a few days and then proceeded to the fur-trading

10. Möllhausen described his harrowing experiences on the plains at some length as camp-fire and travel tales in an account of a subsequent expedition. See his *Diary*, v. 1, pp. 119-130, 142-152, 171-181, 198-212, 243-258, 287-304, for the complete account. He also made reference to his Nebraska trip in the *Reisen in die Felsengebirge Nord-Amerikas* (1861) cited in Footnote 45. Möllhausen's experiences on the return trip are also a part of the Butscher account cited in Footnote 8. Stories of some of these experiences are for the most part, as has already been stated, a variation in wordage of those appearing in the *Diary*. There are included in the Butscher account, however, two additional stories attributed to Möllhausen that do not appear in the *Diary*—an encounter with the Cheyennes on the South Platte (Butscher, *loc. cit.*, pp. 220-225) and one with the Sioux a few days later (*ibid.*, pp. 296-302). Contemporary mention of Möllhausen's experiences during the fall of 1851 are made in the "Journal" of Friederich Kurz (see Footnote 1) under date of May 11, 1852. Kurz writes, "Not long since, I am told, some Oto found, on the Platte, a Prussian named Mullhausen [*sic*] in a hopeless situation, having with him a wagon but no team. He is said to be an attendant of Duke Paul of Wurttemberg who was banished from court, and, so they say, he was protecting his Grace's silverware (?). Meantime, where was the Duke?" The arrival of the Duke in Independence, Mo., is reported in *The Frontier Guardian*, Council Bluffs, January 9, 1852, p. 4. The item is dated "Independence, Dec. 5," and reads "Paul William, Prince of Württemberg was picked [up] by Salt Lake stage about 235 miles from here. Four of his mules were frozen to death a few days before the stage came along." The item also reports heavy snows on the plains. Dr. Charles L. Camp of the University of California is preparing an account of Prince Paul and doubtless will include Prince Paul's diary of this trip which is cited in Henry R. Wagner's *The Plains and the Rockies* (p. 49) as having been published in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, of Stuttgart, on February 20-22, 24, 1852; whether this account of the expedition of 1851 is different from that given in the Butscher account (Footnote 8) remains to be seen. See, also, the letter of Prince Paul to Möllhausen dated "New Orleans, March 10, 1852" and published in Barba, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

11. Bethlehem was on the Iowa side of the Missouri river. The Bellevue *Nebraska Paladium*, October 25, 1854, in an item about Otoe City just established three miles below the mouth of the Platte river, added further "it is ten miles south of this place, (Bellevue) opposite Bethlehem, Iowa." I am indebted to Supt. James C. Olson of the Nebraska State Historical Society for this information. Mr. Olson also called my attention to a statement in the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, Iowa City, v. 38, p. 212, which reads: "Morgan Parr founded Bethlehem, Iowa, in 1852. . . ." If the *Iowa Journal* statement is correct, Möllhausen was almost in on the birth of the settlement for, according to his account, he was in Bethlehem in February, 1852.

12. Möllhausen, *Diary*, v. 1, p. 211.

post and nearby Presbyterian mission at Belle Vue.¹³ The post trader, Peter Sarpy,¹⁴ welcomed him with open arms and Möllhausen spent over three months with him. He even contemplated marrying a beautiful young half-breed, a niece of Sarpy, and settling down to a life on the frontier. A letter from Prince William, however, urged him to come at once to New Orleans, and as funds were provided for, Möllhausen took passage in a river boat for St. Louis and New Orleans.¹⁵

Möllhausen had as a result of this first trip, therefore, over a year's experience on the Western frontier with adventure and harrowing experience sufficient to satisfy the most rabid seeker of thrills. Further, he was able to put on paper some of the scenes which he had viewed. An exact catalogue of Möllhausen's pictorial records resulting from the experiences of this first trip to America is not possible, but an estimate can be made. In 1939, the Staatliches Museum für Volkerkunde in Berlin possessed an original sketchbook of Möllhausen's containing 99 pencil sketches and 33 water-colors made on his American excursions.¹⁶ In addition, his work has been reproduced in lithographic form in a number of volumes.

The original work of Möllhausen has unfortunately been largely destroyed, having been burned during the conquest of Berlin in April, 1945.¹⁷ The United States National Museum, Washington, however, possesses eight original pen and ink drawings and one original water-color sketch by Möllhausen with the following titles:

1. A cougar. Signed, "Möllhausen." (No date or location given.)
2. Indian woman with dog travois. Entitled, "Sioux Squaw," in Möllhausen's handwriting. Signed, "Möllhausen." (No date or location given.)
3. Indian woman with horse drawing tipi poles. Unsigned. (No date, tribe or location given.)

13. Belle Vue, or more exactly Bellevue, is now a village in Sarpy county, Nebraska, about ten miles south of present Omaha. It was established as a fur-trading post about 1823. The Indian agency at this location was officially entitled "Council Bluffs at Bellevue."—R. G. Thwaites, *Early Western Travels* (Cleveland, 1906), v. 22, p. 267.

14. Sarpy, called "Colonel Peter," was Pierre Labbadie Sarpy (1805-1865) who ruled autocratically at the American Fur Company post at Bellevue for many years. For a brief biographical sketch see *ibid.*, v. 29, p. 372.

15. Möllhausen, *Diary*, v. 1, pp. 301-303.

16. Letter to the writer from the director of the American department of the museum, Prof. Dr. W. Krickeberg, dated April 29, 1939. The Möllhausen collection included landscapes, animal pictures, Indian types and scenes, and records of frontier life. The water-colors were for the most part 25 x 30 cm. to 25 x 35 cm. in size.

17. Letter from the director of Staatliches Museum, Dr. Walter Krickeberg, dated September 23, 1946, to the writer. Six of the Möllhausen paintings escaped destruction as they were hung separately in a museum room spared by the fire. The paintings remaining in the museum are:

1. Buffaloes, signed 1851.
2. Grizzly bears, 1859.
3. Earth lodge of the Mohave with Indians playing ring-and-pin game (Plate facing p. 396 of Möllhausen's *Tagebuch einer Reise*, etc., 1854).
4. Group of Mohave, 1857-1858.
5. Group of Navaho, 1853.
6. Group of Walapai, 1857-1858.

4. Pictographic designs painted by Indians on a buffalo hide. Unsigned. (No tribe, date or location given.)
5. Mounted Indians fighting. Signed, "B. Möllhausen." (2 Indians shown, no tribe, date or location given.)
6. Five Indians, one scalping a fallen enemy, the remainder brandishing weapons. Unsigned. (No tribe, date or location given.)
7. Three bears. Signed, "B. Möllhausen." (No date or location given.)
8. Indians and white man. Unsigned. (No date, tribe or location.)
9. Two Indians, one with Catlinite pipe, other with long barrel flintlock. Signed, "Möllhausen." (No tribe, date or location.)¹⁸

Paul Hudson, museum curator, Morristown National Historical Park, Morristown, N. J., examined Möllhausen's collection in Berlin in 1939 and noted the titles of a number of the sketches which are given below:

1. "San Felipe on the Rio Grande," 1853.
2. "Walapai Indians, Diamond Creek," Colorado Expedition, 1857-1858.
3. "Buffalo Hunt on the Prairie," 1851. (Indian and white hunters.)
4. "Antelope," 1851. (Closeup of 5 animals.)
5. "Zuni Pueblo," 1853. (Distant view.)
6. "Corero, New Mexico," 1853.
7. "The Grey Bear," 1859. (Three bears.)
8. "Wolves Fighting Buffalo," 1852.
9. "Sioux Indians," 1851. (Group on prairie, skinning deer, using fire, etc.)
- Reproduced with this article.)
10. "Kioway," 1853. (Village with painted lodge in foreground.)
11. "Comanche," 1853. (One mounted, three standing males, one female.)
12. "Inhabitants of New Mexico (Albuquerque)," 1853. (Mexican costume.)
13. "Waco, Delaware and Shawnee," 1853. (Four men, full length.)
14. "Oto Chiefs in Trading Post, Council Bluffs," 1852. (Indians and traders.—Reproduced with this article.)
15. "Fort Roubideaux, 1851, Western Slope of Rocky Mountains." (Panoramic view.—Reproduced with this article.)
16. "Ruins on Pecos River, N. M." Colorado Expedition, 1857-1858.
17. "Mohave Indians." Colorado Expedition, 1857-1858.
18. "Apache, Chimehuevi, Mohave, Haulpi Indians." Colorado Expedition, 1857-1858.
19. "Ojibway Indians of the Upper Mississippi," 1850.
20. "Pawnee Indians," 1851-1852. (One male mounted; three males, one female standing.)
21. "Buffalo Crossing the Platte River," 1851.
22. "Dancing Warriors, Omaha Indians," 1852. (Good for dance costume and equipment.)
23. "Navaho Indians," 1853. (Good costume.)
24. "Wild Game of Colorado Region." Colorado Expedition, 1857-1858.
25. "Hunters—Oto Warriors," 1851. (In winter costume.)
26. "The Wild Buffalo." (No date.)
27. "Apache, Moqui, Navaho." Colorado Expedition, 1857-1858.

18. Information from Dr. F. M. Setzler, head curator, Department of Anthropology, U. S. National Museum, Washington.

28. "Mohave Indians near Colorado River," 1854. (House in background; men and boys playing hoop-and-pole game in foreground.)
29. "Choctaws, Chickasaws and Cherokees (Arkansas)," 1853. (Shows varied costume worn by these Indians at that period.)
30. "Interior of Oto Tipi," 1851.
31. "Zuni and Moqui Indians," 1853. (Good for costume.)
32. "Crossing of the Colorado by the Expedition," 1854. (Distant view.)¹⁹

Fortunately the writer secured in 1939 photographic reproductions of several of the Möllhausen sketches. The titles of these sketches as received from the Berlin museum include:

V: "Oto-Handler auf der Pelztauschstation in den Council Bluffs," 1852. (See reproduction with this article.)

VIII: "Fort Roupideau, Scott Bluffs," 1851. (See reproduction with this article.)

XIV: "Sioux," 1851. (See reproduction with this article.)

XV: "Choctaw, Chickasaw, Cherokee," 1853.

XXV: "Übergang der Expedition über den Colorado," 1854.

XXIX: "San Felipe, Rio Grande, Neumexico," 1853.²⁰

In addition, Dr. Charles L. Camp of the University of California wrote me that he photographed several dozen original Möllhausen sketches in Berlin "several years ago."²¹

Altogether, when the copies of the originals are considered and the reproductions of Möllhausen's originals as lithographs are counted, a sizeable collection is available for the student.

Of this work, those resulting from Möllhausen's first trip to America include V (probably No. 14 of the Hudson list), VIII (possibly No. 15 of the Hudson list), and XIV (probably No. 9 of the Hudson list) of the writer's list.²² In addition to this list of subjects, the following pictorial records of Möllhausen (note that these were made on his first American trip) are found as chromolithographs in his *Diary* (cited in Footnote 6):

1. "Wa-ki-ta-mo-ne and Hunting Party of Ottoe Warriors," v. 1, frontispiece.
2. "Chiefs of the Ottoe Tribe," v. 1, facing p. 248.²³

19. This information also comes from Dr. Setzler.

20. Titles as given by the Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde in letter accompanying photographs, August 5, 1939.

21. I presume that Dr. Camp's photographs were made before 1939. He is planning to reproduce several of them in the Prince Paul account mentioned in Footnote 10.

22. The conclusion that these items are work resulting from Möllhausen's first trip is based on the dates included on the sketches and the character of the subjects of the sketches as compared to Möllhausen's personal narrative of his travels. Note that sketch No. 19 of the Hudson list suggests that Möllhausen had traveled to the region of the upper Mississippi before his experiences on the plains.

23. These chromolithographs (and others in the *Diary*), 4½ in. x 7½ in. by "Hanhart," and signed "Möllhausen, Del.," are not particularly well done. The same two illustrations appear in the German edition of the Möllhausen diary *Tagebuch Einer Reise vom Mississippi Nach den Küsten der Südsee* (Leipzig, 1858). Unlike the English translation, it was published as a single volume. The chromolithography was usually by Storch and Kramer of Berlin and is not superior to that of Hanhart. The illustrations in color measure approximately 6 by 9 inches. The first illustration listed above is also used as a frontispiece for the German edi-

MÖLLHAUSEN'S SECOND AMERICAN TRIP

After nearly four months among the Omahas around Bellevue, Möllhausen rejoined Prince Paul either in St. Louis or New Orleans and spent several months in those places. In the fall of 1852, at the request of the German consul at St. Louis, he took charge of a consignment of animals for the Berlin zoo. He arrived in Berlin on January 6, 1853, and soon made the acquaintance of the celebrated geographer, Alexander von Humboldt, who became much interested in the young man and in the stories of his travels and in his sketches of Indian and frontier life.²⁴ Von Humboldt encouraged Möllhausen to continue his travels, and after a four months' stay in Berlin in which he perfected himself "in some branches of artistic study" he returned to the United States with glowing recommendations from von Humboldt and other German dignitaries.²⁵ He arrived in New York on May 3, 1853, went immediately to Washington and one week later had been appointed "topographer or draughtsman" to Lt. A. W. Whipple's surveying expedition along the 35th parallel through southwestern United States.²⁶

The expedition, one of three sent out by the government to seek possible rail routes to the Pacific, left Fort Smith on the Arkansas river, near the western boundary of Arkansas, on July 15, 1853. The route in general lay through Indian territory, across the Llano Estacado of Texas, through New Mexico territory to Albuquerque, through the petrified forest, south past the San Francisco mountains, across Bill Williams' fork of the Colorado, the Colorado itself, through the torrid stretches of the Mohave desert, and across the Coast range. The expedition eventually arrived at the Pueblo

tion; the second illustration appears facing p. 158. Barba, *op. cit.*, p. 153, lists a second German edition of this book which appeared under the title *Wanderungen durch die Prairen und Wüsten des Westlichen Nordamerika vom Mississippi Nach den Küsten der Südsee im Gefolge der von der Regierung der Vereinigten Staaten unter Lieutenant Whipple Ausgesandten Expedition* (Leipzig, 1860). This edition, according to Barba, has one lithograph. As I have not seen this volume, I do not know the subject of the lithograph.

24. Barba, *op. cit.*, pp. 44, 45; von Humboldt "Preface" in Möllhausen's *Diary*, pp. xxii and xxiii.

25. *Ibid.*, p. vii.

26. *Ibid.*, p. ix; *Reports of Explorations and Surveys, To Ascertain the Most Practicable and Economical Route for a Railroad From the Mississippi River To the Pacific Ocean* (Washington, 1856), 33 Cong., 2 Sess., *Sen. Ex. Doc. 78*, v. 3, Part 1, p. 3. This, the official report, lists H. B. Möllhausen as "topographer and artist." The official report is hereafter cited as Whipple. Whipple's diary of the 1853-1854 expedition was reprinted recently as *A Pathfinder in the Southwest* (Norman, Okla., 1941); it is edited and annotated by Grant Foreman. Mr. Foreman includes in this version of the Whipple expedition an original photograph of Möllhausen (facing p. 16) and about which Mr. Foreman wrote me that he could not remember "to save my life where I got the picture." As Mr. Foreman had worked in the National Archives, it is possible that the Möllhausen photograph was among the Pacific railroad survey materials in the archives. Although Möllhausen's pose in Mr. Foreman's photograph is different from that in the photograph reproduced by Barba, facing p. 37 (and reproduced with this article), the frontier costume worn by Möllhausen is apparently the same in both photographs. Barba dates his photograph, "1854."



H. B. MÖLLHAUSEN
In frontier dress, 1854.

From *Balduin Möllhausen, the German Cooper*, by
Preston A. Barba. Courtesy of Dr. Barba.



THE GERMAN TITLE "FORT ROUPIDEAU, SCOTT BLUFFS," 1851, OF THIS ORIGINAL MÖLLHAUSEN SKETCH, REVEALS ANOTHER RARE AND UNIQUE ILLUSTRATION OF FRONTIER HISTORY, THE ROUBIDOU TRADING POST (NEBRASKA) ON THE OREGON TRAIL. THE ORIGINAL SKETCH NO LONGER EXISTS. COURTESY, THE STAATLICHES MUSEUM, BERLIN.

de los Angeles, some nine months after its start, on March 21, 1854.²⁷

Möllhausen's experiences on this trip were published in the various editions of his *Diary*, cited in Footnotes 6 and 23. The *Diary*, however, is more than a logbook of travel, for Möllhausen has included in it an extended account of his own earlier experiences in the West, of stories gathered along the way, with stray bits of history and previous exploration thrown in for good measure. In his account, too, he occasionally refers to himself as "the German naturalist." Möllhausen appears to have had some training in natural history and indeed on his third trip to America was appointed "artist and collector in natural history" on still another government expedition.²⁸ His chief scientific interests, however, were in the native tribes. Many of the illustrations in the official reports of the two government expeditions with which Möllhausen was connected, depict Indians and Indian modes of life. Choctaw, Creek, Cherokee, Shawnee, Delaware, Wichita, Comanche, Kiowa, Zuni, and Mohave were all recorded by his pencil and constitute important ethnographic records for the present day.

The pictorial record of the Whipple expedition appears in the illustrations of the various editions of the *Diary* and of Whipple's official report. In the *Diary* the following full-page lithographic illustrations (in color) will be found:

	Vol.	Facing p.
1. "Sandstone Formation in the Prairie Northwest of Texas".....	1	136
2. "Camp of the Kioway Indians".....	1	212
3. "Sandstone Formation at Pueblo de Santo Domingo".....	1	276
4. "Church in the Pueblo of Santo Domingo".....	1	336
5. "The Petrified Forest in the Valley of the Rio Seco".....	2	front.
6. "Zuni, New Mexico"	2	98
7. "San Francisco Mountains (Extinct Volcanoes)".....	2	156
8. "Mohave Indians, Valley of the Rio Colorado of the West"....	2	250
9. "Dwellings of the Natives of the Rio Colorado of the West," ²⁹	2	262

In addition to the lithographs, there are 12 woodcut illustrations, chiefly of Indian utensils and drawings, although the following full-page woodcuts possibly should be noted:

	Vol.	Facing p.
1. "Cereus Giganteus"	2	219
2. "The Colorado River"	2	239
3. "Sequoia Gigantea"	2	364

The illustrations in the German edition (first) of the *Diary* (see

27. Whipple, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-135.

28. Lt. Joseph C. Ives, *Report Upon the Colorado River of the West* (Washington, 1861), 36 Cong., 1 Sess., *House Ex. Doc. 90*, p. 21. Hereafter referred to as Ives.

29. Note that, in addition to these lithographs, there were two others in the *Diary*, those listed on p. 231.

Footnote 23) were much the same as those listed above, although slightly larger than those in Mrs. Sinnett's translation.

In Whipple's official report (*see* Footnote 26), Möllhausen, A. H. Campbell, and Lt. J. C. Tidball contributed most of the illustrations. Twenty-two full-page lithographs in color (or tinted) measuring approximately 6 x 9 inches in the print (the pages are quarto), some 65 woodcuts in the text as well as a number of geological and elevation cross-sections, make up the illustrated portion of the book. Leaving the last, the purely technical illustrations, out of consideration, ten of the lithographic illustrations are credited directly to Möllhausen, two indirectly, and another almost surely resulted from Möllhausen's work. (It should be pointed out, as is done on page 235, that credit for illustrations varies somewhat from volume to volume.) The remainder are credited to F. B. Meek (two fossil drawings), three to A. H. Campbell, three to J. C. Tidball and one to an unknown "F. S." Of the 65 woodcuts, a number are uncredited and it is difficult to trace the source. In Part III, 35 of the woodcuts appear to be credited to Möllhausen,³⁰ and in Part IV some 15 woodcuts are credited to Möllhausen.

It can thus be seen that Möllhausen was the principal illustrator of the report. Some of the noteworthy full-page illustrations included in the report as typical of Möllhausen's work would include:

1. "Fort Smith, Arkansas" (*see* reproduction with this article), Part I, *facing* p. 5.
2. "San Francisco Mountain" (From Leroux's river), Part I, *facing* p. 80.
3. "Rio Colorado Near the Mojave Villages" (depicts the crossing of the expedition), Part II, front.
4. "Navajos" (Two mounted warriors), Part III, *facing* p. 31.
5. "Mojaves" (Three painted natives), Part III, *facing* p. 33.
6. "A Conical Hill, 500 Feet High" (Valley of Laguna), Part IV, *facing* p. 25.

The "San Francisco Mountain" listed above, is not credited in all volumes to Möllhausen but since practically the same view appears in the *Diary* (both the German and the English editions) it is virtually certain that Möllhausen drew the original sketch upon which the lithograph was based.³¹ The lithographic work was done by three: T. Sinclair, Philadelphia; A. Hoen and Co., Baltimore, and Sarony and Co. (or Sarony, Major, and Knapp), New York. The same subject in different copies of Whipple's report has been

30. The index of illustrations in Part III of Whipple, "Report Upon the Indian Tribes," lists 42 illustrations and then states: "The above named views, portraits, and inscriptions, are careful representations of the originals. They were drawn by H. B. Möllhausen, artist to the expedition."

31. In fact, in two of the four copies of the Whipple report that I have examined it is credited to "H. E. Möllhausen del."

reproduced by different lithographers. This is particularly true of T. Sinclair and Sarony, Major and Knapp. For example, one copy of the report which I have examined has Möllhausen's view, "Canadian River Near Camp 38" (Part I, *facing* p. 30), lithographed by Sarony, Major and Knapp and another copy has the same view lithographed by T. Sinclair. As a result, the tinting in the two views is different and the detail and outlines vary somewhat. For that matter, the tinting of the colored views varies somewhat from copy to copy even when by the same lithographer, depending presumably upon the number of copies that were made in a run and how frequently the stone was inked.³²

One or two other irregularities in the illustrations may be noted while we have them under discussion. "View of the Black Forest," after A. H. Campbell's sketch, does not appear in the index of illustrations of Part II. In some volumes it appears in Part II, *facing* p. 32, lithographed by Sarony, Major and Knapp. In another copy, this illustration appears *facing* p. 33 of Part II, lithographed by Sarony and Co., and in one copy I examined it possesses as lovely a color as I have ever seen in a two-color impression (black and brown).

To cite still another irregularity, the illustration, "Bivouac, Jan. 26," is listed in the index of illustrations to Part I as *facing* p. 95 and in some copies appears in this position; in other copies it appears as *facing* p. 90. The most striking irregularity is the fact that in some copies this illustration is credited to J. C. Tidball and in others to Möllhausen. There are differences in detail and it may be that the difference in crediting is proper, but I am inclined to think the double credit is an error and that it would be difficult to decide who should be given credit for the illustration. Both views were lithographed by T. Sinclair.

The initials of Möllhausen are also cited irregularly in the caption to the illustrations. One such case has already been given in Footnote 31, but the most curious one occurs in the case of the frontispiece illustration in Part II, "Rio Colorado Near the Mojave

32. The colored plates are by multiple impressions as can be clearly seen on a number of the plates; the color was not washed in on a black and white lithograph as some authorities suggest. A number of the plates are two color; one a black impression and the other a brown one. On a few plates, a third impression of blue has been made. That chromolithography, printing from different color plates in register, was practiced in this country by the time the Whipple report was published, is evident from the following note published in *Sartains Union Magazine*, Philadelphia, v. 6 (1850), p. 100: "Two specimens of chromolithography by Mr. Ackerman of New York [are published?] in our present issue. The print (The serenade) in our number for August last Mr. Devereaux claims as the first successful attempt in this country to obtain a finished effect in color by means of successive printings from a series of engraved blocks; but in Europe this art (although rude enough until the last ten years) is ancient." In the June, 1849, issue of the *Bulletin of the American Art-Union*, p. 27, the claim is made that J. Duval of Philadelphia was using the process and that Childs and the firm of Leslie and Traver were just beginning printing from tinted wood blocks to produce illustrations in color.

Villages, View No. 2." In two copies this is credited to "R. R. Möllhausen," in another to "H. R. Möllhausen" and in a fourth (correctly) to "H. B. Möllhausen." The lithography in all four cases is credited to Sarony, Major and Knapp.

Many of the woodcuts, as already remarked, are uncredited, although in Part IV ("The Geology of the Route"), all woodcuts are credited to the respective artists in the index to the illustrations. One woodcut in Part I (p. 85) can be credited to Lieutenant Tidball, from a statement appearing in the text itself (p. 84). Other woodcuts in Part I may possibly be those of Möllhausen if comparison of the illustrations in the report with those in the *Diary* are made. Included in this group are:

1. "Petrified Tree Near Lithodendron Creek," p. 74. This view is somewhat similar to the frontispiece of volume 2 of the *Diary*. A. H. Campbell was present, however, and it possibly could have been drawn by him, but Lieutenant Tidball appears to have been absent when the party crossed the petrified forest area.

2. "Cereus Giganteus, on Bill Williams' Fork," p. 101. In the *Diary*, v. 2, facing p. 219, is the full-page woodcut "Cereus Giganteus." Here the two views are dissimilar—the chief similarity being in the titles.

As contributing to the authenticity and understanding of Möllhausen's sketches, instances of his mention in Whipple's official daily record can be selected.³³ Under date of September 29, 1853, while in present New Mexico, Möllhausen is recorded as one of the party making side excursions to the north of the main line of the survey while the rest of the group proceeded with the main survey directly to Albuquerque.³⁴ Several weeks later, while approaching the pueblo of Laguna and although not specifically mentioning Möllhausen, Whipple writes "As we approached the town, the Germans of the party almost imagined themselves in 'Fatherland.'" ³⁵

In February, 1854, while approaching the Colorado river near the mouth of Bill Williams' fork (present Arizona), Whipple makes mention of the fact that Möllhausen sketched "several singular trees and shrubs. . . ." A little later, Indian inscriptions and figures were observed on the cliff walls of a rugged canyon. "Some of the most interesting among them were sketched by the artist," reports Whipple.³⁶

33. These instances are in addition to those found elsewhere in Whipple, such as the index to the illustrations of Part III, cited on page 234.

34. Whipple, *op. cit.*, Part I, p. 42.

35. *Ibid.*, November 13, 1853, p. 59.

36. *Ibid.*, February 15, 1854, pp. 106, 107. The inscriptions were probably those described in Part III, p. 42, as "Plate 35" but "Plate 35" is missing from both copies of the official report which I have examined.

In the same month, while the expedition was engaged in crossing the Colorado river, Möllhausen had a chance to play the hero's role. A barge capsized and William White, one of the surveyors, and a small Mexican boy were nearly drowned, but "the exertions of Mr. Möllhausen succeeded in extricating them from beneath the boat."³⁷ Möllhausen himself records the incident but modestly says that when the boat in which he and White were riding overturned in mid-stream, "I was the only one of the party who could swim, and I had to make great exertions to get Mr. White to where he could lay hold of the tow rope."³⁸ Möllhausen does describe the crossing of the river by the expedition in great detail, especially the interest shown by an audience of hundreds of Mohaves who were out for a gala day.

The last reference made to Möllhausen in the official report occurs on March 12, 1854. Möllhausen accompanied a party sent out to search for a lost Mexican herder who was a member of the expedition. They were either in or near the Mohave desert and in that desolate country found only the bloody clothes of the missing Mexican riddled with arrows; the body of the Mexican, murdered by Pai-Utes, was not found.³⁹

THIRD AMERICAN TRIP

The members of the Whipple expedition, after renewing their outfits of clothing in Los Angeles, a town which "varies between two and three thousand" in population, pressed on to the Pacific coast port of San Pedro. On their overland journey from Fort Smith on the Arkansas to San Pedro on the Pacific, they had traveled 1,892 miles, according to their viameter—a necessary instrument for a surveying expedition. On March 24, 1854, they boarded the coast steamer *Fremont* for San Francisco "the most important place on the western coast of the American continent. . . ." ⁴⁰

A few days later, six members of the party including Möllhausen took passage on the steamer *Oregon* for Panama, bound for New York. After a troublesome crossing of the Isthmus, the remainder of the ocean voyage on the steamer *Illinois* was uneventful and New York was reached on April 28, 1854, almost exactly a year having elapsed since Möllhausen had left there.⁴¹

37. *Ibid.*, February 27, 1854, p. 117.

38. Möllhausen, *Diary*, v. 2, p. 271.

39. Whipple, *op. cit.*, Part I, p. 127. Möllhausen also describes the murder of the Mexican in his *Diary*, v. 2, p. 300 ff.

40. *Ibid.*, chs. 19 and 20, from which both the brief quotations given above were taken.

41. *Ibid.*, ch. 21.

After several months spent in New York and Washington, presumably in completing his sketches for the official report, Möllhausen returned to Berlin in August of 1854. Humboldt was again greatly interested in the account of Möllhausen's travels and in the new sketches which the young German brought back with him from his far-flung journey through the American Southwest. He arranged an interview for Möllhausen with King Frederick William IV of Prussia, who was himself greatly interested in art. As the result of this interview, King Frederick appointed Möllhausen custodian of the libraries in the royal residences in Potsdam, a title which Möllhausen held until his death in 1905.⁴² This position in effect was a subsidy for there were almost no duties and Möllhausen was free to follow his own inclinations. During his stay in Berlin between the second and third trip to America he was married to the daughter of Humboldt's secretary and, in addition, devoted a considerable part of his time to the preparation of the *Diary* (see Footnote 6 for full title) which apparently was ready for the press by the summer of 1857. At this time he received a letter of appointment from Lt. J. C. Ives, a member of the Whipple expedition, offering him a position as assistant on a government expedition to be sent out for the exploration and survey of the Colorado river of the West.⁴³ Möllhausen needed no urging to join Ives and left Berlin on August 12, 1857, for his third set of adventures in the New World.

The Colorado river of the West (now simply the Colorado river) is "the largest stream with one exception, that flows from our territory into the Pacific," Ives wrote. It drains an area then estimated at more than 300,000 square miles. Very little was known about the river in 1857 and the government was especially desirous of securing information on the navigability of the stream from its mouth as far inland as possible. The practicability of supplying frontier army posts in New Mexico and Utah territories by this route were to be particularly studied, as it was hoped that the long stretches of land transportation, then the only method in use, could be avoided, or at least lessened.⁴⁴ The Mormon war of 1857-1858 was under way at the time the expedition was organized and the need for supplying the Southwestern posts of Fort Defiance and Fort Buchanan more efficiently was of major concern to the army.

Möllhausen landed in New York on September 1, 1857, went to

42. Barba, *op. cit.*, pp. 50, 51.

43. Möllhausen, *Diary*, v. 2, p. 389; Barba, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

44. Lt. Joseph C. Ives, *Report Upon the Colorado River of the West*, pp. 5, 19 and 21.

Washington, and then returned to New York where he embarked for San Francisco by way of Panama with Dr. J. S. Newberry and F. W. von Egloffstein, a Bavarian topographer, also members of the expedition. On October 22, they joined Lieutenant Ives, the leader of the expedition, in San Francisco.⁴⁵ Here the expedition was divided into several parties. Möllhausen and Egloffstein, under P. H. Taylor, the astronomer of the expedition, left for San Pedro and Fort Tejon (California) and then crossed the desert to Fort Yuma on the Colorado river. Another party, under Newberry, went to San Diego to collect mules to be used for transportation, and they then crossed the desert to Fort Yuma. Ives, himself, with a small steamer to be assembled on the Colorado, left San Francisco by water, rounded the Lower California peninsula and sailed up the Gulf of California to the mouth of the Colorado.

The parties were assembled at Fort Yuma, near the Mexico-U. S. border and some 150 miles by river above the mouth of the Colorado, on January 9, 1858. A delay of the Ives party near the mouth of the Colorado had occurred, as it was necessary to assemble there the small steamboat, appropriately called the *Explorer*, to be used in the up-river trip. (A Möllhausen sketch of the *Explorer* is reproduced on the cover of this issue.) The *Explorer* was eventually made ready, and, loaded with six weeks' provisions at Fort Yuma, departed on January 11.⁴⁶

After two months' travel they reached what was considered the head of navigation, some 530 miles above the mouth of the Colorado.⁴⁷ After returning down the river to Beale's crossing, Ives reorganized his party, and, with a group of about 45, the exploration of the river was continued by land, the *Explorer* returning downstream to Fort Yuma. On March 23, 1858, the overland party started out and by April 3 were near the "Big Canyon," at present known as the Grand Canyon. A week later Ives reports he be-

45. Ives, *op. cit.*, pp. 21, 22; Möllhausen, *Reisen in die Felsengebirge Nord-Amerikas bis zum Hoch-Plateau von Neu-Mexico, Unter-nommen als Mitglied der im Auftrage der Regierung der Vereinigten Staaten Ausgesandten Colorado-Expedition* (Leipzig, Herman Costenoble, pub., 1861), v. 1, pp. 9-20. This two-volume work, unlike the *Diary* of Möllhausen, has never been translated. Prof. J. A. Burzle of the department of German, University of Kansas, however, has become interested and is now in the process of translating this important item of Western Americana.

Dr. J. S. Newberry was physician, geologist and in charge of natural history collections on the expedition; for a biographical sketch concerning him see *Dictionary of American Biography*, v. 13, pp. 445, 446. Egloffstein was a member of several Western expeditions. He was with Fremont in 1853 and with the Pacific railroad survey of Lieutenant Beckwith along the 41st parallel in 1854. Ives, *op. cit.*, p. 6, particularly commends him: "The privation and exposure to which Mr. Egloffstein freely subjected himself, in order to acquire topographical information, has resulted in an accurate delineation of every portion of the region traversed." I would greatly appreciate receiving further biographical information concerning Egloffstein from any of my readers.

46. Ives, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-45. A pack train left Fort Yuma going by an overland route to resupply the party upstream.

47. See *ibid.*, Appendix B and Map No. 1.

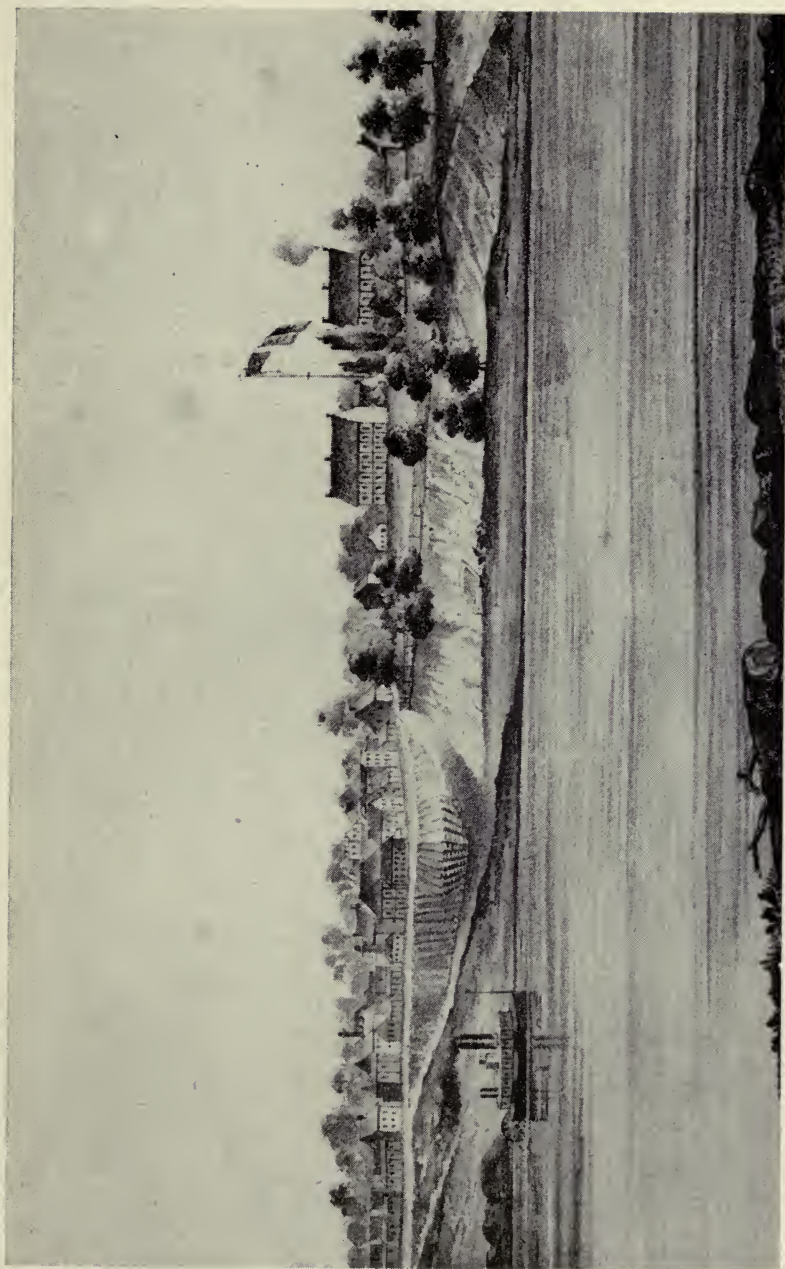
lieved they were opposite the most stupendous portion of the canyon. The going was rough, the tortuous side canyons misleading, grass for the mules was scarce, water difficult to find and the sun oppressively warm, but still they kept on, mapping, taking observations, recording the geology, vegetation and sparse fauna of the rugged Southwestern wilderness.

On April 13, as the mules had been nearly two days without water, an attempt was made to descend into the canyon, after discovering a downward Indian trail which, viewed at some distance, looked so tortuous and steep that "a mountain goat could scarcely keep its footing. . . ." Closer inspection showed that the path, though narrow and dizzy, had been selected with some care, so down they started. But let Lieutenant Ives tell the hair-raising story:

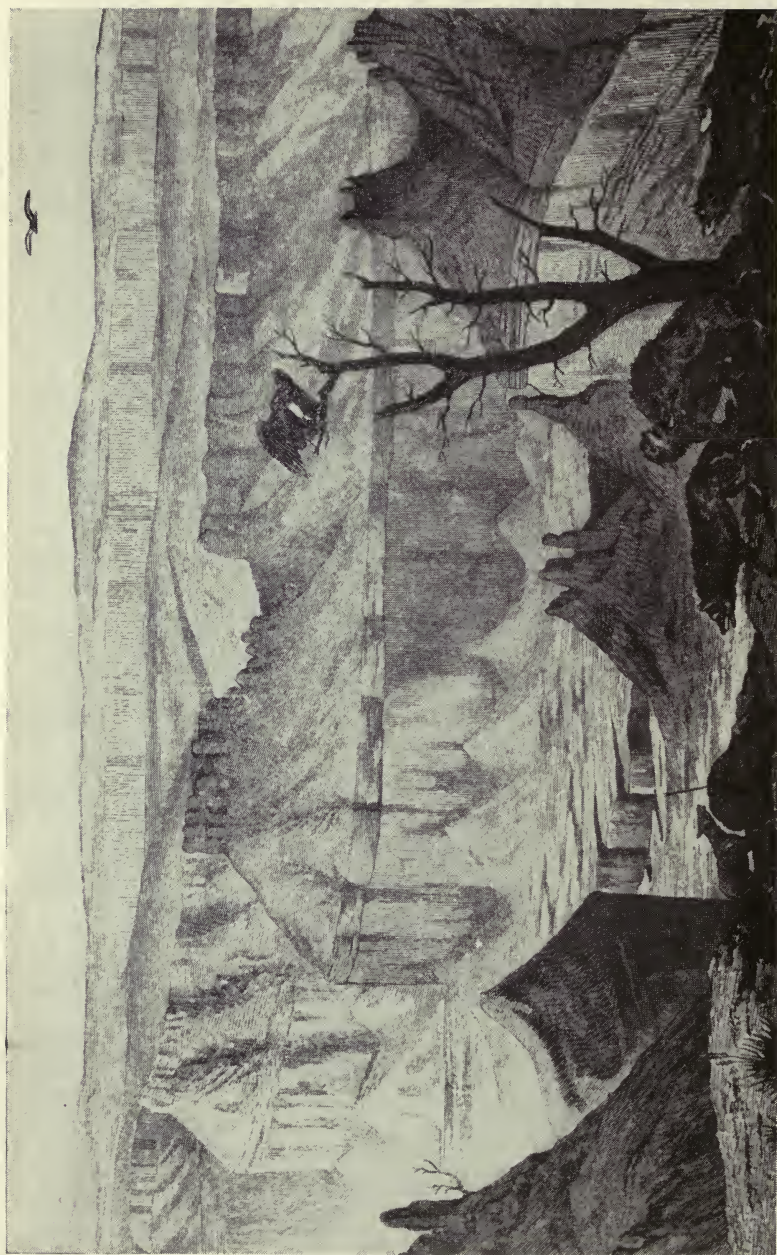
I rode upon it [the trail] first, and the rest of the party and the train followed—one by one—looking very much like a row of insects crawling upon the side of a building. We proceeded for nearly a mile along this singular pathway, which preserved its horizontal direction. The bottom of the canyon meanwhile had been rapidly descending, and there were two or three falls where it dropped a hundred feet at a time, thus greatly increasing the depth of the chasm. The change had taken place so gradually that I was not sensible of it, till glancing down the side of my mule I found that he was walking within three inches of the brink of a sheer gulf a thousand feet deep; on the other side, nearly touching my knee, was an almost vertical wall rising to an enormous altitude. The sight made my head swim, and I dismounted and got ahead of the mule, a difficult and delicate operation, which I was thankful to have safely performed. A part of the men became so giddy that they were obliged to creep upon their hands and knees, being unable to walk or stand. In some places there was barely room to walk, and a slight deviation in a step would have precipitated one into the frightful abyss. I was a good deal alarmed lest some obstacle should be encountered that would make it impossible to go ahead, for it was certainly impracticable to return. After an interval of uncomfortable suspense the face of the rock made an angle, and just beyond the turn was a projection from the main wall with a surface fifteen or twenty yards square that would afford a foothold. The continuation of the wall was perfectly vertical, so that the trail could no longer follow it, and we found that the path descended the steep face of the cliff to the bottom of the canyon. It was a desperate road to traverse, but located with a good deal of skill—zigzagging down the precipice, and taking advantage of every crevice and fissure that could afford a foothold.⁴⁸

They soon found that the mules could not accomplish the descent and there was nothing to be done but to retrace their dizzy and weary way to the top where the packs and saddles were removed from the mules and they were started for the nearest water—thirty

48. *Ibid.*, p. 106.



FORT SMITH (ARKANSAS), ON THE ARKANSAS RIVER, THE STARTING POINT OF THE LT. A. W. WHIPPLE EXPEDITION OF 1853-1854. FROM A SKETCH BY MÖLLHAUSEN REPRODUCED AS A LITHOGRAPH IN THE OFFICIAL WHIPPLE REPORT.



ONE OF THE VERY EARLY VIEWS OF THE GRAND CANYON OF THE COLORADO. FROM A SKETCH BY MÖLLHAUSEN REPRODUCED AS A LITHOGRAPH IN HIS BOOK "REISEN IN DIE FELSENGEBIRGE NORD-AMERIKAS," 1861.

miles distant. Nothing daunted, the next morning Ives, Lieutenant Tipton, Egloffstein, Peacock and a dozen of the men explored the bottom of the canyon on foot.

Further progress along the Colorado river was soon barred by the extent and magnitude of side canyons and further reconnaissance and lack of water led the party to turn south away from the canyon toward the welcoming pine shade and cooler weather of the San Francisco mountains. Farther east, as supplies ran short, a division of the party was made. Lieutenant Tipton, Möllhausen and the larger number of the soldiers and the pack-train headed east toward Fort Defiance.⁴⁹ Lieutenant Ives, Newberry, Egloffstein and ten men again turned north in the hope that they could make further surveys.⁵⁰ The two parties separated on May 6, 1858, and on May 14, Lieutenant Tipton and his party arrived at Fort Defiance. About a week later they were joined by Lieutenant Ives and his command and the expedition came officially to an end.⁵¹

Möllhausen, Newberry, Peacock and von Egloffstein decided to return east by the overland route; Lieutenant Ives, however, returned to Fort Yuma. The eastbound party was in Albuquerque by June 1 and in Santa Fe on June 12, 1858.⁵² From Santa Fe, the famous Santa Fe trail was followed through northeastern New Mexico, and then through Kansas to Fort Leavenworth, which was reached on July 24, 1858. Möllhausen and Newberry, in haste to be back home, took the river boat to St. Louis, and then traveled by train to New York and Washington, and completed their trans-continental trip across the United States. After finishing his work in Washington, Möllhausen sailed for Berlin on September 1, 1858, never to return to the United States.⁵³

PICTORIAL RECORDS OF THE THIRD TRIP

In addition to the original Möllhausen sketches listed on p. 231, illustrations by Möllhausen appear in his *Reisen* (see Footnote 45) and in the official report of Ives. The full-page illustrations in the *Reisen* are tinted woodcuts (plus one map) and measure approximately 5 x 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches. The illustrations, all credited, of course, to Möllhausen, are:

49. Fort Defiance, a frontier military post, about 190 miles west of Albuquerque (and a little north); see A. B. Bender, "Frontier Defense in the Territory of New Mexico," *New Mexico Historical Review*, v. 9 (July, 1934), p. 266.

50. Ives, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

51. Möllhausen, *Reisen*, v. 2, chs. 29 and 30; Ives, *op. cit.*, pp. 116, 117, 130, 131.

52. Möllhausen, *Reisen*, pp. 263, 286; Barba, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

53. Möllhausen, *Reisen*, pp. 390, 392; Barba, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

VOLUME 1

1. "Ruinen von Pecos" Frontispiece
"Ruins on the Pecos"
2. "Vegetation der Kiesebene und des Colorado-Thales" *facing* p. 112
"Vegetation of the Rocky Desert and the Colorado Valley"
3. "Schornsteinfelsen oder Chimney Peak" *facing* p. 174
"Chimney Rock or Chimney Peak"
4. "Felsformation in der Nahe der Mundung von Bill Williams
Fork" *facing* p. 238
"Rock Formation at the Mouth of Bill Williams Fork"
5. "Die Nadelfelsen oder Needles (von Norden Gesehen)" *facing* p. 238
"The Needle Rocks or Needles (Seen From the North)"
6. "Ende der Schiffbarkeit des Rio Colorado—Aussicht aus dem
Black-Canyon" *facing* p. 374
"End of Navigation on the Colorado River—Seen from the
Black Canyon"

VOLUME 2

1. "Eingeborene des Nordlichen Neu-Mexiko" Frontispiece
Moquis Navahoes Zunis Walpoys
"Natives of Northern New Mexico"
Moqui Navaho Zuni Walapai
2. "Eingeborene in Thales des Colorado" p. 1⁵⁴
Walpoys Mohaves Uma Chimehuebes Apache
"Natives of the Colorado Valley"
Walapai Mohave Yuma Chemehuevi Apache
3. "Der Diamant-Bach (Diamond Creek)" *facing* p. 48
"Diamond Back (Diamond Creek)"
4. "Der Rio Colorado, Nahe der Mundung des Diamant-
Baches" *facing* p. 54
"Colorado River Near the Mouth of Diamond Creek"
5. "Schlucten in Hoch Plateau und Aussicht auf das Colorado-
Canon" (Reproduced with this article, *facing* p. 241) *facing* p. 100
"Gorge in the High Plateau and View of the Colorado
Canyon"
6. "Vegetation des Hoch-Plateaus" *facing* p. 222
"Vegetation of the High Plateau"

The illustrations in the Ives official report are credited chiefly to Möllhausen and von Egloffstein and are of four types: full-page lithographic reproductions in single color (nine in number); five full-page steel engravings; seven full-page lithographic illustrations in color; and 69 woodcuts (41 in Part I and 28 in Part III) in text. In addition, there are three pages of paleontological engravings, maps, and eight excellent lithographic outline lithographs folded in (about four pages in width).

54. Listed in the index as the frontispiece to v. 1.

The volume is of quarto size so the illustrations are of generous dimensions. The seven lithographic illustrations in color are all credited to Möllhausen and are of the Indians encountered along the path of the expedition. The remaining full-page illustrations are credited, with two exceptions, to either Möllhausen or von Egloffstein, although several have been redrawn by J. J. Young, probably an artist employed by the firm publishing the illustrations. (The lithographs are credited to Sarony, Major and Knapp; the steel engravings are not credited in the three copies of the report I have examined.)

The two exceptions are a photograph taken by Ives and a sketch by Ives which was redrawn by von Egloffstein. One of the steel engravings is credited to Möllhausen, the rest to von Egloffstein. Of the remaining full-page lithographic illustrations, six are credited to Möllhausen, one to von Egloffstein. All of the panoramic views are by von Egloffstein and the woodcuts are the work of both these two illustrators although the individual illustrations are not credited.⁵⁵

One significant feature of the illustrations in the reports of the Ives expedition is that they doubtless include the first pictorial records of the Grand Canyon. Von Egloffstein's panoramic views are especially notable in this connection, but several of the steel engravings in the official report are excellent records and are beautifully engraved. The Möllhausen view in the *Reisen*, "Schlucten in Hoch Plateau und Aussicht auf des Colorado-Canon," although rather crudely reproduced (woodcut), belongs also in the "first" class and appeared in print at the same time as the official Ives report.⁵⁶ (See the pictures accompanying this article.)

Comment on Möllhausen in the official Ives report will be found in Part I on p. 6 (statement that Möllhausen "prepared the greater portion of the views and illustrations taken during the trip"), p. 21 (appointment of Möllhausen as artist and collector in natural his-

55. In Ives, *op. cit.*, Part I, p. 18, is an index of the woodcuts. A note states that they were "Drawn by Mr. J. J. Young from sketches by Messrs. Möllhausen and Egloffstein." The 28 woodcuts of Part III are not, however, similarly credited in the "List of Illustrations" on p. 8 of Part III. Presumably, however, the same credit as given in Part I applies.

Mention should also be made of Möllhausen's contribution to the botanical reports of the expedition.—Whipple, *op. cit.* (33 Cong., 2 Sess., *Senate Ex. Doc. 78*), v. 4, Part V. On p. 58 of this report it states: "The drawings made on the spot by Mr. H. B. Möllhausen, the artist of the expedition, greatly aided the work and were made use of, and even partly copied, especially in the plates exhibiting *Cylindric Opuntia*."

56. A letter received from H. C. Bryant, superintendent of the Grand Canyon National Park (February 10, 1947), states that the earliest pictorial records of the Grand Canyon known to them are those of von Egloffstein of the 1857-1858 Ives expedition and I have not encountered in my studies any other records than those of von Egloffstein and Möllhausen. It is difficult to believe, however, that there are not extant earlier views of the Grand Canyon than those made by these two men in the spring of 1858.

tory), pp. 43, 52, 62 (Möllhausen's activities in natural history collections), pp. 82, 91, 98 (incidental references), p. 100 (Möllhausen takes sketch of canyon at Diamond river—which may be uncredited woodcut, Fig. 31 on p. 99). On p. 5 of Part V, Möllhausen is spoken of as the "zoölogist of the expedition," the zoölogical collections being principally birds.

MÖLLHAUSEN'S REMAINING YEARS

As already pointed out, Möllhausen's Western experiences formed the basis of his career as a writer. After writing an account of his travels with Ives (the *Reisen*), there appeared from his pen a series of short stories and sketches in 1860. In 1861, a four-volume novel, *Der Halbindianer* (*The Half-Breed*), and *Der Flüchtling* (a sequel to *Der Halbindianer*), also in four volumes, were published. The scene of action in the first novel ranged all the way from Missouri overland to California and in the second an even greater scope of Western territory was encompassed. From the time of these two novels until his death in 1905, an almost ceaseless flow of narratives by Möllhausen took place. Even at the end of a long life, his memories of the American West remained a powerful and pervading influence. In 1904, at the age of 79, he could write with effusive exuberance and self enchantment:

THE PRAIRIE.—There has always been a strange, mysterious charm about this word. . . . Even in extreme old age these recollections make the blood run faster and with renewed enthusiasm through the veins, for they bring to mind the days when one recognized no other master but Him who created the beauty of the prairie and the creatures and things that live on it—days when he light-heartedly braved the numbing blizzard and, with equal defiance, the cunning, red-skinned foe, and the prairie fire, that rages on with the speed of the wind, or faced the mountain-bear descending into the valleys. When one thinks of those days, one wishes to be up in the clouds or beyond them, even higher, so that one could embrace with a single glance the old familiar hunting-grounds from the icy North down to the blue Gulf of Mexico, from the lazily moving Mississippi to the long range of the Rockies; one would like to push back the inevitable onward march of civilization, before which the shaggy buffalo and the brown hunter disappeared, and, with them, the last of the romance of the "Far West."⁵⁷

57. Barba, *op. cit.*, pp. 135, 136.

W. E. Campbell, Pioneer Kansas Livestockman

C. W. McCAMPBELL

WILBUR Emery Campbell was born on a farm near Brownsville, Pa., January 26, 1847. While still a small child his parents moved to a farm in Iowa.

On December 12, 1863, at the age of sixteen, he joined the Third Iowa cavalry with which he served until mustered out at Atlanta, Ga., August 9, 1865. While serving in the army he received three minor wounds and was captured twice, but escaped each time and was soon back with his regiment. One of the officers of the Third Iowa cavalry at the time Mr. Campbell enlisted was the brilliant and highly educated Maj. John W. Noble, then 32 years of age, who joined the Union army in 1861, served through the war, and retired in 1865 with the brevet rank of brigadier general. Despite the difference in age and rank of the two men, a close friendship developed which remained steadfast the remainder of their lives. Several years after the end of the Civil War, General Noble, then a leading lawyer of St. Louis, and Mr. Campbell, a leading livestockman of the Southwest, formed a partnership and developed a lead and zinc mining project in southwest Missouri, but the panic during the second Cleveland administration spelled finis to this venture. General Noble served as secretary of the interior under Pres. Benjamin Harrison (1889-1893).¹

Mr. Campbell came out of the army only a boy in years, but a mature man in poise and self reliance. His first love was farming and livestock production, but being without capital he sought and found employment on the Union Pacific building westward from Omaha.² It was his crew that laid the rails into Cheyenne, Wyo., November 18, 1867, and it was here that he heard a new market was being developed at Abilene which would provide an outlet for hundreds of thousands of Texas cattle. It was also here that he heard glowing accounts of the possibilities that southern and southwestern Kansas offered as cattle-producing areas. These reports interested him greatly, and early in 1868 he and a young friend arrived in the then railroadless trading post of Wichita. They found lodging with Henry Vigus, an early hotel proprietor in Wichita.³

DR. CHARLES WILBUR McCAMPBELL, a native of Marshall county, is professor of animal husbandry at Kansas State College, Manhattan.

1. *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1934), v. 13, pp. 539, 540.

2. *Wichita Eagle*, October 6, 1907, p. 19.

3. *Ibid.*

Later in 1868, Mr. Campbell settled on the SW $\frac{1}{4}$ sec. 24, T. 28 S., R. 1 W., on Cowskin creek nine miles south of Wichita and two miles southeast of the present village of Oatville. This was still a part of the Osage Indian trust lands and Mr. Campbell did not get legal possession until after it was ceded to the federal government in 1870, but he retained possession from the first.⁴

The Chisholm trail, famous in fact and fiction, lay only a short distance from the land on which Mr. Campbell settled, and soon he was a trail driver as well as a Kansas farmer. He was one of the first, if not the first, to trail cattle from Texas and feed them corn and hay before going on to Abilene, Newton and other early-day cow-town markets. The best information available indicates that the first drove of cattle trailed from Texas by Mr. Campbell and fed corn and hay before continuing on to market arrived at the Campbell farm south of Wichita in the fall of 1869 and was trailed to Abilene early in 1870, where they were shipped by train to Kansas City.

While crossing Indian territory trail drivers frequently turned aside from the trail to rest and graze their cattle for a few days, a few weeks, or even a few months. Mr. Campbell followed this practice and became impressed with the value of certain portions of the Indian territory as cattle grazing and producing areas, and established camps (ranch headquarters) near the present site of Chickasha, Okla., and on Campbell creek in what is now Kingfisher county, Oklahoma. In a few years he was handling several thousand cattle on these ranches. The exact dates these ranches were started have not been determined, but other authenticated events indicate that Mr. Campbell was ranching in that area as early as 1872. These events also indicate that in a few years all his ranching activities in the Indian territory were concentrated at the Campbell creek ranch. Campbell creek, located in the southeast portion of Kingfisher county, was named for Mr. Campbell.

These ranches were located on Indian lands, and Mr. Campbell saw that sooner or later difficulties would arise over their use by ranchmen. Not long after he started ranching in the Indian territory he also began the development of a ranch in the southern portions of Barber and Harper counties in Kansas. In the beginning this ranch was on a free range basis, but as time went on it was operated on a leased and finally on an actual ownership

4. Congress on July 15, 1870, provided for the removal of the Osages from Kansas, leaving the lands open for white settlement.—*U. S. Statutes at Large*, v. 16, ch. 296, sec. 12, p. 362.

basis. Reports indicate that at its peak the Campbell ranch consisted of 48,000 acres.

The largest single purchase made in developing the Kiowa ranch was a portion of the so-called "Three-Mile-Strip." The land included in this purchase extended some 15 miles east from the west boundary of the present town of Kiowa.

This "three-mile-strip" resulted from the overlapping of surveys, and the story, in brief, is this:

The area commonly known as the Cherokee strip became the property of the Cherokee Indians by provisions of treaties relocating the Cherokees on land included in what is now Kansas and Oklahoma. This new Cherokee land was surveyed in 1837. Since the area was immediately south of the previously surveyed Osage Indian lands in what is now Kansas, the surveyor naturally started at the southeast corner of the Osage lands and ran his line straight west to the 100th meridian. That line was designated the north boundary of the Cherokee nation.

The Kansas-Nebraska bill of 1854 fixed the south boundary of Kansas as the 37th parallel north latitude. Lt. Col. Joseph E. Johnston, later a Confederate general, headed the surveying party which established this boundary in 1857. The new line ran about 2.46 miles south of the north boundary of the Cherokee land previously established.

Both Kansas and the Cherokees claimed this strip which extended approximately from where the Neosho river crosses the south line of Kansas to the present town of Englewood, a distance of about 276 miles. It contained approximately 435,096.59 acres.

The controversy was finally settled in 1866 when a treaty paved the way for the sale of the strip for the benefit of the Cherokees.⁵ An act of congress May 11, 1872, provided for the sale—the portion east of the Arkansas river to sell at \$2 per acre, and that west of the river at \$1.50 per acre. A later act provided for the sale of unsold portions of the strip at not less than \$1 per acre.

5. When congress designated the 37° parallel as the southern boundary of Kansas, it was believed by the committee on territories that the boundary was being made to coincide with the northern boundary of the territory of the Cherokees. A survey was made in 1857 of the southern boundary of Kansas, and the Cherokees complained that the boundary established by the survey was not the true northern boundary of their territory. Their lands extended about two and one-half miles over into Kansas. By law (*U. S. Statutes at Large*, v. 10, p. 284) Indian territory could not be included within the territory of Kansas without the consent of the tribes concerned. In 1861, the act admitting Kansas to the Union (*U. S. Statutes at Large*, v. 12, p. 126) set the southern boundary at the 37° parallel of north latitude but expressly excepted from the state the lands of the Indian tribes that were within the borders, until the tribes should signify their consent. By the treaty of July 19, 1866, the Cherokees ceded their Kansas land in trust to the United States and gave their consent for the land to be included within the state of Kansas.—"The Northern Boundary of Oklahoma," by J. Stanley Clark, in *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Oklahoma City, v. 15, pp. 271-290; "The Boundary Lines of Kansas," by George W. Martin, in *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 11, pp. 55, 56; *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties* (Washington, 1904), v. 2, p. 947; George Rainey, *The Cherokee Strip* (Guthrie, Okla., 1933), pp. 30-42.

Dr. John Hardtner of Illinois purchased a considerable portion of this strip centering along the southern border of present Barber county. The Campbell purchase just mentioned was made from Doctor Hardtner in 1884, but Mr. Campbell had been ranching on this land several years before he purchased it.⁶ While developing his holdings in Kansas he maintained ranch headquarters on Little Sandy creek in Harper county just a short distance north of the Kansas-Oklahoma line and about 40 miles west of Caldwell. When the Cherokee Strip Livestock Association decided in 1883 to fence their respective holdings in the Indian territory, Mr. Campbell discontinued his ranching activities in that area and concentrated all his efforts on the management of his Kansas ranch.

A notice indicating that Mr. Campbell was well established in this area previous to 1883 appeared in the February 23, 1882, issue of the Caldwell *Commercial*:

POOL MEETING.

A meeting of the Medicine River and Sand Creek Pool will be held in the Opera House, at Caldwell, Kansas, on the third of March, 1882. A full attendance is desired, as business of importance will come before the meeting.

BEN. MILLER, Secretary.

Caldwell, Kas., Feb. 22, 1882.

W. E. CAMPBELL, President.

Correspondence, records of business transactions and newspaper references indicate definitely that Wichita was Mr. Campbell's post-office address from 1868 to 1879, but just where the Campbells made their home from October 28, 1871, when the farm south of Wichita was sold, to 1879 when he moved his family to the farm near Caldwell has not been determined. But, in view of the fact that he was away from home much of the time during this period operating ranches in the Indian territory, developing a ranch in the southern part of Barber and Harper counties, and trailing cattle from Texas, it is possible that Mrs. Campbell and the children spent the winters with her father or brothers who lived in or near Wichita, and the summers at one of the ranch headquarters, until the Campbells established the home near Caldwell in 1879.

As soon as the town of New Kiowa became a reality, Mr. Campbell began the development of a ranch headquarters a mile east of this new town. This headquarters when fully developed included a fine residence, beautifully landscaped lawns, a large acreage of trees both fruit and forest, and probably the largest and most up-to-date barn in Kansas. R. B. Campbell, a son of W. E. Campbell,

6. Wichita *Sunday Eagle*, April 14, 1935.

now (1947) retired and living in Colorado Springs, describes these improvements as follows:

Buildings on the Kiowa place were east of the section line and road, but the house faced north. The drive passed the house on the north side and the barn on the south—a straight drive—but a quarter circle drive branched from it, curved around by the house and rejoined the straight drive near the barn. A yard fence inclosed the house which was two stories high and had seven rooms and three porches. There were fruit trees to the east and south and forest trees to the west outside the yard. There were forty acres in the orchard which consisted of apples, peaches, pears, plums, apricots, and nectarines, walnuts, and almonds. There were eighty acres of forest trees—catalpas planted four feet each way for fence posts. Roses lined the drive, and other flowers and shrubs were to be found in abundance within the quarter circle and yard. North of the drives and west of the barn was a five-acre plot of pines and cedars planted twenty-five feet each way.

The main barn was 106 feet long, forty feet wide and had a forty by forty foot extension on the west. There was also an extension to the east 200 feet long and 24 feet wide for work stock and cow horses. This extension had a hay loft its entire length. All upper floors were of three-inch tongued and grooved flooring. The extension to the west was three stories high, with feed mills and hoppers on the third floor. The hoppers and granaries were constructed with sloping floors converging to the grain chutes. Grain was dumped or shoveled into a pit below the ground floor and carried to the third floor by elevators, ground, and returned to the mixing box on the ground floor by gravity. A double header windmill with two power wheels twenty-two feet in diameter seventy-two feet from the ground furnished the power for elevating and grinding.

There were only three open stalls in the main barn. All others were box stalls. There was a sixteen-foot drive through the center, an office at the entrance, a harness and saddle room in the center, and an eight hundred barrel rain water cistern in the north end. The heavier beams were twelve by twelve inches and ten by ten inches, with all angles braced by four by fours. The outer walls were six-inch drop siding, and the stalls and driveway were lined throughout from floor to ceiling with one by twelve dressed lumber. All doors were double strength and all lumber was Georgia hard pine which father contracted at the mills and shipped himself.⁷

A letter written by Mr. Campbell to his mother in Iowa under the date of February 10, 1885, states that

I am going to make a nice and permanent home at New Kiowa, still I do not know when we will get out there. New Kiowa is a pretty fast place just now and I would prefer to have it quiet down a little before taking my family there to live but I want to have everything in readiness when we get ready to go.

Mr. Campbell had planted a border of hardy roses along the driveways, and when the headquarters was completed he named it

7. Other descriptions can be found in the *Kiowa Herald*, June 4, 1885, December 30, 1886, and in the *Kiowa Review*, July 17, 1895.

"Rosewood Park," the name under which it became well known throughout the Southwest.⁸

The development of the headquarters had progressed sufficiently to enable Mr. Campbell to move his family temporarily to the new home in 1885⁹ and the home near Caldwell, established in 1879, was sold in 1887.¹⁰

A formal dedication took place Thanksgiving Day, November 29, 1888. An announcement of this dedication stated that "Good speakers from abroad will be present, and a grand musical, intellectual and social event will be the order of the day. At night a grand ball will be given. . . . The social, ball and banquet will be given in Mr. Campbell's elegant new barn which is fit for a queens entertainment."¹¹ This proved to be one of the grandest early-day social affairs of the Southwest.

There were several speeches, but space will permit only one excerpt from the last one on the program made by J. Y. Leming, as follows:

. . . he [Mr. Campbell] emigrated to Kansas twenty-one years ago, without a dollar capital. And here, young men, is a splendid lesson for us. He waded through difficulties and embarrassments and grasshoppers, surmounting obstacles, until he conquered poverty, and has gained a fame he deserves and is now the possessor of Rosewood Park. . . .¹²

In most instances children would not be given much consideration in planning an occasion of this nature, but not so in the case of Mr. Campbell. In order that all the children of that area might realize fully that they were invited, a notice appeared in the local paper that read:

Mr. and Mrs. W. E. Campbell want to see every little girl and boy in Barber county at "Rosewood Park" during the dedication on the afternoon of Thanksgiving day. Mr. Campbell is going to give all the little folks . . . a free ride out to the park and back. Now children, remember that you are all invited, and Mr. and Mrs. Campbell expect you to come and have a good time. Watch for the big wagons and flags and you will not be left.¹³

In welcoming his visitors on this occasion Mr. Campbell referred to his youthful guests in these words: "Especially do I most sincerely welcome all these little children. My heart o'erflows with a double welcome to all these young people and [I] earnestly hope [they] will all thoroughly enjoy this beautiful Thanksgiving day."¹⁴

8. The ranch was first referred to as "Palo Alto."—*Kiowa Herald*, September 4, 1884.

9. *Ibid.*, June 4, 1885.

10. *Kiowa Herald-Ear*, March 3, 1887.

11. *Kiowa Herald*, November 15, 1888.

12. *Ibid.*, December 6, 1888.

13. *Ibid.*, November 22, 1888.

14. *Ibid.*, December 6, 1888.

Much of the Campbell ranch was splendid agricultural land, and the demand had been so great for this land for farming purposes that by the time the ranch headquarters was dedicated in 1888 a considerable portion of the original acreage had been sold. A description of the ranch in 1888 appeared in the *Kiowa Herald*, and read in part as follows:

Rosewood proper . . . embraces 3,600 acres of rich, alluvial lands, all under fence and subdivided into convenient fields, pastures and meadows. . . . About 1,100 acres are in cultivation and devoted to field crops. . . . Mr. Campbell's stock ranch . . . is merely a continuance of the former [Rosewood Park]. The ranch embraces 14,000 acres of magnificent land, stretching forth in undulating prairie, sweet, pastoral valleys, clear, winding streams, silvery lakes, picturesque glens and delightful groves. . . . The ranch was formerly much larger, and supported cattle by the thousands, but the continuous sale of small tracts to eastern parties who are seeking homes among us, has reduced it to its present size. . . .¹⁵

The article also stated that there were 2,000 cattle on the ranch at that time (1888).¹⁶ A news item of 1882, six years previous, states that at that time there were 6,000 head of stock on the Campbell ranch.¹⁷

By 1898 the ranch had been reduced to 1,600 acres, but Mr. Campbell had come into possession of another ranch of several thousand acres just across the Kansas border near present Winchester, Okla. He continued his residence and main headquarters at Rosewood Park, however. The same demand developed for the ranch land near Winchester, Okla., for farming purposes that had developed for the land of Rosewood Park, and Mr. Campbell disposed of what remained of the Oklahoma ranch in 1903, retired from ranching, and established the Campbell Land and Oil Company at Tulsa, Okla. He played an important part in the early development of the oil industry in that area and his untimely death, October 29, 1907,¹⁸ is probably all that prevented him from achieving in the oil industry the same outstanding success he had achieved in the livestock industry.

In his earliest days as a ranchman Mr. Campbell was known as "Shorthorn" Campbell to distinguish him from several other Campbells in that area. Later he became known as "White-face" Campbell. He explained this change in an address given before a livestock convention and published in the *Kiowa Review*, February

15. This description was reprinted in the *Kiowa Herald*, June 14, 1888, from the Medicine Lodge *Cresset*, April 5, 1888.

16. *Ibid.*

17. *Kansas City (Mo.) Live-Stock Indicator*, September 21, 1882.

18. *Kiowa Journal*, October 31, November 7, 1907.

23, 1898.¹⁹ After paying tribute to ranchmen for the progress that had been made in improving range cattle he said:

Such marvelous results are especially gratifying to me, and vividly [do I] recall many an article that I wrote for the agricultural press, urging the benefits to be gained by the use of pure bred bulls upon our southern herds almost a third of [a] century ago. At that time our cruel war with all its devastation was barely over and our southern friends were slow to take hold of new methods. Finding it better to demonstrate than to advocate, and that none of my neighbors cared to join in the so-called experiment, I procured some of the best Short Horn bulls then attainable and proceeded to demonstrate that the backs of our southern cattle could be broadened and their horns shortened by the use of Short Horn bulls. While I was as busy as a nailer in this missionary work, the boys of the old guard put their heads together and proceeded to re-christen me in a unique and chivalrous manner and from that day . . . I was known as "Short Horn Campbell." . . .

Having been identified with Short Horn cattle from my early childhood, it was but natural that I should believe them to be superior to all others for beef-making purposes. But this belief did not prevent me from seeking for and reading everything obtainable regarding the merits of other beef breeds, and although up to that time I had never seen a Hereford, I determined to procure some of the best specimens of that breed and to thoroughly test them, not only on the range but in the feed lot as well. . . . Prior to this I had made annual purchases of Short Horns from prominent breeders in Kentucky, Missouri and Iowa. . . . On one occasion after buying a car load of Short Horn cattle from that veteran breeder, Hon. Plinny Nichols of West Liberty, Iowa, I learned that Mr. G. S. Burleigh of Mechanicsville [Iowa,] some 30 or 40 miles distant, was breeding some high class Herefords. I went over and bought two excellent bulls [Prince Royal 1794 and Battle Ax 2801] from this gentleman and he assisted me in picking up enough grade Hereford cows and heifers to make out another car load. Both these car loads of cattle were shipped to Wichita, Kan., which was then [1879] the terminus of the Santa Fe railroad and the great Texas cattle shipping point of the southwest.

The arrival of such a shipment of blooded cattle in those days was something extra ordinary and drew a crowd of cattlemen about them almost equal to a circus. The Short Horns were almost universally admired by my Texas friends, but the Herefords were a new departure and . . . they were not only closely scrutinized but severely criticized on all sides. . . .

With such criticisms from my friends and a deep seated prejudice of my own in favor of the Short Horns, . . . it was not without grave doubts and misgivings, that I proceeded to test the merits of Hereford bulls, as a cross on my range cattle, side by side with their aristocratic Short Horn rivals in the great battle for supremacy. For this, my second offense against the old methods prevailing throughout the southwest I was more severely criticized than ever, and while I joined in many a laugh at my own expense, I considered it no laughing matter when the boys again re-christened me, dropping the "Short Horn" and substituting "White Face" as the first half of my autograph. . . .

19. Apparently a special edition was issued, for the address does not appear in the regular file copy for that date in the newspaper collections of the Kansas State Historical Society.

Under range conditions of that day cattle, including the bulls, were compelled to live on the more or less succulent grass of summer and the dry cured grass of winter. Before the arrival of Herefords in the range-cattle country, ranchmen expected a goodly percentage of their purebred bulls to succumb to the rigors of winter and the type of feed available, and those surviving to come through the winter in a more or less emaciated condition. Mr. Campbell's experience had been the same as that of the other ranchmen. He was therefore much surprised when the two Hereford bulls purchased in 1879 came through the winter of 1879-1880 in a strong thrifty condition, whereas the Shorthorn bulls that survived came through the winter emaciated and weak. This contrast was more than a surprise, it was something of a shock to Mr. Campbell's faith in the superiority of Shorthorns over all other breeds of cattle. He, always alert and progressive, wondered if Herefords as a breed were really as hardy and as well adapted to range conditions as his experience with the two Hereford bulls purchased in 1879 seemed to indicate. Being a man of action he immediately decided to make a practical large scale comparison of Hereford bulls and Shorthorn bulls under range conditions, and early in 1880 went East where he purchased a carload (26 head) of good Shorthorn bulls and a carload (25 head) of equally good Hereford bulls, brought them home, and turned them loose on the range together. Mr. Campbell later commented as follows on this comparison:

When the heat of summer came the Shorthorns could be seen standing along the streams or in the shade, while the Herefords were busy grazing. . . . Both breeds were allowed to remain on the open range the entire winter, without any artificial food or shelter of any kind, and were compelled to rustle for a living or die. The winter proved to be one of unusual severity, and before spring came almost fifty per cent of my beloved Shorthorns had died, and the remainder were but reeling skeletons. With the Herefords the test was perfectly satisfactory, and every one of the twenty-five showed up in good shape. . . .²⁰

Mr. Campbell's experience with his first two Hereford bulls during the winter of 1879-1880 and with the carload of Hereford bulls during the winter of 1880-1881, together with the quality of the calves dropped in 1880 sired by the two Hereford bulls purchased in 1879, so completely convinced him of the superiority of Herefords as range cattle that he decided to establish a herd of purebred Herefords at once, primarily for the purpose of producing purebred Hereford bulls for use in his own commercial herd. However his

20. *The Breeder's Gazette*, Chicago, v. 6 (September 4, 1884), pp. 333, 334.

purebred herd eventually became so large that he was able to offer for sale each year a considerable number of both bulls and females. It might be mentioned at this point that for several years there was also a heavy demand for Campbell-raised grade Hereford bulls for use on the range farther south and west.

Mr. Campbell's first purchase of purebred Hereford cows was made in 1881. This purchase consisted of Duchess of Somerset 2nd 2954, Young Baroness 5872, Empress 5873, Ella 3rd 2107, Lady Maud 2nd 2110, Lady Maud 3rd 2111, Mermaid 2204, and Jessamine 2209. The first three were bred by D. K. and J. W. Wentworth of Maine, the next three by J. S. Hawes of Maine (later of Kansas), and the last two by T. E. Miller of Illinois. These were leading breeders of their day. Available records do not show from whom Mr. Campbell actually purchased these first eight Hereford females, but it is quite probable that he purchased the first six listed above from F. H. Jackson of Maple Hill because they were in calf by a bull (Emperor 2076) that Mr. Jackson was using at that time. Service records indicate that the remaining two were purchased direct from T. E. Miller who bred them.

In 1881 Mr. Campbell also came into possession of the Hereford bull The Equinox 2758 calved September 23, 1879. This bull was bred by J. Merryman, Cockeysville, Md., but purchased from T. E. Miller, Beecher, Ill.²¹ The Equinox developed into one of the great show bulls of his day and proved to be an excellent sire.

For the next few years the herd was enlarged rapidly, but all purchases were made on the basis of quality. A story in the November 15, 1883, issue of the Kansas City (Mo.) *Live-Stock Indicator* reports the kind of females Mr. Campbell purchased. It states that:

Mr. Campbell is an energetic and enterprising breeder, and at Mr. Adams Earl's sale on Thursday he purchased imported Empress E. [7540], 4 years old, a prize winner in England, and said to be one of the best breeding young cows on the American continent. He also bought [imported] Blush [6970], a 4-year old, by [imported] De Cote [2563], the sire of the celebrated cow, Leonora. . . . Both of these cows are in calf to [imported] Sir Bartle Frere [6419], the highest-priced Hereford ever sold and a Royal [England] winner. Another of his purchases is [imported] Myrtle 5th [7537], a 2-year-old by the renowned [imported] Prince Horace [7413], and bred to [imported] Garfield [7015], a Royal [England] prize winner, and said to be the best Hereford bull in America. . . .

Sanders' book, *The Story of the Herefords*, states that Mr. Campbell purchased the imported cow Miss Archibald 11119 for \$1,230

21. Caldwell Post, July 7, 1881.

at a public sale in Kansas City in September, 1884.²² This was one of the highest prices ever paid for a Hereford female in the United States up to that date, but she proved to be a splendid producer and an excellent investment. The records of the American Hereford Association show that Mr. Campbell imported seven head of Herefords previous to 1884.

Mr. Campbell selected herd sires for his purebred Hereford herd with the same care and discrimination that he selected females.

That the quality of the Campbell herd of purebred Herefords was appreciated is indicated by a reference to Campbell Herefords in *The Story of the Herefords* (p. 698) which states: "W. E. Campbell . . . and J. S. Hawes . . . established large and excellent herds . . . which were drawn upon heavily, not only by those founding new purebred herds in the Missouri River region, but also by ranchmen further west."

He showed purebred Hereford cattle for the first time in the fall of 1881, and this first show herd consisted of a group of purebred Herefords selected from those purchased early that year. He showed these cattle at both the district fair at Wichita, and the state fair at Topeka.

The Wichita *Eagle* of October 6, 1881, refers to Mr. Campbell's Hereford winnings of 1881 as follows:

The thoroughbred herd of Hereford cattle exhibited by W. E. Campbell, of Caldwell, Kansas, was one of the principal attractions. This herd was headed by the magnificent young bull, "Equinox" [2758]. He does credit to his noted ancestors and will be the "Prince of Bovines" wherever he goes. At the State Fair he took the first premium in his class and then carried off the special sweepstake offered for the best Hereford of any age or sex on exhibition. Two of the heifers belonging to this herd were also shown at the State Fair and carried off the prizes. At our Fair this herd carried off twelve prizes, including the three highest sweepstakes prizes and diplomas: "The Equinox" 2758 being adjudged the best bull of any age or breed, "Ella 3d" 2107 being adjudged the best cow of any age or breed, and Mr. Campbell's Hereford herd being adjudged the best thoroughbred herd on exhibition. These awards certainly speak well for the Herefords as there was strong competition and a number of excellent Short-horn herds on the ground. Mr. Campbell is also an extensive breeder of Short-horn cattle, but is now breeding all his Short-horn cows to Hereford bulls. He uses about 100 . . . bulls on his ranches south west of Caldwell. . . .

Mr. Campbell again showed Herefords at the district fair at Wichita in 1882 and won all the first prizes in the Hereford classes; but when the sweepstakes classes, which included all breeds, were

22. Alvin H. Sanders, *The Story of the Herefords* (Chicago, 1914), p. 531.

judged, Mr. Campbell's Herefords were deliberately ignored. When asked for an explanation, the chairman of the judging committee replied that Herefords had no business showing against Shorthorns. The protests of spectators were so emphatic that the judging committee was dismissed, a new committee selected, and the sweepstakes classes ordered rejudged. The first committee consisted of men who had been, or were, Shorthorn breeders. The second committee consisted of a city butcher, an Englishman who had had extended experience in England, New Zealand and this country and a feeder and shipper. Under the second committee Campbell Herefords won all three of the sweepstakes classes—The Equinox winning the bull class; Ella 3rd, the cow class; and the herd headed by the Equinox, the herd class.²³ This incident is more or less typical of the resentment of Shorthorn breeders toward Hereford breeders during those early years of the Hereford "invasion."

The Campbell herd was also shown at Topeka in 1882, but detailed winnings seem not to have been published. However, in a letter written by Mr. Campbell in the fall of 1882 he states that, "My herd of Herefords, headed by the young bull The Equinox 2758, have proved themselves invincible at the fairs this fall, and have carried off the lion's share of sweepstake prizes against some noted adversaries in the Short-horn ranks."²⁴

Mr. Campbell showed his cattle more extensively in 1883 and more successfully than previously. In those days, two of the leading fairs and livestock shows of the Middlewest were held in Kansas—one known as the National Western Fair, sponsored by the Union Pacific railroad, was held at Bismarck Grove near Lawrence; the other, known as the state fair, sponsored by the Santa Fe railroad, was held at Topeka. Mr. Campbell showed at both these fairs. The *Kansas Farmer*, Topeka, of September 12, 1883, commenting on the Campbell showing at the National Western Fair stated: ". . . W. E. Campbell, Caldwell, Kas., . . . made a remarkably fine showing. . . ." His winnings in competition with herds from Iowa, Missouri, and Illinois included second on three-year-old bull; first on bull under one year; second on cow three years and over; second on cow under two years, and second on bull and five of his calves. The next week practically the same herds met at the state fair at Topeka. T. L. Miller in his *History of Hereford Cattle* refers to the Campbell show herd at this fair in these words:

23. *Wichita Eagle*, September 14, 1882; T. L. Miller, *History of Hereford Cattle* (Chillicothe, Mo., 1902), pp. 476-480.

24. *The Breeder's Gazette*, Chicago, v. 2 (September 28, 1882), p. 416.



W. E. CAMPBELL
(1847-1907)

A pioneer livestock breeder of southern Kansas.

Mr. W. E. Campbell, an extensive ranchman and cattle raiser of Caldwell, Kans., exhibited at the Kansas State Fair a fine herd of Hereford cattle. . . . The Equinox 2758 standing at the head of this herd had proven an excellent stock getter as well as invincible show bull. He won first prize in the grand sweepstakes ring open to bulls of any age or breed, in a strong field of eighteen show bulls, representing the best Shorthorn, Hereford, Polled Angus and Galloway herds of Iowa, Illinois, Missouri and Kansas. He also carried off the first prize in his class, and his bull calf Jumbo and his heifer calf Lady Maud 4th each won first honors in their respective classes. In the sweepstakes ring for the best bull and five of his calves, open to all breeds, The Equinox again came to the front and won second honors, though his calves were very young and showed to bad advantage on that account. Queen of the Lillies [4367], out of Jessamine by Winter de Cote, that was first at Bismarck, was assigned a second place here after much hesitation. The winnings of this herd are unprecedented. . . .

The merits of any thoroughbred race are best demonstrated by the quality of their progeny, and to practically demonstrate the superiority and potency of the Herefords over other breeds, Mr. Campbell exhibited the yearling heifer Texas Jane. This heifer was sired by a thoroughbred Hereford, and was out of a little scrub Texas cow. She [Texas Jane] weighed about 900 pounds [off grass], and had all the character and markings of a thoroughbred Hereford. She was universally admired and attracted much attention and comment from the public, to whom she gave the following account of her birth and breeding, through a placard conspicuously posted over her stall:

I was born on W. E. Campbell's ranch, Aug. 19, 1882, and
was at once christened Texas Jane.

My father was a Hereford thoroughbred,

My mother a wild "Texas scrub."

The cross makes me easily fed,

And I am able to rustle for grub.

Don't stare at the meat on my back,

Or be surprised at my snow-white face;

For it was all the work of papa,

That gave me this Hereford grace.²⁵

Mr. Campbell had been one of the principal boosters for a fat-stock show to be held at Kansas City, and the first of such shows was held in November, 1883. It was here that Mr. Campbell's cattle received their most favorable publicity and it was also at this show that Mr. Campbell gave Herefords the most effective advertising as range cattle that they have ever received. In 1881 six little south Texas cows that had cost Mr. Campbell eighteen dollars a head including calves at foot, got away from the common herd and joined the good grade herd some ten miles away where Hereford bulls were being used. The next year (1882) these six cows produced one heifer and five bull calves.

25. Miller, *op. cit.*, pp. 437, 438.

The bull calves were steered and from the six the heifer and three steers were selected to feed for exhibition at the fairs the following season. One of the steers was killed when about a year old. The heifer and two remaining steers were named Texas Jane, Texas Bill and Texas Jack. These three Hereford-South Texas yearlings and three of the same breeding but a year younger constituted Mr. Campbell's "demonstration" exhibit at the Fat-Stock Show at Kansas City in 1883. One writer stated that there were more "Cattle Kings" of the West present at this show than at any other time or place, and that Mr. Campbell's "demonstration" exhibit made a profound impression upon them. Another writer stated with great emphasis that this exhibit really sold Hereford cattle to range men. *The Breeder's Gazette* of November 15, 1883, commenting on this exhibit stated that

W. E. Campbell's exhibit of calves, the get of Hereford bulls, out of Texas cows, was one of the most interesting sights of the show. The remarkable animal known as Texas Jane is, to all appearances, a model Hereford heifer, finely marked; a slight show of black on one of her hind legs being the only apparent trace of alien blood. Mr. Van Natta has taken one of the best heifers to Indiana, we believe, for the purpose of trying the effect of another Hereford cross.

This "demonstration" exhibit won the \$100 special prize offered by F. W. Smith for the best six half-blood Hereford and Texas steers or heifers bred on the range by the exhibitor and not to exceed eighteen months of age. It also won the \$200 special prize offered by Underwood, Clark and Company for the most valuable display of stock in the show.

The Kansas City (Mo.) *Live-Stock Indicator* of November 15, 1883, states that Mr. Campbell showed 90 head of cattle at this first Kansas City Fat-Stock Show. His winnings other than those already mentioned included second on carload (15 head) of three-year-old range cattle (Shorthorn); first and second on carload (18 head) of two-year-old range cattle (Herefords); first and second on carload (20 head) of yearling cattle (Herefords); special premium for the best grass-fed steer or cow, and second on thoroughbred yearling steer.

At the close of this show Mr. Campbell sold to A. A. Crane & Son of Osco, Ill., the Hereford bull calf, Jumbo, by the Equinox 2758, that had won first at the state fair two months previously. The price was \$500 and a report of this sale stated that he was seven months old and weighed 770 pounds.²⁶ Texas Jane weighed

²⁶ *Kansas Farmer*, Topeka, November 14, 1883; Kansas City (Mo.) *Live-Stock Indicator*, November 15, 1883.

1,260 pounds and after the Chicago Fat-Stock Show was sold for \$150 to Crane & Son, who kept her on exhibition at the Kansas City stock yards for the next three years.²⁷

One of the two Hereford-Texas cross steers mentioned above—Texas Bill—weighed 1,682 pounds as a two-year-old in 1884 and was sold on a special order at eight cents a pound to be served on the banquet table during the ice carnival of the Twin Cities, Minneapolis and St. Paul.²⁸ The other of these two steers, Texas Jack, was carried over until 1885 and shown in the carcass contest of the Kansas City Fat-Stock Show of that year. He weighed 1,720 pounds and won first in the class for three-year-old steers in competition with a group of phenomenal steers that had been winners on foot at several shows. A large percentage were Shorthorns and most of them came from Kentucky, Illinois, and Missouri. One came from Scotland.²⁹

The demand for Campbell Herefords became so great that he did not deem it necessary to show breeding cattle after 1883, and his only appearance in the show ring after that date was when he featured Texas Jack in the carcass contest sponsored by the Kansas City Fat-Stock Show of 1885.

Several articles implying that Shorthorn cattle were superior to all other breeds appeared in *The Breeder's Gazette* in 1883 and 1884. These articles were written by George W. Rust, a member of the *Gazette* staff and an ardent Shorthorn admirer. Rust's claims made for the Shorthorns did not seem to Mr. Campbell to be justified, and Campbell's comments, published in the September 4, 1884, issue of the *Gazette*, end with this prophetic statement: "The Hereford bull is 'king of the range,' and Mr. Rust will live to hear him bellow triumphantly over every grazing region from the snow-capped peaks of Mexico on the south to the British Possessions on the north."

This led to a debate over the relative merits of Shorthorns and Herefords in the columns of the *Gazette* by Mr. Rust, the theorist, and Mr. Campbell, the man of experience. Mr. Rust's next letter appeared on October 2, and was answered by Mr. Campbell on October 23. Again on November 6 Mr. Rust defended the Shorthorns and in the issue of November 20 Mr. Campbell tells more of his experiences with the two breeds.

27. *Kiowa Review*, February 23, 1898. The sale price was reported at \$100 in the *Caldwell Journal*, December 13, 1883, and the *Kansas City Live-Stock Indicator*, December 6, 1883.

28. *Kiowa Review*, February 23, 1898.

29. *Ibid.*; *Kansas City Live-Stock Indicator*, November 12, 1885.

By this time Mr. Campbell had left Mr. Rust little or no ground upon which to stand in this debate, and in his article which appeared in the December 4 issue, Mr. Rust resorted to an attempt to belittle Mr. Campbell's style of writing and experience as a cattleman. Mr. Campbell's reply appeared on December 18. He summarized from the beginning his experiences with both Short-horns and Herefords as range cattle; gave concise reasons for his conclusions and convictions; and ended with these words:

Mr. Rust . . . evades the principal question at issue, and . . . pitches into me personally, and virtually says my literary attainments are inferior to his, . . . which is certainly very strong argument in favor of Short-horns as range cattle. . . . He is not even satisfied with this, but accuses me of studying the cattle business by lamp light. A grave charge indeed, but nevertheless true. I confess even more. I have studied it by the glimmering light of tallow candles in lonely and isolated dugouts far beyond the reach of civilization; by silvery starlight while making my tedious nightly rounds guarding slumbering herds, when the country was infested by hostile savages; by brilliant sunlight, when my herds were slowly wending their way northward through the burning sands of a southern clime.

Yes, I have studied the cattle business by the light of as fierce and vivid, death-dealing lightning as ever flashed from an angry sky, and at a time too, when comrades were laid low in death by the fury of the storm. When the artillery of heaven made the very earth tremble by the force of her cannonading and peals of thunder, that scattered my herds in the wildest and most terrific stampedes. Yes, my lessons in the cattle business were all learned in the stern school of experience, and of course can not be compared with Mr. Rust's theories or "book larnen."

The final article by Mr. Rust appeared in the issue of January 1, 1885, and Mr. Campbell's last argument was published on January 22. Thus ended the Rust-Campbell debate which consisted of five articles by each that appeared in *The Breeder's Gazette* from August, 1884, to January, 1885.

Mr. Campbell's experience with Hereford cattle resulted in his becoming an ardent crusader for this breed as an improver of range cattle. As has been indicated, he conducted his crusade on the range, in the feed lot, in the show ring, and in the press. He, probably more than any other one individual, is responsible for the present popularity of Hereford cattle on the ranges of America.

Mr. Campbell loved horses, handled them with consummate skill, and made a notable contribution to the improvement of the horses, as well as the cattle, of his day. About 1880 he decided to attempt the production of better cow horses than were then generally available. His first move was to purchase several hundred Indian ponies, from which 50 of the best mares were selected for use as a

basis in this improvement program. His next move was a trip to Kentucky where he purchased the Thoroughbred stallion Legal Tender to mate with these mares.

Some high class cow horses were secured from this mating but most of them were a bit too high-strung to meet Mr. Campbell's exacting standard for a good cow-horse. Some of the latter developed into very fast short distance running horses; others into horses that possessed great endurance coupled with considerable speed, and still others proved later to have been an excellent foundation for the production of good driving horses when mated with Standard-bred stallions.

In those days buggies, carriages, buck-boards and spring wagons provided the major means of human transportation locally and to a considerable extent over some distance. Experience had proved that the Standard-bred (trotter or pacer) was the best adapted of all breeds for driving purposes. It was also being used to a considerable extent for farm and other work. The demand for this breed for utility purposes was greater than the supply. Furthermore, there was a strong demand for fancy driving horses, and many men of wealth had turned to harness horse racing as a sport and were willing to pay very high prices for racing prospects as well as for horses of proved racing ability.

This opportunity for profit and pleasure greatly appealed to Mr. Campbell, and in the middle 1880's he decided to engage in the production of high class driving horses. The plan he had in mind called for the purchase of registered Standard-bred sires of the best quality and breeding obtainable and a select group of well bred registered Standard-bred mares. These mares and the Indian pony-Thoroughbred cross mares on hand were to serve as the foundation upon which a large scale breeding program would be built. This program got underway in 1887 when he went to Kentucky and purchased three young stallions and several young mares. The stallions were Alcolyte 7849, a yearling by Onward 1411 for which he paid \$1,500; Lorenzo 7844, a three-year-old by Onward; and Redmore 8243, a yearling by Red Wilkes by George Wilkes. Three of the fillies—Symbol, Lady Onward, and Gaity were also by Onward.³⁰ The filly, Symbol, later became famous as the dam of the sensational Symboleer 19869 that made a world's two-year-old pacing race record of 2:11 in 1894.

Mr. Campbell's next problem was the selection of a sire to which

30. *Kiowa Herald*, December 29, 1887.

daughters and granddaughters of Onward could be bred. After giving the situation thoughtful consideration he decided to secure a son of Electioneer 125 owned by Leland Stanford of Palo Alto, Cal., so in the late summer of 1888 he went to California and finally was able to purchase a two-year-old son of Electioneer which was later registered as Campbell's Electioneer 11671. This colt cost \$9,500.³¹

Mr. Campbell put Campbell's Electioneer into training soon after his arrival at Kiowa in September, 1888, and in less than 60 days he lowered the then existing Kansas 2-year-old record 21 seconds by trotting a mile in 2:34 over a poor track and in the rain. He won every heat in which he started as a two-year-old.³²

In 1889 as a three-year-old Campbell's Electioneer was campaigned from Kansas to Kentucky after a light breeding season and won every race in which he started except one. This race, trotted at Lexington, Ky., October 14, 1889, was won by Nancy Hanks who later became the world's champion trotter. Campbell's Electioneer ended his three-year-old campaign with a record of 2:22½.³³ In 1890 as a four-year-old he made a heavy stud season at Kansas City at a service fee of \$200. A bad case of distemper following the breeding season made a racing campaign impossible that year. In 1891 as a five-year-old he again made a heavy stud season at Kansas City standing at \$200 and earned \$11,000 in service fees. At the end of the breeding season he was put into training and made another extensive and successful racing campaign. On September 18 he lowered his record to 2:22¼, on September 23, to 2:19³⁴ and on October 28 to 2:17¾.³⁵

The breeding and speed shown by Campbell's Electioneer as a three-year-old attracted wide-spread attention and resulted in many offers for him, including one of \$33,000 from an Austrian syndicate. All were declined, but in 1892 Mr. Campbell sold Campbell's Electioneer at public auction in Lexington, Ky. The depression of the 1890's was already being felt and he brought only \$15,100.³⁶

Symboler 19869 foaled in 1892 was the best of the many good Standard-bred horses bred by Mr. Campbell, and the fastest horse

31. *Kiowa Journal*, August 16, 1888. The *Journal* of September 6, 1888, quoting the *Wichita Eagle*, reported the purchase price as \$12,000.

32. A comment in *The Breeder's Gazette*, v. 14 (November 7, 1888), p. 476, said that Campbell's Electioneer was the fastest two-year-old stallion in America except one; *Kiowa Herald*, November 15, 1888.

33. *Ibid.*, November 14, 1889.

34. *Kiowa Journal*, October 1, 1891.

35. *Ibid.*, November 12, 1891.

36. *The Breeder's Gazette*, v. 21 (March 23, 1892), p. 232.

sired by Campbell's Electioneer. Carmine by Symboleer, a gelding foaled in 1896, was the fastest horse bred by Mr. Campbell. Carmine made a race record of 2:07 $\frac{1}{4}$ at Columbus, Ohio, July 31, 1901.³⁷

On November 3, 1894, Symboleer made a new world's pacing race record for two-year-olds of 2:11 at Dallas, Tex.³⁸ This sensational performance was considered of sufficient importance as a news item to find its way into the daily press throughout the country. An enthusiastic homecoming reception was tendered this remarkable colt upon his return to Kiowa.³⁹

Mr. Campbell sold Symboleer at public auction in New York in 1895 for \$1,310. He also sold Symboleer's dam, Symbol, for \$1,500 in the same auction. Symboleer lowered his race record to 2:09 $\frac{1}{2}$ at Readville, Mass., September 5, 1898. Although he did not reach the heights as a race horse that his two-year-old form promised, it has been established that this failure was not the fault of Symboleer. He did prove to be one of the three greatest Standard-bred sires ever produced in Kansas and he climbed to these heights the hard way, having been mated with very few high class Standard-bred mares, until the last years of his life.

When Campbell's Electioneer passed to another owner in 1892, Alcolyte 7849 by Onward, purchased in Kentucky as a yearling and then six years of age, was promoted to the position of head sire. He proved to be a very successful sire, perhaps a greater sire than Campbell's Electioneer. There was, however, this difference in the get of these two stallions. The get of Alcolyte did not develop as much speed at an early age as did the get of Campbell's Electioneer; however, statistics show that the final records of all the standard performers sired by Alcolyte average five seconds faster than the final records of all the standard performers sired by Campbell's Electioneer.

A worthy contemporary of Campbell's Electioneer and Alcolyte at the Campbell ranch was Breastplate 11392, foaled in 1884, and purchased from L. U. Shippel of Stockton, Cal., in 1888 at the time Campbell's Electioneer was purchased.

Alcolyte was followed as head herd sire by the splendidly bred Huro 37351 foaled in 1898. He in turn was followed by Marvin Bell 36229 foaled in 1900, a grandson of Electioneer out of a granddaughter of George Wilkes.

37. *The Horse Review*, Chicago, August 6, 1901, pp. 861, 862.

38. *Kiowa Review*, November 7, December 12, 1894.

39. *Ibid.*, December 12, 1894.

W. E. Campbell bred many fast and courageous race horses, a large portion of which were sold as prospects and made their records for their new owners. The success of Campbell-bred race horses proved to be excellent advertising for all Campbell-bred horses and helped materially to secure good prices for the horses sold at home as well as those sold annually at auction in St. Louis, Chicago, or New York. One shipment to New York averaged \$720 a head. Mules were also produced on the Campbell ranch in considerable numbers and usually found a ready market at profitable prices.

When the Campbell horse-breeding activities reached their peak the horse inventory showed some 400 mares, eight Standard-bred stallions, one Thoroughbred stallion, two draft stallions and three jacks in service. This was the most extensive horse-breeding establishment in Kansas devoted to the production of well bred horses.

When portions of Oklahoma were opened for settlement in 1889 and in 1893, W. E. Campbell outfitted groups of friends and relatives and acted as their guide in making both runs for claims. These groups had a better chance for success than most other participants because Mr. Campbell owned the best horses in that section of the country and was thoroughly familiar with both areas. All members of both groups secured good claims—those making the run in 1889 on land over which Mr. Campbell ranched in the early 1870's.

A considerable portion of the Kiowa ranch was devoted to crop production, and while the acreage and activities of this ranch were at their peak 33,000 bushels of wheat and 15,000 bushels of oats besides a considerable amount of corn were produced in a single year.

When Mr. Campbell started ranching in the Indian territory it was the rendezvous of outlaws from every section of the United States. Many lived by rustling cattle and horses, robbing individuals, banks and trains, and gambling. A goodly number were ruthless cold-blooded killers. Someone has said that "These outlaws were even more savage than the red man in their dealings with ranchmen and other white persons." Mr. Campbell had his share of experiences with outlaws, but only a couple will be related.

On one occasion he found, upon arrival at his Indian territory ranch with a trail herd from Texas, that outlaws had stolen all the horses at the ranch. He immediately started on the trail of the

thieves and followed them into Mexico where their trail was lost and he had to return empty handed. He, however, had the satisfaction of knowing that he had done his best to meet the requirements of the unwritten law of the range in dealing with such cases.

A few years later he had an experience in dealing with outlaws that has been reported in several books and other publications under the title of "The Jim Talbot Raid" at Caldwell. Jim Talbot, an outlaw who had formerly operated in western Texas and eastern New Mexico, drifted into Caldwell in the fall of 1881. On the morning of December 17 of that year he and his pals started "shooting up" the town. Apparently the motive behind this action was to get Mike Meagher, a former chief of police at Wichita, into the fight and kill him. When the shooting started, the city marshal of Caldwell called upon Meagher for help and the latter was soon in the thick of the fight. Talbot outmaneuvered Meagher, got the drop on him and killed him. The outlaws then hurriedly left town and upon reaching "Bovine Park"—the Campbell headquarters a short distance from Caldwell—they rode into the yard and at the point of a Winchester commandeered a saddle horse from a group of men who were digging a well near the Campbell house. Mr. Campbell saw the incident from a window of his home, but was persuaded by Mrs. Campbell not to become involved. When the outlaws left, Mr. Campbell, well-armed, started for Caldwell to mail some letters and papers. On the way he met a posse starting on the trail of the outlaws. He joined the posse and apparently by common consent became its leader.

The many stories of the Talbot raid written in recent years all differ considerably as to details. T. W. Walton, editor of the *Caldwell Post* at that time, who had been threatened with death by Jim Talbot the previous evening, was a member of the posse that pursued the outlaws and engaged them in a running fight for several miles. It is quite probable that the story he wrote and published in his paper five days later—December 22, 1881—is more nearly accurate than any other that has been printed or relayed to the present time by word of mouth. Excerpts that relate to Mr. Campbell's part in the pursuit and fight follow:

The outlaws headed for Deutcher Bros.' horse ranch on Deer creek [and] . . . passed on to the bluff and creek about six hundred feet south of the ranch [headquarters], dismounted and took to the brush and rocks, firing all the time at the citizens. The citizens finally drove them over the bluff and into a canyon, where there had been a stone dugout. Into this three of the outlaws went, threw up breast-works of stone, got behind them and would

bang away at any one who showed an inch of his person to their view.

The citizens surrounded the gulch and kept up a constant firing at the fort, but without effect. One of the outlaws took refuge up in a small gulch leading to the west, and was not seen until he fired at W. E. Campbell, who was sliding down the hill on his face to get a commanding point above the fort. The outlaw's ball took effect in Campbell's wrist. . . . Had the fourth man been anywhere else in the gulch the citizens could have taken them in; but his position covered every point that the others were exposed from. . . . Thirty minutes more daylight would have told the tale for the outlaws; or had Campbell escaped the fire of the villain that shot him, he could have killed the other three in as many minutes, as his position commanded the fort in every corner.

The outlaws escaped in the dark and Mr. Campbell was taken to his home. The shot in the wrist proved to be quite serious and he nearly died from loss of blood. Mr. Campbell also received two other less serious wounds.

In the same issue of the *Caldwell Post*—December 22, 1881—the editor commented that:

W. E. Campbell is doing splendidly under the care of Dr. Noble, and will in a few days be able to be up and around. Campbell showed himself to be up to the business of hunting outlaws while on that chase, and at the round up his brand would have appeared on three persons . . . if they had not shot him just when they did. Twenty-seven [bullet] holes appeared in his clothing. . . .

A post card written by Mrs. Campbell to Mr. Campbell's mother under date of December 21, 1881, states:

I find by examining his clothes closely there are 27 bullet holes instead of 16. We had no idea there were so many at first. . . . This is a card that was in his right vest pocket enclosed in a small day book. You can see where the bullet passed through the end. There were quite a bunch of cards in the book. The bullet passed through the book then through a large roll of newspapers he had roped to mail. I have no doubt this saved his life.

This book and bullet are treasured reminders of other days, now in the possession of a son.

Ridings, discussing "The Talbot raid" in his book, *The Chisholm Trail*, identifies the Campbell involved as "Barbeque" Campbell, the name under which B. H. Campbell, another prominent cattleman of that area, was known. He was locally known as "Barbeque" Campbell because of the brand his cattle carried which was —BQ (bar B-Q).⁴⁰ W. E. Campbell, as Editor Walton indicates, was the Campbell involved.

Indians frequently went on the warpath, dealing death and destruction until quelled by the army. At other times groups of

40. Sam P. Ridings, *The Chisholm Trail* (Guthrie, Okla., 1936), pp. 478, 479.

renegade Indians plundered and killed wantonly, and always Indians were attempting to exact tribute from ranchmen as well as trail drivers of beef or money or both. An incident typifying this constant hazard was reported in the *Medicine Lodge Cresset*, December 22, 1881. It reads:

The report reaches us that Big Horse's band of Cheyennes rounded up a couple of Billie Quinlin's men a short time ago and made them give up their six-shooters while they (the Indians) helped themselves to a beef. As Big Horse has about sixty young warriors with him, he has his own way in these matters to a considerable extent.

The Breeder's Gazette of November 8, 1883, quoting the *Medicine Lodge Cresset*, states even at that late date that "We understand that the Indians are giving some trouble to parties holding cattle in the Oklahoma country, and a short time since undertook to burn the range. The heavy rains balked their plans at that time, but it is feared they may cause trouble in the future." The possibility of Indians carrying out their vengeful practice of starting prairie fires was a most serious hazard because grass was the only winter feed available, and if one's winter range was destroyed he had to move or liquidate.

The Campbells had their share of trouble with Indians, but only a few of their many unpleasant experiences which have been preserved in the memory of members of the Campbell family can be included in the brief sketch.

In 1874 while Mr. Campbell was following the horse thieves mentioned above, word reached the Campbell headquarters in the Indian territory that a group of Indians had gone on the warpath and would probably pass through the Campbell range. Mrs. Campbell's brother, John Duncan, foreman on the Campbell ranch, hastily improvised a two-wheeled cart by inserting a wagon tongue into the rear portion of the running gears of a wagon upon which he built a box large enough to accommodate Mrs. Campbell with a babe in arms, a two-year-old son, and Mr. Duncan. Since all the horses had been stolen, oxen were hitched to the cart and the trip to Wichita was begun. Fortunately they reached their destination in safety.

On another occasion five young bucks demanded a beef of Mr. Campbell. He pointed to one they could have, but they were not satisfied. They wanted the best. An altercation ensued and the Indians retreated without a beef, but not without hope of revenge. A few days later they found Mr. Campbell alone on the range and sought to get even. Mr. Campbell dropped from his horse into a

buffalo wallow with his Winchester and signaled them to stop. This they did but began maneuvering to surround him. However, when one would leave the others Mr. Campbell would motion him back, and if the Indian did not respond promptly the Winchester would come to the shoulder ready for action. After several attempts to surround him failed they rode away, and the incident was closed.

At another time, after a long day hunting horses that had strayed away, Mr. Campbell and John Duncan were attacked by a band of 23 Indians. They were first seen some distance to the rear following at full speed. The white men knew their horses were too tired from the long day's ride to enable them to escape by flight, so they figured their only chance was to out-manuever and confuse the Indians and hope for a lucky break. The white men turned in their saddles and waved with their hats to the Indians to come on and continued at a slow trot. Two young bucks rode much faster horses than the others and soon were well ahead of the main group. At the opportune time Mr. Campbell and Mr. Duncan reversed their course, spurred their horses to full speed up the slope, and with their Winchesters in action met the two leaders near the top of a hill. These leaders were so surprised by this action they wheeled their horses and ran into their companions that were following. This threw all the Indians into confusion and allowed the white men to leave the trail and pass down a draw at right angles. This draw led to a creek running parallel to the trail. The white men followed the creek under cover of a high bank on the trail side, going in the direction from which the Indians came. They escaped detection and reached some small timber on higher ground from which they could see the Indians in the valley below searching for them in all directions. The white men made good their escape but did not reach camp until the next day.

Not long after the above experience a couple of Indians stopped at the Campbell camp when Mrs. Campbell was alone and asked for food. She fed them, but they became troublesome before leaving. However, when Mrs. Campbell reached for the Winchester they beat a hasty retreat. This incident emphasizes the fact that under conditions existing in those days women as well as men had to be courageous and resourceful.

When Mr. Campbell first saw typical longhorn Texas cattle he was greatly impressed with their lack of the type and quality necessary for the production of good beef, and soon after he started ranching it became one of his major ambitions to help improve

these cattle. He appreciated their ability to survive hardships and to travel far, but he also realized that sooner or later conditions would demand cattle of better quality. So he went East, purchased several purebred Shorthorn bulls, and turned them loose on his range. This experiment proved to be disastrous in one important respect—all of these bulls succumbed to Texas fever—but not until they had sired a crop of calves. This cross made a most favorable impression upon ranchmen who saw them, and after selecting the best bull calves from this crop for his own use he sold the remainder to Drumm and Snyder, large cattle operators in the Cherokee Strip, for \$50 a head at weaning time. This was when Longhorn cows with calf at side sired by Longhorn bulls were selling at \$20 a head. This experience convinced Mr. Campbell of two things in particular: The possibility of greatly improving longhorn cattle, and the need of eradicating Texas fever from the herds of the West. From that day on he did yeoman service in both causes.

Trail herds were usually infested with Texas fever ticks—the carriers of the Texas fever germ—and the utmost in precautions had to be exercised to keep tick-infested cattle off the ranges of native cattle, which were highly susceptible to this disease. Protecting his improved cattle from ticks proved to be one of Mr. Campbell's most difficult problems. On more than one occasion tick-infested cattle got onto his range despite constant vigilance on his part and caused death losses amounting to thousands of dollars. On at least one occasion tick-infested cattle, en route to Dodge City across Mr. Campbell's range, then carrying mostly improved cattle highly susceptible to Texas fever, were stopped despite threats and attempted intimidation. This incident happened soon after he had concentrated most of his ranching activities in the vicinity of Kiowa.

Mr. Campbell learned about this herd and the plan to pass through his range while in Caldwell. He immediately started west on horseback and overtook the herd some ten miles east of his range. He told the men in charge about the deaths it would cause in his native cattle and tried to reason with them, but the sum total of the results of his efforts was a statement that the owners "would go through if they had to wade blood up to their chins." Mr. Campbell hurried on, reaching his headquarters on Little Sand creek at dusk. He immediately sent for C. W. Clifford, a neighboring ranchman. After a conference they sent all riders from both ranches to neighboring ranchmen with the news of the approaching herd and the request that they and their ranch hands meet in

front of the herd at sunrise. Mr. Campbell and Mr. Clifford met the herd at daybreak and were received with abuse and threats, but, as the light grew stronger, riders were seen coming from the distant hills and ridges. The herdsman continued obstinate and abusive but by sunrise there were so many determined ranchmen, cowboys, and "forty-fours" blocking their path they left the bed ground in reverse and later shipped their cattle from Caldwell by train. That was the last "ticky" herd to attempt a drive through that section of the range country.

It seems fitting to present in this sketch more about the part Mr. Campbell played in the founding of the present town of Kiowa. In 1884 he purchased a stretch of the so-called "three-mile-strip" extending eastward some 15 miles from what is now the west boundary of Kiowa. Soon thereafter he heard rumors to the effect that plans were on foot to build a railroad through the town of "Old" Kiowa which was located approximately five miles northwest of his ranch. He went up to "Old" Kiowa, spent the night there and learned a great deal about the plans to bring in a railroad. The next morning he saddled his horse, rode to Harper, and boarded a train for Topeka. Here he saw the right people and made a deal for the Southern Kansas railroad to pass through a town to be located on the west end of his ranch.⁴¹ The information he had gained while working for the Union Pacific some years previously relative to the methods employed by railroads in selecting routes and in dealing with townsite companies aided greatly in handling this deal. Upon his return from Topeka several substantial citizens of that area met with him at Harper, August 2, 1884, and organized the Kiowa Town Company. The directors elected were Andrew Drumm, A. W. Rumsey, F. H. Shelley, O. P. T. Ewell, and W. E. Campbell. The incorporation papers for the town of New Kiowa were filed with the secretary of state on August 4, 1884.⁴²

The Kiowa Town Company purchased approximately 5,000 acres off the west end of Mr. Campbell's portion of the "Three-Mile-Strip" at \$8 per acre and located the town at the extreme west edge of this purchase, but Mr. Campbell retained 320 acres approximately one mile from town for a new home and headquarters.

The men behind this project were capable, fast workers and within a year had developed an active thriving frontier town of 1,000 inhabitants. The first train came in over the new track on

41. *Wichita Eagle*, October 6, 1907.

42. *Kiowa Herald*, August 14, 1884; "Corporations (official charter copybooks from the office of the secretary of state, in archives division of Kansas State Historical Society)," v. 17, pp. 507-509.

August 6, 1885, and the first trainload of cattle was shipped from Kiowa on August 9.⁴³

The town company felt the need of a newspaper to promote the new town. A brilliant young man had recently started a newspaper at "Old" Kiowa. Mr. Campbell visited the new editor and publisher and finally persuaded him to move his equipment to "New" Kiowa. The deciding inducement was a nice townsite advertising contract and about 300 subscriptions.⁴⁴ This young man was Dennis T. Flynn, editor of the *Kiowa Herald*, who later became a political leader in Oklahoma and served as delegate in congress from the territory of Oklahoma for most of the period from 1893 to 1903. Mr. Campbell and Mr. Flynn remained lifelong friends. Mr. Campbell's only venture in politics was stumping Oklahoma for Flynn in one of his campaigns for congress.

A few years later Mr. Campbell had a hand in bringing another newspaper man to Kiowa—a man who later became one of the well-known newsmen of Kansas—David D. Leahy. In an article written in 1935 Mr. Leahy said, "Forty-eight years ago at the solicitation of two old . . . friends—W. E. Campbell and James W. Dobson—I went to Kiowa to edit *The Herald*."⁴⁵ This incident occurred in 1887. Mr. Campbell and Mr. Leahy had become close friends while the Campbell headquarters was located only a short distance out of Caldwell (1879-1886) and these two men also remained close lifelong friends.

Mr. Campbell's formal education was limited to that offered by a pioneer Iowa country school, but he became a well-educated man—a self-educated person. He wrote well and was a frequent contributor to the leading agricultural publications of his day. He was a forceful and convincing speaker, and his name appeared on the programs of many early-day livestock meetings and conventions throughout the Southwest.

Mr. Campbell was plain-spoken and aggressive, but at heart he was generous, kind and sympathetic. He could not tolerate incompetence or dishonesty, and abhorred liquor and gambling, neither of which was ever permitted on any of his properties. He was a leader in the betterment of economic and social conditions of the communities in which he lived.

The many local improvements and developments in which he participated include: Petitioning for the incorporation of Wichita

43. *Kiowa Herald*, August 6, 13, 1885.

44. *Wichita Eagle*, October 6, 1907.

45. *Kiowa News-Review*, April 8, 1935.

as a town; the organization of the New Kiowa Town Company and the founding of the town of Kiowa; establishing the first bank, the first newspaper, the first school (private), the first hotel and the cemetery at Kiowa, and bringing both railroads to that town. He also built the first brick store building and opera house in Kiowa.

W. E. Campbell married Emily Duncan of Wichita, January 21, 1871. They reared six children: Wilbur Denton Campbell, Robert Boyers Campbell, Charles Duncan Campbell, Roy Hamilton Campbell, Frank Lee Campbell and Gladys E. Campbell. All are living at this time—1947—and all are useful and highly respected citizens of the communities in which they reside.

Through the years one finds many published statements attesting the fine character and ability of W. E. Campbell. A few, published at rather wide intervals of time, follow. In 1888 the Medicine Lodge *Cresset* carried an exchange item which read:

Mr. Campbell is a born stockman and clearly one of the most honorable, painstaking and successful breeders in the country. He . . . came to southern Kansas in '68 without a dollar. He came before a furrow was turned south of the Arkansas river, and with many another brave, self-helpful boy, contested with the red-handed savages for the mastery of this beautiful region. His trusty Winchester, steady nerve and ready tact have more than once been called into service for the protection of his home, his friends and herds, from the scarcely less savage white marauders of the early day. He has seen the dissipation of countless herds of buffalo; turned the green sward on many a virgin prairie; shared in the trials and triumphs of pioneer life, never forgetting his own fight with poverty, he has been from first to last the friend of the poor.⁴⁶

In 1898 T. L. Miller stated in his *History of Hereford Cattle* that, "Few men have had the long and varied experience of Mr. Campbell, and at this writing he is still ranching and breeding Herefords in the vicinity of his early range experience. . . . He was and is a master of the range business."⁴⁷

In 1935 David D. Leahy in a story in the Wichita *Eagle* referred to Mr. Campbell as ". . . my old friend W. E. Campbell, . . . a brave and enterprising citizen,"⁴⁸ and the same year in a story published in the 50th anniversary edition of the Kiowa *News-Review*, Mr. Leahy headed a list of Kiowa citizens noted for their solidarity with the name of W. E. Campbell.⁴⁹

Early in October, 1907, Mr. Campbell spent a few days in Wich-

46. April 5, 1888, in the Medicine Lodge *Cresset*; reprinted in the Kiowa *Herald*, June 14.

47. Miller, *op. cit.*, p. 524.

48. Wichita *Sunday Eagle*, April 14, 1935.

49. Kiowa *News-Review*, April 8, 1935.

ita with Mrs. Campbell who was ill in a hospital. The editor of the *Wichita Eagle*, learning of his presence in the city which he helped to incorporate nearly 40 years previously, sent a member of the *Eagle* staff to interview him. The result of this interview was an interesting resume of the high lights of Mr. Campbell's eventful life, and it seems fitting to close this sketch with a few lines from that story:

William E. Campbell has left deep footprints in Kansas. . . . Mr. Campbell was a town builder, a country builder, . . . a public spirited man, a public benefactor, a fighter and always a good citizen. . . . He improved the horses and cattle and the grains and grasses and the fruit and vegetables of his country. He . . . was never afraid of risking either his life or his right for progress or upbuilding.⁵⁰

50. *Wichita Eagle*, October 6, 1907.

William Clark's Diary

MAY, 1826-FEBRUARY, 1831

PART THREE, 1829

Edited by LOUISE BARRY

ST. LOUIS, January, 1829

WEATHER AND RIVER DATA

Date 1829	Thermom at 8 A M	State of Weather	Points of Wind	Thermom at 4 P M	State of Weather	Points of Wind	Stage or Height of River
January							
"1st.	62	Clear	S.	60	S	Cloudy	River very low.
2	52	Cloudy	N.	41	N	Cloudy	" " "
3	50	Clear	N	51	W	Clear	" " "
4	54	Clear	W	52	W	Clear	River lower than ever before
Sunday							
5	72	Clear	W	70	NE	Clear	" " " "
6	78	Clear	S.	72	S	Cloudy	River very low.
7	48	Cloudy	N.	42	S	Cloudy	
8	40	Clear	N	28	N.	Clear	
9	30	Clear	NW	26	N	"	
10	26	Clear	NW	20	NW	"	Some ice in the river
11	20	Cloudy	N	18	N	Cloudy.	Ice running plenty.
Sunday							
12	26	"	S.E.	28	NE.	Cloudy.	" " "
13	34	Rainy	E.	34	E	Rain	" " "
14	38	Clear	NE	36	W	Clear	" " "
15	54	"	S.W.	52	W	Clear	River clear of Ice.
16	48	Clear	N.W.	50	N.	Clear	" " "
17	48	Clear	N.	51	N.	Clear	" " "
18	30	"	N	32	N	"	Some Ice running.
Sunday							
19	36	"	N	34	NW		River clear of Ice.
20	38	"	W	37	W.	Clear.	No Ice running.
21	38	Clear	NW	36	W.	Clear.	River clear of Ice.
22	36	"	NW	38	W	C[?]	" " "
23	38	"	NW	36	W.	Clear	" " "
24	32	Cloudy.	W.	34	W.	Cloudy.	" " "
25	46	Cloudy	SW	44	S	Cloudy	" " "
Sunday							
26	38	"	W	36	W	"	" " " "
27	32	"	W	30	N.	"	" " " "
28	30	Snow	S.W	30	N.W	Snow	" " " "
29	26	Clear	NW	24	N.W.	Clear	Ice Ice Ice
30	30	Cloudy	SE	28	S.W.	Clear	Soft Ice
31	34	Cloudy	SW.	30	S	Cloudy	Thin Ice running.

LOUISE BARRY is in charge of the Manuscripts division of the Kansas State Historical Society.

REMARKS

- 1 New Years day. Fine Morning *Summer heat.* fine Eveng. Clear fine weather. *Lottery draws to day* an apprentice Boy of the City drew the highest Prize \$5,500—never to be got in my opinion.²⁰⁷ *Post Meridian News Room* opened to day.²⁰⁸
- 2 Fine morning tho' cloudy. turning cool No arrival, or departure
- 3 Pleasant Clear morning cool. Arrived Steamer *Cleopatra* 8 days from Louisville Capt Hill reports the River, nearly dried up below
- 4 Pleasant morning Little cool in the Eveng Steamer *Cleopatra* for Louisville she cant get out
- 5 Delightful mornng. P. M. like spring. warm Eve. No arrival or departures
- 6 Beautiful & charming mornng. P. M. Summer heat. No arrival or departures Fine weather.
- 7 Some rain fell last night, which cool'd the air suddenly. To day a considerable change. Steamer *Missouri* (Lately Repaired) departed for New Orleans.²⁰⁹ Rainy weather and very unpleasant—
- 8 Cool morning. Freezing. Evening cool.
- 9 Cold morning & continues so during the day
- 10 Cold morning. Continues very cold during the day
- 11 Cold & cloudy morning. continues very cold
- 12 Cool morning & cloudy— pleasant evening.
- 13 Turns warmer with some rain— cloudy evening.
- 14 Sudden change from cold to warm day
- 15 Fine warm morning & delightful weather.
- 16 Sudden change again turning cooler with north wind. This day Capt. G. H. Kennerly departs for Washington in company

207. Lotteries were not illegal in the United States at this time, and were advertised quite often in the newspapers. This particular scheme was "managed" by John and Mark Anthony and designated by them as "for the benefit of internal improvements." The capital prize was a house and lot, in Cincinnati, valued at \$5,500, according to their advertisement.—*Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, December 30, 1828. The names of the winners of the several prizes were not announced in the newspapers, and whether the "apprentice Boy" got his house and lot is not known.

Not all the Missouri information in this series of footnotes could be covered in the collections of the Kansas State Historical Society, and the editor is indebted to Mrs. Brenda R. Gieseke, librarian of the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, for this report on the lottery and several other items.

208. The "Post Meridian News Room" was opened by H. P. Bradbury. He advertised in the *Missouri Republican* of January 6, 1829, that "a few of the periodicals selected for it are already received and on file." The subscribers were notified that the reading room would be officially opened on January 12.

209. This is the first mention of the *Missouri* since her accident of August 29, 1828. See Footnote 165.

- of Gnl. Smith ²¹⁰ by the stage. No Steam Boat arrivals nor none may be expected till Spring.—weather moderate.
- 17 Fine Clear Morning, & clear, pleasant Evening.
 - 18 Pleasant morning. remains so through the day.
 - 19 Fine warm morning. P. M. quite pleasant.
 - 20 Beautiful morning, clear & sun shining day.
 - 21 Charming morning & clear. warm & pleasant eveng.
 - 22 Beautiful morning & continues warm all day. Steam Boat *Muskingum* arrives this evening, 30 days from Louisville & 20 from the mouth, owing to the lowness of the river. The Steam Boat *Illinois* struck a snag on her way up on the 16th. just below St. Genevieve and went down in 5 feet water & broke in 2 places.²¹¹
 - 23 Charming weather. Fine warm evening. Arrived Steamer *Wm Duncan* from Louisville 20 days—grounded 75 times.
 - 24 Pleasant morning tho' cloudy. pleast evening Arrived Little Steamer *Victory* ²¹² new 7 days from Louisville. Steamer *Muskingum* departs to day for Louisville—also the *Wm Duncan* to day.
 - 25 Fine pleasant morning warm as Spring thro' day. New Steamer *Victory* depts for Louisville
 - 26 Cloudy and cold this day Little Steamer *P. Boy* arrives 15 days from N Orleans & passed Steamr *Jubilee* 12 miles above the mouth fast *aground*.
 - 27 Has much the appearance of Snow Str *Plough Boy* departs for Louisville.
 - 28 Commences to snow & continues during the day Snow falls to day depth of 5½ inches. very warm
 - 29 Beautiful day, altho. the ground is covered with Snow about 4 inches
 - 30 Pleast day. Snow melting fast.
 - 31 Warm cloudy morning. Snow melting rapidly

²¹⁰. Probably Gen. Thomas A. Smith of Franklin, Mo. He is mentioned in A. L. Langham's letter of May 1, 1829.—Office of Indian affairs, "Registers of Letters Received," v. 2, in the National Archives, Washington, D. C.

²¹¹. The *Illinois* had only been running one season. See Footnote 108.

²¹². The *Victory*, a 100-ton boat, was built at Pittsburgh, and apparently this was one of her first runs. Hall, James, *Notes on the Western States* . . . (Philadelphia, 1838), p. 262, lists her as completed in 1829.

February, 1829

WEATHER AND RIVER DATA

Date 1829	Thermom at 8 A.M.	State of Weather	Points of Wind	Thermom at 4 P.M.	State of Weather	Points of Wind	Stage or Height of River
February							
1st, Sunday	40	Cloudy	W	42	Cloudy	W	River very low
2	18	Clear	N	18	Clear	N	" " "
3	18	Cold	N	18	Cold	N	Full of Ice
4	20	"	NW	18	Clear	NW	" " "
5	21	Clear	N.	20	Clear	N.	Ice thawing
6	28	Clear	N	21	Clear	NW	" "
7	36	Cloudy	S.	28	Cloudy	S.W.	Ice breaking up.
8	20	"	W.	16	Cloudy	NW.	Ice running again.
9th Sunday							
9	8	Cloudy	N.W.	16	Cloudy	N.	" " Thick
10	18	Clear	N.	16	Clear	N.E.	The River closed
11	18	Clear	NW.	14	Clear	NW.	River frozen Hard.
12	18	Clear	W.	20	Cloudy	W.	River still Frozen
13	20	Clear	N	20	Clear	N.	" " "
14	28	Clear	N.W.	26	Clear	NW.	River Frozen still harder.
15	30	Clear	NW.	28	Clear	N.	River still bound ice
16th Sunday							
16	26	Clear	NW	28	Clear	N.W.	River still frozen hard.
17	32	Cloudy	NE	29	Cloudy	W.	River still frozen
18	38	Cloudy	S.W.	40	Cloudy	S.W.	" " "
19	28	Cloudy	E.	28	Cloudy	N	" " "
20	28	Clear	W.	26	Clear	S.W.	" " "
21	22	Cloudy	S.	E	Clear	S	River still Frozen
22	36	Clear	N	28	Clear	NE	" " "
23rd Sunday							
23	41	Clear	NW	34	Clear	W.	" " "
24	32	Cloudy	NW	32	Cloudy	W	" " "
25	40	Rain	S	36	Rain	NW	" " "
26	30	Snow	E	30	Snow	E	River thawing by rain.
27	30	"	E	30	"	"	River broken in places
28	28	Clear	N	26	clear	N	" " " "

REMARKS

- 1 This day remains Cloudy & weather damp
- 2 To day & since last night, remarkably cold
- 3 and excessively cold weather
- 4 Cool weather though pleasant.
- 5 Turning warm & weather pleasant.
- 6 Fine pleasant weather warm evening
- 7 Warm morning & cloudy. Some rain falling. Keokuck ²¹³ & party 18 arrives.

213. Keokuk, a Sac leader, was born about 1780, on Rock river in Illinois. His mother was part French. He gained recognition for his abilities and his oratorical skill. (See, also, Footnote 154.) By supporting the U. S. government, he became chief, superseding the famous leader Black Hawk, following the latter's defeat in the Indian war of 1832. The Sacs and Foxes removed to a tract on the Iowa river after the treaty of 1832. In 1845 Keokuk moved again with his people to a reservation in present Kansas. His later days were spent in dissipation. He died from poison given him by a member of his tribe in the spring of 1848. —Hodge, Frederick Webb, *Handbook of American Indians* (Washington, 1907), v. 1, pp. 673, 674; Fulton, A. R., *The Red Men of Iowa* (Des Moines, 1882), pp. 231-247; *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1933), v. 10, p. 350; *The Gazette*, St. Joseph, Mo., June 16, 1848.

- 8 Turning very cold, with Snow. Cold Sharp Evening.
- 9 Very Cold morning, with strong N. wind. Snow. Evening very cold.
- 10 The River closed This morning at 8 o'clock. Very cold evening.
- 11 Cold morning. People crossing to day on the River.
- 12 Cold morning with some snow. cool evening. February sets in warm: towards the 8th Snow falling Ice running thick in the River; on the morning of the 10th it *closes*. 11th & 12th Froze *hard* & the people crossing It is the 1st occurrence of the kind for 4 years.
- 13 Cold This morning, & still so thro' the day.
- 14 Very cold last night. Cold evening & freezing.
- 13 & 14 Still very cold, the river bearing the weight of Many people & horses who are crossing
- 15 Fine morning out doors. Keokuck & party depart. To day Keokuck's party depart for home.
- 16 Cold morning sharp N. W. wind. Cold evening
- 17 River still frozen and horses & waggons, sleigh's &c crossing. Cloudy
- 18 Cloudy & weather moderating little. Warm evening.
- 19 Cloudy morning with Snow. 4 P M driving N wind & *Snow*.
- 20 Excessively Cold last night. Very Cold morning. Last night Ball celebration 22nd
- 21 Weather moderating this morning, with S. wind.
- 22 Warm morning & pleast. turns cooler towards eveng.
- 23 Pleasant morning. Military Ball at Jeffn Bks.
- 24 Cloudy like Rain & Snow changing ²¹⁴
- 25 Rain with some hale continues to Rain
- 26 Pleasant morning & warm. evening turns cloudy
- 27 Heavy Snow falls this day & night, depth 18 inches in places.
- 28 Snowing last night, till 12 & very deep. much Sleighing. The month ending warmly & the deep Snow now covering the ground melting fast. — March setting in Beautifully.

214. It is surprising that an event of national interest on this date—the death of Col. Auguste Chouteau—is not recorded in the diary. *Niles' Weekly Register*, Baltimore, March 28, 1829, carried the following item: "Died, at St. Louis, Missouri, on the 24th Feb. col. Auguste Chouteau, 'the patriarch of St. Louis,' aged more than 80 years." Clark was absent from St. Louis at this time, and the clerk's entries in the diary are concerned chiefly with the weather.

March, 1829

WEATHER AND RIVER DATA

Date 1829	Thermom at 8 A.M	State of Weather	Points of Wind	Thermom at 4 P.M.	State of Weather	Points of Wind	Stage or Height of River
March 1st Sunday	28	Clear	W.	24	Clear	S.W.	River still closed. Tho' from the warmth of the present weather may soon break
2	48	Clear	S.	58	Clear	S.W.	" " " Thawing
3	32	Cloudy	S.E.	30	Rainy	S.	" " " "
4	56	Clear	W.	48	Cloudy	S.W.	River thawd all along our shore and breaking up fast, after being closed & passable for 28 days.
5	54	Clear	N.W.	48	Cloudy	E	
6	48	Cloudy	N.E.	46	Cloudy	E.	
7	50	Cloudy	N.E.	48	Cloudy	N.E.	River Clear of Ice.
8	58	Clear	NE	54	Clear	Calm	River rising a Little
Sunday 9	60	Clear.	W.	58	Clear	W.	" "
10	60	Cloudy	S.	58	Cloudy	S.W.	River still rising
11	50	Cloudy	N.E.	48	Cloudy	N.	River rising
12	40	Cloudy	N.	36	Cloudy	N.W.	" "
13	42	Clear	N.	38	Clear	NW	River still rising.
14	40	Clear	NW.	36	Cloudy	W	" "
15	40	Cloudy	N.E	37	Rainy	NW.	River rising
Sunday 16	42	Cloudy	W.	36	Cloudy	N	" "
17	46	Clear	N.	38	Clear	N.W.	" "
18	40	Cloudy	N.	38	Cloudy	N. E.	" "
19	32	Cloudy	N.	30	"	N.W.	" "
20	28	Cloudy	N.E.	27	Cloudy	N	" "
21	38	Clear	N	34	Clear	"	" "
22	42	Clear	S.	38	"	SW.	River upon a stand.
Sunday 23	46	Clear	W.	42	Clear	W.	" " "
24	48	"	Calm	46	"	Calm	" " "
25	46	"	"	44	"	E.	" " "
26	50	Clear	Calm	48	Clear	Calm	" " "
27	60	"	"	52	"	S.	" " "
28	62	"	"	62	Rain	S	
29	42	Cloudy	NE	50	Clear	W.	River Rising
Sunday 30	58	Clear	S.	64	Clear.	S.	
31st	58	Cloudy	S.	62	Cloudy	S.W.	

REMARKS

- 1 River breaking up about this time, after having been frozen over, for more than 20 days, sufficiently strong to bear passing daily during that time.
- 2 Warm day & a general Thaw takes place. warm eveng.
- 3 Warm Cloudy morning, thawing rapidly. Cloudy evening.
- 4 Fine warm Spring morning. pleast evening.
- 5 Last night the river broke up. Ferry Boat crosses to day 1st time for 20. Warm

- 6 Fine morning warm. River clear of Ice. warm evening
- 7 Warm Cloudy morning—pleast evening *S. Bt. arrives.*
- 8 Fine pleasant Spring morning. P. M. Summer heat! pleast eveng Steamer *Missouri* arrives 10 days from the mouth Ohio where she was detained by the Ice.
- 9 Beautiful morning & delightful weather. warm eveng. Steamer *Jubilee* arrives 8 days From Trinity.
- 10 Fine Spring morning. Cloudy. warm evening. Steamer *Maryland* arrives 7 days from Trinity
 " *Cleopatra* " " " " "
 " *Missouri* departs for Louisville
 Fine " *North America* arrives from the Mouth Col. Clinch²¹⁵ & other officers arrive
- 11 Cloudy morning with some rain, last nig[h]t. turning cooler raining
 Steamer *Maryland* departs for Pittsburg.
 " *Plough-Boy* arrives from Louisville.
 " *Jubilee* departs for N. Orleans.
 " *Cleopatra* " " Louisville.
- 12 Cold Last night with some snow. Cool day with N. wind. Steamer *Plough Boy* departs for Trinity.
- 13 Cold morning with severe wind. Cool evening & windy.
- 14 Cool morning & cloudy with Strong W. wind
 Steamer *N. America* departs for N. Orleans
 " *Clinton*²¹⁶ (1st trip) arrives from Pittsburg
- 15 Cold rainy morning. Cloudy weather Steamer *Clinton* departs for Louisville
- 16 Some Snow Last night. Cold & Cloudy during day. Steamer *Plough Boy* arrives from Trinity.
- 17 Beautiful morning & pleast. Evening cool with some wind Steamer *Plough Boy* departs for Louisville
- 18 Cool morning & Cloudy. Evening cool & Cloudy This morning we recive news that the S Boat *Talma*²¹⁷ (1st trip) took fire about 14 miles from this and was scuttled in order to save her. False report.

²¹⁵. Duncan L. Clinch, colonel of the Fourth infantry regiment, and other officers, unidentified. Clinch was brevetted brigadier general on April 20, 1829.—Heitman, Francis B., *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army* . . . (Washington, 1908), v. 1, p. 310.

²¹⁶. The *Clinton*, 132 tons, was built at Cincinnati in 1825. Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 253, lists her as "worn out" in 1831.

²¹⁷. The *Talma*, a new boat, of 140 tons, was built at Pittsburgh.—*Ibid.*, p. 262.

- 19 Col. Croghan ²¹⁸ arrives this eveng. Cold & *Snowing hard* with N. wind. Cool evening Steamer *Talma* arrives from Louisville, slowly having to use the pumps as she sustained some damage Col. Croghan arrives on board.
- 20 Cloudy but turning warmer. Thawing a little Steamer *Galena Packet* arrives from Louisville.
- 21 Clear morning but cool. Evening Cold & windy North
- 22 Clear morning tho' cool & disagreeable from the Wind. Steamer *Missouri* arrives from Louisville.
- 23 Fine morning & pleast throughout the day.
Steamer *Triton* ²¹⁹ arrives from Louisville.
" *Rome* ²²⁰ " " Nashville.
" *Galena Packet* departs for Galena.
" *Talma* 1st time " " Franklin Mo.
- 24 Fine warm morning. Evening clear & pleasant.
Steamer *Missouri* departs for Galena
" *Rome* " " Nashville.
- 25 Beautiful morning & clear. Evening pleasant. Steamer *Diana* arrives from Louisville.
- 26 Charming morning & calm. holds do through the day.
Steamer *Belvidere* arrives from Cincinnati
- 27 Delightful morning & warm. warm pleasant Eveng. Fine weather & warm.
Steamer *Belvidere* departs for Louisville.
" *Diana* " " "
- 28 Fine warm morning & somewhat Hazy. Some rain. Steamer *Velocipede* arrives from Cincinnati.
- 29 Cool & cloudy morning Pleasant Evening.
Steamer *Ploughboy* arrives from Cincinnati.
" *Velocipede* departs for "
The *Cleopatra* arrives from Louisville, on board of which is Gnl Clark ²²¹ and Lady, & Miss Radford, from Washington
Steamer *Lawrence* arrives from Louisville
- 30 Gnl Clark & family arrive from Washington 29th inst. Beautiful morning with weather. Fine warm evening &c.
Steamer *Rover* arrives from N. Orleans
" *Plough-Boy* departs for Louisville.

218. See Footnote 36.

219. The *Triton*, first mentioned here, was a little 50-ton boat, built at Cincinnati in 1826. —Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 262.

220. Hall lists no steamboat named *Rome*.

221. See Footnote 188. Clark had been absent, apparently, in Washington, D. C., or in the East, since October 30, 1828.

- 31 Cloudy & Hazy this morning & continues so throughout the day
 Steamer *Talma* arrives From Franklin
 " *Missouri* " " Lower rapids, Mssi
 " *Lawrence* departs for Louisville

April, 1829

WEATHER AND RIVER DATA

Date 1829	Thermom at 8 A.M.	State of Weather	Points of Wind	Thermom at 4 PM	State of Weather	Points of Wind	Stage or Height of River
April							
1st	50	Cloudy	W	48	Cloudy	NW	River rising fast.
2	48	Clear	W	46	Cloudy	N	" " "
3	48	Cloudy	N	46	Clear	NW	" upon a stand.
4	46	"	S.	45	Clear	W	" " "
5	48	Clear	W	46	Clear	NW.	" " "
Sunday							
6	46	Clear	W	48	Clear	NE	" " "
7	62	Cloudy	S.	68	Cloudy	S	River rising a Little.
8	60	Rainy	S.W	62	Cloudy	S.	" " "
9	52	Cloudy	S.	50	Cloudy	W.	" upon a stand.
10	48	Clear	W.	60	Cloudy	W	
11	50	Cloudy	S.W.	48	Rainy	W.	" Rising
12	48	Rainy	W.	46	Cloudy	W	
Sunday							
13	58	Clear	N.	56	Clear	N.	River falling a little
14	48	Clear	N	60	Clear	Calm	River rose about 8 inches. last night & continues to rise, drift running.
15	62	Clear	Calm	62	Clear	S.	
16	62	Clear	S	60	Cloudy	S.	River rose 2½ inches last night
17	66	Cloudy	S	80	Cloudy	S.	River Fell to day 6 inches.
18	64	Rainy	S.W	62	Cloudy	S.	" " " 5 inches
19	65	Clear	S	64	Clear	S.	" " " 2 inches
Sunday							
20	62	Clear	W	58	Clear	W.	" Rose last night 14 inches
21	58	Clear	W	58	"	S	River Rising still 6 inches
22	64	Clear	S	56	"	S.	upon a stand to day
23	56	Cloudy	NW	52	"	W	River fallen 6 Inches
24	52	"	NW.	52	Cloudy	NW	Risen one foot
25	52	Clear	"	50	Cloudy	NW.	River falling fast
26	58	Cloudy	N.	52	Clear	S.	" fell 14 inches
Sunday							
27	62	Clear	W	60	Clear	W	" natus fuit 18.
28	64	"	"	62	"	"	" " 18 inches.
29	66	Clear	S	62	Clear	S	River fallen 3 Ft since 28th still falling.
30	68	Clear	S.W.	72	"	"	" " 14 inches

REMARKS

- Rainy & very Windy. Bad times for the Ladies of the City
 Steamer *Cleopatra* departs for Louisville
 " *Talma* " " Cincinnati
- Clear morning & somewhat cool— Evening windy & cool.
 Steamer *Rover* departs for Galena

- 3 Cool morning & cloudy. Cloudy & warm evening. Steamer *Oregon* arrives from N. Orleans, & Brings news of the loss of the *Muskingum* & the *Natchez* ²²²
- 4 Rain this morning & cloudy. pleasant Evening
- 5 Pleasant morning, turns cool towards P. M. Evening pleasant. Steamer *Oregon* departs for N Orleans.
- 6 Fine warm morning & clear Pleasant evening. W. R. arrives Steamer *Diana* arrives from Louisville Mjr Biddle ²²³ & Wm Radford, ²²⁴ on board.
New " *Phoenix* " " "
" *Rover* " " Lower rapids.
- 7 Cloudy morning tho' pleasant. Warm cloudy evening. Steamer *Diana* departs for Louisville.
- 8 Rainy morning with Thunder & Lightning. rainy thro' the day.
Steamer *Missouri* departs for Galena & K——[?]
" *Phoenix* " " Louisville
- 9 Cloudy disagreeable morning, cool & Strong S. Wind. rainy thro' the day
Steamer *Belvidere* arrives from Louisville.
" *Essex* " " Trinity
mean " *Josephine* " " Galena
- 10 Col. Croghan ²²⁵ arrives. Clear morning, but turns cool & rainy throughout the day
Fine Steamer *Jubilee* arrives from New Orleans 11 days
" *Wm Duncan* " " Cincinatti
" *Essex* departs for Louisville.
- 11 Cold Cloudy morning— with rain & cold winds. Cool & rainy river rising
Steamer *Rover* departs for Galena.
" *Belvidere* " " Louisville.
- 12 Mjr. Dougherty ²²⁶ arrives Cloudy morning withe rain Gnl.

222. For item on the *Muskingum* see Footnote 195. The *Natchez*, according to Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 259, was a 240-ton boat, built at New York in 1822. She was "Snagged, below Natchez."—*Ibid.*

223. Maj. Thomas Biddle, paymaster in the U. S. army, resided in St. Louis. He was killed in a duel with the Hon. Spencer Pettis in August, 1831.—*St. Louis Beacon*, September 1, 1831. The duel took place on an island in the Mississippi river, opposite St. Louis. Most accounts say the shots were fired from a distance of five paces (the *Beacon* says five feet), because of the nearsightedness of Biddle, and, not surprisingly, both men were mortally wounded at first fire.

224. See Footnote 164.

225. See Footnote 36 and entry of March 19, 1829.

226. See Footnotes 49 and 65.

- Hughes²²⁷ arrives with Indns little Steamer *Red Rover* arrives from the Lower rapids with Majr Dougherty 19 Indians —Kansas & Weas to gether 10 with Gnl Hughes
- 13 Clear pleasant morning pleasant Evening.
Steamer *Ploughboy* arrives from Louisville
“ *Wm D. Duncan* departs for Franklin, Mo.²²⁸
- 14 Beautiful clear morning—warm. Peach Trees blooming
Steamer *St L[ouis]* & *Galena Packet* arrives from Galena.
“ *Ploughboy* departs for Louisville.
small Steamer *Red Rover* departs for Galena.
- 15 Warm & Delightful morning continues so. 32 Sacs & Fox Indns. arrive.
mean Steamer *Velocipede* arrives from Louisville.
“ *Jubilee* departs for N. Orleans.
“ *Maryland* arrives from Pittsburgg
a party of 35 Foxes arrive on business
- 16 Warm & Hazy morning. Warm & Cloudy 35 Foxes arrive
Steamer *Cleopatra* arrives from Louisville
- 17 Warm & Cloudy with little rain. Evening warm & cloudy.
Steamer *Cleopatra* departs for Louisville on board of which Gnl. Hughes & Mjr. Dougherty depart.
Steamer *Galena Packet* departs for Galena on board of which Keokuck²²⁹ & party of 22 depart Fine Steamer *N. America* arrives from N. Orleans. Keokuck & party of 22 dept for Uppr Mssi.
- 18 Rain Last night with Thunder & Lightning Warm Cloudy Evening mean Steamer *Velocipede* departs for Louisville
- 19 Rain with Thunder & lightning in the evening. warm & Sultry
Steamer *Maryland* departs for Pittsburgh the small pox on board
mean “ *Triton* arrives from Galena.
- 20 Turns cooler this morning. Cool & windy this Evening.
Steamer *Essex* arrives from Louisville.
- 21 Beautiful morning & pleast. Col. Menard arrives. Evening warm Steamer *Diana* from Louisville Mr. G. H. Kennerly & Mr. Sanford on board. Steamer *Essex* Departs for Lower Rapids. Foxes (35) in number depart for Rock River A

227. Andrew S. Hughes, a Kentuckian, was subagent for the Iowas and part of the Sacs and Foxes at this period.—22 Cong., 1 Sess., *Senate Doc. 101* (Serial 213), p. 11.

228. Franklin, Mo., some 200 miles up the Missouri river from St. Louis, was an outpost on that stream for steamboat trade prior to the establishment of Cantonment Leavenworth in 1827.

229. See Footnote 213.

- Party of Kansas (Chief White plume²³⁰) are at present here on business. They are encamped about 5 miles from this [place] to keep clear of the small pox which is in Town.
- 22 Fine morning tho' rather warm. Hot South wind blowing. Steamer *Diana* Departs for Louisville
- 23 Rain last night & now cloudy. Cool this Evening. Steamer *Wm Duncan* arrives from Franklin Mo.
- 24 Cool morning. Windy & cool thro' the day. Party this Eveng. Steamer *Missouri* arrives from Galena White Plume & Party depart for Kansas River.
- 25 Cool morning tho' pleasant. Cool evening
Steamer *Red Rover* arrives from Galena
" *Livingston*²³¹ " " New Orleans
- 26 Cold morning with frost which injures the fruit. pleast Evening
Little Steamer *Josephine* from Mouth Missouri
" " *Plough Boy* " Louisville full of passengers A Weea Chief arrives to day Majr. Graham²³² & Interpreter depart for the Kansas.
- 27 Beautiful & serene morning. pleasant Evening.
Little Steamer *Red Rover* Departs for Galena
" " *Essex* arrives from "
20 Shawnees arrive trading & 23 Delewares.
- 28 Fine warm morning. Majr Graham Leaves Warm Eveng.
Little Steamer *Ploughboy* departs to Louisville
" *Essex* depts for Louisville
- 29 Warm morning warm pleast Evening. Little Steamer *Wm Duncan* depts for Franklin, Majr Graham & Interpreter on board for Shawnee Agency. Steamer *Josephine* Depts. for St. Peter. 20 Shawnees and Delewares Depart
- 30 Warm morning fine for vegetation. warm Evening Steamer *Livingston* Depts. for N. Orleans 28 Kickapoos arrive on business with the Supt. April ends with fine warm weather for the planters.

230. White Plume, chief of the Kansas Indians, was in his sixties at this time. As described a few years later (1833): "He was tall and muscular, though his form, through neglect of exercise, was fast verging towards corpulency. He wore a hat after the fashion of the whites, a calico hunting shirt and rough leggings. Over the whole was wrapped a heavy blanket. His face was unpainted, and although his age was nearly seventy his hair was raven black, and his eye as keen as a hawk's."—Irving, John T., Jr., *Indian Sketches* (London, 1835), v. 1, pp. 64, 65.

231. The *Livingston*, a 200-ton boat, was built at Smithland (Smith's Landing, Ill.) in 1826.—Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 257.

232. See Footnotes 125 and 237.

May, 1829

WEATHER AND RIVER DATA

Date 1829	Thermom at 8 AM	State of Weather	Points of Wind 8 AM.	Thermom at 4 P.M.	State of Weather	Points of Wind 4 P.M.	Stage or Height of River
May							
1st	72	Cloudy	W.	68	Rainy	S.W	River Falls 3 inches
2	64	Cloudy	W.	69	Clear	Calm.	" remarkably low.
3	58	Clear	N	72	Clear	NW.	River fallen 2 Inches
Sunday							
4	62	Clear	W	74	Clear	N.	" falls 4 Do.
5	62	Clear	Calm	73	Clear	Calm	" falls since last Evng 6 In.
6	62	"	W	72	"	"	Rises 1 Inch
7	62	Clear	Calm	60	Clear	Calm.	River Rises 2 inches.
8	68	Clear	Calm	60	Clear	Calm	" " 2½ inches
9	62	Clear	W.	62	"	"	River Rises 4 inches.
10	64	Clear	W.	58	"	"	Rises 3 Do
Sunday							
11	62	Cloudy	E.	52	Rainy	N.	falls 4½ Do.
12	52	Cloudy	N.	58	Clear	W.	River fell since 4 oclock yesterday 6 inches
13	58	Clear	N.	68	Cloudy	E.	River fell since Last night 1 inch.
14	60	Clear	W.	62	Clear	W.	River upon a stand.
15	64	Rainy	S.	80	Clear	S.	" " "
16	68	Clear	W.	66	Clear	S.	River rose about 3½ inches.
17	68	Clear	W.	66	Clear	Calm	River Rose 2 inches Last nt.
Sunday							
18	68	Cloudy	S.	68	Cloudy	S.	" fell since Last night 2½ inches
19	72	Clear	W.	70	Cloudy	E.	1 "
20	70	Clear	W.	71	Cloudy	E.	1½ "
21	72	Clear	W.	74	Clear	SW.	River rises 1 inch to day.
22	80	Clear	E.	80	Cloudy	E.	" falls 1 " " "
23	78	Cloudy	E.	72	Cloudy	S.W.	" " 1½ " " "
24	81	Rainy	S.	82	Rainy	W.	River rises 1 inch
Sunday							
25	82	Clear	W.	81	Clear	W.	River falls 2 inch's
26	81	Clear	Calm	80	Cloudy	S.	" " 1 "
27	82	Rainy	W.		Clear	W	" " 1 "
28	82	Clear	Calm	88	Clear	S. E.	River falls 1 inch.
29	88	Clear	S.E.	86	Cloudy	S.	" " 2 inch's.
30	84	Clear	W.	88	Clear	S.	" " 2 inchs.
31	88	Clear	Calm	92			" " 1 Do.
Sunday							

Very Warm Weather

REMARKS

- 1 Fine Spring weather. rainy in the Evening. Steamer *Cleopatra* arrives from Louisville. Col. Leavenworth²³³ on board.
- 2 Cloudy morning & warm. Warm evening & clear. Steamer *Rover* arrives from Galena
- 3 Cool about sun rise, but pleasant day. Warm Evening Steamer *Diana* arrives from Louisville
- 4 Fine Clear morning & pleasant. Evening fine & Pleasant. 28 Kickapoos depart for Osage River.

233. Bvt. Brig. Gen. Henry Leavenworth, of the Third infantry, the founder of Cantonment Leavenworth (see Footnote 57).

- 5 Fine warm morning & clear. Fine Evening & clear. Steamer *Diana* from Jeffn. Barracks with troops on board, under command of Majr. B Riley, ordered to the mouth of the Platte to protect Santa Fe Traders.²³⁴ departd.
- 6 Clear Warm morning. wedding of Miss Stokes Last night.²³⁵ Miss Wilson married²³⁶
- 7 Warm morning, throughout the day continues so. Cloudy & windy night
Steamer *Oregon* from N. Orleans. 15 days.
" *Phoenix* from Louisville. Cap Geo. Vas[h]on²³⁷ on board. Agent for Delewares & Shawnees in place of Majr. Graham.
" *St L. & Galena Packet* from Galena. river above very low, & not commenced rising yet. also mean little Str. *Triton* [arrives]
- 8 Warm morning windy thro' the day. pleast Evening.
Str. *Missouri* from Lowr Rapids. river rising
" *Essex* " Louisville
27 Kickapoos arrive from Osage River.
- 9 Cool morning & pleast. Windy. Cool pleasant evening
Steamer *Jubilee* arrives from N. Orleans.
- 10 Fine pleasant morning—Delightful evening—camp S. Bts.
Origon for Orleans, *Essex* for Louisville, *Phoenix* for Louisville
S. B. *Gallena Packett* arrives from Kaskaskia
- 11 Rain & warm Cool in the Evening. Rainy weather. S. B.
Plough Boy from Louisville Steamer *Red Rover* from Galena.

234. Bvt. Maj. Bennet Riley and four companies of the Sixth infantry left Jefferson Barracks on May 5, 1829, for Cantonment Leavenworth. Brig. Gen. Henry Atkinson's order of April 18, 1829, had read: ". . . Notice is hereby given, that a detachment of two hundred troops, under the command of major Riley, of the 6th regiment of infantry, will proceed from Cantonment Leavenworth, about the 1st of June, on the Santa Fe road, to the Arkansas river, for the protection of caravans engaged in commercial intercourse with the provinces of New Mexico. The detachment will halt at some position on the Arkansas, for the return of caravans, till some time in October, when it will fall back upon the frontier. . . ." —*Niles' Weekly Register*, May 16, 1829. The military escort encamped near Chouteau's Island in the Arkansas river while the traders proceeded through Spanish territory to Santa Fe. During the summer the troops were harassed by Plains Indians and an attack on August 3 was repelled with some casualties. The expedition returned to Cantonment Leavenworth on November 8, 1829.—*American State Papers (Military Affairs)*, v. 4, pp. 277-280; *The New Mexico Historical Review*, Santa Fe, v. 2, pp. 178-192, 269-300. Brevet Major Riley was presented with a sword from the legislature of Missouri for his services in convoying this expedition.

235. William Smith and Ann Stokes, both of St. Louis, were married on May 5.—*Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, May 12, 1829.

236. Hiram Rich and Julia Ann Wilson were married on this date.—*Ibid.*

237. George Vashon had served in the War of 1812, and was a captain when he resigned from the army in 1819. Clark wrote McKenney of the Indian department on May 18, 1829: ". . . Capt. Vashon has reported and will begin his duties on return of Mjr. Graham from the Tribes near the Kansas River." —Superintendency of Indian affairs, St. Louis, "Records" (in *Kansas State Historical Society*), v. 4, pp. 8, 9. In 1830 or 1831, Vashon was appointed agent to the Cherokees in Mississippi. He died in 1835.—*The National Calendar, for MDCCCXXXI* (Washington City, 1831), p. 105; Heitman, *op. cit.*, p. 985.

- 12 Cold morning & sudden change. Evening cool Steamer *Plough Boy* for Louisville
- 13 Cold morning & unpleasant. Pleasant evening.
Steamer *Missouri* for Galena
" *Maryland* from Pittsburg
" *Missouri* departs for Galena
- 14 Fine Pleasant morning. Pleasant evening 3 Shawnees arrive from White River.
- 15 Cloudy morning with Rain. Pleast Evening. 3 Shawnees start for the Merrimack River.
- 16 Clear morning & clear. Fine pleast evening Steamer *Emerald*²³⁸ arrives from Nashville.
- 17 Beautiful morning. Warm evening. A house burnt down on the hill.
- 18 Warm cloudy weather Warm Sultry evening Steamer *Cleopatra* departs for Louisville To-day Genl. M. G. Clark S. Agent for Kansas departs for his Agency on Kansas River.²³⁹
27 Kickapoos start for the White River. 129 Shawnees arrive & camp with business with Supt.
- 19 Very Warm to day. Warm Sultry evening. Locust Very Abundant and abundant [*sic!*] and destroying the Apples Pears & oak Trees
- 20 Fine morning, tho' warm. Sultry & warm evening. S. B. *Diana* arrives from the Platte with 100 Troops on board for Jeffn Barracks.²⁴⁰ Steamer *Maryland* depts for N. Orleans.
S. B. *Essex* arrives from Louisville
" " *Diana* " " Jeffn Barracks.
32 of [the Shawnees] arrive in St. Louis on business with Supt.
- 21 Turning very warm— Very warm & Sultry. Steamer *Essex* depts for Louisville.
- 22 Warm morning & Sultry. Turning cooler with showers.
Fine Steamer *N. America* arrives from N. Orleans.
" *Missouri* " " Galena.
" *Diana* depts for Louisville.
To day Mr. Mètté departs for Peoria, on business.

238. The *Emerald*, a 150-ton boat, was built in 1824 at Cumberland river. She was "worn out" by 1830.—Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 254.

239. Marston G. Clark, a Virginian who had removed to Indiana, was appointed Indian subagent in March, 1829. His post was at the Kansas river agency, where he served until 1833.—Office of Indian affairs, "Registers of Letters Received," v. 2, p. 104; *Indiana Historical Collections*, Indianapolis, v. 24, p. 134, footnote.

240. From the establishment of Cantonment Leavenworth in May, 1827, the post had proved an unhealthy place, with many troops ill during the summer months of malarial fever. In 1829 it was decided to withdraw the complement then stationed there, leaving the frontier to be guarded by Bvt. Maj. Bennet Riley's force (see Footnote 234), which had just reached the cantonment on board the *Diana*.—Hunt, E., and W. E. Lorence, *History of Fort Leavenworth, 1827-1937* (Fort Leavenworth, 1937), pp. 19-24.

- 23 Pleasant morning. Rainy. Rain. pleast Evening. 3 keels; & 4 small boats arrive from the Platte with 3d Regt.²⁴¹ Steamer *Wm Duncan* arrives From Franklin (Mo.)
- 24 Cool morning & rainy. Rainy thro' evening
- 25 Warm morning. P. M. warm. Evening Sultry.
mean Steamer *Triton* departs for Galena.
" *Red Rover* " " "
- 26 Locusts appear in country Very warm morning. Rainy this Evening. Steamer *Ploughboy* arrives from Louisville. on board Majr Dougherty Ind Agt. 1st. Time Steamer *Atlas*²⁴² arrives from N. Orleans, freight on board for Supt
- 27 Rainy this morning. Warm Evening Steamer *Plough Boy* departs for Louisville.
- 28 Warm morning— Very Warm this Evening Fine new S. Boat *Walter Scott*²⁴³ arrives from Louisville 1st trip Steamer *Livingston* arrives from N. Orleans
- 29 Exceedingly Warm morning P. M. Warm & Sultry.
- 30 Warm sultry morning. Warm Evening Steamer *Essex* from Trinity.
- 31 Many Locusts Excessively warm day. Summer setting in Locusts Prevail in Country J. B. Steamer *Talma* from Pittsburgh.
Steamer *Atlas* depts for N. Orleans
" *Galena Packet* arrives from Galna hot.
" *Missouri* " " " reports the river still low.

June, 1829

WEATHER AND RIVER DATA

Date	Thermom	State	Points	Thermom	State	Points	
1829	at	of	of	at	of	of	Stage or Height of River
June	8 A.M.	Weather	Wind	4 P.M.	Weather	Wind	
1st	90	hot	Sultry	88	Calm	Sultry	River on a Stand low.
2	90	Clear	Sultry	86	Cloudy	Calm	" " " "
3	88	Clear	Calm	84	Rain	Cool	River Rises 2 inches.
4	84	Clear	Calm	82	Rain	Cool	" " 1½ inch
5	84	Clear	Calm	80	Rain	Cool	" " 3 inches
6	84	Rain	S.W.	86	Cloudy	"	River Rises 8 inches.
7	78	Cloudy	W.	64	Cloudy	Cool.	" " 9 inches
Sunday							
8	72	Clear	W.	80	Cool	N.	River Falling. — at a stand.
9	64	Cloudy	W	68	warm	W	
10	64	Clear	W	66	"	W	River falls 2 inches

241. Further transfer of troops from Cantonment Leavenworth. See Footnote 240.

242. The *Atlas*, a 160-ton boat, was built at New Albany in 1827.—Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 252.243. The *Walter Scott*, a 200-ton boat, was built at Cincinnati in 1829.—*Ibid.*, p. 263.

Date 1829	Thermom at 8 A.M.	State of Weather	Points of Wind	Thermom at 4 P.M.	State of Weather	Points of Wind	Stage or Height of River	
11	62	Cloudy	W.	68	Warm	S.	5 inches	
12	84	Clear	S	86	Pleat	S.	River falls 4	"
13	86	Clear	S	85 deg.	"	N.E	River Rising 2	
14	88	hot	S	88	Hot	Sultry	River Rising 5 Inches.	
Sunday								
15	88	Hazy	W.	92	Warm	"	"	9 "
16	88	Clear	S.W.	94	Warm	Cloudy	" falls	2 "
17	62	Cloudy	S.	64	Cool	Cloudy	"	4 "
18	62	Clear	W	62	Cool.	"	"	4 "
19	70	Clear	S	68	pleat	Rain	"	3 "
20	70	Cloudy	W.	64	calm	Calm	"	4 "
21	62	Clear	W	60	Clear	W	"	4 "
Sunday								
22	62	"	E	64	Cloudy	E	"	4 "
23	64	"	E	66	Clear	E	" Rises	2 "
24	64	"	E	62	"	E	"	1½ "
25	62	"	E	60	Cloudy	E	"	4 "
26	64	Rainy	S.	68	Clear	S.W.	"	4½ "
27	80	Clear	S.	98	Rain	NW	"	3 " drift running.
28	66	"	NW	64	Clear	NW	"	3½ " Drift running.
Sunday								
29	64	Cloudy	N.	68	Cloudy	N.	Since yesterday rose 1 Foot.	
30	70	Clear	W.				"	Rose Incha.

June ends with fine, cool & pleat weather.

REMARKS

- 1 This morning Mr. Elias T. Langham²⁴⁴ Sub Agent from St. Peters arrives [on the *S. B. Missouri*]. Sets in Very Warm. excessively warm & sultry
- 2 Very Warm morning. Very warm evening
Steamer *Cleopatra* depts for Louisville
" *Crusader* " " Louisville
" *Livingston* " " N. Orleans.
- 3 Still warm & dry with thousands of *Locusts* fine shower cool
Fine Str *Walt Scott* depts for Louisville
- 4 Pleat morning & not So warm. Fine shower of Rain.
Steamer *Gala Packet* starts for Gala. Mr. Langham S. Agt on board
" *Diana* Starts for Louisvle *Wm. Radford*²⁴⁵ on board.
This morning Capt Geo Vashon²⁴⁶ Agt for Dels Shawnees &c departs for Kanzas River. Majr Dougherty departs—in the Stage
- 5 Warm morning. Pleat evening & cloudy. Str *Oregon* from N Orleans. Col Menard from home. The Interpreter J. Mett  arrives from Peoria.

²⁴⁴. Elias T. Langham, Indian subagent at St. Peters, resigned this post in July, 1832.—Office of Indian affairs. "Registers of Letters Received," v. 3 (Langham letter of July 2, 1832), in The National Archives, Washington, D. C.

²⁴⁵. See Footnote 164.

²⁴⁶. See Footnote 237.

- 6 Fine Rain this morning. Pleast Eveng threatng Rain
- 7 Cool Pleasant morning. Cool pleast Evening.
- 8 Very Cool Last night & this morning. Many Locusts destroyed by rain[y] weather
- Str. *Criterion* arrives from Florence
- “ *Gnl. Pike* depts for Orleans. McNair ²⁴⁷ on board
- 9 Locusts Dying off & Disappearing Very Cool Weather. Go To Edwdsville to overtake Express.
- 10 Pleast weathere Returned this Evening
- 11 Locust destruction diminishing Still warm thro’ the day. Sultry Evening.
- 12 Clear Warm morning. P. M. Sultry. Warm Evening.
- 13 Very Warm to day. P. M. Sultry. Warm Evening
- Str. *Missouri* from Chariton Mo.
- “ *Wm. Duncan* “ Franklin “
- Steamer *Oregon* depts for N. Orleans
- “ *Jubilee* arrives from N. Orleans, reports Sickness raging there. Small pox & Yellow Fever. A Party of Sacs & of 8 Foxes arrive with a Sioux woman prisoner, on business.
- 14 Very Warm Morning. P. M. Excessively Warm & Sultry.
- 15 Warm Summer morning. Warm Evening.
- 16 Very Warm This morning. Oppressive heat. Cloudy
- 17 Fine Shower Last night which has coold the air very much
- 18 Pleasant morning & Cool. Pleast cool Evening. the 7 Sacs & Foxes dept for home.
- 19 Cool & heavy Shower Last night Pleast Evening. rain
- 20 Cool pleasant morning. Pleast Evening. Fine Large Str. *Walk in the Water* ²⁴⁸ from N. Orleans (1st time). The Sioux woman Prisoner depts for Uppr Missouri to day 20th.
- 21 Clear but some fog early in the mo[rn]ing, after which warm
- 22 Morning clear & pleasant, evening Cloudy & has apearance of rain
- 23 Morning Cool, but from 10 A. M. to 5 P. M. warm Str. *Cru-sader* from Louisville. Gnl Hughes on Board.
- 24 Com. speak of starting to P. du Chein. Col. Menard at Mjr. Grat[iot?]
- 25 Genl. Hughes arrives from Kenty. Cloudy in evening Str. *Wm. Duncan* from Franklin (Mo.)

247. Dunning D. McNair, clerk and interpreter. See Footnote 150.

248. The *Walk in the Water* was a 425-ton boat, one of the largest class steamers on the Mississippi. She was built at New York in 1826.—Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 262.

- 26 Rainy morning & cool. Warm Evening.
Str. *Crusader* dep'ts for Cincinnati. Miss Lane
" *Essex* " " Louisville.
Fine Str. *North America* ²⁴⁹ from N. Orleans. reports that it is
very sickly & apprehensive of the Seasons being very much so.
Str. *Cumberland* from Trinity
- 27 This morning quite warm hard Storm from N Genl. Hughes
departs for Iowa S Agency, Up'r Mo.
- 28 Cool & pleasant morning. Mr Metty leaves for *Prairie du
Chien* To collect the Indians & attend the Treaty Little Str
Plough boy from Louisville Fine Str. *Phoenix* ²⁵⁰ from N. Or-
leans. To day a flat Boat ran against her coming down Loaded
with Lead & was stove so that it sunk directly in 13 Ft water.
Contained about 40 Tons people engaged fishing it up.
- 29 Pleasant Morning. River Rising fast. Pleast Evening. Mjr.
Hamtramck's Express arrives with dispatches from him
- 30 This Morning quite Cool The Commrs. Gnl. McNeil Col.
Menard & Mr. Atwater depart for holdg *Treaty* at P. du Chien.
Mr Charles S. Hempstead the Secretrary to the Comrs. & Capt
G. H. Kennerly also depart To day the Commissioners Genl.
McNeil Col Menard & Mr. Atwater, for holding a Treaty at
Prairie des Chiens, depart for that place on board S. B. *Mis-
souri*, accompnd. by C. S. Hempstead, Secty, & Capt Geo. H.
Kennerly as Contractor for Presents, Goods &c. For the In-
dians.²⁵¹

July, 1829

WEATHER AND RIVER DATA

Date	Thermom at	State of	Points of	Thermom at	State of	Points of	Stage or Height of Rive
1829	8 A.M.	Weather	Wind	4 P.M.	Weather	Wind	
July		very					River rising.
1st.	62	Cool.	W.	64	Clear	W.	" " 1½ Inch.
2	70	Cool	S.W.	72	Cloudy	S.	River upon a stand.
3	72	Cool	W.	78	Rain	S.	River risen 3 Inches
4th.	62	"	NW	60	Clear	NW	" falls 4 "
5	60	Clear	NW	62	"	W	" " 9 "
Sunday							
6	62	Cloudy	E	80	Cloudy	E	" " 7 "
7	74	Clear	E	88	Clear	E	" " 6 "

249. "The s. b. *North America*, *Scott*, Master, arrived this morning from New-Orleans, with full freight, 60 cabin passengers and upwards of 100 on deck."—*St. Louis Beacon*, June 27, 1829. The *North America* was a 300-ton boat. (See Footnote 127.)

250. This *Phoenix*, 250 tons, was a new boat, and not the same as the *Phoenix* (200 tons) mentioned in the diary in the summer of 1827.

251. "The Commissioners for holding the Treaty with the *Winnebagoes*, for the purchase of the Lead Mine Country, on the Upper Mississippi, left this place on Tuesday 31st ult. on board the steam boat *Missouri*, for the village of *Prairie du Chien*, where the Treaty is to be held. . . ."—*St. Louis Beacon*, July 4, 1829. On July 29, a treaty was made with the Chippewas, Ottawas and Pottawatomies; and on August 1, with the Winnebagoes.—U. S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Treaties Between the United States of America, and the Several Indian Tribes* (Washington, 1837), pp. 435-442.

Date 1829	Thermom at 8 A.M.	State of Weather	Points of Wind	Thermom at 4 P.M.	State of Weather	Points of Wind	Stage or Height of River
8	74	"	E	86	"	E	" " $4\frac{1}{2}$ "
9	76	"	W	88	"	W	" " 2 "
10	76	"	W	88	"	W	" " 1 "
11	84	"	W	82	Storm	W	" " 2 "
12	76	"	W	80	Clear	W	" On a Stand
Sunday							
13	74	"	W	82	"	W	" " $1\frac{1}{2}$ "
14	76	"	W	86	"	S	" " 1 "
15	81	"	S	78	Rain	S	" " 2 "
16	78	"	S.	88	Clear	S.	" " 2 "
17	88	"	S	94	"	S	" On a stand
18	84	"	W	96	"	W	" risen 2 "
19	80	"	W	94	"	W	" falls 1 "
Sunday							
20	74	"	W	96	"	W	" fall $\frac{1}{2}$ "
21	66	"	W	98	"	S	" " 1 "
22	86	"	S	98	"	S	" on a Stand
23	86	"	S	90	"	W	" " " "
24	68	Cloudy	W	68	"	W	" Rises 8 "
25	62	"	W	70	"	W	" $3\frac{1}{2}$
26	80	Clear	W	72	"	W	" on a Stand
Sunday							
27	68	"	W	74	Rain	W	" " " "
28	86	Cloudy	S	88	Cloudy	S	" " " "
29	84	Clear	S	86	Clear	S	" " " "
30	86	"	S.	88	Clear	S	" " " "
31	86	"	S	88	"	S	" " " "

REMARKS

- 1 Last night June 30, sufficiently cool to sleep with cover of Blanket & This morning Fire was necessary for comfort. Pleasant Eveng
- 2 Fine cool weather to day. Cool Cloudy Evening.
- 3 Cool & pleasant morning. Evening rainy cool
- 4 A large fire in the Dining Room, owing to cool weather. cool evening
- 5 Clear morning and warmer than yesterday. evening clear
- 6 On Saturday (4th) Mr Jesse Benton started on express to Galena & P. du Chien
- 8 A very hard rain last night, to day clear and warm
- 9 This day very warm. Mr. Wallis²⁵² buried. Recd letter from W R²⁵³ New Steam Tow Boat *Galena*²⁵⁴ (Bates) arrives from Cincinnati The *Oregon* here.
- 10 The weather warm & Inhabitants a good deal sickly Friday a party of Kickapoos (25) arrive

252. "Died on Friday morning, in the 21st year of his age, Mr. Hugh Wallace, formerly from Culpepper co. Va., and late of Kentucky."—*St. Louis Beacon*, July 11, 1829.

253. "W R" was William Radford. (See Footnote 164.)

254. Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 256, lists a steamboat *Galena*, of 110 tons, built at Cincinnati in 1820. Her name was changed to *Hawk Eye*.

- 11 The *Crusader* arrives & *Powhattan*²⁵⁵ starts— Hard & hot time
- 12 Letter to day from Capt G. H. Kennerly (Lower Rapids
- 13 The *Oregon* arrived on Saturday— a party of Kickapoos & Sacs in town a party of Socks from Missouri arrive of in No.
- 14 Capt Warner²⁵⁶ Sub Agt for Sacs & Foxes arrived on Sunday
- 15 Roy²⁵⁷ employed as Interpreter on 14th— St. B. *Traveller*²⁵⁸ arrived A party of Sacs from Missouri in town & also a party Kickapoos
- 16 Very hot weather. Evening very hot & air close
- 17 a party of Kickapoos here— Evening intensely hot
- 18 Some mist[?] early this morning. very hot.
- 19 Clear & warm. Judge Carr & Mjr Hopkins Daughter shot by accident yesterday²⁵⁹
- 20 A party of Fox Indians arrived. very warm weather
- 21 This day hotter than any felt during this Summer.
- 22 The night of this day more hot than any experienced
- 23 Express arrives from Govnr Miller,²⁶⁰ dispatches issued
- 24 A party of Shawanees (Fish)²⁶¹ arrive. The Foxes leave
- 25 This day Cloudy in the morning but clear & warm at Evening
- 26 Cloudy yet warm morning. this evening very warm
- 27 Very warm day Rain in the Evening Thunder
- 28 Heavy fog, followed by a warm morning. Warm evening
- 29 Clear warm and Dry weather
- 30 To day Col Wooly²⁶² Starts with his family to Ky
- 31 Warm day and clear and dry weather

255. The *Powhattan*, first mentioned here, was a 221-ton boat, built at Pittsburgh in 1828.—*Ibid.*, p. 260.

256. Wynkoop Warner was subagent for the Sacs and Foxes for a short time.—23 Cong., 1 Sess., *Senate Doc. 512* (Serial 245), p. 62.

257. Possibly Alexander Roy, who had been on Pike's expedition. The Roy family lived in St. Louis.

258. The *Traveller*, a small boat (50 tons) was built at Wheeling in 1828, and sunk at St. Louis in 1832, according to Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 262.

259. Judge William C. Carr (1783-1851), of St. Louis. In 1826 he had been appointed circuit judge of the St. Louis circuit.—Billon, F. L., *Annals of St. Louis* (1888), pp. 201, 202. Major Hopkins' daughter has not been identified further.

260. John Miller was governor of Missouri at this time. The dispatches were issued as a result of an affray between some Iowa Indians and a party of white men in the region of the Grand Chariton river in northern Missouri. There were casualties on both sides, but the whites suffered the loss of four killed and the affair was represented to Governor Miller as one of Indian aggression. The governor asked General Leavenworth to send troops to put down the "uprising." There was no further fighting, but the Iowas were asked to surrender those who were involved in the matter, and some of the Indians were held as hostages until 10 of the Iowas surrendered.—*Niles' Weekly Register*, August 29, 1829, p. 1; Hunt and Lawrence, *op. cit.*, pp. 25, 26; *St. Louis Beacon*, July 25, 1829. See, also, diary entries of October 13, November 11-13, 29, 1829, and accompanying footnotes.

261. See Footnote 103.

262. See Footnote 98.

August, 1829

WEATHER AND RIVER DATA

Date 1829	Thermom at 8 A.M.	State of Weather	Points of Wind	Thermom at 4 P.M.	State of Weather	Points of Wind	Stage or Height of River
August							
1	82	Clear	S	90	Clear	S	River rises 3 Inches
2	86	Clear	W	98	"	S	" " 1½ "
3	86	"	W	98	"	W	" falls 4 "
4	76	"	W	84	"	W	" " 2 "
5	78	"	W	86	"	S	" " 2 "
6	76	Rain	W	82	"	W	" Rises 3 "
7	78	Clear	Calm	88	"	Calm	" " 1½ "
8	82	"	S.		"		" On a Stand since yesterday
9							
10							
11	84	"	S	86	"	S	" falls since Saturday 2 Inch
12	86	"	Calm	98	"	S	" " 4 Inch
13	98	"	S	98	"	Calm	" " 3½ In
14	84	"	Calm	98	"	"	" " 2 In
15	82	"	S	96	"	S	" " 2½ In
16							
17	76	Rain	NW	94		S	" " 3 In
18	72	Clear	NW	74	"	NW	" " 2 In
19	72	"	NW	74	"	NW	" " 1½ In
20	72	"	N	78	"	NW	" " 1 In
21	74	"	N.W.	78	"	S	" " 2 In
22	78	"	S	86	"	S	" " 2 In
23	78	"	Calm	88	Clear	S	River falls 4 [inches]
24	78	"	S	86	Rain	S	" " 2
25	72	"	S			S	" " 1
26	72	Cloudy	SE	78	Clear	S.E.	" rising 1½
27	78	Clear	NW	84	"	NW	" " 2
28	78	"	S	78	"	S	" " 2
29	88	"	S.	86	"	S	" " 1½
30	88	"	S	94	"	S	" Falls
31	84	Clear	S.	78	Clear	S.	" "

REMARKS

- 1 This day Clear with a pleasant breeze from the South
- 2 The morning pleasant, but from 11 to night very warm
- 3 Warm morning. A cool & pleasant breeze this Evening (Mr. Roy sick & not here)
- 4 This morning pleasant after a cool night
- 5 Mr. Roy returns to business to day. Kick[apoo] yet here
- 6 A Storm of Wind & rain this morning Clear
- 7 A clear morning after fog. very warm & calm Evening
- 8 Warm morning. S. Boats *Fecility* & *Essex* arrive from Louisville. go to hunt horses
- 11 Warm & dry. an alarm of fire last night, but little dam[age]
- 12 this morning close air & like rain. very warm evening
- 13 This weather hot, by day & by night
- 14 This weather hot by day and by night

- 15 Morning more cool than several passed. hot evening
- 16 begins to rain about 6 P. M. continues
- 17 Cloudy this morning a nights rain & more cool than yesterday. Mr Metty arrives from P. du C.
- 18 Cool & pleasant morning a cool pleasant day
- 19 Clear & cool morning. this evening cool & pleasant
- 20 pleasant morning after a cool night Cool Evening
- 21 pleasant but a little cloudy. very warm Evening
- 22 *Red Rover* arrives this morning [from] Gallena having Comrs.²⁶³ on Board
- 23 Geo. Clark²⁶⁴ arrives last night from Kty. Very warm
- 24 Cloudy & warm morning. Rains in the evening. continues
- 25 A very hard rain last night
- 26 not much air st[ir]ring Wreck of S. B. *Liberator*²⁶⁵ floated down
- 27 This day cool & pleasant with a NW. wind (a Soldier condemned to die²⁶⁶
- 28 Morning warm. very warm evening.
- 29 This day very warm. Capt Ruland goes in the [illegible]
- 30 The morning warm, Evening fine. S. Breeze
- 31 August Ends. warm & Sultry. Warm Evening. S. Bts. *Car* [of] *Commerce & Plough boy* arrive.

September, 1829

WEATHER AND RIVER DATA

Date 1829	Thermom at 8 A.M.	State of Weather	Points of Wind	Thermom at 4. PM	State of Weather	Points of Wind	Stage or Height of River
Septem							
1	86	Clear	S.	88	Clear	S	River Falls
2	81	"	NW	86	"	NW	" on a Stand.
3	78	"	W	84	"	W	" "
4	72	"	W	78	"	S	" Still on a Stand
5	76	"	S	78	"	S	" " "
6	62[?]	little rain	....	60	cloudy little rain	NW	
7	68	"	W	72	Clear	S	" Falls 4 Inch
8	64	Clear	NW	76	"	NW	" 2 "
9	62	"	NW	72	"	S	Rises 1 "
10	76	"	NW	74	"	S	" on a Stand.
11	74	"	NW	76	"	S	" " "
12	74	"	S	76	Cloudy	S	" " "
13	70	"	S.	71	"	S.W.	" " "

²⁶³. See diary entry of June 30, 1829, and Footnote 251.

²⁶⁴. George Clark has not been identified.

²⁶⁵. The *Liberator* was last mentioned under date of August 5, 1828. The diary does not record when, or where, she was wrecked. See, also, Footnote 274 and diary entry of April 9, 1830.

²⁶⁶. See diary entry of September 26, 1829, and Footnote 272.

Date 1829	Thermom at 8 A.M.	State of Weather	Points of Wind	Thermom at 4. PM	State of Weather	Points of Wind	Stage or Height of River
14	69	Cloudy	W	70	"	S.W.	River yet continues on a Stand
15	69	"	S.W.	71	"	S.	" " " " "
16	68	Clear	NW	73	Clear	SW	" " " " "
17	69	Clear	W.	72	Cloudy	S.E	" " " " "
18	70	Cloudy.	S.	73	Cloudy	S	River yet extremely Low
19	73	"	S.	72	Cloudy	S.W.	" " " " "
20	73	Clear	S.W.	75	Clear	S.	" " " " "
21	73	Clear	S.	78	Clear	S.	" " " " "
22	82	Clear	S.	85	Clear	S.	" " " " "
23	74	Cloudy	S.E.	83	Clear	SW	" " " " "
24	79	Clear	S.	83	Clear	S	" " " " "
25	80	Cloudy	S.W.	78	Cloudy	S.W.	" " " " "
26	84	Cloudy	N.W.	67	Cloudy	S.W	" " " " "
27	63	Cloudy	N.	66	Cloudy	N.W.	" " " " "
28	65	Cloudy	S.	68	Cloudy	S	" " " " "
29	64	Clear	N.W.	67	Cloudy	SW.	" " " " "
30	70	Clear	S	69	Clear	S.E.	" " " " "

REMARKS

- 1 A very warm day but clear S. Bt. *Jubilee*²⁶⁷ arrives from N. Orleans
- 2 A strong & pleasant NW. wind this morning. Fine new S. Boat *St. Louis*²⁶⁸ arrives
- 3 Cool & pleasant morning & continues so.
- 4 Very warm throughout this day
- 5 Mrs. Clark, Miss Radford, Miss J. Preston, Capt. Geo. Kennerly & Mr. Wm. P. Clark leave for Fincastle Va. in stage.²⁶⁹
- 6 Cool weather
- 7 The weather cool & pleasant. Evening cool
- 8 Clear & cool morning. the Evening & night cool
- 9 This morning clear, Evening Cloudy & like Rain
- 10 Morning cool & pleasant, clear Evening
- 11 Cool morning & fire pleasant, like fall weather
- 12 Clear morning. Cloudy about 12. Rain at 4 oClk
- 13 Pleasant and agreeable weather for the season

267. The *St. Louis Beacon* of September 5, 1829, reported: ". . . It is the season of lowest water at this place that has ever been known for the summer in the memory of man; yet the largest class of boats are regularly arriving and departing. Besides the NORTH AMERICA and JUBILEE, which are in the St. Louis trade, and run regularly to and from New Orleans, there are many others that have come here to tie up, or to repair, or to make occasional trips while unable to run upon the Ohio. The JUBILEE and CAR OF COMMERCE arrived from New Orleans this week; the NORTH AMERICA is expected in a few days; the OREGON is advertised to go off to-day, the MISSOURI to-morrow, the HUNTSVILLE for the 15th inst. Besides these, there are lying in port, and will depart for New Orleans in the course of the present or coming month, the LADY OF THE LAKE, the WALK-IN-THE-WATER, and the MARYLAND. . . ."

268. "We were yesterday gratified with a visit to the new steam boat *St. Louis*, now lying at the landing.—She was built at Cincinnati this last summer, and is a beautiful specimen of western architecture. Her cabin [is] on the upper deck, and contains fifty-six births [!], including those in the ladies' cabin and state rooms. She carried about 200 tons—draws comparatively but little water—and for strength, speed, and accommodations, has no superior on the western waters. . . ."—*Ibid.*

269. Mrs. William Clark, her daughter Mary Preston Radford, Josephine Preston (daughter of Maj. William and Caroline [Hancock] Preston), George H. Kennerly, and William Preston Clark.

- 14 Rainy and Cloudy to-day and cool— Evening stormy with high wind
- 15 Cool and Cloudy this morning— Noon Cloudy— Evening with the appearance of rain
- 16 Clear and cool morning all but frost. Noon pleasant— Afternoon agreeably fine
Arrived *Red Rover* from Lower Rapids
" *Essex* from Louisville
" *N. America* [from] New Orleans.
- 17 Clear and pleasant morning. Noon agreeable— Afternoon Cloudy. Departed *Red Rover* [for] Lower Rapids
- 18 Cloudy with an appearance of rain. Last night very cool— Afternoon warm Arrived *Neptune* ²⁷⁰ from N. Orleans
- 19 Cloudy with the appearance of rain. Rain a little. P. M. fine with a little Rain Departed *St. Louis* for Trinity
- 20 Clear warm morning— Noon pleasant— Afternoon warm yet agreeable Arrived *Phoenix* from N. Orleans
- 21 Clear pleasant morning— Noon warm— P. M. warmer than has been for 3 weeks
Arrived *Cleopatra* [from] Trinity
" *Galena* do.
Departed *Missouri* ²⁷¹ [for] N. Orleans
- 22 Very warm morning— Noon very warm— P. M. disagreeably warm
- 23 Fine Showery morning after a warm night. P. M. Fine after rain.
- 24 Warm morning— Noon sultry— P. M. very warm.
- 25 Rainy morning after a warm night. P. M. fine— Evening pleasant.
- 26 Cool morning after the late rain. P. M. cloudy. Evening rain A Soldier (Cogland) Executed on Sand bar below Town ²⁷²
- 27 Extremely cool morning. Noon commenced rain. P. M. rain with a continuation all night
- 28 Rain all night with a continuation this morning. Cloudy & disagreeable.

270. The *Neptune*, a 200-ton boat, was built at Pittsburgh in 1828.—Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 259.

271. "The steam boat *Missouri*, Capt. Culver, left here on Monday last, for New Orleans, with her barge and four flat boats in tow!—all loaded—the latter having on board upwards of 100 horses."—*St. Louis Beacon*, September 23, 1829.

272. According to the *Beacon* of September 5, 1829, Michael Cogland was executed for the murder of Daniel Desant, and another murderer, Samuel Danforth, was scheduled for execution on September 30. The diary does not mention the latter event.

29 Cool morning after the late continual rains. Cloudy yet agreeable.

30 Clear and fine morning. Noon agreeable. Afternoon pleasant.

October, 1829

WEATHER AND RIVER DATA

Date 1829	Thermom at 8 AM	State of Weather	Points of Wind	Thermom at 4 P.M.	State of Weather	Points of Wind	Stage or Height of River
October							
1	69	Clear	S.	70	Clear	SW	River yet extremely low.
2	68	Clear	SE.	69	Cloudy	S	River rising a little owing to the late rain
3	63	Cloudy	S.W.	66	Cloudy	S	
4	64	Clear	S	64	Clear	S	River upon the rise
5	54	Cloudy	NE	62	Clear	S.W.	" " " "
6	55	Cloudy	S.E.	58	Cloudy	S.W.	" " " "
7	70	Cloudy	S.	71	Clear	S	River on a Stand
8	69	Cloudy	S.E.	72	Clear	S	" " " "
9	68	Cloudy	S	73	Clear	S	" " " "
10	69	Cloudy	S	75	Clear	S	The river, within the last few days, has
11	68	Clear	W	70	"	W	risen 3 or 4 feet, owing no doubt to heavy
12	60	Clear	"	74	"	"	rains above. The past has been an
13	62	Clear	"	70	"	"	almost unparalleled season of low water
14	70	Cloudy	E	70	Warm	"	in the Mississippi; but notwithstanding,
15	74	Clear	E	76	"	S	Steam Boats of the largest class have
16	78	"	S	"	"	"	made their trips to New Orleans, and
17	76	"	S	80	"	S	those of a smaller size have kept up our
18	74	"	S	72	Rain	S	intercourse with Louisville and the in-
19	54	Cool	NW	58	Clear	NW	termediate Ports on the Ohio! ²⁷³
20	56	"	NW	57	"	NW	River falls fast, & the Sand Bar from Lib-
21	58	Cloudy	W	58	Cloudy	W	erator inc [reases?] ²⁷⁴
22	57	"	W	64	Rain	S	
23	62	"	S	72	Windy	S	
24	62	Warm	S	72	"	S	
25	60	Clear	W	60	W	W	River upon a Stand
26	58	Cool	NW	54	NW	NW	River rising a little
27	54	"	W	54	Clear	W	River risen 4 Inches
28	56	"	E	54	"	E	" " 20 "
29	54	"	E	56	"	E	" " 16 "
30	58	"	W	40	Cold	W	" " 3 Feet
31	40	"	NW	42	"	NW	" " 2 "

REMARKS

- 1 Fine cool morning. Noon pleasant. Afternoon fine
- 2 Fine cool and clear morning. Noon cloudy. P. M appearance of rain
- 3 Rainy morning after rain all night— Noon pleasant— P. M. Cloudy. Saturday. Major Hamtramck ²⁷⁵ arrived at Department from Agency.
- 4 Clear morning— Beautiful Day as regards weather. P. M. Fine.

273. Quoted from the *St. Louis Beacon* of October 7, 1829.

274. See diary entries of August 26, 1829, and April 9, 1830.

275. See Footnote 128.

- 5 Morning fine and pleasant. Noon pleasant— P. M. agreeable weather
- 6 Fine morning— Noon Cloudy with rain. P. M. cloudy and disagreeable
- 7 Warm morning accompanied with little rain. Noon warm. P. M warm
- 8 Foggy morning. Noon warm— P. M warm yet agreeable
- 9 Foggy damp morning— Noon warm— P. M. warm and pleasant
- 10 Warm morning after a little rain during night— Noon warm— Evening fine
- 11 This Evening Genl. A. S. Hughs arrives with 11 Ioway Indians including Big Neck & continue on to J[efferson] Barracks.²⁷⁶
- 13 This day the Big Neck & party arrive under Military guard On the 12th The Big neck, Pumpkin & other Ioways (10 in number) who were in the battle with the whites, arrived from Jefferson Bks—accompanied by a guard of the Military under Command of Lt. Cutts & were delivered over to the civil authority when the examination commenced before the Hon. Judge Peck. On the 13th. 34 Sacks arrived— Examination of Ioways continued
- 14 Further examination of Ioways put off this day (14th Oct.) untill known whether the Battle between the whites of Chariton Cty. Mo. & the above Indians took place within or without the State line.
- 22 Thunder & lightning accompanied by hard Rain & high winds.
- 26 Ice this morning on the service [!] of a tub of water.
- 27 This morning cool and the weather fine
- 28 Mr Russell Farnham married last Evening to Miss S. Bosseron ²⁷⁷ (Mrs Gyre Consort of H. S. Gyre Esqr, dies last night ²⁷⁸)
- 30 This morning Clear & Cool this day cool and windy
- 31 The whole of this day cold and windy.

276. See Footnote 260.

277. "MARRIED, on Tuesday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Saulnier, Mr. Russell Farnham to Miss Susan Bosseron, all of this place."—*St. Louis Beacon*, October 31, 1829. Russel Farnham (1784-1832) was a noted fur trader, employed by the American Fur Company. He died October 23, 1832, during the cholera epidemic of that year at St. Louis.—*Ibid.*, October 25, 1832. Susan Bosseron was the daughter of Charles Bosseron, a prominent French settler of St. Louis.—Billon, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

278. Mrs. Clarissa B. (Starr) Geyer, wife of Henry S. Geyer.—*St. Louis Beacon*, October 31, 1829; Billon, *op. cit.*, p. 281. Geyer had been a state representative from 1820-1824; and was later (1851-1857) a U. S. senator from Missouri.

November, 1829

WEATHER AND RIVER DATA

Date 1829	Thermom at 8 A.M	State of Weather	Points of Wind	Thermom at 4 P.M.	State of Weather	Points of Wind	Stage or Height of River
November							
1	58	Cold	NW	56	Cold	NW	River upon a Stand
2	58	"	NW	54	Cool	NW	" falling
3	54	Cold	W	58	"	W	" falls 2 ft
4	56	Clear	W	56	Warm	W	" " 1 do
5	50	Rain	E	56	Clear	W	" " 13 Inch
6	58	Cloudy	S	54	"	W	" "
7	58	Clear	S	58	"	S	" "
8	60	Cloudy	S	58	"	S	" "
9	62	Clear	S	58	"	S	" "
10	58	"	NW	54	"	NW	
11	34	Clear	W	46	"	NW	
12	32	"	N	38	"	N	
13	30	Cloudy	N.	48	"	W	
14	45	Clear	N.W	46	"	NE	river rises a little
15	38	Cloudy	NE	50	Cloudy	NE	
16	50	"	NE	52	"	NE	river rises a little
17	45	Clear	West	50	Cloudy	N.W.	
18	42	"	N.W	48	"	W	
19	44	Clear	N.E.	49	Cloudy	S.E	
20	34	Cloudy	"	42	Smoky	SE	
21	30	Cloudy	NE	32	"	SE	
22	29	Cloudy	N	28	Hail	NW	
23	26	Clear	W.	30	Clear	W	
24	26	"	E	34	Cloudy	W	The River thickly covered with floating Ice
25	36	Cloudy	E	38	Clear	E	Ice Continues to run thick ferry boat crosses.
26	34	"	"	40	"	SE	Ice in the river thick
27	38	Clear	W	42	Cloudy	W	Ice thick in the river river rises a little
28	38	"	NE	40	Clear	NE	Some floating Ice
29	44	"	S	46	"	W	River clear of ice
30	50	Cloudy	W	52	"	W	

REMARKS

- 1 Mjr. L. Taliaferro²⁷⁹ & Lady arrive from St. Peters. This day cold accompanied by hard winds
- 2 This morning Mrs. Clark & family arrive from Virginia²⁸⁰
- 3 This morning hard frost. Mr. Mulamsees Brewery burnt down last night²⁸¹
- 4 Thick fog & frost. This Evening Cloudy. Mjr. Taliaferro leaves for Bedford Springs
- 5 Rain last night & this morning Cloudy. Clear
- 6 Cloudy & damp morning. warm & pleasant.
- 7 A Clear & fine morning, equally so in the evening
- 8 Cloudy & warm morning. Clear Evening.

279. See Footnote 140.

280. See diary entry of September 5, 1829.

281. The fire at John Mullanphy's brewery was "done by an incendiary," according to the *St. Louis Beacon*, November 4, 1829.

- 9 Clear fine day with cool night
- 10 Very cold day This day Mjr. Dougherty & Mr Dagget ²⁸² arrive
- 11 Indn. prisoners examined & committed ordered to ~~randolph~~ escaped & were found
- 12 McNair returned without the prisoners
- 13 Augt. Kennerly Set out with the 7 Ioway prisoners to Randolph County under guard
- 14 Clear day
- 15 Rained the greater part of this night
- 16 Cloudy and Some rain to day foggy
- 17 Smokey
- 18 do Cold after rain
- 19 Gloomeay [?] weather
- 20 Rained last night
- 21 Rained all day moderately and ocasionally Mrs. Forsythe died last night ²⁸³
- 22 Cloudy hail Several hours family Came up from Jefferson Barracks rained last night
- 23 Thermometer last night at 10 pm was at 18 below 0. Very Cold Ice 2 inchs thick floating in the river thick Mrs. Forsyth buried
- 24 Very coold last night Snow Covers the ground
- 25 Comence Snowing at 12 oClock
- 28 Augt. Kennerly returns
- 29 St Cere & the Ioway returned from pursuit of the 4 Ioway prisoners ²⁸⁴
- 30 Hard thunder and rain last night wind hard from the W

²⁸². Possibly John D. Daggett, St. Louis businessman.—Billon, *op. cit.*, p. 340.

²⁸³. Mrs. Sarah (DeMaillot) Forsyth, wife of the Indian subagent Thomas Forsyth, died at St. Louis on November 21, 1829.—*Ibid.*, p. 226.

²⁸⁴. Apparently four of the Iowa prisoners made good their escape. Compare with diary entries of November 11-13. "St Cere" was one of the St. Cyr family of St. Louis, possibly Hyacinthe St. Cyr, Jr.

December, 1829

WEATHER AND RIVER DATA

Date 1829	Thermom at 8 AM	State of Weather	Points of Wind	Thermom at 4 P.M.	State of Weather	Points of Wind	Stage or Height of River
December							
1	50	Clear	N	52	Clear	W	river Rises a little
2	50	"	W	48	"	NW	
3	48	"	NE	42	Cloudy	S.E	river rises
4	48	Rain	S	48	"	S	" "
5	48	"	S	48	"	S	" "
6	68	Clear	S	66	Clear	S	" "
7	68	Rain	S	44	Rain	S.W	" still rising.
8	34	Cloudy	NW	34	Cloudy	NW	" " "
9	24	Foggy	N	30	Foggy	W	
10	34	Clear	S	42	Clear		
11	50	Cloudy	S.	50	"	E	
12	50	"	E	52	Rain	E	
13	44	Clear	W	44	Clear	NW	River rising but little
14	62	"	W	64	"	S	" risen about 3 feet
15	58	"	S	58	Cloudy	S	" " " 1 Do.
16	60	"	NW	40	Clear	W	" "
17	40	"	W	40	"	NW	
18	48	"	W	48	"		
19	48	"	W	54	"	W	River fallen about 3 feet
20	56	"	W	58	"	S	" still falling
21	68	"	"	68	"	S	" still falling
22	68	"	W	68	"	W	" " "
23				62			" " "
24	68	Rain	S	58	Rain	S	" Still falling
25	58	Clear	W	56	Clear	W	" Rising a little
26	48	Cloudy	W	48	Cloudy	W	" " "
27	54	"	W	58	C[?]	W	" " but slowly
28	48	Cloudy	S.E	58	Rain	E	" " falling
29	68	"	E	64	"	E	" " "
30	58	"	E	56	Cloudy	W	" falling
31	54	Clear	N				FINIS. of the year 1829.

REMARKS

- 1 Smokey
- 2 Miss Sanford and Capt Clark married²⁸⁵ Steam Boat *Huntsman* from Louisville send of[f] Ioway hostages with Beron—[?]²⁸⁶
- 3 Warm, and mud[d]y Streets
- 4 Rain last night, cloudy and very warm weather
- 5 Some rain last night Weather continues warm and Cloudy
- 6 Warm night When duty [Note: the seven-line statement following, in pencil, was erased, and cannot be deciphered. It was, apparently, some philosophical observation.]

285. Henrietta C. Sanford, daughter of Alexander Sanford, of Baltimore, Md., was married to Capt. John B. Clark, of the Third infantry regiment, on this date.—*Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, December 8, 1829.

286. See Footnote 260. These were the hostages taken by General Leavenworth to insure surrender of the Iowas involved in the July, 1829, affray. Clark wrote the secretary of war on August 20, 1829, that General Leavenworth had arrived on a steamboat with 19 Sac, Fox and Iowa Indians of General Hughes' subagency who had offered themselves as hostages.—Superintendency of Indian affairs, St. Louis, "Records," v. 4, p. 31.

- 7 Dark day
- 8 (Snow last night.)
- 9 Cold & frosty with fog
- 10 Cold night & Sroubery[!] covered with frost
- 11 Clear butifule night. Judge Carr married to Miss Bent.²⁸⁷
- 12 Very dark & rainy evening and the River rising slowly
- 13 This morning clear & cool. the evening of this day clear & moderate
- 14 A beautiful clear & pleasant morning. pleasant Evening
- 15 Weather much like the warmth of Spring. Cloudy evening
- 16 Some snow this morning before day. Clear and Cool evening
- 17 Messrs Daugherty & J. L. Bean, leave for Philidelphia & Pittsburg.²⁸⁸ Clear and Cool Majr. Bean S. Agt. arrived yesterday
- 18 The ground frozen hard this morning. Clear & pleasant
- 19 The morning & Evening presenting fine weather fo[?]
- 20 The season pleasant weather to day. somewhat smoky
- 21 Fine pleasant morning. Clear and warm
- 22 Clear and warm. more like Sumer than winter
- 23 This morning Mr. H. Crossler starts for C[ouncil] Bluffs in company with Paul prince of Wertemburg & Suit²⁸⁹
- 24 This morning damp with some rain. Genl. M. G. Clark²⁹⁰ arrives from the Kanzas with an Indian accused of Murder
- 25 Christmas morning warm & pleasant, but a little Cloudy
- 26 The weather still continues warm, like that of Ind. Sumer
- 27 The celebration of St. Johns day by a procession to the Episcopal Church accompanied with the band of the 3d Rgt.
- 28 This morning cloudy & much like Rain. Cloudy

287. Judge William C. Carr and Dorcas Bent, daughter of Silas Bent, Sr., were married December 10, according to Billon, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

288. Indian agent John Dougherty and Indian subagent (to the Sioux) Jonathan L. Bean.

289. Clark wrote the following letter to the secretary of war, on this same date: "The enclosed application has been made to me, by Paul, prince of Wurtemburg, to go into the Indian Country, on the Upper Missouri.

"His object being of a scientific nature, I have given him a permit to pass to the Sub Agency of Mr. Sanford with the understanding that this Report will be made to you, and if the Government does not disapprove of his passing farther than the Indian Country, his passport will be extended to the Columbia.

"This Gentleman or, prince as he may be termed, visited this Country in 1823, and by the authority of the Secretary of War of the 10th of June of that Year, I was authorised to permit him to pass through the Indian Country at my discretion, his object appearing to be entirely Scientific.

"This morning this Gentleman set out from this place, for the Council Bluffs, where there is a Trading establishment; accompanied by his two Servants, a Clerk, and two hired Men of the American Fur Company.

"Please to signify to me your approval or disapproval of the extention of the passport of this Prince to the Columbia and pacific Ocean. . . ."—Superintendency of Indian affairs, St. Louis, "Records," v. 4, pp. 74, 75.

290. See Footnote 239.

- 29 Very damp, close & warm weather. Genl. M. G. Clark leaves for Kan[zas] this day
30 This morning still damp. wind changes & cold
31 Ground frozen & cold morning. Miss S. Benton married to Capt Brant this Evening.²⁹¹

[Part Four, the Concluding Installment, 1830-1831, Will Appear in the November, 1948, Issue]

291. Capt. Joshua B. Brant and Sarah Benton, daughter of Samuel and Mary Benton, and niece of Sen. Thomas Hart Benton, were married on December 31, 1829.—*Edwards's Great West* (St. Louis, 1860), pp. 197, 198.

Recent Additions to the Library

Compiled by HELEN M. MCFARLAND, Librarian

IN ORDER that members of the Kansas State Historical Society and others interested in historical study may know the class of books we are receiving, a list is printed annually of the books accessioned in our specialized fields.

These books come to us from three sources, purchase, gift and exchange, and fall into the following classes: Books by Kansans and about Kansas; books on the West, including explorations, overland journeys and personal narratives; genealogy and local history; and books on the Indians of North America, United States history, biography and allied subjects which are classified as general. The out-of-state city directories received by the Historical Society are not included in this compilation.

We also receive regularly the publications of many historical societies by exchange, and subscribe to other historical and genealogical publications which are needed in reference work.

The following is a partial list of books which were added to the library from October 1, 1946, to September 30, 1947. Government and state official publications and some books of a general nature are not included. The total number of books accessioned appears in the report of the secretary in the February issue of the *Quarterly*.

KANSAS

ABERNATHY, GEORGE ELMER, *Strip-Mined Areas in the Southeastern Kansas Coal Field*. Lawrence, University of Kansas Publications, 1946. [20]p. (State Geological Survey of Kansas, *Bulletin*, No. 64, Pt. 4.)

——, JOHN M. JEWETT, and WALTER H. SCHOEWE, *Coal Reserves in Kansas*. Lawrence, University of Kansas Publications, 1947. 20p. (State Geological Survey of Kansas, *Bulletin*, No. 70, Pt. 1.)

AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION, JUNIOR BAR CONFERENCE, COMMITTEE IN AID OF SMALL LITIGANT, *A Survey of Personal Finance Conditions in Kansas*. Chicago, The Junior Bar Conference of the American Bar Association [1944]. 52p.

ANDERSON, ALGOT E., *Men of Tomorrow (a Playlet for Boys in One Act, Three Scenes)*. Kansas City, The Raymond Youmans Publishing Company, c1931. 13p.

BEAL, GEORGE MALCOM, *Perspective, a Practical Development of Basic Principles*. [Ann Arbor, Edwards Brothers, Inc.] 1946. 52p.

BEALS, FRANK LEE, *Buffalo Bill*. Chicago, Wheeler Publishing Company [c1943]. 251p.

- CATLIN, MARY, and GEORGE CATLIN, *Building Your New House*. New York, A. A. Wyn [c1946]. 267p.
- CLARK, GLENN, *The Man Who Walked in His Steps*. St. Paul, Minn., Macal-ester Park Publishing Company [c1946]. 60p.
- CLARK COUNTY CHAPTER OF THE KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, *Notes on Early Clark County, Kansas, Vol. 4, September, 1942-August, 1943*. (Re-printed from *The Clark County Clipper*.) [111]p.
- CRAWFORD, NELSON ANTRIM, comp., *Cats in Prose and Verse*. New York, Coward-McCann, Inc. [c1947]. 387p.
- CUMMINGS, WILL H., *School Days at Rose*. No impr. [7]p.
- CURRY, THOMAS ALBERT, *Blood on the Plains, a "Captain Mesquite" Novel*. New York, Arcadia House, Inc., 1947. 256p.
- DENISON, PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, *75th Anniversary of the Denison Congrega-tion, 1871-1946, Kansas Presbytery, 1871-1946*. No impr. 16p.
- DEXTER, F. THEODORE, *1946 Edition of the Antique Arms Collector and Service Exchange Directory and Pictorial Type and Value Guide for Americans Pur-chasing Arms in Europe*. Topeka, F. T. Dexter [1946]. 47p.
- , *Thirty-Five Years' Scrapbook of Antique Arms*. Topeka, F. T. Dexter, c1947. 2 Vols.
- DODD, CLARA (CRUMB), *Washburn Lang Syners; Life at Washburn During the Eighties and Nineties*. Topeka, F. M. Steves and Sons [1946]. 44p.
- Dodge City's Diamond Jubilee; 75th Birthday Party, May 23-24-25, 1947*. [Dodge City, Chamber of Commerce, 1947.] 53p.
- DRISCOLL, CHARLES BENEDICT, *Country Jake*. New York, The Macmillan Com-pany, 1946. 256p.
- EBERLE, GERTRUDE, *Charioteer, a Story of Old Egypt in the Days of Joseph*. Grand Rapids, Mich., Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company [c1946]. 295p.
- [EISENHOWER, DWIGHT DAVID], *Report by the Supreme Commander to the Combined Chiefs of Staff on the Operations in Europe of the Allied Ex-peditionary Force 6 June 1944 to 8 May 1945*. [Washington, U. S. Govern-ment Printing Office, 1946.] 123p.
- FAIRCHILD, DAVID GRANDISON, *The World Grows Round My Door; the Story of the Kampong, a Home on the Edge of the Tropics*. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1947. 347p.
- FORSTER, MINNIE JANE (WYATT), *He Led Me Through the Wilderness*. No impr. 139p.
- FRAZER, ROBERT W., *The Truce of Altmark*. Wichita, Municipal University of Wichita, 1947. 24p. (*University Studies Bulletin*, No. 18.)
- GREGORY, PAULINE, *Poems and Proses*. Kansas City, Mo., Press of Ramsey, Millett and Hudson, 1880. 96p.
- HAHN, HARRY J., *The Rape of La Belle*. Kansas City, Mo., Frank Glenn Pub-lishing Company, Inc., 1946. 274p.
- HAINES, STELLA B., comp., *Directory Past State Presidents of Kansas Council of Women and Affiliated Organizations*. N. p., 1947. [28]p.
- HALL, CARRIE ALMA (HACKETT), *Random Reflections Along Life's Highway*. Privately Printed, 1946. 18p.
- HALLERAN, EUGENE E., *Double Cross Trail, a Western Novel*. Philadelphia, Macrae-Smith-Company, 1946. 219p.

- HERSCH, VIRGINIA (DAVIS), *The Seven Cities of Gold*. New York, Duell, Sloan and Pearce [c1946]. 243p.
- HOLLAND, RAYMOND PRUNTY, *The Master*. [New York] A. S. Barnes and Company [c1946]. 85p.
- HUNT, MRS. BLANCHE SEALE, *Stories of Little Brown Koko*. Illustrated by Dorothy Wagstaff. Chicago, American Colortype Company [c1940]. 96p.
- JELINEK, GEORGE, *Ellsworth, Kansas, 1867-1947*. Salina, Consolidated, 1947. 32p.
- JOHNSON, WALTER, *William Allen White's America*. New York, Henry Holt and Company [c1947]. 621p.
- JONES, BENJAMIN SAMUEL, *Sam Jones: Lawyer*. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1947. 218p.
- [JOYCE, MARY], ed., *Centennial Celebration, 1847-1947; Osage Mission, St. Paul, Kansas*. N. p. [1947]. 111p.
- KANSAS BUSINESS MAGAZINE, *1947 Kansas Legislative Directory*. Topeka, *Kansas Business Magazine* [1947]. 161p.
- [KANSAS INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT COMMISSION], *Horton, Kansas, an Untapped Reservoir of Skills and Manpower*. No impr. 24p.
- KANSAS LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, RESEARCH DEPARTMENT, *Psychiatric Facilities in Kansas*. Mimeographed. 2 Pts. (Publication, Nos. 143 and 145, November, 1946.)
- Kansas Magazine, 1947*. [Manhattan, *Kansas Magazine* Publishing Association and The Kansas State College Press, c1947.] 104p.
- KANSAS STATE GEOLOGICAL SURVEY, *Glimpses From Resource-Full Kansas*. [Lawrence, University of Kansas Press, 1946.] [40]p.
- KANSAS UNITED WAR FUND, *History of Kansas United War Fund, Inc., Affiliated With National War Fund . . . 1943-1946*. Mimeographed. 73p.
- KELLY, FLORENCE (FINCH), *The Delafield Affair*. Chicago, A. C. McClurg and Company, 1909. 422p.
- , *Emerson's Wife, and Other Western Stories*. Chicago, A. C. McClurg and Company, 1911. 334p.
- KING, CHARLES, *Fort Frayne*. New York, R. F. Fenno and Company [c1895]. 289p.
- KRAFT, JESSIE (LOFGREN), *Overtone*. New York, The Exposition Press [c1947]. 63p.
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Bypaths of Kansas History

CROSSING THE PLAINS IN 1850

The two letters printed below were written by S. E. Hardy to his mother, Mrs. Jane E. Hardy of St. Joseph, Mo. They were given to the Kansas State Historical Society by Fenn Ward of Highland.

THE PLAINS, May the 24th 1850

DEAR MOTHER. I take this opportunity to send you a few lines to let you know how we are getting along on our journey we are all well and in good spirits except Tom's Jeffers who was taken sick yesterday and was very bad all night until this morning when a Doctor Jones was got on the road. Tom's and Rob. and Jim are going home tomorrow we are about 160 miles from St. Joseph we have been traveling on some of the finest Prairie land in the World I expect but the worst of it is it is all Prairie and nothing else water is scarce and we have had but very little wood since we left the Bluffs of Missouri six miles from St. Joseph. there is some 5 or 6 fresh graves on the road that we have seen. if Tom has any notion to come he had better travel pretty fast or he will not get up to us at all our horses stand the trip very well so far grass is from 3 to 6 inches high and has been good ever since we left the Iowa Mission [about three miles northeast of present Highland—now preserved by Kansas as a state historic site] the roads is as good as any in Missouri a few bad Creeks excepted John and me has learned how to cook first rate we can fry meat and make coffee and mix some flour and water together and burn it a little and call it bread it tastes very well when we are hungry we bought some soda today from Jeffers boys to raise our bread we are laying by today on account of Tom's being sick we layed by Saturday afternoon 6 miles before we got to the Mission you may tell uncle Dave that I don't want home because I had to stand guard one night Joe keeps us alive with his drollery he always keeps his musket loaded he sayes he is watching for old Montezuma who he expects to meet every day the road is crowded with wagons there has been between 60 and 80 passed us today we have met a good many going back you must all try and do the best you can and I will do the same I remain

MRS. JANE E. HARDY

Respectfully your
Obedient Son
S. E. HARDY

LINDEN Aug. 25 [1850]

DEAR MOTHER I take this opportunity to let you know how we are getting along all the company are well except Jo and Munroes Ed they have been sick but about well now we have had no trouble on the road yet and are getting along very well on our Journey we are in three miles of Fort Laramie we passed Fort Kearney the 30th day of May and have been traveling over a country entirely different from Missouri ever since the main Platte river is twice as wide as the Missouri the banks are not more than from one to three feet high the bluffs are high and rocky and scattered over with cedar

and pine there is no soil nothing but sand and gravel we got to the Chimney Rock the 7th of June that is a great curiosity to any person the only way that I can describe it is it looks like a big sweet potato hill with a pile of rocks on the top something like a chimney it has rained almost every night since we passed Fort Kearney so the stories you have heard about the rains on the plains will not do we heard this evening from Fort Laramie they say at the Fort that there has been 4464 wagons passed there this spring and 400 women and 1500 children and I expect there is as many behind us our horses stand the trip as well as can be expected I like the plan of my outfit better than any I have seen yet though I cannot advise till I get through if you can find any way to send me a letter to Sacramento City if I get there I will be apt to get it as I have not much time to write I will have to wind up I Remain

Your Obedient Son
S. E. HARDY

"THE GRAVEST OFFENSE"

From *The Weekly Osage Chronicle*, Burlingame, November 7, 1863.

JAYHAWKING.—The Natchez (Miss.) correspondent of the *St. Louis Republican* gets off the following serious joke:

And so far as quiet stealing goes, the soldier gets alarming skillful. "Strategy, my boy," becomes an element of his larcenies. It is a fact, I believe, that a party of the 5th Kansas once stole a grave. How? you ask. In this way: Some members of the 2d Wisconsin had to bury a comrade, and dug a grave for the solemn purpose. Some members of the 5th Kansas having the same melancholy office to perform for one of their deceased companions, watched a chance, and while the detailed of the 2d Wisconsin had gone for the Wisconsin corpse, took possession of the grave and buried their own inanimate jayhawker therein. I call that the gravest offense, in its way, on record.

A FLYING FISH?

From *The Weekly Free Press*, Atchison, December 9, 1865.

SINGULAR OCCURRENCE.—The train from St. Joseph due at this place at 1 o'clock p. m. yesterday, was detained at a water-tank between that city and Atchison by a singular accident. When the train stopped in order that the engine might receive its supply of water, the pipe was thrown open, but to the consternation of all it was discovered that the water would not flow. Considerable time elapsed and the passengers began to be impatient, the conductor looked puzzled and the tank-men swore, but the pent up water still refused to leave its reservoir. A careful examination was therefore instituted, and to the astonishment of all a *huge cat fish* was found tightly squeezed into the conduct pipe. No satisfactory theory is given accounting for the presence of the fish in that peculiar place. Suffice it to say the conductor captured a prize and the train moved on, reaching this city an hour behind time.

"TAKE AS DIRECTED"

From the Marysville *Enterprise*, August 18, 1866.

While a train was encamped near Oketoë the other day one of the teamsters made his complaint to the wagon-master that he was very sick—had the ague very badly.

"Then why don't you take something?" said the wagon-master.

The next morning a horse was missing from the train, and so was the sick man. The wagon-master started in pursuit and soon overtook the fellow, leading the horse.

"Ah ha," said he, "you've got my horse, have you! How came you to do that?"

"Why;" said the thief, "you told me to *take something*, yesterday, so I thought I'd take a horse!"

The wagon-master thought this joke a little too practical, so he gave the man of ague a terrible "shaking."

FOR ABILENE'S SCRAPBOOK

From a letter published in the Topeka *Weekly Leader*, September 6, 1866.

The most noticeable thing about Abilene is a prairie dog-town in the main street of the village. . . .

BUT NO RADIO COMMERCIALS!

Advertisement in the daily Leavenworth *Times*, May 1, 1867.

WELLS FARGO SALOON,
JUNCTION CITY, — KANSAS.

THE WORST LIQUORS,
THE POOREST CIGARS,

And a Miserable Billiard Table,

Are to be found at this Establishment, for the Amusement of "all persons" over Twenty-One years of age, or any other man.

The New York Herald, Chicago Tribune and St. Louis Republican on file daily, for the use of visitors.
apr12d1m

"HIGH" MEAT PRICES IN 1867

From the Marysville *Enterprise*, June 15, 1867.

The Anti-Beef-Eating Society is increasing in numbers, as the price of "choice cuts" advances. Steaks are now selling at thirty cents a pound, short weight; and the best beef cattle bring six to seven cents per pound gross. Most people are coming to the conclusion that fresh meats are not healthy at this season.—*Bulletin*.

Kansas History as Published in the Press

The Westerners Brand Book, Chicago, has in several recent issues published Kansas history items. The May, 1947, issue featured an address by Col. Edward N. Wentworth on the Southwest cattle empires. Colonel Wentworth mentioned some of the early cattle trails into Kansas, including the Chisholm trail. The story of Horace Greeley's journey through Kansas in 1859 was told by J. Monaghan, Illinois state historian, in the issue for July-August. W. Turrentine Jackson's speech on army engineers as road builders appeared in the December number. "Photographing the Frontier," a talk by Elmo Scott Watson, was printed in January, 1948. Watson referred extensively to Dr. Robert Taft's article, "Seeing Kansas in the Sixties," published in *The Kansas Magazine*, Manhattan, for 1939. A story of the battle of "Arickaree Fork," by Hilton Ira (Hi) Jones, appeared in the February, 1948, issue.

Included among recent articles in the series entitled, "The Birth of a State—This Month in Kansas History," by Cecil Howes, published in *The Kansas Teacher*, Topeka, were the following: "Indian Tribes in Kansas," September, 1947; "Fairs Still Retain the Old Flavor," October; "When Bicycles Swarmed on the Highways," November; "Buffalo All Gone—But Tracks Remain," December; "The Chisholm Cattle Trail," January, 1948; "Box Suppers and Pie Socials," February; "Opening of the Santa Fe Trail," March; "Beecher Bible and Rifle Colony," April, and "Rain Makers and Water Witches," May.

An article, "Historical Huron Cemetery," by Grant W. Harrington, was printed serially in the *Kansas City Kansan*, December 17-28, 1947. Huron cemetery, located in present Kansas City, Kan., first came into existence about 1843 when the Wyandot Indians buried 60 of their number who died from an epidemic. The Wyandots had arrived in the area from Ohio only a short time before. A few years later many of the Wyandot tribe became citizens and were granted land individually by the government. The burial place was set aside as a cemetery. However, because of the increasingly high value of the land, several attempts have been made in the past fifty years to have the bodies removed and the property sold. The first attempt was unsuccessful because of the objections from the Wyandots. The second was in 1906 when congress by law authorized the bodies to be removed and the land sold. The case went to the supreme court of the United States but the attempt was finally

stopped when Congressman Charles Curtis was successful in getting the law repealed. Another attempt was made in the 1948 session of congress, but the move was blocked by interested Kansas congressmen. In 1913 congress appropriated \$10,000 for the upkeep of the cemetery, and soon thereafter it was turned over to Kansas City for maintenance. For many years Huron cemetery was a burial ground for the Wyandots. A few of the graves are marked but many are unmarked and their locations unknown.

"Benjamin, or 'Pap' Singleton And His Followers," is the title of an article by Roy Garvin reprinted in pamphlet form from *The Journal of Negro History*, Washington, v. 33 (January, 1948), pp. 7-23. Benjamin "Pap" Singleton was one of the principal leaders of the greatest mass movement of Negroes in the United States. Mr. Garvin dealt principally with the movement of Negroes from the South to Kansas during the period of the 1870's and 1880's. Singleton had a major part in the founding of eleven colonies in Kansas during that period. The difficulties and the hardships the Negroes endured and the measures taken to aid them by the state and local governments of Kansas were discussed. Mention was made of several of the more prominent figures in the migration.

The Dodge City *Journal* in recent months has printed a historical column entitled "It's Worth Repeating," with Heinie Schmidt contributing much of the information. Some of the subjects discussed were: naming Southwest cities, January 8, 1948; a brief history of Fort Dodge, January 15; the original cowboy band of Dodge City, January 22; beginnings of Wright park, January 29, and O. A. (Brick) Bond, buffalo hunter, February 5. Beginning February 12 the column featured the reminiscences of F. A. Hobble. The early days of the Methodist church were reviewed on February 26, "Ham" Bell, last of the Wild West sheriffs, and the blizzard of 1878, March 4. Later articles, several of which were written by Mr. Schmidt, included: highways of pioneers, April 15; establishment of the first church (Union) in Dodge City, May 6, and the first cattle drive over the old Palodura or Goodnight trail, June 10.

An article appearing in the *Manhattan Mercury-Chronicle*, January 29, 1948, and the *Manhattan Republic*, February 4, by Leslie Black, recalled the founding of Wabaunsee, in northern Wabaunsee county. The settlement was sponsored by Henry Ward Beecher, famous Congregational minister, and was known as the Beecher Bible and Rifle Colony. When the group met in old North Church,

New Haven, Conn., Beecher, then pastor of the Plymouth Church in New York, pledged \$600 from his congregation for purchasing Sharps rifles. When the money arrived it was accompanied by Bibles. The pioneers arrived at their new home on April 28, 1856. Work was soon started on the Beecher Bible and Rifle Church which was completed in 1862. The church still stands today although it has not been used regularly for many years.

Articles of historical interest in the March, 1948, number of the *Transactions of the Kansas Academy of Science*, Lawrence, include: "Kansas Weather: 1947," by S. D. Flora; "The Climate of Kansas, 1871," from *Resources of Kansas*, by C. C. Hutchinson, 1871; "The Flora of Douglas County, Kansas," by Ronald L. McGregor; "Kansas and the Geodetic Datum of North America," by Walter H. Schoewe; "Ground Waters Available for Water-Flooding Oil Projects in Southeastern Kansas," by G. E. Abernathy, and "Some Effects of Burning Upon a Prairie in West-Central Kansas," by Harold Hopkins, F. W. Albertson and Andrew Riegel.

"Mennonites in Comanche County, Kansas," by Mrs. S. Enos Miller, appeared in the Protection Historical Society columns of the *Protection Post*, March 5, 12, 19 and 26, 1948. Other subjects discussed recently were: the banks of Protection, April 9; Protection's livery stables or barns, April 16, 23 and 30; Protection's postal service, May 7 and 14; Protection's first vacation Bible school, May 28, and Protection's first band, June 11 and 18.

A brief history of the newspapers of Rooks county by W. F. Hughes was printed in the *Rooks County Record*, of Stockton, March 11, 1948, and republished in the *Plainville Times*, March 18. The first newspaper in the county was the *Stockton News* in 1876. Of all the newspapers started in Rooks county, only the *Record* and the *Times* are now in existence.

Osage county history, as compiled several years ago by the Kansas Historical Records Survey, Division of Community Service Programs of the Works Progress Administration, is being printed in *The Peoples Herald*, Lyndon, beginning March 11, 1948. Topics discussed include: origin and name of Osage county, March 11; early explorations, March 18; Indian occupancy, March 25, April 1 and 8; white settlement—early towns, April 8, 15, 22 and 29; first elections, April 29 and May 6; first townships, May 13; judicial districts and organization, May 13, 20 and 27; the county seat question, May 27, June 3 and 10, and county buildings, June 10, 17 and 24.

W. E. Baer's "Across the Years—A History of La Cygne," has continued to appear in the *La Cygne Journal*. The issue of March 12, 1948, stated that J. W. Mitchell bought the *Journal* and became its editor and publisher in November, 1896. In August, 1897, the *Journal* again changed hands, going to Bruce Dennis. Other subjects discussed include: the G. A. R. reunion at Leavenworth in 1897, March 26; the graduating class of 1898 from La Cygne High School, April 9, and the response from La Cygne boys to the first call for volunteers for the Spanish-American war in the spring of 1898, April 23. On April 16 a list of marriages from 1893 to 1898 was published. The members of the Twentieth Kansas regiment from La Cygne were listed on April 30. Brief biographical notes on some of the early settlers in La Cygne who died late in 1899 and early in 1900 were printed on May 21.

"History of Neosho County," by W. W. Graves, has been featured in recent issues of the *St. Paul Journal*. In the issue for March 18, 1948, Mr. Graves described the judicial, legislative and congressional districts relating to Neosho county. Also the commissioner districts and townships of the county were discussed. On March 25, April 1, 8, 15 and 29 several Neosho county poets were mentioned with brief samples of their work. Included were: Esther Clark Hill, Clarence Oakes, Dr. J. A. DeMoss, Mrs. Mary Elizabeth Lease, the Rev. Thomas A. McKernan, Mrs. Helen B. Kyser, J. M. Cavaness, the Rev. Knowles Shaw, Mrs. Mary Haufle Carpenter, Susie Gibbons Graves and Mrs. Fannie Smith Gray. Histories of some of the Neosho county townships were given as follows: Big Creek township, April 22; Canville township, April 29 and May 13, and Centerville township, June 3 and 17.

Pictures of "Historic, Beautiful Kansas," by Russell Walker of St. John, have continued to appear in the *Hutchinson News-Herald*. Recent pictures include: Wamego windmill, built in 1879 by J. B. Schonhoff, March 22, 1948; a college building said to be the oldest in Kansas, at Baker University, Baldwin, April 5; the mansion built by Frederick P. Stanton in 1857, near Lecompton, April 19; Monument Rocks, sometimes called Kansas Pyramids, in Gove county, April 26; a covered bridge near Springdale, in Leavenworth county, May 3; Taub Jones home near Ottawa, built in the 1860's, May 10, and the old Kaw Mission, at Council Grove, May 17.

A brief history of Sunset cemetery at Manhattan was sketched in the *Manhattan Mercury-Chronicle*, March 29, 1948. The cemetery site was selected in June, 1860, and Mrs. Juliette Lovejoy

Whitehorn, who died in November, 1860, was among the first burials. (See *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, May, 1948, p. 175.) The name "Sunset" was not officially applied until 1935. Today the cemetery contains about 75 acres.

The history of the Frankfort *Index* was printed in a special anniversary edition issued April 1, 1948. Forrest Warren established the Vliets *Echo* April 6, 1898, which was changed to *The Marshall County Index* when it was moved to Frankfort in 1905. The daily *Index* was started February 26, 1906, and continued until 1944. Frank Hartman, father of the present publishers, joined Mr. Warren in publishing the *Index* shortly after it was moved to Frankfort. It is now published by H. H. and A. P. Hartman.

An article, "Genealogy Research Is Walter McKeen's Hobby," by Marietta McLeod, was printed in the Manhattan *Mercury-Chronicle*, April 4, 1948, and in the Manhattan *Republic*, April 7. Mr. McKeen, a resident of Manhattan, began tracing his lineage and that of his wife in 1935. He discovered that both he and Mrs. McKeen had ancestors on the Mayflower. Another of Mr. McKeen's hobbies is collecting books on the history of Kansas. He also has a file on the history of Riley county.

Among historical articles of interest to Kansans in recent issues of the Kansas City (Mo.) *Star* were: "Towers in the Western Sky Attest Faith of Pioneers," the story of the building of the "Cathedral of the Plains" at Victoria, by Victor C. Leiker, April 4, 1948; "Epic Stand by Quantrill Raiders Is Subject of a Manuscript in Pencil," a Quantrill battle recorded in a penciled manuscript by one of his men, by Edward R. Schaufler, April 10; "A Doctor [Dr. Julius A. Burger] and His Wife Find Joy in Family of Fourteen," by Sarah Kroh, April 11; "A Young Man [Dr. Franklin D. Murphy] Looks To New Goals in Kansas Medicine," an article on the new dean of the University of Kansas school of medicine, by Charles W. Graham, April 18; "Portrait of Indian Ancestor of Charles Curtis To Light," a brief sketch of the life and ancestry of Charles Curtis, by Mrs. Clyde H. Porter, May 16; "Sunflower Village, a Dormitory on the Kansas Prairie," by Margery Stubbs Handy, and "K. U. Had Four Graduates at First Commencement [in 1873]," by Patricia James, May 23, and "'Governor's' [Charles Robinson] Treason Trial Highlighted the Exciting Year of 1857 in Kansas," by Edward R. Schaufler, June 16. Articles in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Times* were: "Carry Nation Recalled as a Crusader Who Could Laugh at Own Discom-

future," personal recollections written by E. A. Braniff, March 29; "Carl Sandburg, Poet, Found America's Traditions Summed Up in [Gen. Dwight] Eisenhower," by Duncan Emrich, April 5; "Frederic Remington Learned About West in a Year as Owner of a Kansas Ranch," May 14, and "Graduating Veterans at K. U. Have Been a Stimulus To Student Body," by Fred Kiewit, June 4.

The Overbrook *Citizen* and the Scranton *Gazette-Record* of April 8, 1948, printed a brief story of the journey of the Jim Simmons family from Chico, Cal., to Pomona, Kan., by covered wagon in 1915. The journey was begun July 6 and ended November 30. A diary, kept by the oldest daughter, Gorgia, shows that the average distance traveled in a day was about 20 miles.

The Larned *Chronoscope* and *The Tiller and Toiler* have continued the publication from time to time of historical articles on Pawnee county. The reminiscences of Mrs. Elizabeth Halloway appeared in the weekly *Tiller and Toiler* April 8, *The Daily Tiller and Toiler* April 9, and the *Chronoscope* April 15. Mrs. Halloway's father, William Montgomery DuMont, brought his family to Kansas in 1866, settling near Olathe. In 1874 the family moved to Larned where Mrs. Halloway still lives.

A five-column article by Rolland Jacquart on the history of old Fort Wallace, located in extreme western Kansas in the 1860's and 1870's, was published by the Goodland *Daily News*, April 18, 1948.

The *Johnson County Herald*, Overland Park, published a 70-page anniversary edition on May 13, 1948. The *Herald* was first issued July 17, 1924. Included among the articles of historical interest were: "Story About Great Seal of the State of Kansas," "Slavery Question in Kansas Was a Bitter Incident," and "Story of John Brown in Kansas." Articles by Martha Peto were: "The Pony Express in Johnson County," "Edgar Porter Reminisces About Early Days Here," "Indians, Bushwhackers in A. E. Wedd's Story" and "Frank Schepers Recalls Early Overland Days." Also by Martha Peto was a biographical sketch of John L. Barkley, Johnson county farmer who was awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor in World War I. Articles by other contributors included: "History of Quivira," by V. R. Clark; "Olathe, County Seat, Dates Back to 1857," by Ernie W. Miller; "Shawnee Indians Early Settlers in This Territory," by Frank Hedrick; "Merriam Was Formerly Called Campbelltown," by Mrs. James B. Fairhurst, and "Recollections of Early Lenexa Days," by E. A. Legler. A history of the Shawnee

Mission Indian Historical Society, organized in October, 1930, was another feature of the edition.

In a small, attractive, 12-page pamphlet entitled *Shawnee, the Gateway of Kansas*, R. O. Larsen briefly related some historical facts concerning the community of Shawnee, Johnson county. Three pages were devoted to present-day Shawnee. The historical portion of the pamphlet was reprinted in the *Johnson County Herald*, Overland Park, May 13, 1948.

The seventieth anniversary of the founding of Anthony was observed in a three-day celebration held May 26-28, 1948. Histories of some of the city's clubs, churches and business institutions were reviewed in the special 50-page edition of the *Anthony Republican* issued May 20. Among the feature articles were: "Petition To Incorporate Anthony Circulated on July 9, 1879," "English Settlement at Runnymede," "Anthony Library Donated by Group From New York," "Claim Jumping Every Day in 1879," "List of First Known Anthony Residents" from official census records, "Municipal Airport a Growing Enterprise," "Anthony School System One of the Best in State," "Anthony's First Postoffice in Connell and Wright Grocery," "Anthony Located on April 6th, 1878," and "Municipal Lake Noted Beauty Spot."

Old-time Leavenworth was revived in a "Pioneer Days" celebration held May 27-29, 1948. Leading up to and during the festivities the *Leavenworth Times* continued to publish a series of historical articles by Harry H. Seckler. Some of the recent articles were: "This City Never Could Rightly Be Called a 'One Horse Town,'" a story of the part played by horses in early Leavenworth, March 24, 1948; "Leavenworth Has a Real Right To Be Termed the Pioneer City of the Great West—Its Size and Growth Amazed Easterners," "Some Wanted a New Kansas Town To Be Named Douglas," and "The Planters House Once Was Host To Abraham Lincoln—His Slayer Also Was a Guest There," a brief article on famous people who visited Leavenworth, May 27; "'Buffalo Bill' Cody Was Ideal of Children of Pioneer Days," and "Post Offers Interesting History Sites," May 28; "Leavenworth, Jefferson, Platte County History Intertwined," "3 Men From City Served as Governors," and "Some Early Historical Facts About Leavenworth, Vicinity," May 30. An article entitled "Busy Business Blocks During Pioneer Days of This City," appeared unsigned in the issue of April 7.

Kansas Historical Notes

The seventy-third annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society will be held in the rooms of the Society in the Memorial building at Topeka on October 19, 1948.

Funds for restoring the old Beecher Bible and Rifle Church at Wabaunsee are being collected under the sponsorship of the Old Timers' Association of Wabaunsee. Mrs. Josephine Brown, 1126 Pierre street, Manhattan, is chairman of the committee. The church, dedicated in 1862, is being repaired and it is hoped that the restoration will be completed by the latter part of August when a homecoming celebration will be held.

Some damage to the historic rocks at Alcove Springs, six miles south of Marysville, famous camping site of emigrants traveling the old Oregon trail, was recently reported by Arthur McNew, present owner of the land. The large rock near the falls, on which initials and dates of many emigrants are carved, has been used as a camp-fire site, which has resulted in turning the rock white. Mr. McNew warns that such trespassers will be prosecuted.

The historical committee of the Meade county council of women's clubs met in the home of Mrs. W. S. Dingess of Meade, March 20, 1948. Rules for the historical writing contest sponsored by the county council were drawn up. Contestants must be adult residents of Meade county or descendants of early settlers in the county. The manuscripts must be at least 1,500 words in length. The State Historical Society will judge the entries and cash prizes will be awarded by the county council for the best stories. The contest closes September 1, 1948.

Manuscript of Volume II of "Chase County Historical Sketches" was sent to the publishers in April, 1948, the Chase County Historical Society has announced. The material was compiled under the direction of Mrs. Clara Hildebrand, historian of the society. Volume I was printed in 1940-1941. Members of the executive committee of the society are: George T. Dawson, chairman, D. M. Smith, Howel Jones, Henry Rogler, George Miller and Claude Hawkins.

The newly organized Osawatomie Historical Society elected Alden O. Weber as its first president at a meeting on April 23, 1948. Other officers are Mrs. Pauline Gudger, vice-president, and Mrs. Ruby McIntosh, secretary-treasurer. The president explained that

the purpose of the club was to stimulate and sustain interest in Osawatomie history and to work for the preservation of historic buildings, monuments, etc. The old stone church at Sixth and Parker streets was cited by Mr. Weber as an example.

A Kansas Historical Marker to "Coronado and Quivira" was erected four miles west of Lyons on highway US50-North in May, 1948. This was one of the 56 markers which the Kansas Highway Commission originally scheduled for placing several years ago, but the war and resulting material shortages prevented its erection until now. The text of the marker was printed in *The Kansas Historical Quarterly* of November, 1941 (v. X, No. 4), p. 342.

Jerry Voorhis, native Ottawan and former congressman from California, met with the Franklin County Historical Society at Ottawa May 6, 1948. Voorhis mentioned several people and business houses that he remembered from his boyhood days. He was seven years old when his family left Ottawa for California. Sen. B. F. Bowers, president of the society, presided at the meeting.

Project Report on Historical Aspects of Kanopolis Reservoir on Smoky Hill River, Kansas is the title of an interesting 34-page illustrated mimeographed review recently prepared by Merrill J. Mattes, historian of Region Two, National Park Service, of Omaha, Neb. The dam and reservoir, in Ellsworth county, were officially dedicated on May 31, 1948. A more general article by Mr. Mattes, "Historic Sites in Missouri Valley Reservoir Areas," appeared in the July-September, 1947, issue of *Nebraska History* of Lincoln. In May, 1948, the corps of U. S. engineers of the Kansas City district issued a revised 14-page report with maps of their publication entitled *Kanopolis Dam and Multiple-Purpose Reservoir*.

A story on the iron monument marking the boundary between Kansas and Nebraska was written by James C. Olson for the June, 1948, issue of *Nebraska History* of Lincoln. Mr. Olson and others recently visited the monument, originally placed at the northeast corner of Kansas in 1855, and found it in excellent repair.

Those Who Served (Newton, 1947), a 136-page illustrated booklet edited and compiled by William Jewell Sage, lists those from Harvey county who served in the armed forces in World War II, and gives brief histories of the civilian groups which were organized to further the war effort. Major work included the operation of the Red Cross railway canteen and the USO.

THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

November • 1948



Published by
Kansas State Historical Society
Topeka

KIRKE MECHEM
Editor

JAMES C. MALIN
Associate Editor

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Managing Editor

CONTENTS

	PAGE
OVER THE SANTA FE TRAIL THROUGH KANSAS IN 1858 (Translated by <i>John A. Burzle</i> ; Edited and Annotated by <i>Robert Taft</i>), <i>H. B. Möllhausen</i> , 337	
A HISTORY OF THE TOPEKA DENTAL COLLEGE..... <i>Ralph W. Edwards</i> , 381	
WILLIAM CLARK'S DIARY, MAY, 1826-FEBRUARY, 1831: Part Four, 1830-1831—Concluded.....Edited by <i>Louise Barry</i> , 384 With the Following Illustrations: Explosion of the <i>Helen McGregor</i> in 1830, facing p. 384, and View of St. Louis, Probably in the Early 1840's, facing p. 385.	
BYPATHS OF KANSAS HISTORY..... 411	
KANSAS HISTORY AS PUBLISHED IN THE PRESS..... 413	
KANSAS HISTORICAL NOTES 420	
ERRATUM IN VOLUME XVI 424	
INDEX TO VOLUME XVI 425	

The Kansas Historical Quarterly is published in February, May, August and November by the Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kan., and is distributed free to members. Correspondence concerning contributions may be sent to the editor. The Society assumes no responsibility for statements made by contributors.

Entered as second-class matter October 22, 1931, at the post office at Topeka, Kan., under the act of August 24, 1912.

THE COVER

Leavenworth in 1858, the year it was visited by H. B. Möllhausen's exploring party (*see pp. 378-380*) on returning from the region of the lower Colorado river. The drawing was published in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, New York, December 25, 1858. It was sketched by the magazine's own correspondent "from the residence of Amos Reese, Esq., situated upon an elevation near the river, in South Leavenworth, and directly facing toward the north."

THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Volume XVI

November, 1948

Number 4

Over the Santa Fe Trail Through Kansas in 1858

H. B. MÖLLHAUSEN

Translated by JOHN A. BURZLE

Edited and Annotated by ROBERT TAFT

I. INTRODUCTION

HEINRICH Balduin Möllhausen was a German who, between 1849 and 1859, became extensively acquainted with the American West. He was a member of two federal exploring parties and accompanied a German prince on a third expedition, as has been described at greater length in an article on Möllhausen in *The Kansas Historical Quarterly* for August, 1948.

In the fall of 1857 Möllhausen accompanied Lt. Joseph C. Ives' expedition on an exploration, by steamship, of the Colorado river from its mouth in the Gulf of California to the head of navigation. Leaving their boat, members of the expedition attempted their exploration along the Colorado river eastward through the rugged country along the southern side of the Grand Canyon. The expedition was abandoned in the spring of 1858 at Fort Defiance in present eastern Arizona. Möllhausen, with several fellow members of the expedition, continued eastward to Santa Fe, and left that town via the Santa Fe trail for Fort Leavenworth on June 16, 1858.

On his return to Germany, Möllhausen wrote an account of the expedition, based on a diary which must have been carefully kept on the Western journey. It was published in two volumes at Leipzig, Germany, in 1861, under the voluminous title *Reisen in die Felsengebirge Nord-Amerikas bis zum Hoch-Plateau von Neu-Mexico, unternommen als Mitglied der im Auftrage der Regierung der*

For more detailed biographical information on H. B. MÖLLHAUSEN, see Robert Taft's "The Pictorial Record of the Old West: Part VI," in *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. XVI (August, 1948), pp. 225-244.

DR. JOHN A. BURZLE is professor of German at the University of Kansas, Lawrence.

DR. ROBERT TAFT is professor of chemistry at the University of Kansas, Lawrence.

Vereinigten Staaten ausgesandten Colorado-Expedition (Journeys Into the Rocky Mountains of North America as Far as the High Plateau of New Mexico, Undertaken as a Member of the Colorado Expedition by Commission of the Government of the United States).

This first-hand account of the West has never been translated into English and is even rare in the original German. We have been able to locate but few copies in this country. Through the kindness and courtesy of the California State Library at Sacramento we secured an extended loan of an excellent copy of Möllhausen's work. Professor Burzle is preparing a translation of both volumes, but a translation of that portion of the account describing the return trip through Kansas is presented herewith.

This portion of the Möllhausen account includes chapters 35, 36, 37 and 38 of his *Reisen* (v. 2, pp. 333-391 of the original) and begins while the return party was still in present northeastern New Mexico, covering the dates June 29 to July 25, 1858.

Although not a literal translation, translator and editor have attempted to follow the original meaning as closely and exactly as possible—not an easy task, for Möllhausen was at times, as the interested reader will soon find out, a wordy and an effusive writer. The most important changes from the original in the translation occur in the spelling of proper nouns where modern American spelling has been consistently followed, *i. e.*, Topeka for "Topeca"; Neosho for "Neoscho"; Cheyenne for "Scheyenne," etc. Despite Möllhausen's prolixity, he was an observant and thoughtful traveler. The record of his intense interest in the detail of life and surroundings of a day now gone is a most valuable contribution to the contemporary literature of this period in Kansas history.

II. THE JOURNAL—UP THE SANTA FE TRAIL THROUGH KANSAS

[CHAPTER 35]

When we stepped outside our camp on the morning of June 29 I noticed that we had stopped overnight in a grass-covered basin surrounded on three sides by hills. A swampy brook with clear water which, however, contained magnesium, wandered through the prairie. Because of low water level, it was stagnant at the time; I observed thousands of fish of various sizes in it that hurriedly slipped back and forth between the reeds. We did not take time to catch any, especially since I saw only the one species of "Pomatus."¹

1. Möllhausen evidently classified these fish correctly as this family would include such fish as bluegills, green sunfish, etc., common to our Western rivers.

After a journey of 25 miles, we reached the Cimarron river in the early hours of the afternoon.² We were forced to continue our trip for some time up the little river. We then immediately prepared to stay overnight. The main sources of the Cimarron river are on the eastern slopes of the Raton mountains (104° W. L. of Greenwich); flowing in a northeasterly direction from the mountains it approaches the Arkansas river within a few miles at 101° longitude. Then suddenly it turns southeast, and cutting away from the northern bend of the Arkansas, it empties into this river at the 96th degree.

As far as I am familiar with the Cimarron, it resembles a brook, winding through green treeless meadows, its water level only a few feet below its wide shallow banks. Like many other creeks and rivers in these latitudes, the Cimarron flows at times under the surface and only when it receives water from the snow of the Western mountains does its wide valley resemble a river; then roaring wildly it empties into the Arkansas.

Whenever one comes upon running water in the Cimarron during the dry season it has only a slight taste of magnesium; but it becomes almost undrinkable in the pools because of its alkali contents. It also is accompanied by a bad, musty odor that makes it quite disagreeable. Whenever I rode through the little river I observed that only a thin film of sand covered its bed, and that wagon wheels, as well as the hoofs of animals, stirred up an evil-smelling, blueblack mould which gave the stagnant water of the nearby brooks and pools these peculiar qualities.

Contrary to my expectations, I found the territory of the Cimarron river poor in game; to be sure, I noticed numerous buffalo paths and even a dead buffalo dried to a mummy, an indication that in some years the bison extends its wanderings to these regions. The native game of the region, the antelope and the white-tailed stag (*Cervus Virginianus*), I saw only in very small numbers and usually from a great distance.

We left our camp on June 30th at the usual hour, and followed the level, but winding road in the Cimarron valley. We encoun-

2. The travelers encountered the Cimarron near the extreme northeastern corner of present New Mexico and followed the river for some 60 or 65 miles, first on one side of the stream and then the other, going into present Oklahoma and then Colorado as the river follows a devious way eastward before entering Kansas in present Morton county in the extreme southwestern part of the state.

The dry, alkaline, or miry character of the river bed in this region, as mentioned by Möllhausen in the text which follows, has been described by other travelers; see, for example, the field notes of Joseph C. Brown in the *Eighteenth Biennial Report of the Board of Directors of the Kansas State Historical Society* (Topeka, 1913), pp. 122, 123. Brown's notes are a part of the report of a committee appointed to prepare a map of the Santa Fe trail through Kansas and this source is hereafter referred to as the *Eighteenth Biennial Report*.

tered several caravans of traders; they were taking goods to New Mexico on heavy wagons with teams of twelve oxen; from everyone with whom we talked we learned that the larger part of the buffalo herds had already moved north, but that we could still count on good hunting.

This news hastened us forward so that even in the noon hour when the sun was perpendicularly above our heads and our shadows almost disappeared under our feet, when the heated atmosphere trembled and dazzled us, and the mirage tantalized us with its illusions, we still hurried on as cheerfully and vigorously as we did in the early morning hours after a restful night, or, as we did in the cool of the evening when an expanse of water beckoned to us from the distance. With enthusiasm we even hunted the sly wolf and the fleet antelope on our robust animals. If we did stop for a few hours during the day, we rested around the wagon in a circle, laying our heads in its shade so as not to be exposed to the dangerous effects of the sun's rays during our short nap.

After riding fifteen miles we reached the spot where the road leaves the valley and rises to the plateau above. There we met the United States mail which had left the Missouri sixteen days earlier. They brought only scanty news but they stressed the fact that they had encountered numerous bands of Indians on the way and had escaped being molested only because of their speed. We asked them to mark the places where the natives were encamped, but not particularly worried about our future, we ascended to the upland in order to continue our trip until nightfall.

For 12 miles we rode over a surface that was almost as smooth as a billiard table and then came down again into the valley where we passed the night. A small group of travelers, evidently coming from Missouri, camped close to us. We walked over to ask whence they had come and about their destination, and were most pleasantly surprised when Peacock recognized an old and trusted friend in their leader.³

We soon were engaged in a lively conversation, and as an example of how hospitality is offered and accepted on the prairies I quote the conversation between the two old friends: "How about it, Peacock?" the stranger asked, "Did you count on bad water and have you taken sufficient fortifying spirits along to last until you get to the Missouri?"

3. Peacock was G. H. Peacock "of California" in charge of the mule train of the Ives expedition.—See Joseph C. Ives, *Report Upon the Colorado River of the West* (Washington, 1861), p. 6; see, also, Footnotes 10 and 17.

"When we left Santa Fe," Peacock answered, "we had so many full bottles and barrels that we thought we could sell some on the Missouri; but we have constantly come upon bad water, the sun has been so hot and our thirst so great that I can't think of the future without worrying."

"And there is no prospect," the other one interrupted, "of your thirst diminishing; fortunately my train is still behind me, and I am glad to be able to help you out in this dilemma." With these words he tore a piece of paper from his notebook, wrote a few words in pencil on it and handing it to Peacock he said: "You'll meet my train tomorrow night or the following morning, give my regards to the wagon master, hand him this receipt and an empty barrel; if you don't get it back filled with as good brandy as ever was taken across the prairies, then I'll be hanged." "But not in the prairies," Peacock added smilingly, "it might be difficult to find a tree for you."

We visited together until late into the night, but when we stepped outside the following morning we found the camping place of our host deserted; he had already set out during the night.

On the first of July we remained only a short time in the river valley; but before we turned to higher ground above the river we stopped at a depression at one side of the road to fill our water vessels at a spring there [Middle Cimarron spring],⁴ for even though we rode hard we could not count on reaching the running water of the Cimarron that same day. At this place the Cimarron river makes a bend toward the southeast and consists of nothing but a few puddles. Our day's journey amounted to 28 miles, and when the sun set, we again approached a green, grassy valley in which we discovered a pool of dirty water for our animals. We stopped and had hardly finished the last preparations for the night when a thunderstorm broke loose. A fine wetting rain veiled the whole country and hastened the onset of night.

It was still raining when we mounted the mules the following morning and proceeded in the same direction, following the Cimarron for the first twelve miles. As the sun rose higher the rain diminished and when we approached one of the most important springs in the otherwise dry river valley at about eleven o'clock, the clouds had parted and the almost perpendicular rays of the sun greedily absorbed the rain which had fallen.⁵

4. The travelers were now in Kansas, as the Middle Cimarron spring was "in southwest Morton county, about seven miles north and six miles east of the southwest corner of Kansas,"—*Eighteenth Biennial Report*, p. 122.

5. Probably the Lower Cimarron spring (later known as Wagon Bed spring) in present southern Grant county.—*Ibid.*, pp. 113, 122.

We rested for two hours at this spring and were visited there by a group of disreputable looking Mexicans who claimed that they were returning from a trip to the Comanches with whom they had traded. Never in my life had I seen a greater assortment of robber faces than among this band; indeed, some of them presented a truly terrifying exterior, and they certainly did not give the impression that any one of them would have shrunk from cold-blooded murder. They were about twenty in number and I can truthfully say that we were not particularly pleased when some of them joined us and started to question us to the best of their abilities. We gave them short answers, and as far as the continuation of our trip was concerned, incorrect answers, because no one of us was in doubt that we were face to face with one of the bands of highway robbers which made those trade routes unsafe, and committed the numerous crimes which are often blamed on the Indians. We were too well armed to be afraid of this sinister company in daylight, and only to prevent a night attack and the loss of our mules did we lead the inquirers astray with our answers.

Upon continuing our trip we underwent a torture which we had experienced on preceding days but which doubled in intensity after the mild rain. Small, scarcely visible flies filled the humid air and descended upon us and the animals in droves; we tried to protect ourselves by covering our heads and our hands, but we did not succeed in shutting out the small insects completely; they crept into our beards and into our hair where they tortured us extremely with their bites and stings. Not until we left the valley and moved to higher ground over which we continued our trip to the Arkansas was there an end to the torture.

After having journeyed 27 miles we arrived toward evening in a small valley in the plain which is known by the name of Sand creek.⁶ We stayed overnight near a murky pool which we found in the bed of the infrequently flowing stream, and almost against our expectations we remained undisturbed for we had not believed that the band of robbers which we had met the previous day would be able to resist the temptation to try at least to steal our mules.

During the latter part of the night it rained very hard and we saddled and mounted our animals in the rain on the morning of

6. The camp on the night of July 2 probably was in present Haskell county somewhat less than half way from Wagon Bed spring to the crossing of the Arkansas river in present Gray county, if we interpret Möllhausen's distances correctly. No Sand creek is listed in Brown's notes as the survey apparently followed a somewhat different route in this part of the trail than did Möllhausen and his party. There is listed a Sand creek in Gregg's table of distances along the trail which was some 50 miles from the crossing of the Arkansas.—*Ibid.*, pp. 116, 121.

July 3. Our surroundings presented so desolate and hopeless an appearance that we had no wish to remain there waiting for better weather; we therefore put our blankets around our shoulders and at a fast pace moved across a level expanse whose horizons were marked by the falling rain as if by lead-colored walls.

We met several caravans that morning, and among them there was also the one we expected. Peacock had carefully preserved the slip of paper and according to our previous arrangement he gave it to the wagon master; he actually got the promised barrel of which it could be said that never had a better one found its way through the prairies. The sky cleared again around noon and the boundless prairie extended in all directions without even the slightest swell. Although rainwater had gathered in the low parts of the road, providing many appropriate camping spots, we traveled on until evening without interruption and then pitched camp in a grassy hollow.

The sun set on the plain in all its glory, and rose again as gloriously from the fiery east on July 4; not a cloud obscured the lovely blue sky and huge dewdrops adorned the short stems of buffalo grass. The grazing mules had brushed the dew from the grass and had given it a darker color for a short distance making paths which crossed in the queerest patterns. It was a magnificent morning, a morning of which there are so many on the prairies. We could have considered ourselves the only living beings and therefore the masters of the entire world, for besides our small group there was actually nothing but the wide green plain, the infinite firmament, and the beautiful sun. True, our shoes had begun to fall off our feet, and our tattered clothing showed little desire to stay with us very much longer, but our surroundings, as simple as they were, seemed sublime.

We greeted the new day with loud shouts and with heartfelt songs, like larks that have no worry but dull weather, and no other desire than bright sunshine. My mule contentedly closed its eyes as I approached, perhaps with the hope that he would remain unnoticed by me. He heaved a deep sigh when I pulled the girth tight, and when I mounted him, he pricked up his long, long ears and trotted cheerfully ahead of the rumbling wagon in the company of his fellow travelers.

For a distance of 14 miles the character of the scenery did not change at all, but then we came to a series of sandy hills, and an hour later we were on the edge of the valley of the Arkansas river.⁷

7. The travelers were now approaching the crossing of the Arkansas river near the present town of Cimarron in present Gray county.—*Ibid.*, p. 113.

Two caravans were camped there, numerous mounted Indians roamed about, but before I turned my attention to them I looked down into the valley that the wide, clay-colored Arkansas divided in half.

On my journeys I have observed a number of prairie rivers, among them the Nebraska [the Platte], the Canadian, and the Arkansas, but as a rule I have not noticed any distinct difference in their character. Everywhere was the same sandy, wide shallow bed; everywhere the low banks, the flat grassy valleys; everywhere the hilly border of the valley, and nowhere were there trees worth mentioning. The latter circumstance is no doubt the reason why, at first sight, these rivers do not produce as pleasant an impression as one gets from rivers in scenically more agreeable regions.

One must get used to them, so to speak, in order to like them; one must have drunk from their waters for weeks; one must have bathed in their shallows in order to leave them with regret; and this feeling is also true of the upper Arkansas river which hurries through the plains almost moodily; at times rising, at times falling, but carrying a large part of the water of the eastern slopes of the Rocky Mountains to the father of the rivers, the Mississippi.

The Indians whom we met belonged to the tribes of the Cheyenne, the Kiowa, and the Arapaho, but I was unable to detect any feature in their exterior which would have pointed to a tribal difference. They were tall, well-built people, genuine inhabitants of the plains in whose posture you could not miss seeing a certain boldness, and in whose armour, Indian wealth. Their hair fell down to their knees on both sides of their painted faces while the fantastically adorned scalp-lock, together with the hair of the back, reached down to the middle of the spine.

The dress was different in the case of each native, and so gaily colored, so peculiarly adorned and cut that one involuntarily wondered at the gift of imagination of these people who knew how to express their taste in such varying and different forms. Not only the moccasins and leggings were brilliant with glass beads, finely cut leather fringe, bells, rare fur strips and rings, but the saddles of their strong and wiry horses were similarly decorated. Contrary to our expectations the wild prairie riders proved to be friendly and sociable, and one after another rode over to us to shake hands and greet us.

We remained only a short time on the upland with the caravans; riding down the sandy slope we soon got down into the valley

which lay scarcely one hundred feet lower than the prairie proper. On the green bank of the river we unharnessed the animals in order to rest for an hour; scarcely had this fact been noticed by the Indians on the hills above when a number of them galloped near and camped quite close to us. It was not our intention to get deeply entangled with the visitors whose motives we could not guess. Their obvious modesty, however, had this time more effect than their usual forwardness, and we were soon engrossed in a conversation with one who seemed to me to be one of their most respected warriors.

As a means of communication I used the sign language as I had learned it during my stay among the northeastern tribes on the upper Missouri, and I was very pleased when I made myself understood, and in turn found the answers very intelligibly given in a similar manner. Thus, I learned that the Arapahoes, the Cheyennes and the Kiowas were gathered farther upstream on the Arkansas river in order to receive the gifts which were to be presented to them by the Indian agent Bent in the name of the government of the United States.⁸ To be sure, these tribes receive a small bounty every year if there are no complaints about them from the caravans and, in all probability, it was mainly due to this circumstance that they behaved so politely and reservedly toward us.

As a rule, Bent trades with all the natives on the upper Arkansas river and his main depot is at Bent's fort (103° W. L. of Greenwich), a fortified place from where business and negotiations are conducted even with natives living in more remote regions. Through the fact that Bent has been appointed agent of the United States, a liaison officer so to speak, between the United States and the Indians and as all payments and presents for them go through his hands, his influence and esteem have been considerably increased, and gradually a relation of mutual sympathy has arisen, a relationship one still frequently finds in the West between traders and natives. Naturally, Bent derives the greatest relative benefits from such traffic, inasmuch as all Indians in whose district he lives feel themselves obligated to trade their furs only with him.

Thus the Indians looked forward to the arrival of the agent. Some of them had assembled for that purpose farther upstream and others farther downstream from the spot where we first came

8. Bent was doubtless "Col." William Bent, builder of Bent's new fort and a famous figure of the Southwestern frontier. Information on Bent can be found in George Bird Grinnell's extensive but irregular account, "Bent's Old Fort And Its Builders," in *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 15, pp. 28-88. According to Grinnell (pp. 86 and 87), Bent was not an Indian agent in 1858 but Fort Bent was frequently headquarters for the Indian agents of the upper Arkansas tribes.

upon the Arkansas river, so that they might welcome Bent and accompany him to his fort. For several weeks they had been waiting, and some distrust had begun to creep up among them as day after day passed without their hope being fulfilled. As I have mentioned above, however, they abstained strictly from any remark concerning this fact, and allowed the numerous caravans to pass without molesting them. The tribes, about which the people accompanying the mail had complained, were the Osages and the Kaw or Kansas Indians; they had no relations with those who depended on Bent; on the contrary, there was friction between them, and at the time of our presence, bloody engagements had occurred between the Osages and the Comanches.

After a two hours' rest we set out again and followed the Indians who had raced wildly ahead of us toward the Arkansas river. We were able to recognize the ford from afar because a large caravan was crossing the river, and at the moment we arrived the last wagon was brought up to the right bank. It was a government caravan accompanied by a command of mounted troops who were on their way to Fort Union.

The officers met us in the most friendly manner and since they recognized us as a government expedition by the "U. S." with which our animals and our wagons were marked, no special formalities were needed to establish friendly relations quickly. We had scarcely an hour at our disposal because the troops had to start looking for a camping place with more grass, and we ourselves intended to ford the river before nightfall, and also look for a good grazing place for our animals. An hour, however, was sufficient to get acquainted with one another and to question each other.

Moreover it was July 4, the mere mention of which transports the American into ecstasy; it was the celebration of the Constitution which a great many citizens do not think is celebrated adequately unless they burn down a few houses as a climax to fireworks, and then they look for nocturnal peace in an artificially produced happy mood.⁹ Even though we did not shoot off fireworks, we had enough stuff for our Constitutional thirst, and standing around boxes and baskets we drank every kind of toast, it may have been to the Constitution or to the emperor of China, to the Democrats or to the Whigs, to the slaves or to the free black man or to any other subject destined to go down or to rise; at any rate we drank and it tasted wonderful. The troops, too, did not lag

9. Möllhausen's knowledge of American history was evidently not much better than that of many Americans in confusing "celebration of the Constitution" with Independence day.

behind, because everyone, without distinction of rank or person, received a double ration of brandy in honor of the day.

Not far from us a high-wheeled light traveling coach had stopped, and in it I saw a beautiful pale lady with a white and a black servant. "It is my wife," the commanding officer remarked. "I ask your pardon if I do not present you to her, but the poor creature got so frightened when we forded the river and the carriage threatened to capsize that she still is unable to speak." We thanked him and were not dissatisfied because during our long trip our faces had received such a robberlike patina that we justly feared to make an unpleasant, horrifying impression on a lady who had just been torn away from a cultured home and atmosphere.

Since the level of the Arkansas river was unusually high and the water came over the shoulders of the mules, the commander of the troops put two of his tallest horses at the head of our team in front of the wagon, and we were overjoyed to see our belongings arrive safely on the left bank of the river in a short while. We then took leave cordially, and crossing our feet above our saddles we rode into the river. The impact of the water was more powerful than I had thought, and on the treacherous sandy soil eroded in furrows by the current, the animals needed all their strength to keep themselves upright with their load.

But we crossed the stream, which at this spot is approximately six hundred feet wide, without an accident; a few Arapahoes had accompanied us on their horses, and we gave them some tobacco for their trouble. We then waved good-bye to the caravan that was just starting west on the other bank, and a few minutes later we were on a plain above the river and trotting cheerfully along on the road which forms a boundary between the valley of the Arkansas and the prairie proper. Toward evening we turned to the river, and stayed overnight near some tall grass that marked a strip of swampy soil.

On July 5 we continued our trip along the river valley; the road was good, the weather extremely pleasant, but there was so little change in the scenery that it could be considered as non-existent. When we therefore observed indistinct forms of three or four cottonwood trees on the far horizon or went past islands on which willows grew, we turned our full attention to them, and found objects beautiful and pleasant which would have gone unnoticed in other regions.

Around noon we rested near the last remnants of an old abandoned military post which Peacock identified as the former Fort

Mann.¹⁰ Commissioned by the government, it had been founded in 1847 by a certain Daniel P. Mann to protect nearby herds of grazing cattle. Establishment of new posts further west with more timber, made the maintenance of Fort Mann unnecessary. Since passing caravans considered the rafters of the deserted shacks and huts welcome firewood, the clay-walls, deprived of their supports, soon fell into ruin, and a simple sod wall, in the shape of an irregular triangle is all that is left of the post. Near Fort Mann the Arkansas river makes quite a bend toward the south. Since we had now learned that the Comanches were camping in that region with their wives and children, and since we had no great desire to make our way directly through their temporary village, we decided to cut off the bend of the river and to slip past them by going across the plain in a direct line. At this time a meeting with the Comanches was, to be sure, not dangerous, but we might have been delayed, a fact we wanted to avoid under all circumstances. By the way, there is a road across the upland known as the "Dry Road." It is even shorter than the road down the river which has been called the "Water Road," but the "Dry Road" is always avoided by the oxen caravans, and usually by the mule caravans, too, because of the lack of water.

That afternoon, after a trip of 25 miles, we were near a road junction when we suddenly noticed a small dark spot crossing our road and moving slowly towards the river. The opinion that it was a bison was confirmed when Peacock looked at it through his telescope. We at once decided to give chase. Since I was the only one with a rifle, my companions being armed only with double-barreled shot guns, I undertook the job of either stopping the hairy fellow with a well-aimed bullet or moderating his speed to such an extent that my comrades would gain time to ride close enough to make use of their guns. To be sure, Peacock observed that on all his trips never had the first buffalo that came in sight been killed, but I was not to be deterred from the attempt.

I spurred my animal on, and describing a wide circle got the buffalo between myself and the river. The wind was favorable, and instead of running away, the enormous animal turned toward me and watched as I zig-zagged toward it foot by foot. I was almost within shooting distance when it suddenly snorted, turned

10. Peacock was evidently an old hand on the plains, for Fort Mann, according to present records, had been abandoned by 1850 and had been succeeded by Fort Atkinson which in turn was abandoned by 1854. The site of these two military establishments was three miles west of present Dodge City.—*Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 8, pp. 489, 490; *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 1, p. 55, and v. 15, pp. 329, 330.

around and galloped toward the river. I immediately started to gallop after it on my mount; but the buffalo stopped after a short run and looked around for me. I also stopped dead in my tracks without having lessened the distance between us.

I quickly threw the lasso to the ground, which prevented my mule from running away, slid quietly from my saddle and flattening out I crawled toward the buffalo which kept its eyes on the grazing mule. I had come within two hundred paces of it when it saw me and put up its short tail as a sign of distrust. I got up at once, and before it had time to think of flight, my bullet hit it through the ribs between its shoulder blades. The colossus trembled under the heavy impact but it stayed on its feet and clumsily trotted toward the river. The bullet had, however, found its mark and after 20 paces the animal stopped and watched me and my companions who were slowly approaching it. A second bullet from my rifle again shook the gigantic body without, however, felling it and only after the third shot did it fall.

My companions had come close in the meantime, and especially Dr. Newberry,¹¹ who had never seen a buffalo in the wilderness, watched with great interest the defenseless animal that did not want to die. "I'd like to shoot at the buffalo, too," said the doctor, when we were less than 50 paces from it and could see the fierce expression with which the animal looked at us. "With pleasure, doctor!" I replied, handing him my rifle, "but keep in mind that the buffalo's heart lies deeper than in any other game." The doctor raised the rifle, aimed and fired; the animal jumped up with its last strength, reached the bank of the river in two leaps, and plunged headfirst into the water. "But, doctor," I exclaimed, "you are bringing to life again what I have killed." And laughingly we went to the spot where the buffalo had disappeared.

Fortunately, it had not fallen into deep water, but rested on solid ground, although half-covered by the water; we did not experience any difficulty in pulling the dead animal out of the water and examining it more closely. It was a bull, and I must admit that I have rarely seen a buffalo that surpassed this one in height and girth; because of its age it had, however, lost the woolly hair from

11. Dr. John S. Newberry was physician, geologist and naturalist of the Ives expedition. A biographical sketch of Newberry will be found in the *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1934), v. 13, p. 445.

The heartless shooting of the bison described by Möllhausen on this and succeeding pages of his narrative was nothing unusual in Western frontier history. Every expedition and every traveler as soon as "buffalo" country was entered became imbued with the lust for slaughter, whether meat was needed or not. The wanton killing of these animals reached its apogee during the 1870's when the vast buffalo herds were virtually wiped from the map of Western America.

its back and flanks; it could whet the appetite of only very hungry people or of the wolves which constantly circled around us. We were satisfied with taking out its tongue, and severing some skin from its back for leather strips. With a feeling of remorse for having killed the animal to so little advantage, we set up camp there on the bank of the river.

Immediately upon leaving the camp on July 6 we moved up to the plain which at this spot rises about fifty feet above the river valley. The grass there had already felt the effects of the almost unbearable heat of the sun, for the endless surface was no longer the green we were accustomed to, but was yellow and dry and seemed to join the horizon without a break.

The road, however, was as solid as a barn floor, and in order to reach water again at an early hour the following morning, we speeded up the pace of our animals. Luck favored us, because twice we came upon pools where we could water the animals, the last one after a trip of 32 miles, in the dry bed of a river which Peacock called "Coon creek" and where we then, of course, set up camp for the night.¹²

Our cavalcade, which consisted of eight pack mules, six riding mules and a race horse, was increased by a strong horse on this day. The horse which we saw from the road, had probably escaped from the Comanches camping near us down the river valley. Since we could see no one near or far, we considered the horse masterless and agreed to catch it for our own use. It was no easy task and it took all our energy to drive the nervous animal to the spot where we camped. There we began a new attack with united forces, and after several futile attempts which, by the way, gave us material for many interesting conversations, we succeeded at last in surrounding the flighty racer in such a way that we were able to catch it and to tie it by means of lassos.

When the horse was captured, it proved to be manageable. We noticed on its back the unmistakable signs that it had been worked a great deal recently and had probably been used on the buffalo hunt. At any rate, our trouble was rewarded and, in prairie fashion, we no longer cared who had formerly been its rightful owner.

The wolves that run in packs, especially near an Indian encampment, molested us considerably during the night, the more so as we could not distinguish in the cloudy darkness whether the unrest of our animals was caused by wild beasts or by thieving Comanches.

12. Coon creek is in present Pawnee county.—*Eighteenth Biennial Report*, p. 112.

The early morning convinced us that we were not to be troubled by uninvited guests for the plain was, as far as the eye could reach, barren and empty; numerous smoke columns rose from the tents of the natives along the Arkansas valley, and hungry wolves circled around the camp in order to take possession immediately after our departure. In fact we were not two hundred paces distant when they were already fighting for the kitchen scraps; I sent them a bullet, and at once the wild group dashed away upon seeing one out of their number sink down without a sound, hit by the murderous lead.

We went on our way quickly, and when the heat of the rising sun began its fatiguing effect, a small wooded grove shone invitingly from the distance. With many turns the dark green strip traced its way from north to south toward the Arkansas river; the slope of the land indicated that a small stream pursued its course continually in cool shade. Taught by instinct about the proximity of water, the animals strained themselves still more in their dusty harnesses, and obeyed the spurs and the whip willingly.

The Pawnee fork¹³ was before us, a favorite summer resort of the natives of that district. From the caravans which we had met we had been prepared to meet an important group of the Cheyennes and Arapahoes, but to our surprise we found the valley deserted and empty, and only screeching ravens and crows hovered over the artificially erected arbors that had been used as temporary shelters, the surest proof that only very recently people had lived there. The tracks of horses and of dragging tent poles¹⁴ going west toward Fort Bent indicated to us that a group of at least four-hundred people must have camped there, and that they had left only on the preceding day.

Although we had journeyed only 25 miles that day, we decided not to pass by the inviting spot, and established our small camp on the left bank of the river. I hastened to get down to the river with my fishing tackle but I threw my hook in vain for, although numerous fish enlivened the water, none of them seemed to be inclined to touch the bait. For a long time, however, I sat on the edge of the water and watched the rushing stream which was about 20 feet wide and 3-5 feet deep. The stream flowed tempestuously

13. The Pawnee fork was crossed near present Larned, Pawnee county.—*Ibid.*

14. "DRAGGING TENT POLES.—When the Prairie Indians are traveling they fasten the tent poles (16-20 feet long) on both sides of their pack animals in such a fashion that the thin end drags on the ground. Children, sick and aged people take long trips on the prairies in relative comfort by being assigned seats on buffalo skins that had been tied to the poles dragging behind the horses on both sides, and were quite elastic."—Möllhausen.

around the accumulated driftwood, reflecting the steep banks with their shady trees in its moving surface.

The wide prairie with its sublime tranquility and its majestic expanse certainly has an appeal to receptive and contemplative minds. But when, after a long trip through the endless grassy meadows, one suddenly finds himself in a region where mighty walnut trees, sycamores, oak trees and willows of many kinds crowd the dark masses of their tops together, decorated with lianas and grapevines—where, in other words, the earth's inexhaustible productive force is revealed in the luscious vegetation, in the knotted trunk as well as in the tender twig—then the enjoyment is doubly great. Also doubly beautiful does the picture of the grassy plain appear to be, the plain which one has just left and which he is going to cross once more. The smallest wooded strip extends nature's kind greeting to the wanderer of the prairie.

The twittering and the singing of birds touch your heart, and even in the clear eye of the turtle which raises its head from the water and watches your motions, you seem to recognize a greeting; in fact, nature beckons to you, friendly and understanding, from all sides, if you listen attentively to the thousand voices which speak to you even from seemingly inanimate objects.

The mosquitoes finally chased me from the river; when I returned to the camp I found my companions occupied in watching a buffalo through a telescope. The animal was slowly moving toward our camp. We got ready for the hunt at once, but the bison, apparently suspecting danger, suddenly turned from the direction it had followed and went farther down the Pawnee fork toward the Arkansas river.

The night passed without any disturbance, and in the early morning of July 8 we were on our way. A mild rain had refreshed the entire country after a thunderstorm, and the wooded grove far to the south, which we could see from the height, was resplendent in the freshest green; even the green of the prairie was brighter. Our wide road extended in an easterly direction, freed from the unpleasant dust for a while. At times we approached the Arkansas river, and then left it again as the river wound along, or we passed dry beds of streams running from north to south that crossed our road at several places.

We met only one Arapaho; he was going to announce to his tribe the impending arrival of the agent who, according to his information, was still a four days' trip behind. The Indian presented a

picture of a handsome warrior, and though he was overloaded with arms and fantastic decorations, especially owl and hawk feathers, he controlled his fiery horse with extreme grace and assuredness. Judging from his weapons, he must have been an aristocratic chieftain because before him on his saddle rested a long rifle, from his shoulders hung a shield of solid buffalo leather, as well as a bow of elkhorn with a well-filled quiver. In his right hand he held a light spear while a tomahawk and a knife flashed in his belt.

After a short stop we parted, but soon afterward we met three single riders who raced like mad over the plains on their wild horses. When they noticed us they turned toward us, and from afar we recognized two Americans and an Indian who could hardly be distinguished from one another in appearance. The former were two young fellows with audacious expressions on their beardless faces. By neglecting their personal appearance and by dressing partly in Indian garments their features had taken on much of the native's traits, while the Indian whom I considered a halfbreed on account of his light color, attempted to imitate the white race through his posture and dress. They told us that they were connected with the trader whose establishment on Walnut creek we would reach in the course of the day and that they were about to go to the Comanches to whom they had already sent a few wagons with articles for trade.

I must ask the readers' indulgence that I even mention meeting individual people in my book but in the indescribable loneliness of the prairie the appearance of human beings is considered an event and is, therefore, imprinted in one's memory in inextinguishable colors; I think that I should not omit mentioning such trivial circumstances here.

In this case I remember it especially well because my eyes deceived me as I did not recognize a man with whom I had at one time wandered through the prairies for months. I learned in the house of the fur trader that the suspected half-breed was actually a young Mexican by the name of Vincenti¹⁵ who had been kidnapped as a child by the Comanches and had gradually taken on their customs and interests. His features and the tone of his voice had struck me, but not sufficiently to cause me to ask for his name. I would never have suspected that the handsome slender Indian,

15. Möllhausen had met Vincenti in 1853 near Fort Arbuckle, in present Oklahoma, when a member of the Lt. A. W. Whipple expedition.—See Möllhausen, *Diary of a Journey From the Mississippi To the Coasts of the Pacific*, translated by Mrs. Percy Sinnett (London, 1858), v. 1, pp. 94-97.

whose richly embroidered moccasins and leggings indicated that very skillful squaws waited on him, that this was little Vincenti who at one time accompanied Whipple's expedition as an interpreter; the boy had changed so much in the course of four years.

Whether Vincenti really did not remember me or out of sheer moodiness did not want to recognize me I cannot say; anyway we met and parted as strangers and a few hours later I learned that the prophecies which I once had made for the wild boy had come true, that he was happy in the fancy-free life of an Indian and that since he possessed a few pretty wives he was not ready to exchange his lot with that of anyone else.

[CHAPTER 36]

After a march of 30 miles we got to Walnut creek,¹⁶ a little river that completely resembled Coon creek in character and in size. I noticed the same picturesque grouping of trees, the same variety in the trees themselves, the same healthy dark-green appearance and the same steep clay banks. We crossed the river, and turning downstream toward the Arkansas river we reached the log cabin of the fur trader in a short time.

The owner of the trading post had gone to the Missouri, as a few young people who were staying there informed us, in order to sell the furs he had obtained and at the same time to procure new goods. To protect his property, which included a nice herd of cattle, he had left six young Americans and Vincenti; according to all appearances they all led an easy life. The natives, who were glad to have a trader there, molested them but little, and there never was a lack of food in the cabin since they always had fresh meat to supplement a supply of flour. The eastern angle between Walnut creek and the Arkansas river was constantly enlivened by buffalo and, when on a fast horse, it took only a little effort to kill one or more of them.

We decided to stay overnight near the log cabin on the river bank, and betook ourselves presently to the young people who were not a very select company but afforded us, nevertheless, interesting conversation. We also found there an opportunity to replace our boots which no longer held together, with soft Indian moccasins. We also got some poor whisky which aroused my suspicion that for their furs the Indians were often paid here in something more exciting than the usual articles of trade. The inhabitants of the trad-

16. The crossing of Walnut creek was near present Great Bend in Barton county.—*Eighteenth Biennial Report*, p. 112.

ing post did not feel entirely safe; the coming winter months worried them especially, for then they would receive numerous visits from the natives who came for the sole purpose of being fed through the off season and could not be rejected if the traders did not want to spoil their chances for trade with the whole tribe.

I cannot deny that I have been, so-to-speak, an admirer of the adventurous life of a trapper and a fur trader ever since my first acquaintance with the "Far West"; to such an extent that it took a great deal to change my intention of spending my entire life in the romantic, alluring, primeval wilderness. Nowhere did I feel more comfortable than in the log cabins on the upper Missouri and in the Rocky mountains, and nowhere was I happier than in the company of white hunters, even though other conditions of the most adverse nature might confront and threaten me on all sides.

But here in the trading post on Walnut creek it was different and, although I cannot explain it, I felt that many things were not the way they should have been, and that this establishment could not be considered one of the trading posts of the AMERICAN FUR COMPANY by which the natives are always treated according to certain principles, even if some accusations against the company are true, and military order partly takes the place of the law.¹⁷

I had a great deal of pleasure in watching six tamed buffalo which were being driven, together with the rest of the cattle, into an enclosure formed by strong palisades. Although not yet fully grown, they were, nevertheless, stately animals and did not differ at all in character and behavior from their spotted comrades which seemed to have developed a special kind of friendship for them. It must seem strange, however, that the tamed buffalo never joined the numerous wild herds that grazed daily in their neighborhood; this fact confirmed my opinion that the North American bison, as it is more correctly called, is suited just as well for a domestic animal as sheep or ordinary cattle.

These buffalo had been caught as calves with little trouble after their mothers had been killed, and had been added to the herd.

17. The trading post, purely a private affair as Möllhausen suggests, and not company owned, was established by one Allison of Independence, Mo., in 1857. It was at this post that a George Peacock was killed in 1860 (cf. Footnotes 3 and 10).—*Emporia News*, September 22, 1860; *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 10, pp. 664, 665. There seems to be more than a possibility that George Peacock was the G. H. Peacock of the Ives expedition. We have already called attention in these notes to the fact that apparently Peacock was a man of long experience on the plains. The *Weekly Reveille*, St. Louis, November 10, 1845, mentions a Peacock, a Santa Fe trader. In J. J. Webb's *Adventures in the Santa Fé Trade* (Glendale, Cal., 1931), edited by Ralph P. Bieber, p. 170, mention is made of George Peacock of Independence in December, 1845. Bieber makes editorial comment on Peacock, citing the reference to the *Weekly Reveille* given above and also to the *Daily Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, September 18, 1860. The *Kansas Press*, Council Grove, April 9, 1860, states: "Mr. Peacock of Allison's old Rancho, passed through town the other day with 2000 Wolf Pelts for Kansas City."

From the first moment the young animals had shown neither restlessness nor antipathy to being driven or led by men. They were eventually to be led to the Missouri river and to be sold; the buffalo trade there was considered a business which really deserved some attention.

The bison brought to civilized regions is unfortunately used only for slaughtering purposes and sold by the pound at very high prices to people who wish to become familiar with the taste of this world-famous meat. Therefore the momentary profit does not permit the establishment of proper buffalo breeding in America, but I gradually became convinced that with some care in their breeding the bison cannot only be tamed easily, but acclimatized. Its introduction to Europe would be less troublesome and more profitable than might be suspected at first.

It was too late to start hunting on this day, and so I enjoyed myself till evening with observing the distant herds through a telescope. I was amused by the antics of the gigantic shaggy animals as they walked towards the water after their meal, or lay around comfortably ruminating. The long-bearded, powerful animals had an extremely serious look; it therefore seemed the funnier when some of them in youthful exuberance jumped about in awkward motions or attacked one another with their dull horns in a battle-like game. The old ones of the group looked indifferently at the young folk, the cows cleaned and licked their redbrown calves, and on the bent backs of all, flights of trusting cowbirds lighted to remove broods of poisonous flies from their shaggy fur. The setting sun illuminated a picture of serene peace, a picture of peace in which only man was absent to disturb it, since a mere glimpse of one would have been sufficient to cause the animals to flee in fright.

On the morning of July 9 we discovered to our great dismay that under the cover of darkness one of the mules had slipped away in the trees. A careful investigation revealed that it had taken the way back, and we immediately had one of the young men at the log cabin ride after the fugitive and bring it back as speedily as possible. We ourselves went on to the mouth of Walnut creek, two miles distant, to wait there until the next day, on the grassy bank of the Arkansas river, for the return of the escaped mule. The heat was oppressive and we tried in vain to escape the glare of the sun in the shade of the wagon and the tent; we almost forgot that we were in the buffalo region and were therefore no little surprised

when we suddenly noticed nine powerful buffalo bulls clumsily wading in the middle of the river.

From the direction in which they moved I concluded they would reach the bank a short distance below our camp. I hastened to meet them there with my rifle while the doctor and Peacock saddled the two horses and got ready for the pursuit. But we had noticed them a little too late, for I still was not yet within good shooting range when the first one jumped onto the bank and shook the water from his fur. He was followed by the others but because they looked around and saw me I could not lessen the distance that still separated us. When they saw the wagon and the mules they became restless and, getting ready for flight, they put up their short tails. In the meantime I lay in the grass and having chosen the fattest one as a mark for my bullet, I fired the moment the first one started galloping.

Badly hit, the animal went down on its knees but rallying rapidly it joined its comrades and raced like mad across the prairies. As soon as the shot had been fired the doctor and Peacock started from the camp on horseback and chased the fleeing buffalo, each with his revolver in one hand and swinging a whip in the other. A knoll in the ground soon removed them and their prey from my sight, but shots, fired in rapid succession, told me that they had caught up with the herd and had scattered it.

I was just ready to reload my rifle when my attention was drawn by our cook to a lone buffalo racing straight towards our camp. Wigham,¹⁸ whose curiosity had also gotten him out of the camp, was between me and the onstoming bull. I called to him to chase it toward the river so that it would have to run straight toward me. But Wigham, our loyal Irishman, was of a different opinion; intending to conceal his person from the frightened animal, which seemed to him horrible beyond all description, he lay down on the ground and hid himself as well as he could in the low grass. Unfortunately, he was directly in the path which the buffalo had taken. In mortal fear he saw the animal race toward his hideout which he dared not leave for fear of being pursued and caught by the furious beast.

When the bull was only about 20 paces from him he could no longer bear the horrible sight. In his imagination he saw himself tossed and trampled by the thick horns and heavy hoofs; gathering all his strength for a last attempt at saving himself, he jumped up

18. About Wigham, apparently a member of the Ives expedition, we have little information other than that given here by Möllhausen. He is not mentioned in the official Ives report.

and ran toward the camp. But scarcely had the buffalo seen the human figure emerge from the grass in front of him when he, no less frightened, jumped aside and galloped around the Irishman in a wide circle. Although I was running as fast as I could, trying to get closer to the buffalo, I did not miss the indescribably comical picture in which man and beast frightened and fled from each other. In my memory I still see faithful old Wigham before me, how he held his revolver in one hand, his hat in the other, how his long yellow hair, standing on end with fear, surrounded his face like a halo, and how he forced his massive figure to take leaps of the sort that would make an antelope proud.

The buffalo stormed past me within good shooting distance and I did not fail to fire my rifle at it. With a loud report the bullet made its way through the shoulder blade, the animal collapsed, but rose again, hurried through the river, half swimming, half wading, and finally fell and died on the opposite shore. I now returned to Wigham, still speechless with fright and reproached him because he had not driven the fleeing buffalo toward the river as I had wanted; in that case it would have been easy to kill the animal a few steps from our tent. But Wigham, who was unaware of the cowardice of fleeing buffalo, replied that he did not consider it a joke to be attacked and pursued by such a terrible beast, and that he would not fight with such an animal for all the gold in California and for all the buffalo tongues on the prairies.

The slain buffalo was not recovered from the wolves which now approached from all sides for none of us felt a great desire to cross the treacherous river; moreover we had obtained so much meat from the first one which had been shot, and from the second one which the doctor and Peacock had killed with their revolvers, that we should have had enough for the remainder of the trip, if it could have been kept from spoiling too quickly in the glowing heat of the sun.

We felt very comfortable in the luxury with which our larder now was provided and our contentment was increased when the messenger we had sent out returned shortly before evening with the escaped mule. Now no new obstacles prevented the continuation of our trip, but it was not without anxiety that we viewed the horizon in the northwest where the setting sun hid behind heavy clouds that rose with furious speed, and at nightfall concealed the entire sky in a black fire-spitting veil. As we went to bed the first raindrops hit the tautly stretched tent walls, the thunder rolled

dully and incessantly while the lightning magically illuminated the entire surroundings for a brief moment and then let it sink back into the black impenetrable darkness. The steadily increasing tumult and the oppressive atmosphere did not prevent us from falling asleep, however.

Not until about midnight, when the rain had turned into a cloudburst and the earth trembled under the crash of heavy thunder, did we jump up and notice that the tent posts had become loosened in the softened ground, and that the water trickled in under us and into our beds. We immediately hurried out to prevent the collapse of our tent and we barely succeeded in tightening the canvas that had become heavy with water. The dampness was thus kept away from above, but we could not prevent the rising of the water on the ground below. In order to save the blankets from becoming completely drenched we rolled them up and put them on the camp chairs; we ourselves then sat down on the raised seats, and pulling up our feet we watched the water as it rose in the grass and any thought of sleep was banished for the rest of the night.

The storm continued with unabated fury until daybreak; the angry elements seemed to struggle for supremacy in an endless fight. Numerous thunderstorms had concentrated from all sides above the mouth of Walnut creek; flashing bolts of lightning stormed at one another and when one retracted, it was as if to gather new strength and then to engage in battle with redoubled vigor.

Darkness had completely disappeared, the entire atmosphere was suffused in a bluish light with zigzagging lines which incessantly crisscrossed the masses of water pouring down; columns of fire connected the hanging clouds with the trembling earth for seconds; added to all this scene, the deafening thunder rolled, and quickly following one another, piercing and penetrating bolts crackled as the lightning hissed into the foaming water or split trees or dug up the earth. The frightened mules crowded around us as if seeking protection, but what protection could we give them who were drenched ourselves and who searched in vain for a camping spot on the ground that now had turned into a swamp?

How gladly man forgets unpleasant situations if through them he can increase his knowledge and his experiences in the realm of nature! It seems as if she opens for him at such times the most secret part of her book so that one can read a page in it; amidst the loudest thunder and the brightest lightning she announces her

wise laws and arouses sincere admiration; in fact, filial love is inspired in her affectionate adherents although she horrifies animals and neurotic minds.

When on July 10 the light of day replaced the morning haze, the storms dispersed, but heavy clouds still covered the sky and a heavy rain poured from them incessantly. At our camp site the ground was not only soaked but was partly covered with water; we, therefore, did not deem it advisable to stay longer, and after having eaten a scanty meal, we hastened to leave the swampy corner and to exchange it for the higher ground.

Before we set out one of the young traders came to us; he was sick and wished for advice and help from our doctor. I learned at this time that there had been serious friction between the Comanches and the Osage Indians on the previous day and that the latter had stolen unnoticed into several isolated tents, had scalped two women alive, slain several men and had taken several women and children with them as prisoners. He also told us that a Mexican who had gone ahead of the "train" in order to hunt buffalo had been shot on the road near Cow creek by an Osage Indian, and he advised us to be on guard during the next few days.

We thanked the young man although we could not be any more watchful than we had been, and moved slowly through the grassy flat into which the wagon wheels cut deeply and into which the animals sank above their fetlocks. However we soon reached the solid road on the upland and using whip and spur we increased the speed of our train to three miles an hour.

At noon we found ourselves among a number of sandy hills, and since the rain had decreased in intensity we stopped there for an hour. We were just about to continue our trip when I noticed a herd of buffalo grazing peacefully in a bowl-shaped valley. While Peacock and the doctor saddled the horses which were usually riderless, I went around the herd in a wide circle in order, if possible, to kill one of them and to drive the others toward the road where my companions could take up the hunt.

Everything went according to plan. I left my mount and unnoticed got to the edge of the little valley. The herd was unfortunately still too far from me to assure success. Nevertheless, I fired three times, and three times a buffalo trembled in pain before it moved slowly towards its companions grazing farther away. As the hunters had in the meantime taken position, I mounted my animal and pursued the fleeing herd across the road where the hunt

was immediately continued by the doctor, Peacock and Egloffstein.¹⁹ It was an interesting spectacle to observe how the riders separated the animals of the herd from each other, rushed up to a single buffalo and fired at full speed shot after shot from their revolvers until the exhausted animal, bleeding from many wounds, finally collapsed.

I had picked out as my mark a bull which had been hit, and my mount had no difficulty in keeping up with the exhausted animal. I rode so close to it that the fire from my revolver singed its wool, but a few more shots were necessary before the beast stopped and I could finish it off.

The hunt had separated us far from one another and as a fine but very dense rain concealed the landscape, it was only after some wandering that we met again at the wagon which had continued its course undisturbed. It rained uninterruptedly until evening but when we arrived at Cow creek, after a journey of 27 miles, it had cleared in the west and the setting sun was reflected in the innumerable raindrops that weighed down the blades of grass or descended from the disappearing clouds as a last gift of the cooling air.

Dusk had already set in when we stopped on the green bank of a little river²⁰ and started pitching camp. Wet were the ground, the grass and the green ash-trees on the bank; wet were the tent, the blankets and our garments; we, therefore, had no great choice but spread the cots on the damp grass, and warmed our feet at a little fire of buffalo chips, over which fresh juicy meat was roasting. Steaming hot "grog" revived us and, wet as we were, we crept between wet blankets from which we moved only to take over the watch, and to walk shivering around the camp for an hour.

The tent steamed under the rays of the sun when we gathered around the table on July 11. Since Cow creek, which normally had water no deeper than one or two feet, now had risen to 16 feet, we could not cross it. The bright sunshine was, therefore, doubly welcome as we were able to spread our drenched articles on the green meadow to dry. The air was sultry, the dampness steamed from the ground and we could no longer keep the meat which we had brought along from Walnut creek. Limiting ourselves to what we had bagged on the previous day, we threw away the older meat; but when the rising sun started the fermentation process thousands

19. F. W. von Egloffstein, a Bavarian, was the topographer of the Ives expedition.—Ives, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

20. The Cow creek crossing was a little west of present Lyons, Rice county.—*Eighteenth Biennial Report*, p. 112.

upon thousands of green and red Spanish fly and brass-beetles²¹ appeared from all directions in order to get the meat as food for their brood. There was a humming and buzzing as if we had been surrounded by swarms of bees; the glittering insects surrounded the evil-smelling chunks of meat in droves.

Around the tent and the wagon there was a thick circle of these clumsy insects which had hit against the tautly-drawn canvas in their speedy flight, and had fallen to the ground on their backs. Never did I see beetles in such masses as on that morning, and it almost looked as if the clumsy but gorgeously colored winged insects had come from miles around.

I found the tumblebug in particularly great numbers; the tumblebug is known to every prairie traveler and its curious behavior amused me many times on my trips. The insects, the size of the ordinary dung beetle, form, alone or in pairs, round regular balls, the shape and size of a pigeon egg, out of manure and other decayed matter. When one ball is finished they harness themselves in front of it in such a way that, if the ball belongs to one, it rolls the ball forward with its two hind legs, walking backward on the four front legs; if two share in the possession of the little work of art, the second one is harnessed in front and pulls the load after it. Thus the industrious animals often take their treasure a great distance, bury it in a safe place, together with their brood, and then fly away to chisel out new supplies and to roll them in another direction.

These strange beetles are found most frequently on roads where cattle have been driven, and you see them rolling their balls tirelessly in the wagon tracks until they finally discover a spot where they can roll their load out of a canyon which must be an awe-inspiring sight for them. I often dismounted and made a track for the industrious workers so that they would not be crushed by the wagon wheels. But I often, too, surrounded them with an earthen wall to force them to exert their greatest effort. In the latter case the little insect would leave its ball, and immediately run up and down the slopes looking for the most appropriate place of exit; then it would go back to its load and now begin the difficult task of lifting and pushing.

I never knew at what I was more astonished, whether at the strength of the beetle that pushed the smooth ball uphill or held it in balance, or whether at its perseverance in starting all over again

21. Möllhausen's meaning here is uncertain. He undoubtedly is referring to the very common "blow flies."

without discouragement when the ball escaped its claws and rolled down the slope together with the beetle, after the beetle had reached a terrace. I made a beetle roll its ball to the top of such a terrace 60 times in vain but I did not succeed in making it give up its property and fly away, because my patience was not equal to its own. I, therefore, opened a comfortable gate for it, saw how it harnessed itself behind the ball almost triumphantly and pushed its load away with undiminished strength.

In the course of the forenoon the United States mail arrived at Cow creek. It had left the Missouri river only eight days before; its carriers were unpleasantly surprised that they were held up in their flying trip by the flooded little river. The carriers are obliged by contract to make the trip through the prairies within a certain time and only truly insurmountable obstacles are accepted as an excuse for lost time; in other cases they have to expect a reduction of pay. The post-office business in the United States is almost exclusively in the hands of private persons; they receive considerable sums from the government for the fast and safe transportation of letters and persons. They also have the right to requisition escorts, where the roads are very unsafe at times, from one military post to the next on the routes between the Missouri river and the Pacific. These escorts are then forced to keep up with the little caravan.

The mail caravan normally consists of one to six light-traveling wagons, depending upon the number of passengers that have registered for the trip; each wagon is provided with four or six of the best mules, but takes along a double number so that the mules can be exchanged every four to six hours; since the larger part of the freight consists of heavy nutritious fodder, and the animals are therefore not dependent on grass, they are given at the most six or eight hours of the 24 for rest. Besides the driver there are two riders with each wagon, one of whom has to supervise the unharnessed animals while the other one rides at times on the other side of the wagon and keeps the draft animals in fast motion with the help of a long whip. Thus the mail hurries across the endless plains at an average speed of four miles per hour. Provided with the best animals, it is not difficult for the mail coach to cover 50-70 miles per day and to get to Santa Fe from the Missouri or back in the incredibly short time of 18 days.

Several times at a nocturnal hour when I walked around the camp and no other sound disturbed the stillness except the deep breathing of resting men and animals, I could hear the sound of the

mail in the distance like the uncanny rumbling of a ghostly hunt. More and more distinctly I could hear the encouraging calls, the cracking of whips, the tramping of hoofs and the rattling of wagons. I would try peering through the darkness but could see nothing but sparks emanating either from iron-clad hoofs striking the pebbles on the road, or from the wind blowing into glowing pipe-bowls. The indistinct silhouettes of wagons, riders and animals would gradually become clearer as the flying caravan came closer and closer.

Suddenly at shooting distance it would stop. I would hear the cocking of pistols and at the same time the call: "Who is camping there?" "A government expedition" would be the answer. "The mail" it would come back, the whips would crack, the chains and rings on the harnesses would ring, and with a loud "Hallo!" the United States mail would trot past. A rider would leave the caravan, address a few questions to me concerning the road or the natives, answer my questions briefly, urge his horse on, and gallop after the wagons and the riders who had already disappeared in the darkness but whose sounds were still audible far in the distance when I crept back into the tent to wake up my replacement.

Such a caravan had arrived at Cow creek at an early morning hour, and had camped almost opposite us. We greeted the riders that accompanied it but the rushing stream disturbed our conversation although we would have preferred to keep it up for a long time. The shade of the tents and the wagons was more welcome to everyone than the sunny river banks sheltered from every current of air.

We had been informed that we would not find buffalo any more during the remainder of our trip. Since I saw to the west several more herds that were grazing slowly north, I made one more attempt toward evening to end, as I could rightly surmise, my buffalo hunting for this life. I could only hope to continue the hunt some day like the Indians in the Happy Hunting Ground.²²

During the afternoon I had already observed through the telescope about twenty splendid bulls whose movements were scarcely noticeable in the indicated direction. According to my calculation they had to cross the road shortly before sunset at a spot where on the previous day I had discovered some gullies washed out by the rain that were excellently suited for a hiding place. I therefore set out and two hours before nightfall I was about three miles from the

22. Möllhausen is quite evidently referring to the fact that his penchant for wandering had been satisfied and he was ready to forego further travels.

camp; from my hideout I observed the longbearded herd grazing on their way toward me.

An hour passed, and the buffalo were still a quarter of a mile away from me; the sun set toward the plains but the buffalo did not hasten their steps. I finally realized that I would have to wait until late at night for their arrival, perhaps until the following morning. I therefore decided to stalk them in the open plain. I placed my revolver and my knife on my back, took the rifle in my left hand, and stretching out in the grass I began the tedious task of crawling on the ground as level as a table and where no stone or bush offered me an opportunity to rest without being noticed.

The wind was in my favor and the sun just touched the western horizon when I arrived within shooting range of a bull who watched me attentively and probably thought me a wolf since he was blinded by the long head hair. He had unfortunately turned his head and chest toward me and I, therefore, had to wait for a considerable time before I was able to shoot. Following the shot the buffalo made a convulsive motion but walked toward his companions without swaying; only from the restlessness with which he pushed among them did I realize that he really had been mortally wounded.

As with all cattle, the smell of blood that gushed from the wound caused furious consternation among the herd; with a hollow, uncanny roar the embittered animals lowered their bushy heads, and where the blood had reddened the ground they dug up the grass with their short horns and with heavy hoofs they threw up earth and grass. I used the general confusion to reload my rifle in haste and to crawl still closer. When a heavy bull turned his broad side toward me I carefully took aim and fired for the second time. But this one too did not fall immediately; walking among his companions he heightened the fury of the herd by his loss of blood. Satisfied with the success of my hunt as the two wounded bulls could hardly stand upright I used less caution, and got to my knees in order not to be hindered in my movements when loading.

Suddenly, as if by a given signal, all raised their heads and observed me very attentively for a few seconds under their bushy manes. I cannot deny that I did not like it at all when the whole bunch, snorting loudly, came towards me with measured steps but it was apparent that they still thought me a wolf—not a human—and were planning to unleash their fury on their hated enemy. I jumped up and waved my hat to shy them away but this movement had the opposite effect because the animals started to crowd to-

gether and increasing their speed they approached me with all the signs of unfriendly intentions.

I had but one method left to avoid the menacing hoofs and horns and I did not hesitate for a moment to use it; I bolted as fast as I could run around the herd in a westerly direction and when the first animals were scarcely thirty paces from me I was in line with them and a northwest wind blowing gently across the prairie. Hardly did the buffalo sense the proximity of man when, seized by sudden fright, they rushed away in wild flight without stopping. This again afforded me an opportunity to fire another successful shot.

The three wounded buffaloes separated at once from the herd and only a short distance from me one of them crashed to the ground. I went to him presently, finished his suffering with my long knife, and cut out his tongue. When I got up and looked around for the escapees, I saw only the two wounded ones at about a mile's distance, one of them was lying on its side, dying, while the other one stood beside it as if in meditation. The dusk that quickly passed into darkness prevented me, however, from going farther toward them.

Not without a feeling of remorse for having killed three of the stately buffalo of the prairie for a single tongue I turned toward Cow creek. The night was clear and starry but dark; the camp fires showed me the direction, and listening for the slightest noise around me, I hurried past the spot where a few days before the Mexican had lost his life through a hostile bullet, and where his friends had buried him.

Our first walk on July 12, bright and early in the morning, was to the fording place. We met the escorts of the mail and together we examined the depth of the river that had already receded considerably but still prevented our crossing. Not until noon did the mail undertake to begin the crossing; it got over to us without any trouble. Bent²³ who had arrived there in the course of the forenoon with a few light carriages followed it, and when the last of his horses climbed the right bank we crossed over to the left, where we continued our trip with renewed vigor.

[CHAPTER 37]

After we had crossed Cow creek the path led us up an elevation. From here we could see the winding course of the river with its wooded banks as far as its junction with the Arkansas. We rode

23. Presumably Bent was William Bent of Bent's fort mentioned previously (see Footnote 8).

side by side and listened to one of Peacock's murder stories which he recalled because of the surroundings.

"Do you notice down there the sharp bend in Cow creek?" he asked. "Twelve years ago in the cold of winter, when there was very little traffic on this road, 22 travelers camped on that spot. They had only as many wagons or rather pack animals with them as they needed to transport their food for they were in part merchants who had their warehouses in Santa Fe and were on their way back there, and in part people who were leaving the Missouri to go to the same city. The latter wanted to make sure of a place, for the following spring and summer, in the army destined to fight against Mexico. In other words they were all men who wanted to travel as quickly as possible and therefore paid little attention to comfort.

"In the company was a rich merchant named Jarvis who, partly because of his reputation and partly because of his experience, had been chosen as captain of the expedition. Since he was carrying about a hundred thousand dollars of government money on his person he thought himself fortunate to be surrounded by a guard which was not only familiar with life in the wilderness, but had already gained some experience in the Indian wars.

"Without mishap and even without annoyance the company reached that spot. They could have camped just as well here on the road where they would have likewise found firewood in abundance; but since the whole company agreed on that secluded spot, Jarvis, who had no suspicion of treachery, gave in and left the road with the whole caravan in order to spend the night in this concealed place.

"On the following morning when Jarvis was preparing for departure he was surprised that not a single one of the company was following his example. When he asked the cause of this behavior, he was still more surprised that no one wanted to answer him and that all kept out of his way. A certain MacDaniel, Jarvis' intimate friend and at the same time the ringleader who had been able to win the whole company over to his treacherous plans, finally stepped up to Jarvis: 'You are in possession of a hundred thousand dollars,' he began. 'Now look at us. We are all agreed that the money shall be divided among us, but in order to carry this out you must die.'

"Jarvis, who realized that nothing could save him from the hands of his murderers, turned thereupon to the men: 'If you are really determined,' he said, 'to rob me of my property, then take it, together with my oath never to divulge a word about it, and I will

leave you in undisputed possession of it. Only allow me to return home to my family and do not defile your hands with my blood which will certainly cry out more for revenge against you than the money which you covet.'

"This speech caused a commotion among the men and at once two parties were formed, of which one voted for the death of the merchant and the other against it. Even if there were some who would have liked to back out and who would have preferred to let Jarvis return home with his wealth undiminished, they did not dare raise their voices lest they too would disappear without a trace in the prairie. So there remained just the two parties, and they immediately prepared for the vote that was to decide over life and death. The result was that of 21 men, 8 insisted on the murder while 13 on the other hand, wanted to let Jarvis go unharmed under the terms of the above-mentioned oath. A quarrel ensued and it would certainly have resulted in violence if MacDaniel, with the words, 'Dead men tell no tales,' had not suddenly raised his gun and shot the unfortunate Jarvis through the heart.

"After the murder they set about the division of the spoils, swore one another with oaths and threats to absolute secrecy, buried the body at the edge of the creek, and separated with the words, 'never to meet again.' The eight murderers took the road back to the Missouri, the other thirteen on the other hand, half of whom had taken part in the theft unwillingly, went to Santa Fe and in spite of all the oaths and threats immediately made known the crime.

"Of course, couriers were sent at once to Independence on the Missouri. Although the murderers had long since separated and scattered in different directions, the police who were pursuing them captured them one after the other and all except one or two atoned for their crime on the gallows."²⁴

So ran Peacock's story; scarcely had he finished it when he remembered another similar one and we crossed few brooks or rivers which did not awaken in his memory an experience of his own or the adventures of other travelers in which theft and murder usually played the major role. But such things cause no surprise, for as the broad surface of the endless ocean, following the eternal laws of nature, rolls on in its appointed way and becomes smooth and tranquil

24. Möllhausen was always ready to listen and record tales of camp and trail, and his recounting of Peacock's story is typical. Peacock's story is a version of a well-known tragedy of the plains. "Jarvis" was the anglicized (or Germanized) form of Chavez—Don Antonio José Chavez to be exact. Chavez was a reputable trader of Santa Fe and his murder in 1843 (not 1846, as the Peacock story would seem to date the event) was one of the leading events in the Texas-Mexico-United States troubles of a century ago.—See A. T. Andreas and W. G. Cutler, *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago, 1883), p. 56, and Josiah Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies* (Philadelphia, 1855), v. 2, pp. 166-169.

again untroubled about what is hidden in its depths, so in this same way the flowering plain germinates, grows green and withers, untroubled by the crimes which frequently desecrate its surface. On the graves of the slain, flowers bloom, and each spring covers the blood-reddened earth with a new cloak in order, as it were, to hide the "secrets of the plains" only a few of which come to light.

After a ride of 18 miles we reached the Little Arkansas river, a river which has dug deep into the loamy earth and whose steep banks bear trees similar to those of the Missouri.²⁵ We camped on the right bank near a little log cabin which several adventurers had erected for the purpose of trading with the Kaw Indians. We saw the Indian encampment farther above at a distance of about four miles; we also saw a single warrior who slipped past in the shadow of the woods and seemed to be avoiding us.

Against our expectations, however, we were not disturbed during the night and if the thieving Kaws, true to Indian custom, chose the early morning hours to appropriate several of our animals, they came too late, for before day dawned we were already under way, while on the abandoned camp site, the fire, fed intentionally with dry wood, flickered merrily.

During the first half of the day a fine but penetrating rain made traveling difficult. In the afternoon, however, the weather cleared, the warm sun dried our clothes as well as the road; and blades of grass and stems of flowers, bent sadly to the ground as a result of the continued dry heat, revived almost before our eyes. The closer we came to the Missouri the more luxuriant and fresh became the vegetation; the short, insignificant but nevertheless nourishing buffalo grass ("*Sesleria dactyloides* Nutt") disappeared entirely and in its place appeared the long dark green leafy grass which serves so excellently as hay. The depressions of the ground became deeper, the elevations higher, and the springs and brooks whose beds cut through our road became more numerous.

We went up and down in the rolling plain and after a journey of 27 miles we reached Turkey creek where we decided to spend the night.²⁶ Why the little river had been named after the wild turkey I could not explain, for as far as I could see I discovered not a tree or a bush, and it is well known that turkeys prefer wooded regions in order to be able to escape from their numerous enemies by taking refuge in the tree tops at night.

25. The Little Arkansas was crossed in present eastern Rice county.—*Eighteenth Biennial Report*, p. 112.

26. Turkey creek is in present McPherson county.—*Ibid*.

On July 14 about noon we reached Cottonwood creek, a little stream charming beyond all description.²⁷ Because of its valley with its gradually rising ground and its magnificent groups of trees it had already enticed several settlers. The few little log houses which I noticed at great distances from one another had not yet changed the character of the landscape; still it was a pleasing sight to see a narrow column of smoke rising from the chimney of a human dwelling, to see the fence which surrounded a green cornfield, and to see the spotted cows grazing in the rich grass by the edge of a brook.

We rested for several hours by the rippling water in the shade of a mighty cottonwood tree, and not until the rays of the sun fell more obliquely did we mount again and ride seven miles farther to a ravine where we found water and where we spent the night.

The entire stretch of 28 miles which we covered on July 15 was between tracts of land which seemed ideal for cultivation and settlement. Even though some uplands gave promise of nothing more than good grazing land, the lowlands, however, presented such a charming variety of meadows and narrow wooded strips, and the healthy vegetation of trees and grass gave proof of such fertility of soil that one felt involuntarily attracted by it. One also felt a certain inclination to overlook all the hardships and obstacles with which first settlers always have to contend, and to think only of the pleasures which are afforded to the diligent and satisfied farmer by his eden-like surroundings as well as by the grateful soil.

Unfortunately, however, there is so great a difference between the winter and the warmer seasons in these regions that many a person whose eyes and feelings were fascinated by his first visit in the mild spring or in the first summer months is greatly disappointed in spite of the advantages offered. This disappointment comes largely because it is difficult for the settler to become accustomed to loneliness; a loneliness which is not felt bitterly until a cold winter with its snow storms hinders communications and keeps him prisoner in his log cabin.

Shortly before evening we reached one of these secluded settlements which was situated picturesquely on the slope of a little valley where an icy cold crystal spring bubbled out of the rock. The place had been named Diamond Spring, and a more suitable name could scarcely have been imagined, for a strong jet of water gushes

27. Cottonwood crossing was in present Marion county near present Durham.—*Ibid.*, p. 111.

like diamonds out of the earth and ripples brook-like through the nearby valley.²⁸

Although still far from the borders of civilization, the inhabitants of that settlement, among whom I noticed several women and children, seemed to be extremely satisfied with their life. They grew corn chiefly, and were able to dispose of their products on the nearby trade route. They, moreover, had the advantage that the money was brought right to their houses by the travelers and the goods taken away in exchange. Transportation, therefore, was no problem for them at all. We, too, purchased several sacks of feed corn for our animals as they were beginning to lose their strength rapidly, although they had been in the best of condition when we left the Rio Grande. The herd, once strong and well-nourished, now consisted of thin, emaciated animals.

We camped several miles east of Diamond Spring on an unnamed brook. Tall grass surrounded us, an annoyance which we could not avoid. A very uncomfortable annoyance it was, because the heavy dew of evening had already fallen and whenever we moved we got thoroughly wet. This was especially so in the morning when we were preparing to break camp. We were soaked above our hips with every movement and had no other change of clothing nor wearable shoes. A storm threatened to increase the unpleasant wetness but it passed by during the night with much noise and without a drop of rain having fallen. When we continued our journey on the morning of July 16 the clear-blue sky was mirrored in the dew-covered prairie.

After a march of six miles on a higher plain we suddenly came to the edge of the valley of the Neosho, the last tributary of the Arkansas which we were to touch on our trip. We had already left the immediate environs of the Arkansas at Walnut creek. The Arkansas river flows at that point in a south-southwesterly direction. We had by now approached the Kansas river which we followed in a northeasterly direction.

Although we were near the Kansas river and were getting farther away from the Arkansas, we had until now crossed only tributaries of the latter.²⁹ Since we crossed the Arkansas we had been travel-

28. Diamond spring, the famous "Diamond of the Plain," was in present Morris county about four miles north of the present village of Diamond Springs.—*Ibid.* The naming of "The Diamond of the Plain" is described by George C. Sibley in *The Western Journal*, St. Louis, v. 5 (December, 1850), pp. 180, 181.

29. Möllhausen is correct about the two drainage basins. In present Morris county the line marking the divide between the two basins runs roughly on a line northeast to southwest dividing the county in half.—See map, *Transactions of the Kansas Academy of Science*, v. 50 (1947), p. 117.

ing, however, in Kansas territory, the southern border of which is formed by the Arkansas and the northern border by the Nebraska or Flat [Platte] river.³⁰ The name was taken from the river which cuts through the tremendous expanse of land across almost its entire breadth.

For several days we, therefore, had been traveling through a region to which the stream of immigration is particularly directed at the moment; to be sure this is being accomplished by two different parties, each one of which is struggling to influence the new constitution of the young state by superior voting power, and to make it either a "Free State or a Slave State" according to the principles or rather according to the personal interests of the victorious party. As is evident from the last pages of my description, the settlements in that region were still widely scattered. Still there can be no doubt that the growth of the population must be hastened when two mighty parties are struggling for supremacy. Whether the free man eats his bread by the sweat of his brow, or whether the colored slave writhes under the whip of a cruel master, no barrier can any longer stem the onward push of civilization, any more than it can the final solution of the problem of slavery. The solution of this problem may still be held in suspension artificially during the coming decades, but slavery must break down of its own accord as an unnatural institution especially in a time of progress and of growing enlightenment.³¹

We reached the edge of the elevation from where we had a view of the wooded valley of the Neosho and the delightfully situated little town of Council Grove.³² We halted almost involuntarily in order to feast our eyes longer on the landscape which was lovely beyond all description. The dense, vigorous forest with its strange distinct contours hid the little river from our view. But I thought that I had never seen anything more beautiful and more charming than when I looked down on the tops of the oaks and hickories, the sycamores and cottonwoods which with their magnificent shades of color blended together as in one single carpet, and as I watched, the shadows of light feathery clouds glided along lazily and yet

30. The geographical location of Kansas territory as bounded by the Arkansas and Platte rivers is, of course, only roughly correct.

31. It should be recalled again that Möllhausen is writing in a period (1858) when Kansas was a territory and the strife between the Free-State and Proslavery parties was still acute at the time of Möllhausen's visit. His prophetic comment on the disappearance of slavery in the United States is doubtlessly based on the experiences of his extended travels in two continents which gave him a truer perspective of coming events.

32. Council Grove is in eastern Morris county on the Neosho river.—See *Eighteenth Biennial Report*, p. 111.

animatedly over the expanse of the woods and darkened the fresh green of the trees for a few minutes at a time.

I looked up and down the winding valley to where wooded depressions and grassy heights were veiled in blue haze. Gray log houses peeped out of the wooded fringe, herds of cattle grazed on the green slopes and right before me lay the settlement with its two rows of houses, its enclosures and cornfields. On the street, children were playing, dogs were barking, roosters were crowing, and I recognized clearly the regular beat of the hammer, wielded by a strong hand, falling heavily on the sparking iron and the resounding anvil.

This flourishing little town is called Council Grove in memory of the fact that only a few years ago the wild sons of the prairie gathered there for their councils, and even now the neighboring tribes meet every year in order to carry on negotiations with the white man; negotiations which usually have to do with abandonment of new territory or payment for land already abandoned.³³

The environs of Council Grove have been reserved for the Kansas or Kaw Indians; a mission school is situated there in which the children of the natives are to be brought up as Christians and made into diligent citizens. However, the attachment to the free, unfettered, nomadic life is too deeply rooted in the North American Indian tribes to be suddenly smothered. With the exception of a small number hardly worth mentioning who lean toward agriculture, the Kansas Indians still roam the prairies, hunting, fighting and plundering.

We rode down from the upland and when we entered its only and very broad street we noticed crudely painted signs on all the houses on both sides of the street; the houses numbered about thirty. By these signs we saw that the place was inhabited exclusively by merchants. There were also two inns which stood out because they were painted white. We entered one of them which also had a store connected with the hotel.

We halted there only long enough to read an 8-day-old newspaper and to eat breakfast which was served us by an old negress and consisted chiefly of fresh, cool buttermilk and cornbread. We bought as much of the buttermilk as we could put in our bottles, and enriched in this way we left the town. After crossing the Neosho we rested for several hours in the shade of tall trees. While the mules were enjoying themselves in the rich grass, we refreshed

33. For a more exact note on the naming of Council Grove, see Geo. C. Sibley's account in *The Western Journal*, St. Louis, December, 1850, pp. 178-180.

ourselves by a bath in the little river and not until the sun had crossed the noon line did we leave the charming valley.

I shall avoid describing the rest of the journey in diary form, for on the entire route from the Neosho to the Missouri, a stretch we covered in six days, we were constantly in surroundings whose character remained unchanged but which seemed to us none the less beautiful and inviting. For even though flowered meadows, shady groves and clear brooks are repeated just as the sky, overhung with black clouds and threats of lightning, alternates with lovely sunny blue, the gifts of nature will remain eternally new. The original impressions are recalled to nature lovers with the recurring shapes, forms and colors.

Now we came only to tributaries of the Kansas river, which at times as insignificant brooks and at times as swollen rivers, frequently cut through the paradisaical stretch of land and irrigated it. Everywhere, however, I saw signs of terrible recent downpours and several times we had to stop at brooks which a single night's rain had transformed into raging torrents and which made further travel impossible for an entire day. We crossed Rock creek in whose valley the cornfields of the settlers were largely washed away by terrible cloudbursts; next we forded Bluff creek and "Creek 142," so named from the number of miles from there to Independence.

At Elm creek we waited for the water to recede and on the following day we reached the junction of the roads to Independence and to Fort Leavenworth.³⁴ We spent the night near Brownville, a delightfully situated village of about 30 houses.³⁵ There we learned that the bridge over the Kansas at the little town of Topeka had been torn away by the swollen river. We, therefore, turned toward the city of Lawrence situated farther east, where the communication between the two banks of the Kansas was maintained with difficulty by a ferry. On July 19 we crossed the Wakarusa and on July 20 about noon we camped within sight of the city of Lawrence where we intended to attempt the crossing over the Kansas on the following day.

For the last few days we had noticed numerous settlements from the road. Most of them, however, were not really inhabited farms. By the regular intervals at which small log houses appeared, each

34. Bluff creek, Creek 142, and Elm creek are in present northern Lyon county. The road junction mentioned was probably near Burlingame, present Osage county.—*Eighteenth Biennial Report*, pp. 110, 111.

35. The travelers had taken the Fort Leavenworth road, leaving the Santa Fe trail in present northwest Osage county and going north into Shawnee county, for Brownville was in southern Shawnee county, about 12 or 15 miles southwest of Topeka and 30 miles from Lawrence. Brownville is present Auburn.—*Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 12, p. 474.

surrounded by a fence, I knew very well that here, too, land speculators had preceded the real settlers.

Whenever the government of the United States acquires land from the Indians by agreement or by purchase, it hastens to have the land surveyed, and divided into districts and then into regular "blocks" of 80 and 160 acres. The government hands these blocks of land over to the new settlers and newcomers for the small price of one and a quarter dollars per acre. In order to bring about a more rapid colonization the purchaser is obliged not only to pay a small property tax but also to build a house on his holding, to cultivate the land as well as to fence it in, also to live there for at least part of each year or to have a tenant or a servant live there. Besides this, when soldiers have served their time they are given certificates upon demobilization by virtue of which they may claim 80 acres of land for every four years of service and they may choose it from any government land wherever it may be.

These so-called "land warrants" are, however, used only in the rarest of cases by their original owners in the manner intended by the government; depending on the circumstances they find their way into the hands of land speculators for a price ranging from a bottle of whisky up to \$100. If the stream of immigration turns in a certain direction, individuals possessing adequate means or simply land warrants, hurry on ahead of the farmer, utilize the certificates issued to the soldiers, and buy up as many more blocks of land as seem appropriate or as many as they can pay for. And then, in order to satisfy the law and not to lose their claims, they put up a little cabin on each 160 acres as well as some fencing, even plough up a little piece of meadow, have a man live in turn on a whole succession of so-called farms, and then wait quietly until the advancing population gives them an opportunity to make double and triple what they themselves have paid a short time before.

To call a complete halt to the misuse in this way of the bounty of the government will be very difficult; but it can be foreseen that voices will be raised against a practice whereby relief and benefit intended for the needy ones come only to people who do not need them. Unfortunately, among the land speculators are found men of the highest reputation and influence, people who are able to throw a heavy weight into the balance if anyone should consider attacking their freedom of enterprise and their freedom of trade, even if such an attack be in harmony with the laws of humaneness. However, in order to discover such abuses, I might almost say inveterate

evils in human society, one does not need to go to the far West; we find them everywhere where human beings live together, and where therefore egotism, prejudice, conceit and differences of opinion exist and form the basis for oppression and hatred that cannot be overcome.³⁶

The city of Lawrence is beautifully situated on the right bank of the Kansas at the foot of the slopes of the prairie which lies about 300 feet higher and which at that point approaches to within a thousand yards of the river and its wooded valley. The population may comprise 12,000, and there is great activity in the main streets which are lined with beautiful, massive four-story buildings, by shanties and by log cabins.³⁷ Shops, poolrooms and saloons are to be found side by side in motley mixture, and among these one notices a German beer house here and there where good Bavarian beer is served by heavy-set fellow countrymen.

The prejudices of Americans against everything originating in Germany have in some respects diminished considerably. For even though, for example, the wearing of a mustache was, as I remember quite well, taboo among native Americans a few years ago, just as beer drinking was considered ridiculous, one now notices beards even in the Eastern states and among all classes of society; beards which would do honor to a German demagogue and make a pampered ensign proud.

Likewise the Americans, accustomed to stronger beverages, now drink beer as if they had learned it at German universities. Although the former, like all customs which are subject to fashion, has no special significance, and I only mention it as a kind of curiosity, nevertheless the latter is to a certain degree not without blessing for the nation, for obviously the taste for alcohol diminishes in the same degree as the love for the malt brew grows.³⁸

We betook ourselves at once down to the Kansas river and I was no end delighted to see the broad stream again, which, swollen by the numerous downpours, raged and foamed in wild anger. Communications had been completely cut off on the preceding day and not until shortly before our arrival had they begun, by means of a spacious flat-bottom boat, to transport waiting passengers back and forth, along with wagons, horses and cattle. As I now watched the

36. Note that the federal land policy described by Möllhausen was not that contained in the homestead act of 1862 as Möllhausen was writing in 1858. But the abuses of the land policy were discussed with considerable truth.

37. Möllhausen had been so long away from "large" towns that Lawrence deceived him. Its population in 1860, according to the federal census of that year, was 1,646; that of Topeka, 759.

38. Doubtlessly Möllhausen would be astonished and more than pleased to see his argument for the use of malt brew appearing in this publication of a dry state.

heavy craft which danced like a feather on the surging waves and every moment ran the danger of being smashed to bits by huge drifting tree trunks I thought of times long past. In my mind's eye I saw the peaceful Kansas with its firm bed and its mirror-smooth surface as I had known it when I had entered the plains of the Missouri river for the first time, and had crossed the river a short distance above this point in company with Duke Paul of Württemberg.³⁹

The ferry man disturbed me in my contemplations: "All ready, gentlemen," he called to us and shortly after that we were busy loading our goods and animals. Without mishap we reached the left bank of the stream where we continued our journey without losing any time. The road led through low-lying land which was partly inundated and as a result we made very slow progress.

Towards noon we reached higher ground and just as we expressed the hope that we would no longer be hindered by impassable roads, we suddenly found ourselves at the edge of a deep gorge, filled with water, whose bridge had been torn away by recent rainstorms. On both sides I noticed groups of people standing there in expectation of making the crossing on a raft put together from the remains of the bridge. Since, of course, the travelers had to be taken across in the order of their arrival, we could not count on continuing our journey the same day. We set our animals free and camped on the bank, from where we watched how the people were ferried across on the craft so frail that their lives were in danger. The wagons eventually followed one after the other.

The glowing heat of the sun made the atmosphere in the shady, damp woods almost unendurable; this, together with the circumstance that wagon and luggage often sank into the water, and could be pulled out only with the help of several obliging Shawnee Indians, and that we had to protect our collections above everything else from dampness, induced us to inquire whether there wasn't another road leading to Fort Leavenworth. A young Irishman who lived there among the Shawnees and who likewise helped with the crossings, informed us that he did indeed know of another road but that it was at least six miles farther away. The possibility of danger to our collections seemed to us so great that we could not shun the detour, and since the Irishman was willing to act as our guide, we saddled up before evening and followed him up the ravine. We

39. On a trip to Fort Laramie in the summer of 1851, Möllhausen had accompanied Prince (or Duke?) Paul of Württemberg and crossed the Kansas river on the outbound trip at the Uniontown crossing in present Shawnee county.—See Prince Paul's account in the *New Mexico Historical Review*, Albuquerque, v. 17 (July, 1942), p. 198.

soon found ourselves on an extensive meadow which was enclosed by strips of woodland. We rode rapidly through the tall grass, the blades of which reached up over our saddles.

Not without anxiety we watched the western sky which with lightning rapidity became overcast by threatening clouds and which was tinged fiery red and sulphur yellow by the hidden rays of the sun. We soon heard the dull roar of thunder, sharp individual claps became pronounced, and before we had agreed upon the place where we were to pitch camp for the night, the storm broke over us with such violence as I had never before experienced.

We tried to protect ourselves from the cloudburst by laying our saddles on the ground and crouching down on them with our weapons under us and a blanket around our shoulders. But the firmament seemed to collapse and after a few minutes we were sitting in deep water which rushed violently down toward the Kansas. The yellow tinge had in the meantime spread over the whole sky, and like a flaming dome the bursting clouds seemed to rest on fiery pillars of forked lightning. The peals of thunder were endless; the earth trembled under the deafening blows and the animals fearfully crowded up close to us as if seeking protection from the raging elements. Then, when the storm had reached its peak the black ceiling of clouds suddenly lifted from the prairie, a fiery streak flashed from north to south, and for a few minutes the setting sun appeared in full glory. The rain soon ceased but during the whole night under the starry sky we were chilled because we had been so thoroughly drenched. That was our last experience on the prairie.

On the evening of the following day, accompanied by the Irishman, we reached the main road which led directly to Fort Leavenworth, our goal, from which only a good two days' trip separated us.

[CHAPTER 38]

After long, arduous labour, when the end is in sight, one often feels inclined to finish the work faster by increasing the pace, although loath to leave a task which has been done to the best of one's ability. That's how I feel now that there are only a few pages left for me to report. That's how I felt then as we rapidly approached the Missouri river and finally saw the beautifully situated and flourishing city of Leavenworth.⁴⁰

Since the Irishman's departure we had come through more or less settled country, with farms, fenced-in gardens and fields; we ad-

40. In 1858 Leavenworth was the metropolis of Kansas. Its population, according to the census of 1860, was 7,429.

mired everything as is to be expected after a trip in the wilderness, but only in passing, for we had no time to stop. The animals had to exert their last strength to carry their masters as fast as possible to the edge of advancing civilization; they, themselves, however, were bound for the green pastures of the military post.

Even the many hundreds of heavily laden wagons which we noticed everywhere, which were destined to transport food to the army stationed at the Great Salt Lake, aroused only superficial comment on our part, especially since we had learned of the armistice concluded between the United States and the Mormons and the prospect of an early peace.

It was more interesting for us to notice that the closer we got to the city the more curiously we were observed. Since our exterior and the appearance of our animals gave evidence of a long hard trip, we were usually taken for couriers from the battlefield. When we told individual questioners of our Colorado expedition they smiled in disbelief, winked an eye and replied: "We know you have come from Salt Lake with secret dispatches and you do not want to be questioned. Well, good luck," they called when we left and continued cheerfully on our way.⁴¹

At nightfall on July 24 we finally rode into the city of Leavenworth and soon found ourselves among its lighted houses with their dark silhouettes.⁴² We rode up and down the streets before we discovered a hotel to our liking. In Peacock's opinion, one was too fashionable for our appearance; another, according to my opinion, not fashionable enough, and it was, therefore, quite late when we registered at a so-called boarding house, there to await the next morning. Fortunately we had our men camp outside the city, because even we four had quite a time in finding lodgings in rather dirty rooms.

I must not fail to mention that we obtained the desired quarters only after having proven ourselves solvent. You could not blame the people for acting in this manner because everything we had on

41. Reference is made here by Möllhausen to the Mormon "war" of 1858.

42. The arrival of the party in Leavenworth was reported by a newspaper in part as follows:

"LIEUT. IVES' COLORADO EXPEDITION.—The following gentlemen, connected with the above expedition arrived in our city on Saturday last:—Dr. J. S. Newberry, Surgeon and Geologist; B. Möllhausen, Artist; F. W. Egloffsteins, Topographer, and Geo. H. Peacock, Train Master. We learn some interesting particulars relative to their trip. [Here followed several paragraphs discussing the route of the expedition.] . . .

"Dr. N. brings with him a large number of specimens, geological, mineralogical and botanical. The Artist has a collection of fine sketches, and Mr. Egloffstein a complete topographical map of the region. . . .

"The report [of the expedition] will be very valuable and of interest. Gentlemen like these, who for months undergo the privations of the wilderness, are the true heroes of the age. Their works will benefit Humanity while themselves are forgotten. All honor to the Crusaders of sciences and Pioneers of civilization, say we."—*Leavenworth Times*, July 31, 1858.

our bodies, with the exception of our guns, was no longer worth enough to pay for the lodgings of even one of our party; and our exhausted animals would need long and very good care before they could ever be used for work again. For that reason they, too, would not have made very good securities. But we did not forget the lack of confidence shown toward us. After we had taken a bath the next morning, had gone through the hands of a colored barber, and had then changed our clothes from head to toe in a clothing store, we hurried back to our landlord where in the meantime our men had arrived with the wagon. We paid our bill and then moved to the best hotel in town despite polite and impolite invitations to stay.

Our next matter of business was to pay the men and then to deliver the mules, the wagon, harnesses and saddles, in brief all government property, to the military post which is situated very picturesquely three miles down [up] the river.⁴³ Since we had not kept anything but our diaries and our collections, nothing prevented us, until the departure of the St. Louis steamboat, from thoroughly enjoying the small pleasures which civilization offers and which had become so unfamiliar to us.

43. Fort Leavenworth was the great supply depot of the West for the U. S. army.—See Elvid Hunt, *History of Fort Leavenworth, 1827-1927* (Fort Leavenworth, 1926), p. 97.

A History of the Topeka Dental College

RALPH W. EDWARDS

AMONG the lesser known dental schools of the United States was one that existed for a period of two years and was probably the last of the proprietary institutions to be founded. It was the Topeka Dental College, founded by Robert C. Hutcheson, D. D. S., M. D., in 1909. As far as it is known, no data of this institution have ever been recorded in dental historical or educational literature.

On June 11, 1909, articles of agreement were compiled for the establishment of the Topeka Dental College corporation by Alfred C. Sloan, Robert C. Hutcheson, William A. McCarter, John Henry Solecki, and Robert Sorren Magee, all of Topeka. Of the incorporators, all were dentists except Robert Sorren Magee, M. D., an oculist. All constituted the board of directors. The project was incorporated for \$5,000, fifty shares at \$100 each. Ownership was distributed as follows:

Robert C. Hutcheson	2 shares
William A. McCarter	2 shares
John Henry Solecki	2 shares
Robert Sorren Magee	1 share
Alfred C. Sloan	1 share

The articles of agreement were filed and a charter granted on June 14, 1909. The charter granted was for 50 years' duration, and the school was to be located in Topeka. The purpose of the corporation was "to conduct a school of instruction in the science and art of dentistry."¹

An agreement was effected with the Kansas Medical College (1890-1913), the medical department of Washburn College, for the Topeka Dental College to share the building and instructional facilities of the medical college, located at 521 Quincy street.²

The first class opened October 5, 1909.³ The course in dentistry at that time was of three years' duration, based upon three years of

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1. Frank J. Ryan, Secretary of State, Topeka, personal communication, July 19, 1947; "Corporation Charters (official copybooks from office of Secretary of State, now at Kansas State Historical Society)," v. 77, p. 30; *The Western Dental Journal*, Kansas City, Mo., v. 23, p. 793.

2. Clarke N. Mertz, D. D. S., Topeka, personal comment, July 26 and December 12, 1947; *Polk's Dental Register* (Detroit, Baltimore and Chicago, 1910), pp. 45, 321; *The Journal of the Kansas Medical Society*, Kansas City, Kan., v. 9, p. 293.

3. *Ibid.*

high school preparation for entrance. The four matriculants in the first class—three men and one woman—were C. D. Lau, Alva Ricks, R. C. Stewart and Edna Rinehart.⁴ The basic science courses were taken with the medical students from medical instructors, while the four dentists who were incorporators were among those furnishing instruction in dental and technical subjects.⁵

Since the dental school was dependent upon the medical school for housing as well as instructional facilities, its opportunity for growth and survival depended upon the future of the medical school. About that time medical education was undergoing an advancement in academic prerequisites for the study of medicine. By 1910 forty of a total of 131 medical schools had ceased to admit students with only a high school background and were requiring one to two years of acceptable college work for admittance.⁶ In 1912 the Council on Medical Education and Hospitals of the American Medical Association set the admission requirement, beginning in 1914, of a year of college work as a necessary requisite for a Class A rating for medical schools. In 1918 the requirement was advanced to two years of collegiate preparation.⁷ This trend toward higher entrance requirements for the study of medicine resulted in a gradual reduction in the number of schools, so that by 1915 only 96 were in existence.⁸

Because of this increase in premedical education, many of the proprietary medical schools merged with university schools, while others, unable to obtain a suitable affiliation, voluntarily closed their doors. The Kansas Medical College, unable to conform to the new standards for a Class A rating, discontinued its sessions and merged with the University of Kansas School of Medicine in 1913.⁹

The Topeka Dental College continued its activities for a period of two years, although only two new students—George Gilliam and F. H. Dowler—were matriculated for the year 1910-1911.¹⁰ In the spring of 1911, when it was patent that the Kansas Medical College would not continue much longer to exist because of the increasing entrance requirements for the study of medicine, the Topeka Dental College disbanded. The six students transferred to the Western

4. Interviews with Dr. Mertz, July 26 and December 12, 1947, and F. H. Dowler, D. D. S., Topeka, December 12, 1947.

5. *The Western Dental Journal*, loc. cit.

6. William J. Gies, *Dental Education in the United States and Canada* (New York, Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1926), p. 125.

7. Council on Medical Education and Hospitals, "Medical Education in the United States," *The Journal of the American Medical Association*, Chicago, Ill., v. 95 (August 16, 1930), p. 487.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 504.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 511.

10. Interview with Dr. Dowler, December 12, 1947.

Dental College of Kansas City, Mo., and received the degree of Doctor of Dental Surgery from that institution.¹¹ Robert C. Hutcheson, the dean and founder of the Topeka Dental College, joined the faculty of the Western Dental College, and remained there until it merged with the Kansas City Dental College in 1919.

In reviewing the history of the Topeka Dental College, it is obvious that there was not much need for this institution. Geographically, the area was well served by established schools at Omaha and Lincoln, Neb., and two schools at Kansas City, Mo. Why, then, was it established? That is a matter for conjecture. The golden era of commercialism in dental education represented a period from 1870 to 1900, when dental schools increased in number from ten to 57, the greatest number to exist since the beginning of formal dental education in 1840.¹² Since 1900 there had been a gradual decrease in the number of commercial dental schools due to the power of university dental schools in resisting the proprietary influence in dental education.¹³ In view of the changes that were taking place at that time it is surprising that the Topeka Dental College ever was founded. It is apparent that there was not much opportunity in the light of a changing philosophy in dental education for this school to take root and survive.

11. Interviews with Dr. Mertz and Dr. Dowler.

12. John T. O'Rourke and Leroy M. S. Miner, *Dental Education in the United States* (Philadelphia, W. B. Saunders Co., 1941), p. 33.

13. Gies, *op. cit.*, p. 47 et seq.

William Clark's Diary

MAY, 1826-FEBRUARY, 1831

PART FOUR, 1830-1831—CONCLUDED

Edited by LOUISE BARRY

ST. LOUIS, January, 1830

WEATHER AND RIVER DATA

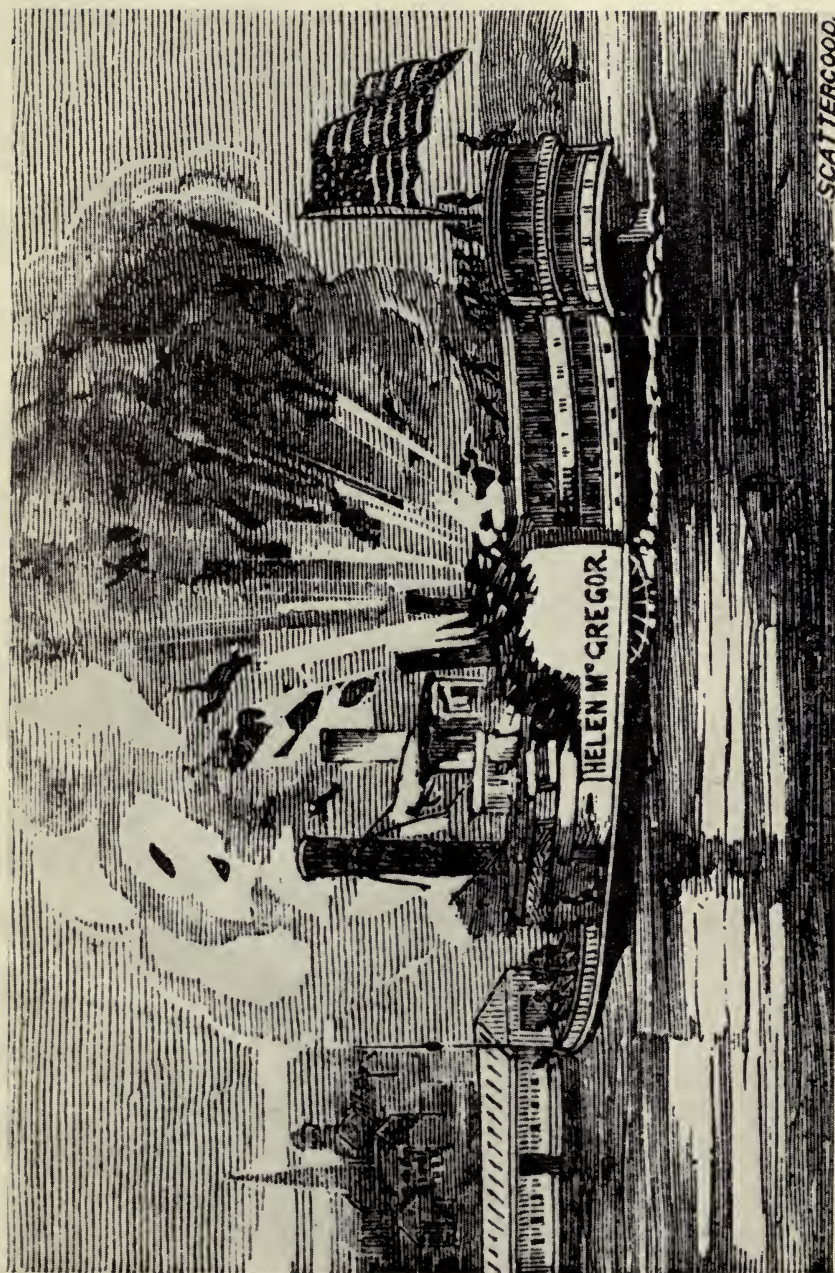
Date 1830	Thermom at 8 AM	State of Weather	Points of Wind	Thermom at 4 P.M	State of Weather	Points of Wind	Stage or Height of River
January 1st	54	Cloudy	SW	50	Clear	W	River still falling.
2	56	Clear	"	58	"	W	" is still falling
3	48	"	W	56	"	"	
4	48	Cloudy	NW				
5	38	Clear	N		Clear		
6	47	Clear	NW		Clear		
7	50	Clear	S.	62	Clear	SW	
8	55	Clear	S	53	Clear		
9	42	raing	NW				
10	28	Clear	N	42	"	N	
11	40	Clear	S	46	"	S	
12	46	"	S	48	"	S	Some ice running
13	46	Clear	Calm	48	"	Calm	
14							
15							
16	46	Clear	NW	44	Clear	NW	No appearance of a rise.
17	44	Clear	Cold	44	Clear	NW	River quite low
18	44	Cloudy	NW	44	"	NW	River upon a stand with Ice afloat on Surface.
19	44	"	NW	44	"	NW	River very low
20	44	Cloudy	SW	44	"	NW	" " "
21	54	Clear	NW	56	"	NW	" " "
22	44	"	N	52	"	S	" " "
23	44	Windy	NW	40	Windy	NW	" rough from high winds
24	42	Clear	N	44	Cloudy	W	Floating Ice thick in the river
25[7]	48	"	W	48	Clear	W	" " " " " " "
25	58	"	S	54	Cloudy	NW	but little Ice in River
26	20	Clear	W	30	"	W	River very low & its surface crowded with Ice.
27	48	"	NW	48	Clear	W	" " " " " " " "
28	28	Cloudy	NW	52	Cloudy		Ice still running
29	24	"	NE	36	Clear		Ice thick in the river
30	14	Clear	N.E	32	Clear		Ice thick in river.
31	32	Cloudy	W				ice runng abundantly

REMARKS

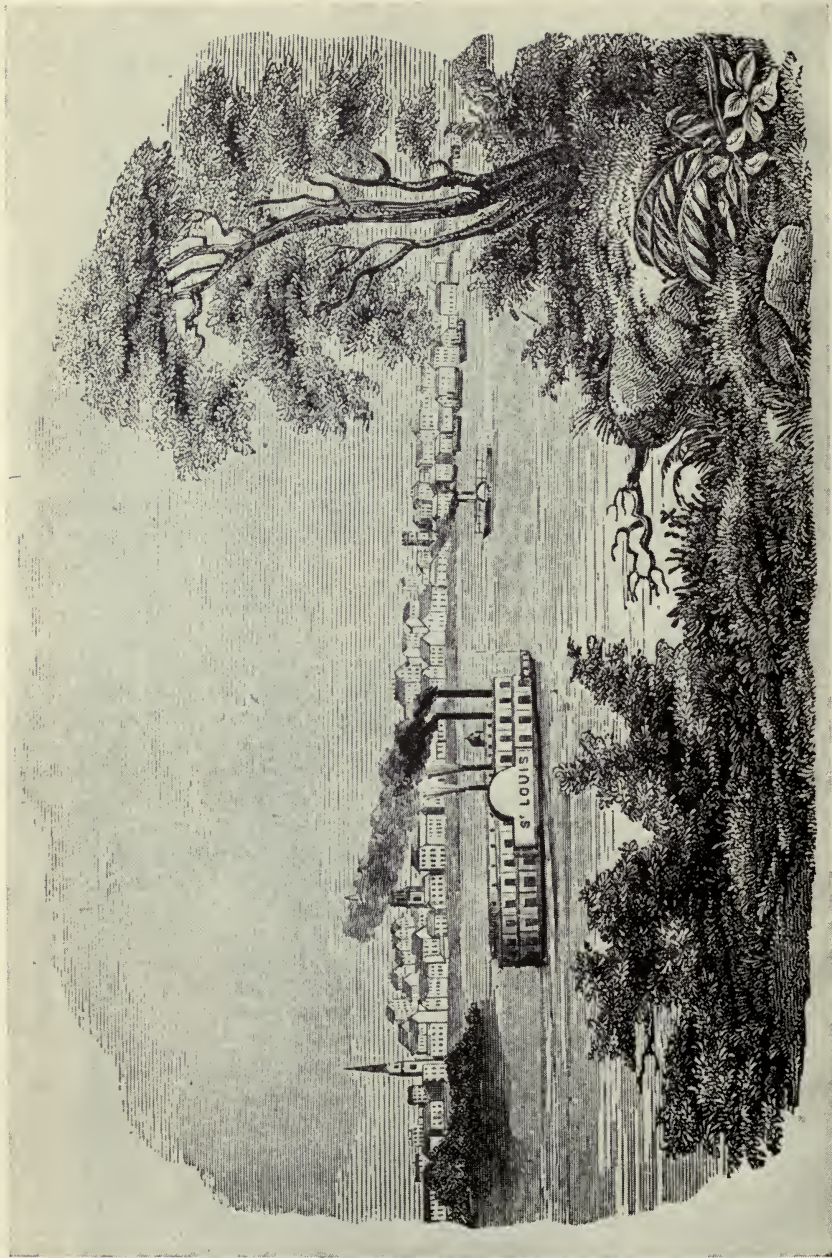
- 1 May the New year that has come,
Ever brighten and cherish
The thoughts of freedom at home,
And the principles of goodness ne're perish
While on Earth, we are permitted to roam. A. K.²⁹²

LOUISE BARRY is in charge of the Manuscripts division of the Kansas State Historical Society.

292. "A. K." was Augustin Kennerly, interpreter and clerk in the superintendency office. (See Footnote 101.)



EXPLOSION OF THE "HELEN MCGREGOR" IN 1830 AS PICTURED IN "LLOYD'S STEAMBOAT DIRECTORY" (CINCINNATI, 1856).
SEE THE DIARY ENTRY FOR MARCH 5, 1830 (P. 388).



VIEW OF ST. LOUIS, PROBABLY IN THE EARLY 1840'S. FROM "A NEW AND POPULAR PICTORIAL DESCRIPTION OF THE UNITED STATES" (NEW YORK, 1848), EDITED BY ROBERT SEARS.

- 3 To day a change of weather from warm to cold.
- 5 Pleasent day.
- 6 Pleasent day
- 7 Pleasent day Miss Har[riety] Christy & Capt Dean married ²⁹³
- 8 Pleasent fine Weather Mr Biddle party Cap. Clark from
Orleans [on S. B.] *Phenix*
- 9 rained the latter part of last night
- 10 frozed hard
- 11 fine day Le clear ²⁹⁴ ret[urne]d
- 12 Party to night butiful night
- 13 Steam Boat *Phenix* sets out for N Orleans Cap. Clark, Wil-
liam & McGinnis &c on board ²⁹⁵
- 16 This morning cold & clear. wind high this Evening
- 17 this day Cold with cold N.W. wind in the Evening
- 18 Ice continues
- 19 This day cloudy with a little snow, still cloudy
- 20 Cloudy and warmer than yesterday. still clear A duel takes
place at Jeff Bks between Mr. Jas Hamilton & Lt. May which
results in the death of the latter. ²⁹⁶
- 21 S. Boat *Jubilee* aground at Videpouch ²⁹⁷
- 22 A clear and cold morning. high winds this Evng
- 23 cold & cloudy. A greateal of dust flying in the Streets *Diania*
arrived & Departed to day
- 24 This day extremely cold & evening much like snow.
- 25[?] A fine pleasant day Genl. M. G. Clark arrives
- 25 Smoky & warm morning. Genl. M. G. Clark leaves for Kanzas
- 26 morning clear & cold. Cloudy & cold.
- 27 Clear & smoky. clear and cool
- 28 This morning Cloudy & like Snow Mr. Reusou married ²⁹⁸
- 29 My family went to Jeff. Barracks
- 30 Very Cold night cold all day [Family] ret[urne]d.
- 31 cold

293. Capt. James Dean, of the Third infantry regiment, and Harriet Christy, daughter of Maj. William Christy of St. Louis, were married on this date.—Billon, F. L., *Annals of St. Louis* (St. Louis, 1888), pp. 195-197; *St. Louis Beacon*, January 9, 1830.

294. Probably Antoine Le Clare, employed as an interpreter.—*The National Calendar* . . . for MDCCCXXXII (Washington City, 1832), p. 213.

295. "Cap. Clark," has not been identified. For "McGinnis" see Footnote 308. "William" was no doubt William Clark's son.

296. Bvt. Lt. Charles O. May, of the 6th regiment U. S. infantry, from Vermont, was killed in a duel, January 19, 1830.—Heitman, F. B., *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army* (Washington, 1903), p. 698.

297. "Vide Poche" (empty pocket) was the name given by the prosperous "industrial" settlers of early St. Louis to the less-well-to-do neighboring agricultural village of Carondelet.

298. According to the *St. Louis Beacon*, February 3, 1830, Lt. Gustave S. Rousseau of the Sixth infantry regiment and Miss Emily Lee were married on January 29, at the residence of Maj. Benjamin O'Fallon.

February, 1830

WEATHER AND RIVER DATA

Date 1830	Thermom at 8 AM	State of Weather	Points of Wind	Thermom at 4 P.M.	State of Weather	Points of Wind	Stage or Height of River
February							
1	30	Cloudy	NE				River still low with Ice
2	34	Clear	SE	36	Clear	W	Ice floating thick.
3	44	Clear	SE	50	"	SE	do.
4	36	"	SE	28	"	N	
5	12	Clear	N	30	Clear	N	
6	10	Cloudy	NW	28	"	W	the ice floats in sheets
7	26	"	W	28	"		Ice as usual, river falling some
8	20	Clear	calm	34	"	"	river low & Some Ice floating
9	40	fine	S	48	fair	S	river clear of floating ice
10	40	Dark	"	24	"	N	
11	16	Clear	W	26	fair	W	very little Ice floating.
12	20	"	W	34	"	W	Small cakes of floating ice thick.
13	"	"	"	"	"	"	
14	50	butiful	S	62	Smoky	S	Scerceely any Ice in river either floating or on the Shores. river rise 1½ Inch
15	55	do	W	63	Smoky	S	River rises 1 in No ice
16	48	Smoky	S	64	Smoky	S	river rises a little
17	42	"	W	62	"	S	" "
18	36	"	S	61	"	S	" "
19[?]	60	Cloudy	S	58	rain		" "
19	"	"	"	"	"	"	missed
20	42	"	S	55	"	S	" " muddy.
21	44	Cloudy	NE	34	rain	N	river falls
22	30	Clear	N		Clear		" " a little
23	"	"	"				river falls
24	43	Clear	N	54	"	S	
25	34	Cloudy	N	54	"	S.	river rises a little
26	38	Clear	S	62	"	S	river rises 10 Inc.
27	43	"	"	60	"	S	river rises a little
28	51	"	S	64	"	S	river rising "

REMARKS

- 1 Snow about 3 Inch deep a very Cold night last
- 2 Snowd Boys from the College visited my Cottage, hunt & scate ²⁹⁹
- 3 Snow melts Genl. Hughes S agent for the Kanzas arrive[s]
- 4 Mr. Kennerly set out to the Kickapoos, & Jas. to Phila ³⁰⁰
- 5 last night excessively cold & clear
- 6 very Cold night (Thespian Perform) to night ³⁰¹
- 7 *move the Thermometer* recd. Genl. Street agt & Genl. Hughes Del
- 8 recd Letter from Wm. at N Orleans wrote L
- 10 the morning very dark very cold at night

²⁹⁹. This entry, made by William Clark, evidently refers to the farm home. The boys were students of St. Louis College.

³⁰⁰. Probably a reference to George H. and James Kennerly.

³⁰¹. The St. Louis Thespian Association presented "Cumberland's admired play of THE JEW," and "the laughable farce of the IRISH TUTOR. . . ." The proceeds of the performance were for the use of the Sisters of Charity.—St. Louis *Beacon*, February 6, 1830, advertisement.

- 12 fine day (party)
- 15 very Dusky to day
- 16 do.
- 17 Some little rain last night
- 18 a party Set out to Columbia with Rubodeau & Charles Cab-
bina³⁰²
- 19 a little rain this morning Dr. Masure married last night, To
the delicious Miss Chenie³⁰³
- 20 Steam boat *Merriland* Came up
- 21 Some little rain & snow to day Steam boat came up
- 22 white frost this morning went to Jefferson Barracks
- 23 Returned from the Jefferson Barracks
- 24 wrote to Sanford Mr Ho——[?] Chouteau³⁰⁴ and others set
out to the East
- 25 Some little Snow last night Judge Pope³⁰⁵ came up
- 26 Augustin Kennerly returned last night from the Kickapoo
Towns on Osage river
- 27 *Jubilee* sets out
- 28 *Maryland* sets out *Duwit Clinton* & arrive from
Louisville

March, 1830

WEATHER AND RIVER DATA

Date 1830	Thermom at 8 A.M.	State of Weather	Points of Wind	Thermom at 4 P.M.	State of Weather	Points of Wind	Stage or Height of River
March							
1	48	foggy	calm	58	NW	Clear	river on a Stand
2	32	fair	N	45	NW	"	" " "
3	36	"	NE	60	S.E	"	river rises
4	40	Clear	SE	56	S	Cloudy	" "
5	48	Rain	S.E.	58	S	"	
6	54	Cloudy	E	64		S.W	
7	42	"	NW				
8	32	Cloudy	NW	50	NW	Clear	
9	30	"	S	56	S.E	"	
10	50	Clear	S	72	S	"	River fall[s] 4 inches.
11	40	Cloudy	NW	54	S	Cloudy	
12	58	"	S.E	60	S. hard	Rain	River rising rapidly
13	36	Clear	W	52	W	Clear	
14							
15	48	Cloudy	S.E	40	NW	Cloudy	River still rising

302. Apparently a fur-trading expedition starting for the Columbia river area, with traders Joseph [?] Robidoux and Charles Cabanné.

303. Dr. Auguste Masure and Amanda Chenie, both of St. Louis, were married on February 18, 1830. She was the daughter of Antoine and Marie Therese (Papin) Chenie.—St. Louis *Beacon*, February 20, 1830; Billon, *op. cit.*, pp. 211, 212; Drumm, Stella M., ed., *Down the Santa Fe Trail and Into Mexico; The Diary of Susan Shelby Magoffin, 1846-1847*, p. 53, footnote.

304. Henri Chouteau (1805-1855) was the only member of the family at this date with a given name beginning with "H." No information has been found about the journey. See, also, diary entry of April 16, 1830.

305. Judge Nathaniel Pope, of Kaskaskia, Ill.

Date 1830	Thermom at 8 A.M.	State of Weather	Points of Wind	Thermom at 4 P.M.	State of Weather	Points of Wind	Stage or Height of River
16	50	"	"	60	S	"	" " "
17	48	"	S	58	Clear	S.W	River rising fast
18	38	Clear	E	36	Cl[?]	E	" still rises
19	46	"	E	40	"	S.W	" " "
20	60	Rain	S.E	72	Clear	S.E	" " "
21	56	Clear	E	78	"	S.E	" " " rapidly
22	68	"	SW	72	"	S.W.	" " "
23	44	Cloudy	NW	48	Cloudy	N.W.	" " "
24	44	Rain	S.E	44	Rain	S.E	" " "
25	44	Rainy	N.E	52	cloudy	W	" " "
26	48	Clear	NE	72	"	W	" " "
27	50	"	NW	68	"	NW	" " "
28	64	"	S	68	"	S	" " "
29	65	Clear	S.	76	clear	S.	rise
30	55	Cloudy	S.	60	"	S.E	River falling
31	46	cloudy	N.W.	48	cloudy	N.W	" falling

REMARKS

- 1 Oregon Dept. in the fog Augen³⁰⁶ report of the Kickapoos received
- 2 *Traveler* came up Cold west wind last night
- 3 This day Clear and pleasant.
- 4 *Cleopatra* from Louisville William C[lark] returns from N Orleans. Cloudy & like rain this evening
- 5 Note. The explosion of the S. Boat "*Helen McGregor*" took place at Memphis on her passage from Orleans to Nashville on the 25 of February by the bursting of her Boilers, at which it is supposed, between 50 and 100 persons were Killed and wounded (information by Messrs Maginnis and Wm. P. Clark, who were passengers on board) those who perished principally Deck passengers.³⁰⁷ Dark and rainy morning. A. L. Maginnis Esqr.³⁰⁸ leaves for City Washington
- 6 Muddy Streets, Cloudy & unpleasant weather. Mr. Forsythe³⁰⁹ arrives

306. Augustin Kennerly. See diary entries of February 4 and 26, 1830.

307. "The steam boat *Helen McGregor*, when just putting-off from Memphis, Ten. was blown up, by the bursting of one or more of her boilers. Sixteen or seventeen persons, were instantly killed, 16 badly wounded, and 11 slightly wounded—a number more were thought to have been blown over-board, and, if not killed, to have perished in the river. It is believed that not less than from 60 to 80 persons were killed and wounded. They were all on deck. Those in the cabin escaped without injury. She had 410 passengers, at the time. The vessel was rendered a complete wreck, in a moment, but did not sink. . . ."—*Niles' Weekly Register*, Baltimore, March 20, 1830. This account gives a general summary of the facts known. Lloyd, J. T., *Lloyd's Steamboat Directory* . . . (Cincinnati, 1856), p. 69, states that "the loss of life by this accident was, at that time, unprecedented in the records of steam navigation." The names of 16 known dead, of 15 badly wounded and of 10 slightly wounded are listed in Lloyd's account. The *Helen McGregor*, a 340-ton boat, built at Cincinnati in 1825, was apparently repaired. Hall, James, *Notes on the Western States* . . . (Philadelphia, 1838), p. 256, noted her as "destroyed at Mobile," in 1831.

308. Arthur L. Magenis, young lawyer of St. Louis, later moved to Washington, D. C.—Billon, *op. cit.*, p. 339.

309. Probably Indian subagent Thomas Forsyth.

- 7 High wind, preceded last night by Rain, Thunder, lightning & hail
- 8 Still cold & Cloudy. beautiful clear & pleasant Evening
- 9 Cool yet pleasant & clear morning pleasant Evening 50
Socks & Foxes arrive with Chief Quash Quamme ³¹⁰
- 10 Clear warm morning, Capt. Ruland ³¹¹ returned Council to day 2 Peorias arrive
- 11 Cloudy & Cold morning (Mr. C. visits the B—) Cloudy evening
- 12 More smoky than cloudy with high wind this morning, preceded last night with hard rain accompanied by lightning.
- 13 Another clear & pleasant morning after a hard rain the preceding night accompanied with Thunder Cool clear evening
- 15 A little cloudy attended with smoke. Rain this evening
- 16 This morning Cloudy. still cloudy and like rain
- 17 Damp, close morning clear pleasant afternoon
- 18 A clear and pleasant morning. cooler than in the morning
- 19 A little cloudy this morning. Clear evening. D. D. Mc [Nair]³¹² Resigns the Clerkship of the Dept.
- 20 Cloudy morning attended with a little rain, warm Evening
- 21 Clear & pleasant morning after a fine rain last night. delightful evening
- 22 Fine Spring weather. this day clear warm and pleasant.
- 23 rather cold and damp
- 24 sick[?] This day has continued Cloudy with rain
- 25 do Rained last night and this morning— cloudy during the day but clear at night
- 26 Clear and pleasant morning. fine Evening Kickapoos arrive
- 27 Clear and warm weather. 18 Sock & Fox Chiefs leave this on Steam B
- 28 35 Kickapoos arrive under Kesk koo & 27 under Pin-e-she
- 29 This morning Clear & warm warm fine evening
- 30 This morning Cloudy. this Evening clear & warm
- 31 Windy— inclined to rain— cloudy unpleasant evening

³¹⁰. Quash-kaume (Jumping Fish) was a Sac. He "signed" the Indian treaty of August 19, 1825.—U. S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Treaties Between the United States of America, and the Several Indian Tribes* (Washington, 1837), p. 878.

³¹¹. The last mention of Capt. John Ruland was on August 29, 1829.

³¹². See Footnote 150.

April, 1830

WEATHER AND RIVER DATA

Date 1830	Thermom at 8 AM	State of Weather	Points of Wind	Thermom at 4 P.M	State of Weather	Points of Wind	Stage or Height of River
April							
1	42	Windy	W.by n.	44	cloudy	N.W	River falling a little
2	44	clear	S.W	70	clear	S.by W.	" "
3	52	"	SE	74	"	S	" "
4	58	"	S	78	"	S	" "
5	66	"	"	78	"	S	" "
6	78	Cldy	S	82	Cloudy	S	" "
7	68	"	S	66	"	"	River rose 10 Inches to day
8	54	clear	S.	62	"	S.E	" "
9	58	"	S	58	"	S	" still rising rapidly
10	44	"	W	70	clear	W	A rise of about Six feet in the River
11	58	Cloudy	ENE	62	"	W	river rising Missouri high the Mississippi also rising
12	56	Clear	NW	64	"	"	river rises about 11 Inch last night & during the day about one foot.
13	62	"	W	78	"	S	river still on a rise of about
14	73	Cloudy	S	68	cloudy	S.	" fallen about One foot
15	43	Clear	W	60	"	W	" fallen since last nigh[t] about 8 Inc.
16	44	"	W	72	"	N.E	" fallen since yesterday about 10 "
17	48	"	N.E	82	clear	N.E.	" Rising some since last Evening
18	68	"	SE	84	"	S	" risen since yesterday about 22
19	64	Cloudy	S.	86	"	S	" fallen 1½ foot since last night
20	64	"	S.	80	"	S	" " about One foot since last Evening.
21	70	Clear	E	66	Cloudy	S.E	" " " two feet since last nigh[t]
22	66	Cloudy	S.E	72	"	S	" " " 1½ feet since last night
23	68	Clear	W	88	Clear	W	" " " about 2 feet since last night
24	74	Cloudy	NW	76	Rain	S	" rising a little
25	48	"	NW	54	Clear	W	" risen about two Inches
26	46	Clear	W	56	"	W	" rising rapidly to day
27	52	"	W	80	"	S W	" risen about 3 feet within the last 48 hours.
28	62	"	SW	80	"	S	" risen about 1½ feet since last night.
29	70	"	S.E	76	"	S	" risen " 2 "
30	76	Cloudy	S.E	76	Cloudy	S	" " 2¼ "

REMARKS

- 1 Cold disagreeable morning— Unpleasant weather
- 2 fine pleasant weather— 8 Foxes under Teomah's son left to-day, for home
- 3 morning calm & pleasant— windy towards evening 18 Socks Dpt Mjr Taliaferro ³¹³ & Lady arrive
- 4 Wind blows hard from the South. *Diana & Cleopatra* left this [day] for Louisville
- 5 This day has continued clear and warm
- 6 Rain last night & this morning, still Cloudy & warm. Genl. Hughs arrives this evening
- 7 Cloudy & dark morning still Cloudy Evening
- 8 Cloudy morning & Some rain last night wind high. Wind continues high and cool

- 9 Last Night the hull of the Old S. Boat *Liberator* (so long an Eye sore to the people of the lower part of our City, was removed from its sunken position in the River by a rise of the water: thus has nature by the force of that Element done more for Man in one Night than all his efforts by Canoes, Cables, [?]akers, flat Boats &c. have done for the last 3 Months.³¹⁴
- 11 Fur boats come down the Kansas & Osage Rs
- 13 Mr. Willbank drowned himself ³¹⁵ A very hard rain to day attended with lightning & hard thunder
- 14 Some rain to-day. Genl. Hughes left here for Ky on 10th. inst
- 15 Clear and cool morning. rained hard last night. Cloudy
- 16 Clear and cool morning Evening warm. Mr. Chouteau ³¹⁶ returns from Philadelphia
- 17 This morning Clear, a rise of about 3 Inches since last Evening
- 18 Mjr Taliaferro & Lady leaves this morning for St Peters. Continues warm
- 19 This morning Cloudy and warm. Still clear and very warm
- 20 This morning a little rain and strong S. wind continues during the day. very warm
- 21 a fine rain fell [last night] We are this day favoured with the news of the arrival of Mr. J. Kennerly & Miss Risque ³¹⁷ at Camp.
- 22 This morning cloudy with appearance of Rain. Continues Cloudy
- 23 This day Miss H. Risque made her appearance in St Louis from Lynchburg Virginia
- 24 Cloudy morning. hard rain accompanied with high wind Thunder & lightning
- 25 Cool, cloudy & high wind this morning. Continues so during the day, and quite cool
- 26 This morning quite cool & remarkably clear. Clear Evening
- 27 Morning clear & pleasant— warm evening. Messrs. Bean & Wm P Clark ³¹⁸ started to-day for U[pper] Missouri
- 28 Warm weather. Genl. Clark goes to the country [?]
- 29 Warm & Clear. high South wind this evening. S. Boats *Jubilee* & *Cleopatra* arrive

314. See diary entry of October 20, 1829 (river column), and Footnote 274.

315. "Mr. Thomas Wilbanks, a citizen of this place, is missing . . . and is supposed to have drowned himself in the Mississippi. . . ."—*St. Louis Beacon*, April 15, 1830.

316. See diary entry of February 24, 1830.

317. James Kennerly and Harriet Risque. For further note on the latter see diary entry of July 6, 1830.

318. Indian subagent Jonathan L. Bean and young William Preston Clark. Bean was on a special mission to collect delegations of Sioux and Omaha Indians for the coming treaty council at Prairie du Chien. See Footnote 330.

- 30 Rain this morning, warm and Cloudy. Evening warm and much like Rain. Genl. H. A. Atkinson arrived last Evening at J. Barracks from Louisville Ky

May, 1830

WEATHER AND RIVER DATA

Date 1830 May	Thermom at 8 A.M.	State of Weather	Points of Wind	Thermom at 4 P.M.	State of Weather	Points of Wind	Stage or Height of River
1	64	Cloudy	S.W	84	Clear	S.W	River seems fallen a little
2	62	Clear	S	82	"	SE	" rising this morning
3	70	"	S	78	Cloudy	S	" risen about 3 feet since yesterday.
4	70	Cloudy	S	82	Clear	S.W	" risen about 2 feet
5	44	"	NW	70	Clear	NW	" risen about 1½ do & drift afloat.
6	48	Clear	W	68	"	W	" risen " 2 feet
7	48	"	W	72	"	W	" " " 2½ "
8	56	"	"	68	"	"	" " " 1 "
9	58	"	"	68	"	"	" upon a Stand this morning
10	60	"	"	68	"	"	" " "
11	68	"	"	68	"	"	" still upon a stand
12	70	Rain	S	92	Clear	S	" fallen since yesterday about 3 Inches.
13	72	Clear	W	98	"	S	" fallen since yesterday about 2 feet.
14	82	Cloudy	S	88	Cloudy	S	" " " " " 1 "
15	68	Clear	S	84	"	S	" " " " " about 1 foot.
16	64	Cloudy	S	80	"	S	" " " " " 2 "
17	64	Rain	S	82	Clear	S	" falling rapidly
18	64	Clear	S	86	Clear	S	" " "
19	62	"	W	74	"	W	" fallen within the last three days about 4 feet.
20	64	"	W	68	Rain	W	" falling gradually to day
21	68	Rain	"	68	Cloudy	"	" fallen since yesterday about 2 Inches.
22	52	Rain	"	52	Rain	"	" rising to day but slowly
23	48	Cloudy	NW	48	Clear	"	" Risen since yesterday 6 Inches
24	64	Clear	W	68	Clear	"	" Risen since yesterday 1 Foot
25	62	"	S.E	72	Clear	S E	" Risen since yesterday 2 "
26	70	Cloudy	S	72	"	S E	" " " " " 18 Inches
27	68	"	W	72	Rain	S	" " " " " 1 Foot
28	70	Cloudy	S.W	78	Clear	SW	" " " " " 6 Inches
29	72	Rain	S.W	80	Clear	W	" Risen " " " 4 "
30	68	"	S	68	"	SW	" " " " " 20 "
31	68	Rain	S	78	Rain	S.W	" " " " " 10 "

REMARKS

- 1 Not clear, yet pleasant morning. Warm and clear evening
- 2 Clear and pleasant morning. Evening clear and warm
- 3 Very warm and much like rain
- 4 Cloudy with rain last night Evening clear with high wind.
- 5 Cloudy & remarkably cool, last Evening & this morning having more the appearance of a Novembers windy night, than the pleasant breezes of the Month of May!
- 6 Clear morning & Cool. Evening quite warm
- 7 Clear & warm morning Evening clear and warm Genl Clark at the farm unwell

- 8 Still continues clear and warm, a letter from W. P. C[lark].³¹⁹ dated Cantonment Levingworth.
- 9 Clear and warm weather, family still at the farm
- 10 Clear and warm weather, hear from Genl Clark, reported better
- 11 Warm and clear morning. Evening extremely warm Genl. Clark & [family] return from the Country
- 12 some rain this morning. Clear Evening
- 13 Capt Vashon³²⁰ arrives this morning. Clear even.
- 14 This morning Cloudy & warm. Warm evening S. B. *Atlantick* chartered by a number of Gentlemen for a trip to camp.
- 15 Warm morning, cloudy Evening & like rain
- 16 Warm and cloudy morning with Rain in the Evening Mr. Miller³²¹ arrives from Rockingham Va.
- 17 Clear fine weather. Genl. Clark leaves for the farm.
- 18 Clear morning. Genl. Clark still at the farm.
- 19 Day continues warm. Genl. Atkinson arrives from the Garrison
- 20 Clear morning. letters sent to Genl. Clark at the farm. Rain
- 21 Rain this morning. Cloudy & rather cool Evening. Genl. Clark returns from the farm.
- 22 Rain and very cool to day, continues to rain
- 23 Cloudy morning. still lowering but not raining
- 24 Clear morning & warm. Very warm Evening.
- 25 Not entirely clear this morning & warm. A greateal of drift in the River
- 26 Cloudy & like rain. Miss Julia Cabanne married last night to Lieut Kingsbery of the U. S. Army.³²²
- 27 Cloudy morning. Rain this Evening. Mr. Martin, Sent express Yesterday to the Osage Towns.³²³
- 28 Cloudy & warm Drift floating [in] the River. Clear Evening
- 29 Rain hard this morning. Clear and warm at intervals during this [day], with frequent showers.
- 30 Unusually Rainy weather, so much so that for the last week there has been more or less Rain within each 24 hours of that time

319. See diary entry for April 27, 1830.

320. See Footnote 237.

321. "Mr. Miller" has not been identified.

322. Lt. James W. Kingsbury, of the First infantry regiment, and Julia A. Cabanné, daughter of John Cabanné, of St. Louis, were married on May 25, 1830.—*St. Louis Beacon*, May 27, 1830; Billon, *op. cit.*, p. 401.

323. This express was probably about the Osages who had been abroad, and were being returned to their nation. See Footnote 60 and diary entry of June 6, 1830.

31 Hard Rain this morning. Rain this Evening and yet cloudy with a strong appearance of more Rain

June, 1830

WEATHER AND RIVER DATA

Date 1830	Thermom at 8 A.M.	State of Weather	Points of Wind	Thermom at 4 P.M.	State of Weather	Points of Wind	Stage or Height of River
June							
1	70	Clear	W	72	Clear	W	River fallen since yesterday 6 Inches
2	70	"	W	74	Cloudy	S	" fallen since Yesterday 4 "
3	70	Cloudy	S.W	78	Clear	S	" " " " 3 "
4	78	Clear	NW	84	"	W	" fallen since Yesterday 3 "
5	78	Rain all day	W	86	"	S	" Risine " " 5 "
6	72	Rain cloudy	W. or S	58	Cloudy	W	Sunday " " 2 feet
7	60	Cloudy	NW	70	Clear	NW	Munday " " 10 Inches
8	64	Clear	W	70	"	S.W	Tuesday " " 18 "
9	72	"	W	72	"	S.W	Wednesday " " 9 "
10	74	"	S.W	68	Cloudy	S	Thursday Fallen " 3 "
11	78	Cloudy	Calm	84	Clear	W	Friday fallen " 8 "
12	78	Clear	S.E	86	"	S.E	Saturday fallen " 4 "
13	88	Clear	Calm	98	Clear	Calm	Sunday. fallen 2 feet
14	82	"	"	92	"	S.E	Munday. fallen 18 Inches
15	84	"	"	94	"	W	Tuesday fallen 2 feet
16	86	"	W	92	"	W	Wednesday " 6 Inches
17	80	"	S.W	80	Cloudy	S	Thursday " 4 "
18	80	"	W	86	Clear	S.E	Friday " 6 "
19	86	Cloudy	S	86	Clear	W	Saturday " 3 "
20	76	Clear	W	80	Windy	W	Sunday " " "
21	76	"	"	80	Hard Wind	W	Munday " 3 "
22	70	Clear	W	84	Clear	W	Tuesday risen 1 Inch
23	70	"	W	82	"	W	Wednesday Risen 10 Inches
24	64	"	W	70	"	W	Thursday On a stand
25	84	Cloudy	E	68	"	W	Fryday Risen 1 Foot
26	86	Clear	W	90	"	W	Saturday 18 Inches
27	80	"	W	90	"	W	Sunday 2 feet
28	84	Rain	S	90	Rain	S	Monday 1 "
29	84	"	S	90	"	S	Tuesday 2 "
30	80	Clear	S	90	Clear	S	Wednesday 1 "

REMARKS

- 1 This day is the first entire one without Rain experienced here, for the last 11 days (Rain more or less each 24 hours. Mrs. Genl. Ashley ³²⁴ dies on board the *S. B. Wm. D. Duncan*, about dark.
- 2 Clear & warm morning. Cloudy Evening. Mrs. Ashly buried at 4 P. M. of this day
- 3 Cloudy this morning, but clear & very warm in the Evening.

³²⁴. This was Eliza (Christy) Ashley, second wife of William H. Ashley, the fur trader and explorer.—*St. Louis Beacon*, June 3, 1830. She was the daughter of Maj. William Christy, of St. Louis. The Ashleys had been married on October 26, 1825.—*Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1928), v. 1, p. 391.

- 4 Clear & warm morning. Very warm Evening. Mr. Caldwell's Company of players³²⁵ arrive from Orleans.
- 5 Clear and very warm morning. Warm Evening. Govnr Miller³²⁶ arrives from City of Jefferson
- 6 Hard Rain this morning & warm. Unsettled & very warm weather. The Osages leave to day in the Stage³²⁷
- 7 This morning remarkable for cool NW. winds. This Evening is calm, clear & not so cool as the morning was.
- 8 Cool, but clear morning. Evening quite warm & clear
- 9 Clear and warm morning. This Evening warm and Clear
- 10 Clear and warm morning. Genl Clark goes to Camp. Warm Evening. Splendid party at Camp.
- 11 Rain hard last night. this morning very warm Genl Clark returns from Camp.
- 12 On last evening & on board the S. Boat *Atlantic* (Capt. Rian) from Orleans, arrived the excentric and no less strange *Woman*, Mrs. Ann Royall!³²⁸ Her turbulence & wanton vehemence, excites curiosity, while it keeps from her, the real friendship of all.
- 13 During the last night as well as this morning, it is unusually warm, on from the hours of 10 & 11 to the hours 11 or 12 at night, the day was exceedingly hot.
- 14 Still very warm. The celebrated Mrs. Royal procures Boarding in One kept in a house of Mrs Shepherd on the hill
- 15 Since the 11th. Inst. to Yesterday, Mrs. Royal had been unanimously refused appartments by all the Respecible boarding houses of St Louis
- 16 This morning Madam Royal visited the Office of Supt. Ind. Affairs, and after venting a little of her Spleenatic, left the office & took a hack for Edwardsville Illinois.

325. The theater season opened on June 12. The main performance was Goldsmith's "She Stoops to Conquer." Also given was the comedy "The Hotel: or, Two Strings to Your Bow."—*St. Louis Beacon*, June 10, 1830, advertisement.

326. Missouri's governor, John Miller.

327. See Footnote 60.

328. "Mrs. Ann Royall, returning from her Southern tour, arrived at this place on Friday last. From the reception, or rather *non*-reception, Mrs. R. met with here, we may expect from her a *royal* edict for the expulsion of Missouri from the Union."—*St. Louis Beacon*, June 17, 1830. Mrs. Anne (Newport) Royall (1769-1854), traveler and journalist, had many enemies, and a few loyal friends. From 1824 to 1831 she earned her living by traveling over the United States, and writing her impressions of the country and people, in such books as *Sketches of History, Life and Manners in the United States* . . . (1826); *The Black Book, or a Continuation of Travels* (3 vols., 1828-1829). She was outspokenly pro-Mason, and anti-Evangelical, and so enraged the Presbyterians that she was arraigned in Washington, D. C., in 1829, on the charge of being a common scold. The trial brought her so much unpleasant publicity that she found traveling difficult. From 1831 until her death, she edited newspapers in Washington, D. C.—*Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1935), v. 16, pp. 204, 205.

- 17 Clear & warm morning. This Evening Cloudy, warm, air close, and much like the approach of Rain.
- 18 Hard Rain last night, this morning clear and pleasant. Clear and very warm Evening.
- 19 Dark, cloudy, and very warm morning. Rain about 12 OClock Clear and very warm Evening
- 20 Clear and rather more pleasant than otherwise, this morning. A number of wind clouds, creating much wind this Evening
- 21 Clear and pleasant morning. Evening clear and rather warm
- 22 Clear and pleasant weather. Clear and pleasant Evening
- 23 This morning is quite pleasant. The sun no[t] so intensely hot as it has been for some days past
- 24 To day at 4 OClock P. M. Genl Clark, Lady, Daughter, and little Son accompanied by Capt. Jno. Ruland, Mr. Magure and Mr. Mettee (Interpreter)³²⁹ leave for P. du Chein, as one of the Commrs to hold a treaty at said place on 4th July.³³⁰
- 26 This morning warm with an exceeding Sultry Evening
- 27 This day the S. B. *Chieftain* set out with 4 Companies of the 3rd Regt & Mjr Kerny³³¹ in comm[an]d for P. du Chien.
- 28 Hard rain last night accompanied with severe thunder & lightning
- 29 Rain hard this morning and as much so this Evening
- 30 Very foggy this morning. Clear Evening

July, 1830

WEATHER AND RIVER DATA

Date 1830	Thermom at 8 A.M.	State of Weather	Points of Wind	Thermom at 4 P.M.	State of Weather	Points of Wind	Stage or Height of River
July							
1	82	Cloudy	S	90	Clear	S	Thursday. River rises 1 foot
2	86	Rain	S	94	Rain	S	Friday " " 2 "
3	84	"	S	94	"	S	Saturday " " 2½"
4	86	Clear	S	96	Clear	S	Sunday. fallen 2 Inches
5	80	"	S.	98	"	S	Munday " 2 feet
6	80	Cloudy	S	98	Cloudy	S	Tuesday " 1 "
7	86	"	S	94	Clear	S	Wednesday " 2 "
8	86	Clear	SE	96	"	S.E	Thursday " 1½ "

329. William Clark and wife, step-daughter Mary P. Radford, and six-year-old Jefferson K. Clark. John Ruland, Clark's assistant, was secretary to the commissioners during this council. Mr. "Magure" has not been identified. Jacques Metté, interpreter, was a witness to the treaty subsequently made at Prairie du Chien.

330. Clark and Willoughby Morgan, colonel of the First infantry regiment, had been appointed commissioners to hold a treaty with the several Indian tribes of the upper Mississippi, to secure land cessions, and to arbitrate existing difficulties among the Indians. Both Clark's party and Colonel Morgan left for Prairie du Chien on the steamboat *Planet*. The councils began on July 4, 1830. On the fifteenth, a treaty was concluded with the Sacs and Foxes, some bands of the Sioux, the Omahas, the Iowas, the Ottobes and the Missourias. Clark returned to St. Louis on July 20.—Superintendency of Indian affairs, St. Louis, "Records" (in Kansas State Historical Society), v. 4, pp. 129, 142; St. Louis *Beacon*, July 1, 1830.

331. Maj. Stephen Kearny, and troops from Jefferson Barracks, were part of the treaty expedition.—*Ibid.*

Date 1830	Thermom at 8 A.M.	State of Weather	Points of Wind	Thermom at 4 P.M.	State of Weather	Points of Wind	Stage or Height of River
9	84	"	SW	90	"	SW	Fryday " 2 "
10	84	"	S.W	94	"	SW	Saturday " 3 Inches
11	86	"	"	94	"	"	Sunday " 2 "
12	86	"	"	96	"	"	Monday " " "
13	86	"	"	96	"	"	Tuesday " 2½ "
14	86	"	S	96	"	S	Wednesday " 2 "
15	88	"	S	96	"	S	Thursday On a Stand
16	86	"	S	96	"	S	Fryday Yet on a Stand
17	88	"	S	96	Rain	S	Saturday " " "
18	88	"	S	96	Clear	S	Sunday River falls a little
19	96	"	S	98	"	E	Monday On a rise since last nigh[t].
20	96	"	98½	"	Calm	"	Tuesday " " of about 1 Inch
21	84	Clear	S	98½	Rain	SE	Wednesday " " " 2 Inch
22	82	"	S	86	Clear	SE	Thursday River rises 1½ do
23	84	"	S	88	Clear	S.E	Fryday " " 2 do
24	84	"	S.W	88	"	S.W	Saturday " " ½ do
25	82	"	"	92	"	"	Sunday " " "
26	84	"	"	91	"	"	Monday " " "
27	85	"	"	92	"	"	Tuesday " " "
28	86	"	W.	94	"	"	Wednesday " rising
29	84	"	"	88	"	S.E.	Thursday " " "
30	84	"	S.	93	"	S.	Friday River falling fast
31	88	"	SW	94	"	"	Saturday " "

REMARKS

- 1 This morning Cloudy with some Rain. Clear and very warm Evening
- 2 Incessant Rain, which continues at intervals during the day
- 3 Very unsettled weather, sudden showers of rain.
- 4 This day continues clear and warm
- 5 Clear and pleasant weather but the close of day somewhat threatening Rain
- 6 Cloudy & warm morning. Continues so during the day Col Menard³³² arrives. H. Risque married³³³
- 7 Cloudy & very like rain this morning, but clear in the Evening
- 8 Clear and very warm morning and continues so during the day.
- 9 Clear and very warm morning and evening. [Mak?]ing the west side of the office quite unplea[san]tly warm
- 10 This morning close air and warm Sun, which continues during the day.
- 11 This day very warm. S. B. *Chieftain* leaves for the Prairie
- 12 Weather warm. Hear a Doctor say that the amt of Medical Bills arrising from the sickness occasioned by effluvia arrising

332. Col. Pierre Menard, of Kaskaskia, Indian subagent there. See Footnotes 112 and 118.

333. "Married, on Tuesday evening last, . . . at the residence of Mr. James Kennerly, Jefferson Barracks, Capt. G. C. Hutter, of the U. S. Army, to Miss Harriet J., daughter of Maj. J. Risque, of Lynchburg, Va."—*St. Louis Beacon*, July 8, 1830. Harriet (see, also, Footnotes 43 and 317) was the daughter of Maj. James B. and Elizabeth (Kennerly) Risque, her mother being the sister of Clark's second wife, and of George H., James and Augustin Kennerly. Capt. George C. Hutter, of the Sixth infantry regiment, was stationed at Jefferson Barracks.

from Water street ³³⁴ this year will be more than it would cost for paving of same.

- 13 Very warm weather. Mr. Wm. Higgins ³³⁵ buried to-day
- 14 The Sun intensley hot with little or no wind
- 15 The weather very hot & reported to be very sickly.
- 16 The weather still continues very warm.
- 17 Notwithstanding the rain of this Evening, yet the air sultry and very close.
- 18 This day very warm, and a little Cloudy in the Evening
- 19 This day through marked with intense heat & close air
- 20 This morning oppressively hot and evening more so.
- 21 This morning as usual, very warm. though it has rained this Evening, yet it is truly hot and disagreeable
- 22 This morning rather more pleasant than for some days since Evening Clear and warm.
- 23 This mornig Clear and a little warm. Intensley hot this Evening & no appearance of its getting any cooler.
- 24 This morning and during last nigh[t], a pleasant Breeze from the S. W. which continues during the day.
- 25 fine breeze in the forenoon— rain during the after[noon]
- 26 Messrs. Bean, Hughes & Kennerly, ³³⁶ left town Saturday eveng.
- 28 Perry ³³⁷ and his party (16 in all) started home to-day
- 29 Rain during the day— weather a little more cool than it has been for some days
- 30 very sultry weather.
- 31 do.

August, 1830

WEATHER AND RIVER DATA

Date 1830	Thermom at 8 A.M.	State of Weather	Points of Wind	Thermom at 4 P.M.	State of Weather	Points of Wind	Stage or Height of River	
August								
1	78	Cloudy	S E.	92	clear	W	Sunday	River falling
2	82	clear	S.E	84½	"	"	Monday	"
3	82	"	S	86	"	S	Tuesday	" considerab l
4	82	"	S.W.	86	"	S.E.	Wednesday	" "
5	81	"	S E	87	"	S E	Thursday	Still falling
6	81	"	S E	89	"	S E.	Friday	
7	86	"	"	90	"	"	Saturday	
8	84	"	"	88	"	"	Sunday	
9	83	"	"	87	"	"	Monday	
10	85	"	S	95	"	S	Tuesday	

334. Water, or Front street, the thoroughfare along the river front.

335. William Higgins, a "tallow chandler," had been a resident of St. Louis since 1820.—*St. Louis Beacon*, July 15, 1830; Billon, *op. cit.*, p. 354.

336. Indian subagents Jonathan L. Bean and Andrew S. Hughes, and one of the Kennerly brothers, probably Augustin, interpreter and clerk in the superintendency office.

337. Shawnee chief Perry. See Footnote 106.

Date 1830	Thermom at 8 A.M.	State of Weather	Points of Wind	Thermom at 4 P.M.	State of Weather	Points of Wind	Stage or Height of River
11	86	"	S E	98	"	SW	Wednesday
12	84	"	S W.	87	"	"	Thursday
13	81	"	S. E	84	"	S. E	Friday
14	82	cloudy	"	86	cloudy	"	Saturday
15	83	"	"	84	rain	"	Sunday
16	80	clear	W	81	clear	W	Monday
17	77	"	N.E	76	"	N.	Tuesday
18	72	"	"	80	"	"	Wednesday
19	73	"	"	75	"	"	Thursday
20	72	"	W	81	"	"	Friday
21	78	"	SE	84	"	"	Saturday
22							
23	80	"	S.W.	91	"		Monday
24	76	cloudy	NW	90	"	W	Tuesday
25	72	"	W	80	cloudy	S W	Wednesday
26	76	"	S.W	84	Clear	S	Thursday
27	86	"	S	90	Clear	Calm	Friday
28	88	Clear	Calm				Saturday
29							Sunday
30	82	Cloudy	Cloudy	82	Cloudy	W	Monday
31	82	Clear	S.W.				Tuesday [?]

REMARKS

- 1 Storm last night— heavy rain accompd. by lightning
- 2 Some air stirring— pleasant Evening
- 3 Weather becoming cooler
- 4 " " "
- 5 Air sultry to day
- 6 " "
- 8 Sultry weather
- 9 very warm
- 10 very hot
- 11 still warm
- 12 weather more moderate
- 13 Rain towards morning— cool in the forenoon
- 14 Considerable rain during the day— but sultry weather
- 15 considerable quiet rain during the night
- 16 Rain at intervals during the day
- 17 Morning quite Cool— weather pleasant
- 18 pleasant weather
- 19 "
- 23 Morning clear and warm.
- 24 Stormy with appearance of rain. Clear & pleasant Evening
- 25 Cloudy and much like rain this morning also like rain this Evening
- 26 Cloudy and cool morning. Clear and quite warm Evening.
- 27 Clear and very warm morning and continues so during the day

- 28 This morning exceedingly unpleasant in consequence of heat.
 29 This day very hot and clear until about 3 O'clock in the Evening, then a little rain
 30 This morning warm with much the appearance of rain. Evening cloudy & like rain
 31 M. L. Clark & J. F. A. Sanford³³⁸ arrive from W. Point and City Washington.

September, 1830

WEATHER AND RIVER DATA

Date 1830	Thermom at 8 A.M.	State of Weather	Points of Wind	Thermom at 4 P.M.	State of Weather	Points of Wind	Stage or Height of River
Sept							
1	84	S.	Calm	94	Clear	S	River still low and falling
2	92	S	Cloudy	94	"	S	Thursday " " " "
3	94	S.W	Clear	94	"	W	Fryday " " Dreadful [?]
4	80	S	Rain	92	"	S	Saturday " " "
5	80	S	Clear	94	"	S	Sunday. Mary Radford married.
6	80	S.	Cloudy	84	Cloudy	S	Munday River still falling
7	70	NE	Rain	72	"	N.E	Tuesday " " "
8	70	W	Cloudy	72	Cloudy	W	Wednesday " " "
9	66	"	Clear	75	Clear	W	Thursday " " "
10	66	"	"	78	"	W	Fryday " " "
11	78	SE	"	80	Cloudy	S.E	Saturday " " "
12	62	E	Cloudy	66	"	W	Sunday " " "
13	64	W	Clear	68	Clear	"	Munday " " "
14	66	W	"	70	"	"	Tuesday " " "
15	62	W	Cool	68	Cloudy	NE	Wednesday " " "
16	65	N	Cloudy	70	Clear	N	Thursday " " "
17	62	N	Clear	66	Clear	N	Friday " " "
18	60	NW	"	68	"	"	Saturday " " "
19	62	W	"	64	"	W	Sunday " " "
20	62	S.W	Cloudy	70	Cloudy	W	Munday " " "
21	70	S	Rain	74	Clear	W	Tuesday " " "
22	70	W	Cloudy	70	Clear	W	Wednesday " " "
23	70	S.W	"	70	Cloudy	S	Thursday " " "
24	68	S	"	72	Clear	S.W	Friday " " "
25	68	Calm	Foggy	74	"	S	Saturday " " "
26	66	Clear	Clear	"	"	S	Sunday " " "
27	68	W.	Clear	72	"	W	Monday " " "
28	62	W	"	70	"	W	Tuesday " " "
29	64	W	"	70	"	W	Wednesday " " "
30	68	W	"	70	"	W	Thursday " " "

REMARKS

- 1 The weather still warm. Evening very warm
- 2 like the approach of Rain. very warm eveng.
- 3 Clear and warm Morning. Warm! warm! warm!
- 4 At 6 o'clock this morning it began to rain which has put an end for the present, to very dusty streets. Clear and warm evening.

³³⁸ Meriwether Lewis Clark, West Point cadet (*see, also*, Footnotes 85 and 339), and John F. A. Sanford, Indian subagent (*see* Footnotes 37 and 53).

- 5 Clear and warm morning. Marriage of Mary P. Radford & Mjr. Kerny of the 3rd. Regmt. at Maracastor³³⁹
- 6 This morning clear. The Evening cloudy & warm.
- 7 Rain last night & this morning. Cloudy and cool.
- 8 This morning has much the appearance of fall, Clouds hard & windy. Evening as much so.
- 9 Cool and pleasant morning. Evening Clear and quite pleasant.
- 10 Clear and pleasant morning. Evening clear and fine
- 11 This morning clear but warmer than yesterday. Evening Cloudy and warm
- 12 This morning cool accompanied with rain. Evening Cloudy & cool
- 13 September has shown its title to the name of a fall month by producing a degree of cold this morning, making fire necessary
- 14 Morning cool & pleasant. Pleasant and fine Evening.
- 15 Morning clear & pleasant. Cloudy & like the approach of falling weather.
- 16 Cloudy morning and cool wind from the North. Clear and pleasant Evening.
- 17 Clear and cool morning. Evening clear and cool
- 18 Clear and pleasant morning. Clear and pleasant Evening
- 19 Foggy until near 8 OClock this morning. Clear and pleasant Evening.
- 20 Cloudy morning with appearances of Rain. Cloudy Evening with Rain about 12 o'clock.
- 21 Some rain last night & this morning. Clear evening
- 22 Cloudy & a Little smoky this morning. Clear & cool evening
- 23 Cloudy morning & more warm than for some, just past. Cloudy Evening & like rain.
- 24 Cloudy morning accompanied by fog. Clear and warm Evening
- 25 Fogg and warm morning. A little cloudy & warm this evening
- 26 Smoky morning resembling the beginning of Ind. Summer
- 27 Clear & pleasant morning. Very windy during this day
- 28 Clear & cool morning. Evening clear and pleasant.
- 29 Clear day after a foggy morning. A Criminal hanged to day for murder.³⁴⁰
- 30 Clear & cool morning. Warm evening

339. Mary Preston Radford and Maj. Stephen Watts Kearny were married at the home of Gen. William Clark, her stepfather, on September 5, 1830. Clark's oldest son, Meriwether Lewis Clark, was also her suitor, but after some indecision Mary Radford chose Kearny.—*St. Louis Beacon*, September 9, 1830; Bakeless, John, *Lewis & Clark* (New York, 1947), pp. 448, 449.

340. "James Jenkins, who was convicted . . . of the murder of Sinah Jenkins, his wife, was executed yesterday. . . ."—*St. Louis Beacon*, September 30, 1830.

October, 1830

WEATHER AND RIVER DATA

Date 1830	Thermom at 8 A.M	State of Weather	Points of Wind	Thermom at 4 P.M.	State of Weather	Points of Wind	Stage or Height of River	
October								
1	62	[?]	S.W	68	Cloudy	S	River very low & falling	
2	60	Clear	W	68	Clear	S.W	Saturday	River low
3	62	Clear	S.W				Sunday	" "
4	62	"	"	72	Clear	S.W	Monday	" "
5	68	Clear	Calm	78	"	Calm	Tuesday	" "
6	68	"	"	80	"	"	Wednesday	" "
7	70	"	S	78	"	S	Thursday	" "
8	68	Foggy	S	78	"	S	Fryday	" "
9	68	Clear	S	68	Cloudy	N.W.	Saturday	" "
10	68	Rain	S.W	66	"	S.W	Sunday	" "
11	62	Cloudy	" "				Munday	" "
12	62	Clear	Calm	76	Clear	Calm	Tuesday	" "
13	64	"	S.	74	"	"	Wednesday	" "
14	60	"	S.W	58	Cloudy	NW	Thursday	" "
15	60	"	W	64	"	S.W	Fryday	" "
16	64	"	S.W	68	"	S.W	Saturday	" "
17	62	"	S.W	64	"	S.W	Sunday	" "
18	64	"	SW	64	"	SE	Monday	" "
19	60	Cloudy	NW	50	Cloudy	NW	Tuesday	" "
20	52	Clear	NW	56	Clear	NE	Wednesday	" "
21	58	Cloudy	NE	58	Smoky	S.W	Thursday	" "
22	60	Clear	S.W	62	Clear	" "	Friday	" "
23	60	"	" "	62	"	S.W	Saturday	" "
24	68	"	" "	70	"	S	Sunday	" "
25	69	"	S	79	Cloudy	S	Monday	" "
26	70	"	S	79	Smoky	S	Tuesday	" "
27	68	"	S	80	Rain	S	Wednesday	" "
28	70	"	S	70	Clear	S	Thursday	" "
29	60	Foggy	S.E.	64	"	S	Friday	" "
30	64	Clear	" "	64	"	S	Saturday	" "
31	70	Rain	S				Sunday	" "

REMARKS

- 1 This morning pleasantly warm. Evening Cloudy A. L. Maginnis Esqr ³⁴¹ leave[s] for City Washington
- 2 Clear and warm morning evening warm
- 3 Clear & warm
- 4 This morning attended with a heavy fog. Evening clear, but smoky.
- 5 This morning clear but the atmosphere much mixed with dust ³⁴² & some smoke. Clear and warm Evening
- 6 Clear & warm morning. Evening warm and clear. Streets unusually dusty
- 7 Clear, dry and warm morning Clear and warm evening, unusually dusty Streets

341. See Footnote 308.

342. "The atmosphere much mixed with dust" was also true of other areas besides St. Louis in October, 1830. Isaac McCoy, then exploring present northeastern and central Kansas, wrote graphic accounts of dust storms which were published in *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 5, pp. 365, 366, 371, 372.

- 8 Foggy & smoky morning. Clear and warm evening
- 9 last nigh[t] a little rain. appearance of rain this evening.
- 10 Rain this morning before day, still cloudy & the appearance of continued Rain. Cloudy evening.
- 11 Cloudy morning. Clear and pleasant Evening
- 12 Clear and pleasant morning. Evening clear and warm.
- 13 Rain this morning before day. Clear evening
- 14 Clear and cool morning. This evening more cold than felt this fall.
- 15 Clear and pleasant morning. Cloudy & like rain this Evening.
- 16 last Evening & this morning Cloudy. much like Rain this Evening
- 17 Clear and pleasant morning. Cloudy Evening
- 18 Clear and warm morning. Evening rain
- 19 This morning is quite cold & much like November weather. Cold Evening.
- 20 This morning Clear & cool. Evening clear & pleasant.
- 21 Morning Cloudy smoky & cool. Evening Cloudy & smoky
- 22 Smoky & warm morning. Clear but dry, dusty and Smoky
- 23 Clear, but smoky morning. Clear & Smoky
- 24 Smoky weather like that of Indian Sum[m]er. Very warm
- 25 This morning Clear and very warm. like the approach of rain
- 26 This morning Clear but warm. Evening same
- 27 Clear but smoky & warm morning. A Shower of rain this Evening, continues warm
- 28 Clear morning after a Fine Rain last evening Clear and warm Evening.
- 29 Fog very thick this morning. Very warm Evening
- 30 Very warm weather for the 30th October
- 31 A fine Rain this morning. Clear and fine evening

November, 1830

WEATHER AND RIVER DATA

Date 1830	Thermom at 8 A.M.	State of Weather	Points of Wind	Thermom at 4 P.M.	State of Weather	Points of Wind	Stage or Height of River
November							
1	68	Clear	S.W	72	Clear	S.W	River still low and falling
2	60	Rain	" "	64	"	W	Tuesday " " " " "
3	58	Clear	W	60	"	W	Wednesday " " " " "
4	60	"	S.W	64	"	S.W	Thursday " " " " "
5	64	"	S	70	"	S	Fryday. Rising a little
6							Saturday
7	54	Rain	S.W	54	Rain	S	Sunday River rising
8	58	"	S.W	56	Cloudy	S.W	Munday " "
9	58	Cloudy	" "	60	"	SW	Tuesday " "

Date 1830	Thermom at 8 A.M.	State of Weather	Points of Wind	Thermom at 4 P.M.	State of Weather	Points of Wind	Stage or Height of River		
10	58	"	S.W	58	Cloudy	S.W	Wednesday	"	"
11	58	Cloudy	S.W	58	Cloudy	S.W	Thursday	River	risen about 4 Inch
12	58	"	S.W	58	Clear	S.W.	Fryday	"	risen 1 "
13	58	Clear	S	58	Cloudy	S	Saturday	"	risen 1 "
14	58	Clear	S.W	60	Clear	S.W	Sunday	"	upon a stand
15	58	"	S.W	60	"	S.W	Munday	"	"
16	60	Rain	S	60	"	S.W	Tuesday	"	"
17	58	Clear	W	60	"	W	Wednesday	falling	
18	58	"	W	60	"	W	Thursday	"	
19	54	Rain	S.W	60	Rain	S.W	Fryday	"	
20	58	Cloudy	S	58	Cloudy	S	Saturday	"	"
21	60	Rain	S.W	60	Rain	SW	Sunday	"	"
22	60	Cloudy	S.W	58	Cloudy	SW	Munday	"	"
23	58	"	S.W	58	"	SW	Tuesday	rising	
24	48	Clear	W	58	Clear	W	Wednesday	"	"
25	54	Clear	W	58	"	W	Thursday	"	"
26	56	Cloudy	S.E	60	Cloudy	S.E	Fryday	"	"
27	56	Rain	S.E	58	Rain	S.E	Saturday	River risen 2 feet	
28	58	Cloudy	S.E	58	Cloudy	S.E	Sunday	"	
29	54	"	S.E	54	Rain	SE	Munday	"	"
30	54	"	S.E	54	Cloudy	S.E	Tuesday	"	

REMARKS

- 1 This morning Clear and very warm. Clear weather
- 2 Rainy morning. Clear and cool evening
- 3 Clear and cool morning. Evening clear and pleasant.
- 4 Genl. Clark goes to Jefferson Barracks to day. Clear & warm.
- 5 Genl. Clark returned from Camp last evening. Evening Clear and very warm.
- 6 Clear this day until about sun set.
- 7 Rain last night & this morning. Cool evening
- 8 Rain and dark this morning. Very dark evening
- 9 Cloudy & disagreeable morning. Dark cloudy weather
- 10 Cloudy morning. Cloudy and dark evening
- 11 Cloudy and damp weather during the day
- 12 Cloudy & damp weather. Clear & pleasant evening.
- 13 Clear morning but cloudy in the evening, with high South winds.
- 14 This morning clear and pleasant. evening clear and warm.
- 15 This day throughout, clear and warm, attended with smoke
- 16 Cloudy after some rain last night. Cloudy evening
- 17 Clear and cool morning. Clear and cool evening
- 18 A large white frost this morning. Clear evening
- 19 Rain this morning. Col. Ordan[?]³⁴³ dies in one of the lower rooms of the Office at about 9 at night, after a short illness
- 20 Cloudy morning, and so until about dark when an unseasing rain began which continued at intervals

343. Colonel Ordan[?] has not been identified.

- 21 [Rain] This day rendering our streets very muddy.
 22 Cloudy & much like Rain this morning. Genl. Clark, Lady's
 and son, leave for City Washington.
 23 Cloudy and some Rain this Evening
 24 Clear & cool morning. Evening clear and cool.
 25 Clear with some frost this morning. Evening Clear
 26 Mr. Marche dies last night.³⁴⁴ Duel between Lieut. Wheelright
 & Lieut. Thomas.³⁴⁵ No blood spilt
 27 Rain and still continues warm
 28 Cloudy and much like rain.
 29 Cloudy damp and disagreeable weather
 30 Cloudy and warm like rain.

December, 1830

WEATHER AND RIVER DATA

Date 1830	Thermom at 8 A.M.	State of Weather	Points of Wind	Thermom at 4 P.M.	State of Weather	Points of Wind	Stage or Height of River
December							
1	56	Cloudy	SE	56	Cloudy	SE	Wednesday River risen about 2½ feet
2	62	Cloudy	S.E	62	Cloudy	SE	Thursday " " about 3 Inch
3	62	"	S.E	62	"	S.E	Fryday " "
4							Saturday
5							Sunday
6							Munday
7							Tuesday
8	60	Cloudy	S.E	48	Cloudy	S.W	Wednesday River risen within the last 4 days about 2 feet.
9	40	Snow	S.W	40	Hail	" "	Thursday
10	40	Cloudy	" "	40	Cloudy	" "	Fryday
11	38	Cold	W	38	Cold	W	Saturday
12	38	Rain	S.W	38	Rain	S.W	Sunday
13	40	Cloudy	S.W	42	Cloudy	S.W	Monday
14	40	"	S.W	40	"	S.W	Tuesday River ab[ou]t half foot
15							Wednesday
16							Thursday River falling
17	30	Cloudy	N	30	Cloudy	N	Fryday " "
18	30	"	N	30	"	N	Saturday " "
19	30	Rain	S.W	30	Rain	S.W	Sunday " "
20	36	Snow	S.W	30	Very cold	N	Munday " "
21	10	Clear	W	10	Cold	N	Tuesday " "
22	10	"	N	10	"	N	Wednesday " "
23	20	Sleet	S.W	22	Sleet	S.E	Thursday " "
24	30	Rain	S.E	36	Rain	S.E.	Fryday " "
25	30	Cloudy	S.W	34	Cloudy	S.W	Saturday " "
26	28	"	S.W	28	"	S.W	Sunday " "
27	30	"	S	32	"	S	Munday " "
28	34	Clear	S.W.	36	Clear	S.W	Tuesday " "
29	34	Snow	NE	34	Snow	NE	Wednesday " "
30	30	"	N.E	34	"	"	Thursday " "
31	30	"	NE	30	Cloudy	"	Fryday " "

344. "Died, . . . on Thursday night last, . . . Mr. Clement March; for many years, . . . a . . . citizen of this place."—St. Louis *Beacon*, December 2, 1830.

345. Lt. Washington Wheelright of the First artillery regiment, and probably Lt. Lorenzo Thomas of the Fourth infantry regiment.

REMARKS

- 1 Cloudy windy, and very warm, a very hard rain, commencing about 9 P. M. & continuing nearly all night
- 2 Cloudy and very warm for 2nd Decr.
- 3 Cloudy and unpleasant weather to day.
- [4-7] Sent to Kaskaskia on business
- 8 Cloudy and cool
- 9 This day attended by Snow and some hail Note. 9th Decr. The weather between the 4th and present Inst. has been almost invariably wet and warm until last evening when it became cool with some appearance of Snow with which, at day light this morning, the Roofs of the houses were slightly covered.
- 10 Cloudy attended by some rain in the eveng.
- 11 Very cold to day and continues until about dark when it became warmer with rain.
- 12 Rain and Mud, and Mud and Rain
- 13 Rain and disagreeable weath[er]. Four Oclock and no appearance of clear sky.
- 14 Cloudy and disagreeable. Turns Cold this evening
- 15 Unusually cold to day. Ice commences to run
- 16 Cold and freezing very hard, a greateal of Ice
- 17 Much Ice in the river Ferry boat stops. cold evening
- 18 Ice still running rapidly. Cold during this day
- 19 Rain this day turns warm until about dark
- 20 Snows about Inch deep. Evening very cold
- 21 This day can be justly termed the cold Tuesday, the night preceeding it, was extremely cold.
- 22 Very Cold. Ice has much the appearance of stopping
- 23 Sleeting this morning. Mr. H. S. Cox & Miss Fitzhugh married.³⁴⁶
- 24 Rain and Sleeting to day. Continues cold
- 25 Cloudy and the Streets present a slippery surface
- 26 This morning Cloudy and threatening Snow
- 27 Cloudy & like rain this morning. Cloudy and a little warmer
- 28 Clear and warmer to day than for some days past
- 29 Snow this morning. continues all day
- 30 Cloudy and cold Sleighs running
- 31 Cloudy and cold weather

³⁴⁶. "Married, in this city [St. Louis], on . . . the 23d inst., by Rev. Mr. Potts, Henry S. Coxe, Esq. Cashier of the U. States Branch Bank at this place, to Miss Lucy Ann, daughter of the late Judge Fitzhugh, of Louisville, Ky."—*St. Louis Beacon*, December 30, 1830.

January, 1831

WEATHER AND RIVER DATA

Date 1831	Thermom at 8 A.M.	State of Weather	Points of Wind	Thermom at 4 P.M.	State of Weather	Points of Wind	Stage or Height of River	
January								
1	30	Clear	NW	30	Clear	NW	Saturday	River low
2	30	"	NE	30	Rain	SE	Sunday	" "
3	30	Snow	NW	30	Snow	NE	Munday	" "
4	28	Clear	NW	28	Clear	NW	Tuesday	" "
5	26	Cold	N	26	Cold	N	Wednesday	" nearlly closed
6	28	Clear	N	26	"	N	Thursday	" "
7	32	Snow	NW	32	Snow	NW	Fryday	River closed below Vedepouch.
8	32	"	"	32	Cloudy	"	Saturday	" closed on the Illenois side
9	30	Clear	N	30	Clear	N	Sunday	" clear of Ice on this side from hard Wind.
10	30	"	"	32	Cloudy	S.W	Munday.	Ice in the River this morning.
11	30	"	N	30	Clear	N	Tuesday.	River entirely cleare of Ice opo- posite the City but closed above and below
12	32	Snow	NW	32	Snow	NW	Wednesday	" "
13	32	"	"	32	"	"	Thursday	" low
14	32	"	"	30	"	"	Fryday	" "
15	30	"	"	32	"	"	Saturday	" "
16	30	"	"	32	"	"	Sunday	" "
17	28	Clear	N	28	Clear	N	Monday	" "
18	30	"	"	28	"	"	Tuesday	" "
19	28	"	"	28	"	"	Wednesday	" "
20	32	Cloudy	NE	34	Cloudy	S	Thursday	" "
21	4	"	NW	38	"	NE	Fryday	" "
22	20	Clear	N	20	Clear	N	Saturday	" "
23	26	"	S.E.	26	"	S.E.	Sunday	" "
24	28	Cloudy	"	28	"	S.W	Monday	" "
25	18	Clear	NW	20	Cloudy	NW	Tuesday	" "
26	28	Snow	S.W	30	Snow	S.W	Wednesday	" "
27	28	Clear	NW	30	Clear	NW	Thursday	" "
28	26	Cloudy	"	28	Cloudy	"	Fryday	" "
29	20	Clear	N	20	Clear	N	Saturday	" "
30	26	"	S.W	30	"	S.E	Sunday	" "
31	32	Snow	S.E				Munday	

REMARKS

- 1 This day clear but cold, much pleasure in the Sleigh way[?].
- 2 Morning clear & cool. Rain and hail
- 3 It commences to snow this morning early
- 4 Snow continued until yesterday about 2 OClock
- 5 Very cold morning accompanied with heavy fog
- 6 Clear & cold. Few persons from Illenois with produce in consequence of Ice in the River
- 7 Snowing very fast, the streets slippery from sleet and running of sleighs
- 8 some Snow this morning, cloudy and cold evening
- 9 no Eastern Mail for the last week
- 10 clear & cold. Cloudy and like Snow
- 12 Snow at intervals during this day with strong NW wind

- 13 Cloudy morning, Some Snow in the Evening
- 14 Continues Cloudy with some Snow
- 15 Cold with Snow this morning. George, the younger son of Geo. H. Kennerly buried to day ³⁴⁷
- 16 Still Cloudy cold and some Snow
- 17 Clear but cold Morning. Cold Evening
- 18 Clear & cold. Thawing a little about 12 O'clock
- 19 Another clear, yet cold morning. thaws a little about 12
- 20 Weather moderating and a little Cloudy. Very Cloudy Evening
- 21 Some rain last night. Cloudy morning, wind NW. and cold. Cold and cloudy like Snow
- 22 This morning intensely cold and continues so during the day till nightfall when it becomes somewhat warmer, and cloudy, like for Snow.
- 23 This morning a little warmer than yesterday. Cold evening wind S. E.
- 24 Snows some this morning. Clear after about 9 O.Clk and continues so during the day
- 25 Clear and cold this morning. Cloudy Evening
- 26 Snow which continues until about 3 O.Clock, covering the ground about 3 Inches
- 27 This morning clear and cold. Evening Cloudy and like Snow
- 28 Cloudy & very much like Snow. Clear about Sun set and cold
- 29 Clear and Very cold. Evening Clear and cold
- 30 Clear and cold morning. Weather moderated in the Evening. Cloudy & like for Snow
- 31 Began to snow about daylight and continues until about 2 O'clock this day, leaving a depth of about 14 In. on the ground.

³⁴⁷. George, the infant son of George H. and Alzire (Menard) Kennerly, was born at Jefferson Barracks, February 2, 1830, and died on January 15, 1831.—Drumm, S. M., "The Kennerlys of Virginia," in *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, St. Louis, v. 6 (1928-1931), p. 108. George H. Kennerly was sutler at Jefferson Barracks at this date.

February, 1831

WEATHER AND RIVER DATA

Date 1831	Ther- mom at 8 A.M.	State of Weather	Points of Wind	Ther- mom at 4 P.M.	State of Weather	Points of Wind	Stage or Height of River
Feb.							
1	38	Cloudy	S.E	38	Cloudy	S.E	River closed at the Upper S. Mill so that waggon &c. cross with safety.
2	38	"	"	38	Snow	"	River clear of Ice opposite the City
3	20	Clear	N	20	Clear	N	" " " " "
4	10	"	"	10	"	N	Fryday. River low and nearly closed.
5	10	"	"	10	"	"	Saturday " "
6	10	"	"	10	"	"	Sunday " "
7	8	"	N	8	"	"	Monday River closed opposite the Markethouse.
8	10	"	"	10	"	"	Tuesday " " "
9	10	"	"	10	"	"	Wednesday " "
10	22	"	NW	22	"	NW	Thursday " "
11	28	"	"	28	Cloudy	"	Friday. River remains closed, but it appears that the weather will soon remove the Ice with which it is fettered.
12	20	Cloudy	"	"	Cloudy	"	Saturday " " "
13	28	"	"	"	"	"	Sunday " " "
14	28	"	S.W	30	"	"	Monday " " "
15	32	Rain	S	36	Rain	S.E	Tuesday " " "
16	34	Cloudy	NW	36	Clear	NW.	Wednesday " " "
17	34	Clear	W	34	"	W	Thursday River remains closed.
18	38	Clear	S	38	"	S	Fryday " " "
19	38	"	S	38	"	S	Saturday " " "
20	36	"	S.W	36	"	S.W	Sunday " " "
21	36	Cloudy	W	38	Rain	S	Monday " " "
22	36	Rain	S	38	"	S	Tuesday " " "
23	38	Cloudy	W	38	Cloudy	S	Wednesday " " "
24	38	Clear	E	38	Clear	S.E	Thursday " " "
25	40	"	S.E	46	"	S.E	Fryday " " closed, but has risen since yesterday about 1½ feet.
26	56	Cloudy	S.	58	Cloudy	S.E	Saturday River still closed with a rise of about two feet.
27	60	"	S	56	"	S.E	Sunday River broke up & Ice moving down with much rapidity & thickness
28	58	"	W				Monday " getting clear of Ice & rising.

REMARKS

- 1 Weather a little more moderate this morning than usual, but we are so much accustomed to Snow that from usual signs we look for more in a day or two. O! Thou Majestic Stream which flows before our City; a refusal to carry upon thy Surface, the *S. B. St. Clair*, has broken in upon the calculations of its owners, and have almost straightend the Thumb, fore & middle finger of B. W. Invoke the power which now aids thee to stop thy Joint Career, ere thou take into thy Bosome with boundless flood the house in which poor B...y has counted the thousands which by thy friendly aid he has been permitted to make³⁴⁸

³⁴⁸ Ice in the river had prevented the steam ferryboat *St. Clair* from operating. "B. W." was probably one of the Wiggin (or Wiggins) family who ran the ferry for some years. See Footnote 131.

- 2 Cloudy and much like Snow. Snowing and continues till about
9 at Night ³⁴⁹
- 3 Intensely cold & continues so during the day.
- 4 Intensely cold throughout this day
- 5 Cold, cold, and continues cold.
- 6 For the last two days & this morning the Mercury has stood at
twenty Degrees below freezing point.
- 7 cold. Very cold evening
- 8 For the 3rd time within 4 days, the appearance of what are
called Sun Dogs; they are spots near the Sun like that of the
same name.
- 9 No change making the weather warmer, but at 12 it began to
thaw a little
- 10 A degree of moderation appears in the weather this morning.
- 12 weather moderating a little. Eclipse of the Sun
- 13 Cloudy and like rain. Many conjectures on the change of
weather.
- 14 " getting warm and like for Rain
- 15 Began to rain about 11 O.Clock last night & continues.
- 16 It was thought yesterday that the River would have been un-
fettered by to day of Ice, but instead of a continued warm rain
& thaw, intense cold weather has recommenced.
- 17 hard freeze last night, thawing fast to day
- 18 Thawing very fast to day under the impression of warm Sun.
- 19 It continues to thaw under the immediate impression of the Sun
but not much in the Shade.
- 20 Somewhat coled this morning than yesterday, but thaus about
mid day. freezing before sun set.
- 21 Cloudy and like Snow. Commences to Rain about 2. in the
Evening
- 22 Birthday of Washington, celebrated by a Mechanicks Ball.
- 23 A slight Snow on the ground this morning, and remains cloudy.
cloudy Evening
- 24 Clared up last night, clear morning and weather continues to
moderate. River rising
- 26 A little after 12 O.Clock this day the Ice breaks before the City
- 28 Some rain last night.³⁵⁰

[END OF VOLUME]

349. "Accounts of heavy falls of snow are pouring in from all quarters. It has been snowing here, with little or no intermission, for two weeks. Between St. Louis and the Council Bluffs it was said to be four and five feet deep, before the last fall commenced; at Galena it was stated to be the same. . . ."—*St. Louis Beacon*, February 3, 1831.

350. "The river at this place is entirely cleared of ice, and rising rapidly. Seven or eight boats have arrived in the course of two days, and business, which has been almost dormant for some time past, is again enlivening our city."—*Ibid.*, March 3, 1831.

Bypaths of Kansas History

THE GRASSHOPPER SONG

From the Junction City *Weekly Union*, July 27, 1867.

EDITORS MISSOURI DEMOCRAT:—I see by your issue of the 18th inst., that you give a line of plaintive melody, commencing "The grasshopper sat on a sweet potato vine," &c., and then stop short. Why do you not give the public the whole of the song? Why "hide your light under a bushel?"—The song goes thus by:

Air—Bowery Ghals.

A grasshopper sat on a sweet potato vine,
On a sweet potato vine
On a sweet potato vine.

When an old turkey gobbler walk-ed up behind
He walk-ed up behind
He walk-ed up behind.

And he *yanked* him off the *sweet* potato vine
Off the sweet potato vine
Off the sweet potato vine,

And he yanked him off the sweet potato vine.

There are 355 verses, all alike except the first and last, and they are like the rest.

The song originated in this way: A grasshopper was calmly reposing on a sweet potato vine, one beautiful morning in June, meditating upon the beauties of the scene about him (it is supposed), in sublime unconsciousness of the melancholy fate awaiting him, when he was suddenly "yanked off" by an enormous turkey-gobbler (one of those tragical Kansas kusses,) and his days were ended.

A KANSAS RED LEG.

STATE LINE, July 19, '67.

EARLY ROME AND HAYS, ELLIS COUNTY

Extracts from a letter published in *The Weekly Free Press*, Atchison, November 2, 1867.

DODGE, Oct. 19, 1867.

EDITOR FREE PRESS:— . . .

As I promised . . . I will give now a brief description of New Town [Hays] and Rome, near Fort Hays, on the U. P. R. R., E. D.:

New Town is by far the most enterprising of the two. It promises to be the largest and most popular town on the line of the road. Its age now does not exceed six months, and it excels all the towns on the line from Salina to Fort Hays, for business enterprise, and everything which tends to make a place worthy of note. Houses go up as if by magic, and are tenanted almost as magically. The town is situated on a bluff, or rising ground, from which you can see the country for miles around. Fort Hays is plainly visible, with its tents of snowy canvas, which look, in the distance, almost as romantic as a

fairly land. Occasionally the eye is greeted by a herd of buffalo on the distant hills, which tends to make a visitor think himself indeed where game is plenty, and where nature has most graciously lavished her charms. The town is laid out into lots, which range from one to two hundred dollars each, in price.

Rome, on the contrary, is not such an enterprising place. It is rather going down hill. It is situated on the north side of Timber creek, which separates the two towns. It comprises about a dozen dilapidated houses, the majority of which are saloons, where the proprietors deal out liquid lightning in quantities almost too incredibly enormous to mention, to the railroad men, who seem to possess an affection for the article that can only be appeased by huge draughts, which they are not loth to indulge in. This place defies all competition for wickedness. Julesburg or Ellsworth is not a patch on it. There is not a day passes but what a murder or theft is committed; which does not speak well for the morality of the community. The first night I passed in it, I was called on to arrest a murderer by the name of McCarty, who shot one Murphy who was in bed sleeping.

Dr. Lull, of Salina, is the most enterprising and gentlemanly inhabitant of the place. He is the main stay. He is respected by all who have occasion to deal with him. If there were a few more such men as Dr. Lull in Rome, the condition of that place would soon be improved.

E. T.

FUN IN THE LEGISLATURE

From the Lawrence *Daily Journal*, March 2, 1881.

The young people of Topeka held a ball in the senate chamber on Friday evening, Feb. 25th. The ball was a nice affair, and a large number of the members of the legislature were present. At the time, on the other side of the building the house was in session. But here we will let [Noble L.] Prentiss, in the *Atchison Champion*, describe the last recorded freak of the house:

"While senators were attending this scene of 'revelry by night,' and their soft eyes were looking love to some extent to eyes which spoke again, as it were, the house was in session and considering sidewalks in cities of the first class, and kindred subjects and other momentous questions. In course of time the house discovered that this was growing monotonous, and that several of its members were absent, indulging in the light fantastic toe, instead of employing their brains in the service of the state. The sergeant-at-arms was directed to bring in the absentees, and soon, with a ferocious air, advanced to the bar with Mr. [James F.] Keeney of Trego. The apparition of a gentleman in full evening dress, and with a bouquet in his button-hole, was as startling as if the Sultan of Turkey had advanced down the centre aisle to converse with Mr. [John] Schott. Mr. Keeney was put through a great variety of 'motions.' He was referred to all the committees; he was made the special order; his enacting clause was stricken out; he was laid on the table, and he was, greatly to his relief, finally discharged. Thus the wise virgins of the house kept their lamps trimmed and burning while the foolish senate maidens gave themselves away."

Kansas History as Published in the Press

Articles featuring the history of early Axtell vicinity and its citizens have been regularly printed in the Axtell *Standard* since 1946.

The Sedgwick *Pantagraph*, April 8, 1948, announced the 75th anniversary of the rural school, Diamond, District No. 54, in Sedgwick township, Harvey county. The district was organized and the first building erected in 1873. Historical information in the article included the names of many of those who have served as members of the school board, the teachers from beginning to present and a partial list of expenditures made by the district.

Some bits of early Wichita history were featured in *The Democrat*, Wichita, May 1, 1948. Articles included: "Wichita . . . About 1883," by Rea Woodman; "Early Wichita Housing," "Early Industries in Wichita," and "Wichita's First Church," by Phil Aherne; "First National Bank Is Wichita's Oldest," and "A Pioneer Feminist [Mrs. Laura V. Gardiner]."

The story of the coming of the Prairie band of Pottawatomie Indians to Kansas was reviewed briefly by Gordon P. Martin in the *Topeka State Journal*, May 8, 1948. The Pottawatomies were one of several Indian tribes appearing before the Indian claims commission of the United States. Their hearing was in Topeka May 17.

A brief history of the Humboldt *Union*, established in 1866, was sketched in the *Union*, May 27, 1948.

The Larned *Chronoscope* and *The Tiller and Toiler* have continued to publish articles on the history of Pawnee county as told by members of some of the county's pioneer families. The story of the Griffith family, who arrived in 1878, was related to Lois Victor by Mrs. Hallie Griffith Fulwiler, and was printed in *The Tiller and Toiler*, May 27, 1948, and the *Chronoscope*, June 3. The C. M. Bruce family arrived in 1878, and their experiences were told to Miss Victor by William Franklin Bruce, and were published in both newspapers on July 15. The history of the Roddy family, who also arrived in 1878, was told to Miss Victor by George Sipes Roddy, and was featured in the Larned *Chronoscope*, August 5 and 12, and in *The Tiller and Toiler*, August 5.

"It Took Work, Money and Some Shenanigans to Win the Kansas Capitol," was the title of a feature article by Cecil Howes in the June, 1948, *Bulletin of the Shawnee County Historical Society* of Topeka. Other articles were a review of the history of "Light and Power in Topeka," by Arthur J. Carruth, Jr., "First Dry Goods Store Was Also the First Public Library," by Paul A. Lovewell, the fourth installment of "Shawnee County Townships," by William W. Cone, and the "Chronology of Shawnee County—1856, Continued," by George A. Root.

The *Abilene Reflector-Chronicle* of June 8, 1948, printed an article giving the sources of many of the names of towns, creeks and townships in Dickinson county.

A brief history of the brick plants at Hays, which operated in the latter 1880's, was printed in *The Ellis County News* of Hays, June 17, 1948. Two historical articles featured in the July 1 issue of the *News* were: "'Old-Timers' Recount Colorful Days of Early Ellis County Politics," and a description of early-day Hays as recalled by Mrs. Retta Freese Ingram of Strathmore, Cal. The history of the Hays Baptist church, organized on April 28, 1883, was reviewed by the *News*, July 15. The story described some of the items found in the cornerstone of the first church building. In the August 12 issue the *News* recalled the many adoptions of children by people in the Hays vicinity in a feature entitled: "Magazine Article Recalls Arrival of Orphan Train in Hays in 1902."

Historical stories in recent issues of the *Meade Globe-News* included: "Hail Storm 20 Years Ago Is Retold," June 17, 1948; "Dalton Hideout Museum Is Now Eight Years Old," June 24, and another article on the history of the Dalton museum, July 22; "Twisters of 1886, 1946 Are Recalled," July 1; "*Globe-News* Is 63 Years Old Monday; Established with the City of Meade," and "Early Paper Reveals Struggle to Bring County Seat to Meade," July 11; "Cattlemen, Farmers Had It Out in Early Days of Meade County," July 18; "Town of Meade Starts on Platform of Casteen's Well," August 1, and "Razing of Old Calaboose Has Fond Recollections," August 15. The *Meade County Press* of Meade also printed a history of the jail in its issue of August 12.

Recent historical features by "The Roving Reporter" in *The Tribune-News*, Manhattan, included the following: "Old Stone Capitol Near Fort Riley Marks Turbulent Times When Kansas Was

Young," June 24, 1948, and "Township System in Riley County Started Before the Coming of Railroads in Sixties," July 15.

Historical articles of interest to Kansans in recent issues of the Kansas City (Mo.) *Star* included: "Engines Chug Where War Horses Once Whinnied at Ft. Riley," by Edward R. Schauffler, June 27, 1948; "Fortune's 'Fast Comer [Charles J. Davis]' Planned His Life in School Days Here [Kansas City]," story of a young farm machinery manufacturer at Wichita, by Charles W. Graham, "Riches From Wheat Reward Many in the Old Dust Bowl," by Conwell Carlson, and "Her Friends Said, 'There's Nothing To See in Kansas'," the reactions to Kansas of a visitor from Great Britain, by Barbara Wace, July 18; "New Methods Are Restoring Native Grass Rapidly in Some Former Dust Bowl Areas," by Robert E. Geiger, August 2; "A Kansas Girl Helps in the Dutch Harvest," a letter from Edwina Frick of Manhattan concerning her work and travels in Holland, August 8; "Their [the Rev. and Mrs. John Beard] Long Trail From Oregon a 5-Month Horseback Trip," by Robert H. Clark, and "Sunflower, Adopted 45 Years Ago as Kansas Emblem, an Importation," by Cecil Howes, August 16, and "The Old Santa Fe Trail Is Now a Pleasure Route," by Dwight Pennington, September 5. Articles in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Times* were: "A Hermit in His Basement Hideaway, Dr. John Ise [of Kansas University] Revises His Textbook," by Fred Kiewit, July 15; "'Little Hill [Pawnee Rock]' on Kansas Prairie Was Once Setting for Epics of Pioneers," by Eleanor Richey Johnston, August 5; "Pony Express Venture an Outgrowth of Alexander Majors' Wagon Trains," by Dwight Pennington, August 10; "Country Young People Too, Enjoy a Summer Vacation in the Open Air," at a spot in the bluestem pastures, the 4-H clubs of Kansas assemble for a few days of recreation and comradeship, by Don Alexander, August 11; "Kansas' First Temperance Tornado Was Sparked by a Lawrence Woman," in 1880 Mrs. Drusilla Wilson traveled over Kansas for the temperance cause, by Cecil Howes, August 24; "William Menninger Shines Double Light Across the Dark Field of Psychiatry," by Charles W. Graham, August 27; "St. Mary's College Centennial Recalls Early Day Kansas Mission to the Indians," by Cecil Howes, August 28, and "'Beecher Bible and Rifle Church' Restored for the Use of a Wabaunsee Congregation," by Cecil Howes, September 13.

A five-column history of Kill Creek, by Mrs. E. A. Harris, was featured in the Osborne *Farmer-Journal*, July 1 and 8, 1948. Kill

Creek was established on the old Russell-Bull City (now Alton) trail in the 1870's.

The Peoples Herald, Lyndon, has continued to publish Osage county history as compiled by the Kansas Historical Records Survey, Division of Community Service Programs of the Works Progress Administration. Recent subjects include: Building of railroads in Osage county, July 1 and 8, 1948; cities and towns, July 8 and 15; churches and schools, July 22; county finances, July 22 and 29; agriculture and industry, July 29 and August 5; population trends, August 5; governmental organization, August 5, 12 and 19, and housing, care and accessibility of records, August 26 and September 2.

Protection's first wedding was the subject of the Protection Historical Society's column, "Notes From the Early Days," in the *Protection Post*, July 2, 1948. It was that of Mr. and Mrs. Jacob Wuchter which took place December 29, 1885. The column for July 23 and 30 described some of the Fourth of July celebrations held at Protection.

Feature articles in recent issues of the *Butler Free-Lance*, El Dorado, included the following: "The Old El Dorado," a four-column article by Myra Lockwood Brown, July 8, 1948; "Here Is Story of Early Day Mail Service in This County as Told by Thomas G. Watkins," and "Butler County Marriages of 1885," July 15.

"Sketching Early Wilson," by Rosanna Healey, was the title of an article printed serially in four installments in the *Wilson World*, July 8, 15, 22 and 29, 1948. The first settlement in Ellsworth county was about 1857 or 1860 on Thompson creek. There was Indian trouble in 1863 and the settlers moved away. In 1867 the Union Pacific railroad pushed westward through Indian country. After the railroad came soldiers and settlers. A group settled on Wilson creek and called the settlement Bosland. The railroad was a short distance away and Bosland gradually moved to the area of the station. Before long the new town became known as Wilson. The first permanent settlement around Wilson was made by J. T. McKittrick in 1871. Immigration was very rapid for a short time. Later it consisted chiefly of Swedes, Bohemians and Germans. The town was incorporated in 1883 and John A. Lang was the first mayor. The final installment of the article discussed the industries in and near Wilson and the social life of early Wilson.

Members of the Marion Volunteer Fire Department were guests of honor at a luncheon given by the Marion Chamber of Commerce, July 13, 1948, on the occasion of the retirement of Joe Swan, the fire chief, after over 41 years service. Included on the program was the reading of a history of the Marion fire department and an address by Clyde Latchem, state fire marshal. The history, by Alex H. Case, was published in the *Marion Record-Review*, July 15, 22, and August 5, 1948.

A full-page history of the *St. Paul Journal* was featured in the issue of July 29, 1948, in observance of its 80th anniversary. The paper was first printed on August 5, 1868, by John H. Scott, and was called the *Osage Mission Journal*. After several changes it was purchased in 1896 by the Journal Publishing Co., W. W. Graves, editor. The name was changed to the *St. Paul Journal* in 1901. Except for brief intervals, W. W. Graves edited the paper until April, 1948, when it was purchased by the present editor, George L. Hodges.

"Kansas City's Past and Future—Johnson County," was featured in the August, 1948, number of *Town—Pictorial Kansas City*, Kansas City, Mo. The article was divided into several parts under the following titles: "Mission Was Farming Center," "Shawnee Among Oldest Johnson County Towns," "Merriam's First Name Was Campbelltown," "Overland Park to Celebrate Fiftieth Birthday," "Lenexa Named After Indian Maiden," "Johnson County Residential Areas Growing Rapidly," and "County Organizations, Institutions Well Known." Numerous pictures of historic places in Johnson county were included with the article.

Among recent articles in the *Leavenworth Times* were: "Two Local Men [the Uline brothers] Made the Beer That Made Milwaukee Famous," by Harry H. Seckler, August 1, 1948, and "Recall Historical Items of More Than Century Ago Here," a brief chronology of events in the early Leavenworth area, August 9.

A brief article in the *Junction City Republic*, August 5, 1948, stated that the *Republic* has finished its 75th year of publication. It was first printed as the *Tribune* on August 3, 1873, by Henry Farey and Theodore Alvord. The C. H. Manley family acquired the paper in 1902 and changed its name to *Republic*.

The fiftieth anniversary of the Overbrook fair was celebrated September 1-3, 1948. The early history of the fair was sketched in an article by Floyd C. Butel in the Overbrook *Citizen*, August 19, 1948.

A diamond jubilee edition was published on the 75th anniversary of the first settlement at the town of Lakin by the Lakin *Independent*, August 27, 1948. John O'Loughlin, who opened a dugout trading post in 1873, was Lakin's first settler. An article in the jubilee edition by Virginia Pierce Hicks told of the first settlers and of the early history of Lakin. Other articles by the same author include: "How Part of Kearny County Was 'Under Six Flags' Retold," "Recalls Incidents Connected With County Seat Fight" and "Early History of Deerfield." Articles by Jenny Rose O'Loughlin include: "Lakin Was Named After Santa Fe Official David Long Lakin," "Soldiers, Settlers, Indians Once Traveled Adventurous Fort Hays-Fort Dodge Trail" and "O'Loughlin Store Supplied Traveling Public's Needs; Story of Buffalo Told." Among other articles were: "First July 4 Celebration in County Held on Chouteau Island; Ceremony Inspiring," by Francis L. Pierce; "Col. [F. X.] Aubrey Made Two Fast Rides Over Santa Fe Trail," by India Harris Simmons; "History of Lakin Masons Began in 1887," by Joseph M. Eves; "Old Santa Fe Trail Paved the Way for a Great Railroad," from the Topeka Daily *Capital*; "Kendall Was First Named 'Aubrey,'" by India Harris Simmons; "History of the Phantom City of Chantilly," by Francis L. Pierce; "Mrs. Davies Tells of Life in Lakin Beginning in 1878," by Mrs. Carrie E. Davies; "Recalls Hartland Was City of 1,000 People in 1887," by Charles S. Smith; "Outfit Loses 10,000 Head in '86 Blizzard," by Edgar R. Thorpe; "Childhood Days Recalled by Mrs. Lenora Boylan Tate, Lakin's Oldest Living Settler," "History of Lakin Schools One of Continual Progress," "Charles A. Loucks Recalls Early History of New Town," "Ellen O'Loughlin Writes of Indian Attack at Pierceville," "Lakin Wins County Seat Fight After Several Tries," "Alumni Association [Lakin High School] Formed in 1902; Members Listed," "Teachers in Lakin Schools from 1879 to 1949 Listed," "Names of Eight Ghost Towns in County Postoffice History," "County Named After Gen. Kearny; Died at Chantilly," and "*Independent* Is Survivor of County Newspapers." Also included in the edition were the histories of the Lutheran church of Deerfield, and Lakin's Methodist, Christian and Catholic churches, and clubs.

The town of St. Marys staged a four-day celebration September 6-9, 1948, in observance of the 100th anniversary of the founding of the Catholic mission there. The Jesuits located their mission for the Pottawatomie Indians in present St. Marys on September 9, 1848. Prominent among the founders were Father Felix Verreydt and Father Christian Hoecken. Schools for boys and girls were established in connection with the mission and were maintained for several years. They were exclusively for Indians until 1869 when white boys and girls were admitted and work of college level was offered. The state granted a charter to St. Mary's College in 1869 and the college operated until 1931 when it became a theological seminary. Historical sketches of the institution in its three phases were printed in the *St. Marys Star*, September 9, 16 and 23, 1948. Also, on September 9 excerpts from Gov. Frank Carlson's talk at St. Marys September 7, and a brief review of the history of the Methodists in St. Marys were featured. In the September 16 number the history of St. Mary's college was traced by Fr. Jim McWilliams of St. Louis.

Kansas Historical Notes

The annual meeting of the Kansas Association of Teachers of History and Related Fields was held in the Memorial building, Topeka, April 16 and 17, 1948. Speakers and their subjects were: Dean Ernest Mahan, Pittsburg State Teachers College, "Some Observations on the Early Mormon Movement"; Jack Rodgers, Fort Hays State College, Hays, "Legal Aspects of the Kansas Court of Industrial Relations"; Mary Belle Tillotson, Washburn University, Topeka, "Kansas' First Democrat"; Homer Socolofsky, Kansas State College, Manhattan, "Scully Landlordism in Kansas," and William B. Stanton, Emporia State Teachers College, "A Swedish Settlement in Marshall County, Kansas." Gov. Frank Carlson addressed the group at a luncheon on "Cultural Contributions of the Swedish People in Kansas." Another feature of the program was a panel discussion on "Recent Changes in Social Science Curriculums." Officers elected were: John W. Heaton, Baker University, president; Della A. Warden, Emporia State Teachers College, vice-president, and Elizabeth Cochran, Pittsburg State Teachers College, secretary-treasurer. Verne S. Sweedlun, of Kansas State College, Manhattan, was the retiring president.

C. C. Kilker addressed the members of the Riley County Historical Association at a picnic in Manhattan, June 15, 1948. Mr. Kilker mentioned that 1954 will be the centennial date of the founding and settlement of Manhattan. Clyde K. Rodkey, president of the society, presided at the meeting.

The administrative council of the Republic County Historical Society met in Belleville, June 29, 1948, and elected the following officers: Mrs. O. E. McMullen, Courtland, president; Mrs. E. E. Conzelman, Scandia, vice-president; Mrs. V. A. Berggren, Republic, secretary, and Mrs. Gilbert H. Faulkner, Belleville, treasurer. Mrs. H. J. Adams, Belleville, was the retiring temporary president.

A memorial postage stamp honoring the late William Allen White went on sale for the first time at Mr. White's home post office at Emporia, July 31, 1948. In writing of the memorial issue, James Waldo Fawcett, of the Washington (D. C.) *Star*, said in part:

The 80th Congress authorized many inconsequential postage stamps, but its instruction to the Postmaster General to issue a "commemorative" for William Allen White, editor of the Emporia *Gazette*, certainly merits public approval.

Few of his contemporaries more notably deserve the country's gratitude. The months that have passed since his death on January 29, 1944, have proved his worth to the world at large. . . . Mr. White's stamp will symbolize his value. It will remind people that he was a master of modern English prose—with a native American flavor; that he was a practical idealist, profoundly believing in the capacity of the human race to seek freedom and to pursue happiness successfully—remembering always that God makes us individuals from the start; and that he had faith in the efficacy of labor—as opposed to any scheme for achievement without honest toil. His heart was generous. He hated nobody. His mind was libertarian rather than merely liberal. The goal of his endeavor was a durable progress in which all could share. . . .

Mr. White was president of the Kansas State Historical Society in 1937-1938.

The Cowley County Historical Society was revived at a meeting held in Winfield, August 6, 1948. Mrs. W. G. Anderson was elected president pro tem and Prof. G. A. Kuhlmann secretary pro tem to serve until the annual meeting in October. The society's museum which has been located at St. John's college is being moved to a room at Stevenson school. Honor was paid at the meeting to Miss Mary Jane Brock who has been active in gathering a considerable part of the museum's collection.

A historical pageant was presented by the residents of Morganville, August 27, 1948, to raise funds for the French village Feves which was badly damaged in World War II. The founding of Morganville in 1870, by the retired Yankee whaler Ebenezer Morgan, was the high light of the pageant.

E. C. Bussing was elected president of the Douglas County Old Settlers Association at the annual meeting, September 11, 1948, at the First Baptist church in Lawrence. Other officers elected were: Dr. Will Gorrill, vice-president; I. F. Eberhart, secretary; Mrs. I. F. Eberhart, assistant secretary; Mrs. Nellie Colman Bigsby, treasurer, and Miss Eleta Ernst, historian. Dean H. G. Barr of the Kansas Bible college at the University of Kansas gave the main address. Stories of pioneer life, as told in their families, were related by Dr. Edward Bumgardner and Dr. A. R. Kennedy. Mrs. Ralph Graber, the retiring president, presided.

A muzzle-loading shotgun was recently presented to the historical museum at the Hollenberg Ranch Pony Express Station State Park near Hanover by Herman Rippe. The gun was made by the Springfield company in 1833 and is stamped with the initials U. S. and the Spread Eagle emblem.

The story of "No Man's Land," now the present Oklahoma Panhandle—a narrow rectangular strip which lies off the southwest section of Kansas, was told by Dr. Carl Coke Rister in his new book *No Man's Land*, published August 20, 1948, by the University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, Okla. Of particular interest to Kansans is a chapter on the Haymeadow massacre or Wild Horse Lake tragedy, an incident of the Woodsdale and Hugoton fight for the county seat of Stevens county in 1888, in which four Woodsdale men were killed about eight miles south of the Stevens county line.

Kansas weather! Everyone has talked about it, now there's a 320-page book about it. It is entitled *Climate of Kansas*, was compiled by Snowden D. Flora, veteran meteorologist at the Weather Bureau Office in Topeka, and is one of a series on Kansas issued by the Kansas State Board of Agriculture in recent years. *Climate of Kansas* consists largely of charts, tabulations and graphs giving the data on all phases of the weather in every section of the state since records have been kept. The subject has been broken down into the following subtitles: Dry periods, dust storms, evaporation, floods, flying weather, frost, hailstorms, precipitation, relative humidity, snowfall, sunshine and cloudiness, temperatures, thunderstorms, tornadoes, winds and winter storms.

The history of John Morrell & Co., meat packers, which began in England in 1827, branching out to New York in 1864, and to other American cities including Ottumwa, Iowa, in 1877, and Topeka in 1931, was reviewed in a 303-page illustrated book, *The House of Morrell*, by Lawrence Oakley Cheever, recently published by The Torch Press of Cedar Rapids, Iowa. The Morrell company bought the old Wolff packing plant in Topeka in 1931. Robert Morrell Owthwaite, transferred from the Philadelphia branch, has been manager of the Topeka plant from the time of its purchase.

Dr. Samuel J. Crumbine of New York, long identified with public health in Kansas, has told the story of his life and work in a 284-page book, *Frontier Doctor*, published by Dorrance & Company, Philadelphia, September 15, 1948. Doctor Crumbine, now 86 years old, practiced medicine in the frontier town of Dodge City in the 1880's and 1890's, and served as secretary of the Kansas State Board of Health in Topeka from 1904 to 1923, where he became famous nationally through his efforts to improve public health. "Swat the Fly," "Don't Spit on the Sidewalk," and the abolishment of the

public drinking cup were early Crumbine campaigns. On July 17 and 24, 1948, Doctor Crumbine was featured in a lengthy and interesting article in the popular "Profiles" section of *The New Yorker* magazine.

A history of the Sisters of Saint Joseph of Concordia, Kansas, by Sister M. Evangeline Thomas, professor of history at Marymount College, Salina, was published recently by the Newman Press, Westminster, Md., under the title *Footprints on the Frontier*. The book, of 400 pages, gives a detailed history of the Sisters who began their work in Kansas in 1883. It commemorated the silver jubilee of the establishment of Marymount College for women at Salina.

The Men and Women in World War II From Shawnee County (Topeka, 1947) is the title of a 151-page book recording the names of those who gave their lives in World War II and the names and pictures of others serving in the armed forces.

Friends University, The Growth of an Idea is the title of a recently published 326-page history of Friends University at Wichita by Juliet Reeve. The book was issued in the spring of 1948 as part of the fiftieth anniversary observance of the founding of Friends University.

A 32-page illustrated pamphlet featuring past and present Garden City was recently printed by the Cattlemen's Carnival Rodeo Association of Garden City.

Erratum in Volume XVI

Page 11, Footnote 29.—“Colonel Lewis” died near St. Genevieve, Mo., in 1826 or 1827.—“Menard Papers” (4 “Draper Coll.,” Wisconsin Historical Society), as noted in Louis Houck’s *A History of Missouri* . . . (Chicago, 1908), v. 1, pp. 212, 213.

Index To Volume XVI

A

Abernathy, G. E., article by, noted....	330
Abilene, article on, noted.....	107
—prairie-dog town in main street of....	327
Abilene <i>Reflector-Chronicle</i>	414
Abram, Lincoln county, history, noted....	218
Adams, Mrs. H. J., Belleville.....	108, 420
Adams, John, ex-president, death noted, 10	
Adams, John Quincy, ex-president, 160, 169	
Adams, Paul, Topeka.....	112
Agrelus, F. U. G.....	102
Agriculture in Kansas, in 1947, article on, noted.....	101
—Remington's sketches of.....	129
Aherne, Phil, articles by, noted.....	413
Aitchison, Robert T., Wichita.....	76, 83
86, 95, 97, 107	
—elected president Historical Society....	96
Albertson, F. W., article by, noted.....	330
Albuquerque, N. M.	232, 241
Alcove Springs, near Marysville.....	335
—recommendation for national park at....	111
Alexander, Don, article by, noted.....	415
Alexander, Walter B., St. Louis.....	4
—death of, noted.....	11
Allison, —, Independence, Mo., trading post on Walnut creek.....	355
"Alter Ego," pseudonym of Robert Strahorn.....	119
Alvord, Theodore.....	417
American Council of Learned Societies....	79
American Fur Company....	7, 151, 229, 355
American Hereford Association.....	255
American Indian Mission Association, <i>Proceedings</i> , 1843-1852, Historical Society acquires microfilm of.....	77
American Pioneer Trails Association, 1947 meeting, in Topeka, noted.....	111
Amoret, Mo.	103
Anderson, Dr. G. G., Wichita.....	224
Anderson, John T. (Jack), article on, noted.....	105
Anderson, Mrs. W. C., Cowley county....	421
Anderson, William, Delaware chief, at St. Louis, 1826.....	14
Animal industries of Kansas, article by A. D. Weber, noted.....	215
<i>Annals of Kansas</i> . See Wilder, Daniel W., <i>Annals of Kansas</i> .	
Anthony, Daniel R., I, article on, noted, 216	
—family, article on, noted.....	216
Anthony, Daniel R., III, Leaven- worth.....	95, 97
Anthony, John and Mark, lottery at St. Louis, 1829.....	275
Anthony, articles on, noted.....	334
Anthony <i>Republican</i>	334
Anti-Beef-Eating Society, 1867.....	327
Appleton, Mrs. —, Boston, Mass.....	72
Arickaree Fork, battle of.....	328
Arkansas City, county-seat fight with Winfield, noted.....	220
Arkansas river....	339, 342-352, 354, 356, 371
Arts and crafts festival, Lawrence, 1948, noted.....	223, 224
Ashley, Eliza (Christy), death of.....	394
Ashley, William H., fur trader.....	394
Atchison, new M. E. church at, 1859....	70
Atchison <i>Champion</i> , quoted.....	412
Atkinson, Gen. Henry.....	7, 28, 30, 34, 35
141, 172, 392, 393	
Atkinson, Mary Ann (Mrs. Henry).....	172
Atwater, Mr. —.....	292

Aubrey, Col. F. X., article on, noted....	418
Aubrey (Kendall).....	418
Auburn (Brownville).....	374
Automobile, <i>Great Smith</i> , 1908 model, given Historical Society.....	81
Axtell <i>Standard</i> , articles featuring early history of Axtell, noted.....	413

B

B——, Charlie, Englishman, in Butler county.....	124, 130, 132
Babson, Roger, article on Utopia Col- lege of, noted.....	101
Bachelors, census of, Lawrence, 1868.....	98, 99
Baer, W. E., historical articles on La Cygne, noted.....	103, 215, 331
Bailey, Dr. Charles W., Baldwin, article on, noted.....	216
Bailey, Col. David, agriculturist for Osage Indians.....	32
Bailey, Roy F., Salina.....	97
Bainer, Henry M., Amarillo, Tex.....	217
Baker University, Baldwin, building, photograph of, noted.....	331
—1859.....	70
—1863.....	188, 189
Baldwin City, Deaf Mute Institute, 1863.....	190, 191
—Julia Louisa Lovejoy's letters from, 1862-1864.....	182-191, 194-198
200-205, 207-211	
Ball, N.	19
Banta, H. Q., Oberlin, article on, noted, 105	
Baptist church, Lawrence.....	421
Barba, Preston A., Möllhausen's biographer.....	225, 226
Barber, O. P., Lawrence.....	111
<i>Barber County Index</i> , <i>The</i> , Medicine Lodge.....	106
Bare, Ida, Gaylord family data as- sembled by.....	220, 221
Barkley, Mrs. John.....	108
Barkley, John L., biographical sketch of, noted.....	333
Barnes, Mrs. Lela, treasurer Historical Society, report, 1946-1947.....	83-85
Barr, Frank, Wichita.....	97
Barr, Dean H. G., Kansas Bible Col- lege, Lawrence.....	421
Barrett, A. G., article on home of, noted.....	106
Barrett, note on.....	106
Barry, Louise, editor "William Clark's Diary".....	1-39, 136-174
274-305, 384-410	
Barth, W. I., Milwaukee.....	121, 135
Bartholomew, E. W., Sumner.....	64
Bartlett, Lt. William H. C.....	32
Basham, William, Rush county.....	107
Bateman, Charles, and wife, article on, noted.....	104
Baughner, Charles A., Ellis.....	95, 97
Bean, Jonathan, Indian subagent.....	304
391, 398	
Beard, Rev. and Mrs. John, article on, noted.....	415
Beaver, Cherokee Indian woman.....	137
Beck, Will T., Holton.....	95, 97, 222
Becker, Carl L., Kansas essay by, noted.....	216
Bedford Springs, Pa.....	164
Beecher, Henry Ward.....	329, 330

- Beecher Bible and Rifle Church at Wa-
baunsee, article on, noted..... 415
—restoration of, noted..... 335
Beecher Bible and Rifle Colony, note on
articles on 328-330
Beezley, George F., Girard..... 97, 223
Belinder, Mrs. Frank D..... 108
Belknap, Capt. W. G..... 23
Bell, "Ham," Dodge City..... 329
Bell, Mrs. James G..... 108
Bell, John, topographer..... 166
Bellefontaine, Mo..... 7
—arsenal at, 1827..... 28
Bellevue, Sarpy county, Neb..... 229
Beloit and Kirwin, stageline beginning
1879..... 78
Ben, "Yellow boy"..... 168
Bennett, R. R., Manhattan..... 108
Bent, Dorcas..... 304
Bent, "Col." William, Indian agent and
builder of Bent's fort..... 345, 346, 366
Benton, Jesse, St. Louis..... 4, 8, 148
174, 293
Benton, Sarah..... 305
Bent's fort..... 345, 346, 351
"Bent's Old Fort And Its Builders," ar-
ticle by George Bird Grinnell, noted, 345
Berggren, Mrs. V. A., Republic..... 420
Berryman, Jerome C., Ashland..... 97, 109
Bethlehem, Iowa..... 228
Biddle, Mr. ———..... 385
Biddle, Maj. Thomas..... 283
Big Horse, Cheyenne Indian leader..... 267
Big Mackinaw river (Ill.)..... 32, 146
Big Neck, Iowa Indian..... 300
Biersby, Mrs. Nellie Colman..... 421
Bishop, W. T., donor..... 79
Black, Leslie, article by, noted..... 329, 330
Black Buffalo, Kickapoo Indian..... 28
Black Feather, Shawnee Indian..... 137
Black Hawk, Sac Indian leader..... 277
Blackburn, Mrs. E. G., Courtland..... 108
Blake, Henry, Topeka..... 79
Blake, Mrs. John..... 108
Blake, Luther, Indian agent..... 160, 161, 165
Blakeslee, Mrs. Grace, Neodesha..... 217
Blatchley, Mrs. Gilbert L., donor..... 79
Blizzard of 1886, article on, noted..... 418
Blumont Central College, Manhattan..... 70
Bluff creek, Lyon county..... 374
Blunt, Gen. James G..... 189, 211
Bodine, L. G., donor..... 79
Boicourt, article on coal boom in, noted, 103
Boilvin, Nicholas, Prairie du Chien,
Wis..... 5, 142
—death of, noted..... 26
Bond, O. A. (Brick), buffalo hunter..... 329
Boone, Daniel, Daniel Morgan Boone
son of..... 38
Boone, Daniel Morgan, agriculturist to
Kansas Indians..... 38
Rosland..... 416
Bosseron, Charles, St. Louis..... 138, 139
150, 300
Bosseron, Susan..... 300
Bosseron, Therese (Mrs. Charles)..... 150
Botanical notes, 1946, article on, noted, 102
Bothinghouser, Brownie, Osborne..... 222
Boundaries, Kansas, article on, noted..... 107
Bowers, Sen. B. F., Ottawa..... 336
Bowers, Mrs. Charles, donor..... 79
Bowls, Thomas H., Iola..... 97
Box-suppers, article on, noted..... 102
Bradbury, H. P., opened "Post
Meridian News Room"..... 275
Bradford, Maj. ———..... 208
Brady, William C..... 102
Brandenburg, Mrs. Samuel J., donor..... 79
Braniff, E. A., article by, noted..... 332, 333
Brant, Capt. Joshua B..... 305
Breeder's Gazette, Chicago,
quoted..... 258-260, 267
Bridge, near Springdale, photograph of,
noted..... 331
Briggs, Mrs. Raymond, Gove City..... 101
Brigham, Mrs. Lalla M., Council Grove, 97
Brinkerhoff, Fred W., Pittsburg..... 81
Bristow, Sen. Joseph L..... 95
British Parliament building fragment,
given Kansas, article on, noted..... 216
Brock, Mary Jane, Winfield..... 421
Brock, R. F., Goodland, vice-president
Historical Society..... 86, 96, 97
Brookline, Quantrill's burning of, 1863..... 196
Brooks, Rev. Elmer E., Greensburg..... 110
Brooks, Irving L., donor..... 79
Brooks, Rev. S., Olathe, Quantrill's
raiders at home of..... 186
Brookville, article on fried chicken
winning fame for, noted..... 102
Brown, Mrs. ———, boarding-house
keeper, Lawrence..... 99
Brown, Mrs. Charles R., Sherlock..... 223
Brown, Frederick, note on shooting of..... 45
Brown, H. Leo, article by, noted..... 215
Brown, Maj. Gen. Jacob, at Jefferson
Barracks (Mo.), 1827..... 28
Brown, John, actions of, February,
1859..... 45, 46, 48, 55
—article on, noted..... 333
—cabin, Highland Park, Topeka, note on, 108
—Osawatimie, noted..... 112
—Julia Louisa Lovejoy's comments
on..... 72, 73
—Marshal Wood and posse on trail of,
1859..... 45
—reward offered for, 1859..... 44
Brown, Joseph C., description of
Cimarron river, noted..... 339
Brown, Joseph Shaw, Rush county..... 107
Brown, Mrs. Josephine, Manhattan..... 335
Brown, Mrs. Myra Lockwood,
Rosalia..... 102, 123
—article by, noted..... 416
Browne, Charles H., Horton..... 97
Browne, Mrs. K. S..... 96, 108
Brownlee, Paul..... 101, 102
Brownville (Auburn)..... 374
Bruce, William Franklin, reminiscences
of, noted..... 413
Brunt, Harold Claire, St. Paul, sketch
of, noted..... 217
Brunt, John R., St. Paul, sketch of,
noted..... 217
Bryant, H. C., superintendent, Grand
Canyon National Park, 1947..... 243
Buckman, George R., quoted..... 113
Buffalo, and cattle, article on cross-
breeding of, noted..... 102
—hunts..... 348, 349, 357, 358, 360
361, 364-366
—tracks, picture of, noted..... 103
Buhner, Mrs. Minnie Richards..... 102, 103
Bullitt, T. W..... 25
Bullock, Mrs. Corah Mooney,
El Dorado..... 121, 122
Bumgardner, Dr. Edward, Lawrence, 97, 421
—donor..... 79
Buntline, Ned..... 116
Burger, Dr. Julius A., and family, note on, 332
Burleigh, G. S., Mechanicsville, Iowa..... 252
Burlingame *Enterprise-Chronicle*, to be
microfilmed..... 79
Burt, F. L., Manhattan..... 108
Burtis, Mrs. P. A., Garden City..... 223
Buzle, Prof. J. A., University
of Kansas..... 239, 337, 338
—translated Möllhausen's diary..... 338-380

Bussing, E. C. 421
 Butel, Floyd C. 418
 Butler county, description of. 122
 —Frederic Remington's ranch in, article on 113-135
 —sketch between 120, 121
 —herding sheep, sketch by Remington between 120, 121
 —historical articles on, noted 416
 —ranchers in, 1880's 122-135
 Butler *Free-Lance*, El Dorado. 416
 "Bypaths of Kansas History" 98-100
 212-214, 325-327, 411, 412

C

Cabanné, Charles, fur trader. 387
 Cabanné, John, St. Louis. 393
 Cabanné, Julia A., St. Louis. 393
 Cabell, Gen. W. L. 211
 Cairo, Ill., Julia L. Lovejoy's description, 1864 203
 Caldwell, Mr. —, St. Louis, theater owner, 1820's and 1830's. 157, 161, 395
 Caldwell, Mrs. J. S. 108
 Caldwell, Martha, Topeka. 107
 Caldwell 248
 —Jim Talbot's raid on, 1881. 265, 266
 Caldwell *Commercial*, quoted. 248
 Caldwell *Post*, quoted. 265, 266
 California State Library, Sacramento. 338
 Camedon, Mrs. R., Belleville. 108
 Camp, Dr. Charles L., University of California 225, 228, 231
 Camp, Robert, Milwaukee, Butler county sheep rancher in 1880's. 121-123, 125
 127-133, 135
 —Remington's sketch of. facing 121
 Camp Millar 157
 Campbell, A. H. 234-236
 Campbell, B. H. 266
 Campbell, Charles Duncan. 272
 Campbell, Frank Lee. 272
 Campbell, Gladys E. 272
 Campbell, John, Indian agent. 164
 Campbell, P. P., article on, noted. 104
 Campbell, Robert Boyers. 272
 —quoted 248, 249
 Campbell, Roy Hamilton. 272
 Campbell, Mrs. Spurgeon B., Kansas City 97
 Campbell, Wilbur Denton. 272
 Campbell, W. E., address given by, quoted 252
 —death of, noted. 251
 —driver on Chisholm trail. 246
 —experiences with Indians and outlaws 264-270
 —founding of "New" Kiowa. 270-272
 —Kiowa ranch described. 249-251
 —letters of, printed in *Breeder's Gazette*, quoted 259, 260
 —pioneer Kansas livestockman, article on 245-273
 —portrait of facing 256
 —wounded in fight with outlaws. 266
 Campbell, Mrs. W. E. (Emily Duncan), 267, 268, 272, 273
 Campbell creek, Kingfisher county, Okla. 246
 Campbell Land and Oil Company, Tulsa, Okla. 251
 Campbelltown, Johnson county. 417
 Canadian river 344
 Cantonment Barbour (Neb.). 7
 Cantonment Bellefontaine. *See* Bellefontaine, Mo.
 Cantonment Leavenworth 28, 144, 145
 170, 286, 288, 289, 393
 —established May, 1827. 23
 —*see, also*, Fort Leavenworth.

Capper, Sen. Arthur, Topeka. 79, 95, 97
 Carlson, Conwell, article by, noted. 415
 Carlson, Gov. Frank. 86, 94, 105, 419, 420
 Carpenter, —, Mullinville. 218
 Carpenter, Mrs. Mary Haufler. 331
 Carr, Judge William C., marriage of. 304
 —shot 294
 Carruth, Arthur J., Jr., Topeka. 112, 221
 —article by, noted. 414
 Carson, F. L., Wichita. 95, 97
 Case, Alex H., article by, noted. 417
 Cass, Lewis, governor Michigan territory, at St. Louis, 1827. 30
 Castle Rock, Gove county, picture of, noted 103
 Cathedral of the Plains, at Victoria, article on, noted. 332
 Catholic church, Lakin, article on, noted, 418
 Cattle, and buffalo, article on cross-breeding of, noted. 102
 —Battle Ax 2801. 252
 —Blush 6970 254
 —drives, article on, noted. 102
 —Duchess of Somerset 2nd 2954. 254
 —Ella 3rd 2107. 254-257
 —Empress 5873 254
 —Empress E. 7540 254
 —Equinox 2758 254-258
 —Garfield 7015 254
 —Hereford, tested on the range. 252, 253
 —Jessamine 2209 253
 —Jumbo 257, 258
 —Lady Maud 2nd 2110. 254
 —Lady Maud 3rd 2111. 254
 —Lady Maud 4th. 257
 —Mermaid 2204 254
 —Miss Archibald 11119. 254, 255
 —Myrtle 5th 7537. 254
 —Prince Royal 1794. 252
 —Queen of the Lillies 4367. 257
 —raising. *See* Ranch life.
 —Shorthorn, tested on the range. 252, 253
 —Texan, in a Kansas corn corral, illustration facing 112
 —Texas Bill 258, 259
 —Texas Jack 258, 259
 —Texas Jane 257-259
 —trails, project for marking of, noted. 111
 —Young Baroness 5872. 254
 Cattlemen's Carnival Rodeo Association, Garden City 423
 Cauthorn, John, Wichita. 224
 Cavaness, J. M. 331
 —article on, noted 104
 Cemetery inscriptions, Douglas county, given Historical Society. 96
 Chalk formations, Logan county, picture of, noted. 103
 Chambers, Lloyd, Wichita. 95, 97
 Chantilly 418
 Chapman, Ed, Topeka. 79
 Chapman, James, Butler county. 123, 124
 126, 127, 129-133
 Chariton, Mo. 300
 —steamboats to and from, at St. Louis, 1829 291
 "Chase County Historical Sketches," note on 335
 Chase County Historical Society. 335
 Chavez (Jarvis), Don Antonio José, robbery and murder of. 367, 368
 Cheever, Lawrence Oakley, *House of Morrell*, book by, noted. 422
 Chenie, Amanda, St. Louis. 387
 Chenie, Antoine, St. Louis. 387
 Chenie, Marie Therese (Papin), St. Louis 387
Cherokee Advocate, *The*, Tahlequah, Cherokee Nation, O. T., 1881-1897, microfilm of, given Historical Society, 80
 Cherokee strip, provision for sale of, note on 247

- Cherokee Strip Livestock Association... 248
 Cheyenne, Wyo. 245
 Chick, William M., Kansas City, Mo. 78
 Chickasha, Okla., cattle camps near... 246
 Chickhongsic, Winnebago Indian... 170
 Chico, Cal. 333
 Chisholm, Jesse 104, 221
 Chisholm trail 246, 328
 "Chisholm Trail Jubilee," Wichita,
 1947, noted 104
Chisholm Trail, The, by Sam P.
 Ridings, noted 266
 Chivington, Gen. J. M., at Methodist
 camp meeting, Baldwin, 1862... 188
 Chouteau, Col. Auguste, death of... 278
 Chouteau, Francis G., trading post of,
 1826 7
 Chouteau, Mrs. Francis G. (Berenice
 Menard) 7
 Chouteau, Henri 387, 391
 Chouteau Island 418
 Christian church, Lakin, article on,
 noted 418
 Christy, Harriet, St. Louis 385
 Christy, Maj. William, St. Louis... 385, 394
 Churches, early, in Kansas, article on,
 noted 107
 Cimarron river 339, 341
 Cincinnati 21, 35
 —steamboats to, and from, at St. Louis,
 1829 281, 292, 293
 Civil War, 1862, incidents of, noted by
 Mrs. Lovejoy 180-182
 Clark, A., of Kentucky 168
 Clark, Cap. — 385
 Clark, Edmond 2
 —death of, August, 1827, noted... 32
 Clark, Frances E. 17
 Clark, G. R., of Kentucky 38, 165
 Clark, George 296
 Clark, George Rogers 1, 2
 Clark, George Rogers Hancock... 2, 21, 28
 —injured in hunting accident... 20
 Clark, (Thomas) Jefferson Kennerly... 2, 396
 Clark, John 1
 Clark, Mrs. John (Ann Rogers)... 1
 Clark, Capt. John B. 303
 Clark, John Julius 2
 Clark, Lucy 14
 Clark, Gen. Marston G., Indian
 subagent 288, 304, 305, 385
 Clark, Mary Margaret 2
 Clark, Meriwether Lewis... 2, 32, 400, 401
 Clark, Robert H., articles by,
 noted 216, 415
 Clark, V. R., article by, noted... 333
 Clark, William, biographical sketch... 1-3
 —commissioned to conclude treaty with
 Indians on the upper Mississippi... 396
 —"Diary, May, 1826-February,
 1831," 1-39, 136-174, 274-305, 384-410
 —reproduction of April, 1827, pages
 from between 16, 17
 —letter of, to secretary of war, quoted, 304
 —photograph of facing iv
 —note on facing 1
 Clark, Mrs. William (Harriet Ken-
 nerly Radford) 2, 26, 297, 301
 Clark, Mrs. William (Julia Hancock)... 2, 287
 Clark, William Preston... 2, 174, 297, 388
 391, 393
 Clark County Historical Society. See
 K. S. H. S., Clark county chapter.
 Clarksville, Mo. 153
 Clifford, C. W. 269, 270
Climate of Kansas, book by Snowden
 D. Flora, noted 422
 "Climate of Kansas, 1871, *The*," article
 by C. C. Hutchinson, noted... 330
 Clinch, Col. Duncan L. 280
 Clough, — 49
- Clough, Rev. Mace 49
 Coates, James A., Topeka 101
 Cochran, Elizabeth, Pittsburg State
 Teachers College 420
 Cody, Wm. F. ("Buffalo Bill")... 116
 Coe, C. A., Cottonwood Falls, donor... 80
 Coffee, Gen. John 17
 Cogland, Michael, St. Louis, executed, 298
 Collamore, George W., death of in
 Quantrill's raid, noted 197
 Colonial Dames 83
 Colorado river 238, 239, 241, 337
 Comme [?], Delaware Indian... 14
 Concordia and Waterville, stage-
 line, 1874-1878 78
 Condra, Mrs. Ella, Garden City... 223
 Cone, William W., reprinting of his
 Shawnee county history, noted 112
 221, 414
 Conklin, E. L., St. Paul, sketch of,
 noted 217
 Constant, Tommy, Lawrence 111
 Conzelman, Mrs. E. E., Scandia... 108, 420
 Cook, Frank, murder of, 1862, noted... 186
 Cook, John E., Lawrence 72
 Coon creek 350, 354
 Cooper, Mrs. C. M., Pittsburg... 109
 Coppins, H. A. J., Butler county... 134
 Corinth, Miss., burning of, 1864, noted, 201
 —Rev. C. H. Lovejoy's letter from,
 1863 192-194
 —Julia L. Lovejoy's letter from,
 1864 198-200
 Coronado Heights, picture of, noted... 103
 Corral, James, Rush county... 107
 Correll, Charles M., Manhattan... 76, 96, 97
 Cortelyou, Prof. John V. 223
 Cotton, Corlett, Lawrence 111
 Cottonwood creek 370
 Cottonwood tree, near Hutchinson,
 picture of, noted 218
 Council Bluffs, Neb. 25, 28
 Council Grove 372, 373
 —Post Office Oak, picture of, noted... 218
 Cow creek 360, 361, 363, 364, 366
 Cowgill, Mrs. Josephine, Garden City... 222
 Cowley county, history, notes on... 220
 Cowley County Historical Society... 421
 Cowskin creek 246
 Cox, Henry S., marriage of... 406
 Crane, A. A. & Son, Osco, Ill. 258, 259
 Crane, Dr. Franklin Loomis, biographical
 sketch of, noted 112, 221
 Crawford County Historical Society... 223
 —1947 annual meeting of... 109
 Creek 142 374
 Creitz, Mrs. W. H., donor... 79
 Croghan, Col. George... 28, 34, 281, 283
 —biographical note on... 14
 Cron, Frank H., El Dorado... 97
 Cron, Mrs. Frank H., El Dorado, donor, 79
 Crops, 1859 65, 66
 Crossler, H. 304
 Crumline, Dr. Samuel J., New York,
 author of *Frontier Doctor*... 422, 423
 Culver, Capt. —, of the steamboat
Missouri 298
 Cumberland river 144, 160
 Cunningham, Rev. B. R., teacher at
 Baker University, 1859... 70
 Current river (Mo. and Ark.)... 162
 Curtis, Charles 329
 —article on, noted... 332
 Custer, George A., defeat of, 1876... 119
 Cutts, Lt. — 300
- D
- Daggett, John D., St. Louis 302
 Dallas, Tex., Symboler makes new
 world's pacing record at... 263

Danforth, Samuel 298
 Dappert, James W., donor 79
 Daughters of American Colonists,
 Kansas society 83
 Daughters of 1812, of Kansas 83
 Daughters of the American Revolution,
 Kansas society 82
 Davies, Mrs. Carrie E., reminiscences of,
 noted 418
 Davis, Alson C., defends the Doys
 at trial 49
 Davis, Charles J., article on, noted 415
 Davis, Dr. George W., Ottawa 111
 Davis, Mrs. M. R., teacher at Baker
 University, 1859 70
 Davis, Mrs. Tom, Shawnee 83, 108
 Davis, W. W., Lawrence 97
 Davis, Rev. Welter R., D. D. 70
 Dawson, A. J., Easton 219
 Dawson, George T., Chase county 335
 Dawson, Judge John S., Topeka and
 Hill City 76, 85, 86, 95- 97
 Deaf Mute Institute, Baldwin City,
 1863 190, 191
 Dean, Capt. James, Third infantry
 regiment 385
 Decatur County Historical Society 105
 Deerfield, article on, noted 418
 DeLaunay, David, St. Louis 24
 De Lillers, Count M., at St. Louis,
 1827 34, 35
 Dellinger, Dr. O. P., Pittsburg 109
 Democrat, Wichita, historical article,
 noted 413
 DeMoss, Dr. J. A. 331
 Denious, Jess C., Dodge City 97
 Dennis, Bruce 331
 Dental College, Topeka, history of, by
 Ralph W. Edwards 381- 383
 Denver, J. W., secretary Kansas terri-
 tory, letter quoted 213
 Derbigny, Pierre A. C. B., governor of
 Louisiana 160
 Desant, Daniel 298
 Des Moines, Ia., steamboat from 30
 Deutcher Brothers horse ranch,
 mentioned 265
 Dewey, E. M., St. Paul, sketch of,
 noted 217
 DeZurko, Edward R., article by, noted, 107
 Diamond of the Plain, Morris county, 371
 Diamond school, Harvey county 413
 Diamond spring, Morris county ... 370, 371
 Dickinson county, names of towns, creeks
 and townships, article on, noted 414
 Dickinson County Historical Society,
 donor 79
 Dingess, Mrs. W. S., Meade 222, 335
 Dix, Mrs. —, Lawrence 99
 Dixon, P. C., Rush county 107
 Dobson, James W. 271
 Dodge, Rev. I., early Methodist
 minister 55
 Dodge City 348, 422
 Dodge City Journal 329
 Dollars, Dr. — 187
 Donnelly, Mrs. —, Lawrence 99
 "Dooley, Mr.," quoted 115
 Dorsey, Mrs. Sidney, Clark county ... 110
 Dougherty, Maj. John, Indian agent ... 20
 26, 170, 283, 284, 289, 290, 302, 304
 Dougherty, Mrs. John (Mary Hertzog), 26
 Douglas county, cemetery inscriptions of,
 given Historical Society 96
 Douglas county flora, article on, noted, 330
 Douglas County Historical Society 96
 —see Lawrence Historical Society.
 Douglas County Old Settlers Association, 421
 Dow, Lorenzo, visit to St. Louis,
 1827, noted 26
 Dowler, Dr. F. H., Topeka 382, 383
 Doy, Dr. John 50

Doy, Dr. John, and son, captured, 1859, 46
 —prison experiences of 49
 —rescue from prison, July, 1859, noted, 49
 Doy, Mrs. John 49
 Dress elevator, Smith's, advertisement
 for 100
 Driggs, Howard R., New York 111
 Driscoll, Charles B., autobiography of,
 noted 107
 —Saturday Evening Post article on
 Wichita, noted 221
 Drumm, Andrew, Kiowa 270
 Drumm and Snyder, cattle operators ... 269
 Drury, John, Historic Midwest Houses
 by, noted 112
 Drussell, Albert, Ivanhoe 223
 "Dry Road," Santa Fe trail 348
 Dryden, Jimmy, article on Ellsworth
 pottery business of, noted 102
 DuMont, William Montgomery, pioneer
 of Pawnee county 333
 Duncan, John 267, 268
 Duncan, John B., Indian subagent, 166, 167
 Dunn, Mary C., teacher at Baker Uni-
 versity, 1859 70
 Dunn, Rebecca Welty, article by, noted, 107
 Dust Bowl, articles on, noted 217, 415
 Dust storms, 1830 402

E

Earl, Adams, cattle sale 254
 Eastin, L. J., Leavenworth 220
 Easton, notes on history of 219, 220
 Eberhart, I. F., Douglas county 421
 Eberhart, Mrs. I. F., Douglas county, 421
 Ebright, Homer K., Baldwin 97
 Economy, first post office in Rush
 county 107
 Edgerton, Capt. —, of steamboat
 Courtland 148
 Edwards, Ralph W., Kansas City, Mo.,
 "History of the Topeka Dental Col-
 lege," article by 381- 383
 —note on 381
 Edwardsville, Ill. 395
 Egyptian mummy, brought to St. Louis,
 1828 150
 Eibert, Jennie, Ness county 108
 Eisenhower, Gen. Dwight D. 92- 95
 —articles on, noted 101, 107, 333
 Eisenhower, Milton, Manhattan 94
 Eisenhower home, Abilene 112
 Eisenhower Memorial Foundation,
 Charles M. Harger's talk on 92- 95
 El Dorado 123
 Elliott, Capt. —, of steamboat Pilot, 155
 Elliott, Mrs. George, Pittsburg 109
 Ellis county, P. J. Jennings' boyhood
 recollections of pioneers of, given His-
 torical Society 78
 Ellis County News, Hays 414
 Ellsworth 412
 Ellsworth county, first settlement, note
 on 416
 —Prairie Star school, note on history
 of 101
 Elm creek 374
 Embree, Mrs. Mary, Topeka 97
 Emery, Prof. P. A., Baldwin City 190
 Emporia 420
 —folder describing, noted 112
 Emporia Chamber of Commerce 112
 Emrich, Duncan, article by, noted 333
 Engelmann, George 225
 Ernst, Miss Eleta, Douglas county 421
 Euwer, Elmer E., Goodland 95, 97
 Evans, Dr. J. W., Manhattan 108, 223
 Eves, Joseph M., article by, noted 418
 Ewell, O. P. T. 270
 Expense account of John P. Wheeler
 & Co., 1859 214

F

- Fairhurst, Mrs. James B., article by, noted 333
 Fairs, Kansas, 1881-1883, Campbell exhibits Hereford cattle at 255-257
 Falls of St. Anthony, Minn. 7
 Fant, William H., Garden City township, Finney county 223
 Farey, Henry 417
 Farnham, Russell, St. Louis 300
 Farni, Chester, Butler county 134
 Farnsworth, Mrs. Fred, donor 79
 Farrand, Oliver M., New York 215
 Farrelly, Hugh Phillip, article on, noted, 104
 Fate, M. M., Talmo 108
 Fat-Stock show, Kansas City, Mo., 1883, 1885, Campbell entries at, 257-259
 Faulkner, Mrs. Gilbert H., Belleville 108, 420
 Fawcett, James Waldo, quoted 420, 421
 Pay, Mrs. Mamie Axline, Pratt 97
 Fever river 8, 21, 23-26, 31, 33-139, 140, 142-150, 152-154, 156-158, 161, 163, 165-167
 Feves, France, benefit for 421
 Fiester, C. B., donor 79
 Finney County Historical Society, notes on organization meeting of, 1948 223
 Finnup, Frederick, Garden City 223
 First capitol of Kansas, picture of, noted, 103
 First Congregational church, Topeka, donor 79
 Fish, Shawnee Indian chief 137, 143, 144
 —son of 145, 146, 294
 Fishel, V. C. 102
 Fisher, Rev. H. D., Lawrence 197
 Fisher, Mrs. H. D., Lawrence 197
 Fisher, Dr. Jesse Clyde, Wichita 224
 Fish's town (Shawnee Indian village), 29, 31
 Fitzhugh, Lucy Ann, marriage of 406
 Flick, Mrs. Medora Hays, Manhattan 108
 Flint Hills 122
 Flood, Mississippi river, 1826 6-8
 Flora, Snowden D., article by, noted 330
 —author of *Climate of Kansas* 422
 "Flora of Douglas County, Kansas," article by Ronald L. McGregor, noted 330
 Florence, Ala. 8, 147
Flüchtling, Der, novel by H. B. Möllhausen, noted 244
 Fluency, —, Shawneetown, Ill., death of, 1827 35
 Flynn, Dennis T., Kiowa 271
 Food prices, 1859 and 1862, noted by Mrs. Lovejoy 75, 182-184
Footprints on the Frontier, book by Sister M. Evangeline Thomas, noted 423
 Ford, Lon, gun collection of, noted 110
 Ford, Patrick Henry, St. Louis 18
 Foreman, Grant, Oklahoma historian 232
 Forrest, Gen. N. B., guerrilla chief 198
 Forsyth, E. L., donor 79
 Forsyth, Mrs. Sarah (DeMaillot) 302
 Forsyth, Thomas, Indian subagent 5, 388
 Fort Arbuckle, Okla. 353
 Fort Armstrong 145
 Fort Atkinson, Neb. 7, 25, 28, 348
 Fort Bent 345, 346, 351
 Fort Brady 163
 Fort Buchanan 238
 Fort Crawford, Wis. 7, 145
 Fort Dearborn 163
 Fort Defiance, Ariz. 238, 241, 337
 Fort Dodge 829
 Fort Fletcher, picture of, noted 103
 Fort Harker, guardhouse, picture of, noted 104
 Fort Hays 411
 —guardhouse, picture of, noted 218
 Fort Hays-Fort Dodge trail, article on, noted 418

- Fort Hays Kansas State College, article on founding of, noted 106
 Fort Howard 163
 Fort Laramie, Wyo. 227
 Fort Leavenworth 241, 337, 378, 380
 Fort Mann 347, 348
 "Fort Meggs" 137
 Fort Riley, article on, noted 415
 "Fort Roupideau, Scott Bluffs," Möllhausen's sketch of between 232, 233
 Fort Scott, historical museum, note on 109
 Fort Scott Business and Professional Women's Club 109
 Fort Scott *Tribune* 109
 Fort Shelby, Wis. 2
 Fort Smith, Ark. 232, 237
 —Möllhausen's sketch of facing 240
 Fort Snelling 145
 Fort Tejon, Cal. 239
 Fort Union, noted 346
 Fort Wallace, article on, noted 333
 Fort Yuma (California) 239
 Foster, Rev. Daniel, of Sumner, 57, 60, 73
 Frank, E. K., Tulsa, Okla., donor 81
 Frankfort, historical articles on, noted, 219
 Frankfort *Index* 219, 332
 Franklin, Mo. 23, 142, 144, 158, 281, 284, 285, 289, 291
 Franklin County Historical Society, meeting of 336
 Frederick William IV, King of Prussia, Möllhausen's interview with 238
 Frick, Edwina, letter from, noted 415
 Friend, Mrs. Carl, Lawrence 222
 Friends church, Kansas, microfilming of early records of 79
Friends University, The Growth of an Idea, book by Juliet Reeve, noted 423
 Frizell, E. E., Larned 97
 —article on Pawnee county history, noted 103
 Fröbel, Julius 225
Frontier Doctor, book by Dr. S. J. Crumline, noted 422, 423
 Fulwiler, Mrs. Hallie Griffith, Pawnee county, reminiscences of, noted 413
 Fur trade, St. Louis, 1827 27

G

- Gabbert, Mrs. Barth, Clark county 110
 Gagnier, Mrs. Louisa, scalped by Winnebago Indians 170
 Gagnier, Registre, killed by Winnebago Indians 170
 Gaines, Gen. Edmund P., at St. Louis, 1827 34, 35
 Galena, Ill., steamboats to and from, at St. Louis 32, 33, 36, 144-147, 151-160, 281-290, 293
 Garden City, Business and Professional Women's club 223
 —pamphlet on, noted 423
 Garden City *Daily Telegram* 107
 Gardiner, Mrs. Laura V., article on, noted 413
 Gardner, Quantrill reported at, 1862, 188
 Garey, Lt. George W. 148
 Garvin, Dr. —, Lawrence 49
 Garvin, Roy, article by, noted 329
 Gasoline, synthetic, article on, noted, 216
 Gaylord family, Protection, articles on, noted 105, 220
 Geiger, Robert E., article by, noted 415
 Gem-cutting, H. E. Hostetter's hobby, article on, noted 215, 216
 "Genealogy Research Is Walter McKeen's Hobby," article by Marieta McLeod, noted 332
 Geodetic center of the U. S., article on, noted 216
 —picture of marker, noted 218

Gerken, Mrs. F. A., Girard..... 109
 Gerstacker, Friederich..... 225
 Geyer, Mrs. Clarissa B. (Starr), death
 of, noted..... 300
 Geyer, Henry S..... 300
 Ghost towns in Lakin county, article on,
 noted..... 418
 Giddings, Rev. Salmon, St. Louis..... 138
 Gilbert, N. S., Rush county..... 107
 Gilliam, George..... 382
 Gnadenau, Marion county, article on
 history of, noted..... 105
 Godsey, Mrs. Flora R., Emporia..... 97
 Gold mines, routes to, discussed by Julia
 Louisa Lovejoy..... 53-
 Gold regions, Julia L. Lovejoy discusses
 favorable reports on..... 41, 62, 63,
 —miners returning from, October,
 1859..... 70, 71
 Good, Mrs. Roy F., Gashland, Mo..... 78
 Good Government Club, Topeka, donor,
 Goode, Rev. Wm. H..... 59, 67
 Goodland *Daily News*..... 333
 Goodnight (Palodura) trail..... 329
 Goodnow, Mrs. Ann E., Sudbury, Mass.,
 Goodwin, Will M., St. Paul, sketch of,
 noted..... 217
 Gorrell, Dr. Will, Douglas county..... 421
 Gove county, Prairie View school,
 history, noted..... 101
Gove County Advocate, Quinter..... 220
Gove County Republican-Gazette,
 Gove City..... 101
 Graber, Mrs. Ralph, Douglas county..... 421
 Graham, Charles W., articles by,
 noted..... 216, 332, 415
 Graham, Maj. Richard, Indian
 agent..... 5, 146, 147, 162, 173, 285, 287
 Graham, Richard, Jr., death of,
 noted..... 146, 147
 Grand Canyon..... 239, 243, 337
 —Möhlhausen's sketch of..... facing 241
 Grandle, Charles, Cherokee..... 109
 Grandle, Dr. H. M., Crawford county..... 109
 Grasses, native, forage yields of, article
 on, noted..... 102
 Grasshopper song..... 411
 Gratiot, Charles, St. Louis..... 23
 Gratiot, Henry, Indian subagent..... 23, 291
 Gratiot, Mrs. Henry (Susan Hempstead),
 Gratiot, John Pierre B..... 23
 Gratiot's grove, Ill..... 23
 Graves, Susie Gibbons, Neosho county..... 331
 Graves, W. W., St. Paul..... 417
 —historical articles on Neosho county,
 noted..... 104, 217, 331
 —sketch of, noted..... 217
 Gray, Mrs. Fannie Smith, Neosho
 county..... 331
 Gray, John M., Kirwin..... 97
 Gray county, Arkansas river crossing in,
 noted..... 342, 343
 Great Bend..... 354
 —publication describing, noted..... 112
 Great Southwest Rain Association,
 Dodge City..... 107
 Greathouse, J. E., Pleasant Valley..... 223
 Greeley, Horace..... 62
 —journey of through Kansas, noted..... 328
 Green, —, master steamboat *Marietta*,
 7.....
 Green, Martin, killing of, noted..... 26
 Green Bay, Wis..... 34, 156
 Greene, D. M., Butler county..... 135
 Greene, Capt. D. M., of steamboat
Isabella..... 165
 Greiffenstein, William, Wichita..... 221
 Gregg, C. D., McCune..... 109
 Gregg, Mrs. C. D., McCune..... 109
 Gregg's table of distances, noted..... 342
 Griffin, Mrs. M. Y..... 108
 Griffith family, early Kansas settlers,
 article on, noted..... 413

Grinnell, George Bird, article by, noted..... 345
 Gross, Rhea, Clark county..... 110
 "Ground Waters Available for Water-
 Flooding Oil Projects in Southeastern
 Kansas," article by G. E. Abernathy,
 noted..... 330
 Gudger, Mrs. Pauline, Osawatomie..... 335
 Gunnels, J. O., Colby..... 78
 Gunnison, Mrs. Alice Poste, Canton,
 N. Y..... 124
 Gurley, Henry H., of Louisiana..... 160
 Gustafson, Carl..... 103
 Gustafson, Frank..... 103
 Gustafson, Oscar Frederick, family of,
 article on, noted..... 103
 Gwartney, Delores, article by, noted..... 219

H

Haines, Joe D., Manhattan..... 108
HalbIndianer, Der (The Half-Breed),
 novel by H. B. Möhlhausen, noted..... 244
 Haley, D. W., Indian subagent..... 166, 167
 Hall, Mrs. Carrie A., Leavenworth..... 97
 Hall, Comdr. Standish, Wichita..... 86, 96, 97
 Halloway, Mrs. Elizabeth, reminiscences
 of, noted..... 333
 Hamilton, James..... 335
 Hamilton, R. L., Beloit..... 97
 Hamtranck, John Francis, Osage Indian
 agent..... 148, 173, 292, 299
 Hancock, Julia, Fincastle, Va..... 2
 Handy, Margery Stubbs, article by,
 noted..... 332
 Hannibal, Mo..... 146, 149
 Hannibal and St. Joseph railroad,
 completion of, 1859, noted..... 52
 Hardin, Col. John..... 1
 Hardtner, Dr. John, Illinois..... 248
 Hardy, Harry A., custodian Old Shaw-
 nee Mission..... 83
 Hardy, Mrs. Jane E., St. Joseph, Mo.,
 Hardy, Mrs. Kate (Harry A.), cus-
 todian Old Shawnee Mission..... 83
 Hardy, S. E., letters of, given Histori-
 cal Society..... 78
 —quoted..... 325, 326
 Harger, Charles M., Abilene..... 97, 102
 —article by, noted..... 216
 —talk on the Eisenhower Memorial
 Foundation..... 92- 95
 Harlan, E. W., Hodgeman county..... 109
 Harper, Mrs. J. C., Clark county..... 110
 Harriman, Charles, Butler county..... 134
 Harrington, Grant W., article on Huron
 cemetery, noted..... 328
 Harris, Chester, Butler county..... 134
 Harris, Mrs. E. A., article by,
 noted..... 415, 416
 Harris, Frank, cowboy life of, noted..... 135
 Harrop, Mrs. Florence F., Manhattan, 108
 Hartland, article on, noted..... 418
 Hartman, A. P., Frankfort..... 332
 Hartman, Frank, Frankfort..... 332
 Hartman, H. H., Frankfort..... 332
 Harvest, in Holland, letter on, noted..... 415
 Harvey, Mrs. A. M., Topeka..... 97
 Harvey county, list of World War II
 veterans, noted..... 336
 Haskell county, Möhlhausen camps in..... 342
 Hastie, William L..... 101
 Hastie, William L., Douglas county..... 96
 Hauke, Frank, Council Grove..... 86,
 —elected vice-president Historical
 Society..... 96
 Hawes, J. S., cattleman..... 255
 Hawkins, Claude, Chase county..... 335
 Haymeadow massacre..... 422
 Hays, Audra M., Ness county..... 108
 Hays, O. L., Neodesha..... 217
 Hays..... 411, 412
 —history, articles on, noted..... 414

- Hays *Daily News*..... 106
 Headlee, Rev. E. H., Crawford county,
 Mo. 212
 Healey, Rosanna, article by, noted..... 416
 Heaton, John W., Baker University.... 420
 Heberton, E. P..... 214
 Hedrick, Frank, article by, noted..... 333
 Hegler, Ben F., Wichita..... 97
 "Heinrich Balduin Möllhausen," article
 by Robert Taft..... 225- 244
 Hell's Half-Acre, near Sun City, picture
 of, noted..... 103
 Hempstead, Charles S..... 292
 Hempstead, Susan, St. Louis..... 23
 Henderson, Anna E., estate, donor... 83
 Henderson, J. Jay, donor..... 79
 Henry (a yellow fellow)..... 20
 Hershey, L. R., Olathe, donor..... 81
 Hertzog, Mary, St. Louis..... 26
 Hicks, Virginia Pierce, articles by,
 noted..... 418
 Higgins, William, death of..... 398
 Higley, Dr. Brewster, cabin, picture,
 noted..... 218
 Hildebrand, Mrs. Clara, Chase county, 335
 Hill, Esther Clark, Neosho county..... 331
 Hill, Justin, Lawrence..... 111
 Hinckley, Capt. —, of steamboat
 Jubilee..... 154
 Hinds, Gen. Thomas..... 17
 Hinton, Richard J., collections of,
 noted..... 78
Historic Midwest Houses, by John
 Drury, noted..... 112
History of Hereford Cattle, by T. L.
 Miller, quoted..... 256, 257, 272
 Hobble, Frank A., Dodge City... 83, 95, 97
 —reminiscences of, noted..... 329
 Hodgeman County Historical Society,
 1947 annual business meeting, noted, 109
 Hodges, George H., article on, noted, 106
 Hodges, George L., St. Paul..... 417
 Hoecken, Father Christian, missionary, 419
 Hoen, A. and Co., Baltimore, lithog-
 raphers..... 234
 Hoffman, Col. Roy S., article on,
 noted..... 104
 Hogan, John C., Belleville..... 95, 97
 Holden, James D., La Cygne, article on,
 noted..... 103
 Hollenberg Ranch Pony Express Station
 State Park, muzzle-loading shotgun
 given to museum at..... 421
 Holliday, Cyrus K., Topeka..... 111
 Hollis, Mrs. R. R., Fergus Falls, Minn.,
 donor..... 78
 Holmes, Dr. H. C., Wichita..... 224
 Holton *Recorder*..... 104
 Honens, Mrs. Fred W., Sterling, Ill.,
 donor..... 78
 Honore, Louis Tesson, interpreter, death
 of, noted..... 32
 Hood, Lt. —..... 166
 Hopkins, Maj. —, daughter of, shot, 294
 Hopkins, A. J., St. Paul, sketch of,
 noted..... 217
 Hopkins, F. S., St. Paul, sketch of,
 noted..... 217
 Hopkins, Harold, article by, noted..... 330
 Horr, W. H., article by, noted..... 102
 Horse Thief canyon, near Jetmore,
 picture of, noted..... 103
 Horses, Alcolyte 7849..... 261, 263
 —Breastplate 11392..... 263
 —Campbell's Electioneer 11671... 262, 263
 —Carmine..... 263
 —Gaiety..... 261
 —Huro 37351..... 263
 —Legal Onward..... 261
 —Lady Tender..... 261
 —Lorenzo 7844..... 261
 —Marvin Bell 36229..... 263
 Horses, Nancy Hanks..... 262
 —of Remington and friends, Butler
 county..... 126
 —Redmore 8243..... 261
 —Symbol..... 261, 263
 —Symboler 19869..... 261- 263
 —set world's pacing record, 1894... 263
 Hough, Emerson, quoted..... 116
 —ranch life of, noted..... 114
 Houghton, Capt. —, Lawrence..... 72
 House, Jay Elmer, article on, noted.... 104
House of Morrell, book by Lawrence
 Oakley Cheever, noted..... 422
 Howard, C. H., St. Paul, sketch of,
 noted..... 217
 Howe, Mrs. Chloe Berry, donor..... 79
 Howe, Ed, home, Atchison..... 112
 Howes, Cecil, Topeka..... 81
 —articles by, noted..... 101, 102, 107, 112
 216, 323, 414, 415
 Hoyt's grocery, Plum Grove, Butler
 county..... 123, 133
 Hubbell, L. W., Hodgeman county..... 109
 Hudson, Paul, museum curator, Morris-
 town National Historical Park,
 Morristown, N. J..... 230
 Hughes, Gen. Andrew S..... 284, 291, 292
 300, 386, 390, 391, 398
 Hughes, J. W. F., estate, donor..... 79
 Hughes, W. F., article by, noted..... 330
 Hugoton..... 422
 —old Stevens county courthouse, picture
 of, noted..... 103
 Huls, Mr. and Mrs. A. D., Greensburg... 110
 Humboldt *Union*, history of, noted..... 413
 Hunt, Charles L., Concordia..... 95, 97
 Hunt, J. B., Mullinville..... 218
 Huntington (H. & F. J.) map of U. S.,
 1830, reproduced in part..... facing 17
 Hurd, Jake..... 49, 50
 Huron cemetery, Kansas City, article on,
 by Grant W. Harrington..... 328, 329
 Hutcheson, Robert C., founder of
 Topeka Dental College..... 381, 383
 Hutchinson, C. C., article by, noted.... 330
 Hutchinson, Judge William E., Garden
 City..... 223
 Hutchinson *News-Herald*..... 106
 —publishing of Kansas historical and
 pictorial scenes in, noted.... 103, 104, 217
 218, 331
 Hutter, Capt. George C., marriage of... 397
 Hyde, A. A., Wichita..... 221

I

- Illinois river..... 7
 Immigrants, German, noted..... 225
 Independence Day, celebration observed
 by Möllhausen in Kansas in 1858... 346
Indian Advocate, Louisville, Ky., 1847-
 1855, microfilm acquired by Historical
 Society..... 77
 Indian affairs, Superintendency of, St.
 Louis, William Clark's diary of, 1826-
 1831... 1-39, 136-174, 274-305, 384- 410
 Indian claims commission..... 413
 Indian life, Möllhausen's interest in,
 noted..... 233
 Indian peace treaty, St. Louis, 1826... 15
 Indian Peace Treaty Pageant, Medicine
 Lodge, 1947..... 105, 106
 —article on, noted..... 101
 Indian superintendency at St. Louis,
 1829, description of..... 16
 —sketch of..... facing 16
 Indian treaty, Chippewas, Ottawas, Pot-
 awatomes, Winnebagoes, 1829..... 292
 —council, St. Louis, 1826..... 14, 15
 —Indians, Arapaho... 344, 345, 347, 352, 353
 —Cherokee, at St. Louis, 1826 and
 1827..... 17, 36

Indians, Cherokee, treaties relocating, noted 247
 —Cheyenne 267, 344, 345
 —Chickasaw 17, 161, 166, 167
 —Chippewa, treaty with, 1829 292
 —Choctaw 17, 161, 166
 —Comanche 346, 348, 350, 353, 360
 —Creek 160, 161, 166, 167
 —Delaware 285, 287
 —at St. Louis, 1826-1828 14, 15, 28
 29, 31, 32, 139, 146, 153, 155
 158, 160, 163
 —Fox 27, 284, 294, 303
 —see, also, Indians, Sac and Fox.
 —Iowa, at St. Louis, 1827-1829, 28-30, 153
 300, 302, 303
 —involved in an affray, 1829 294
 —Patrick Ford subagent for 18
 —treaty with, 1830 396
 —Iroquois, at St. Louis, 1827 24
 —Kansas 25, 27, 141, 152, 167, 284
 346, 369, 373
 —Kaskaskia, at St. Louis, 1826 14
 —Kickapoo 8, 10, 13-15, 25, 28, 29, 139
 140, 142, 148, 149, 151, 152, 154, 158
 162-164, 285-288, 293-295, 388, 389
 —Kiowa 344, 345
 —Mandan, John F. A. Sanford subagent
 for 14
 —Menominee, at St. Louis, 1828 136
 —Miami, at St. Louis, 1827 25, 28
 —Missouri, at St. Louis, 1826 10
 —treaty with, 1830 396
 —Mohaves 237
 —Omaha 232, 391
 —treaty with, 1830 396
 —Osage 167, 223, 346, 360
 —at St. Louis, 1826-1828 14, 15, 24
 37, 143, 144, 155
 ———1830 395
 —European trip, 1827 24, 393, 395
 —treaties relocating, noted 246
 —trust lands 246
 —Otoe 26, 228
 —treaty with, 1830 396
 —Ottawa 161, 164, 166
 —treaty with, 1829 292
 —Pai-Ute 237
 —Pawnee 161, 228
 —threaten war on whites, 1828 170
 —Peoria 14, 15, 389
 —Piankeshaw, at St. Louis, 1826,
 1828 14, 15, 144, 145, 158
 —Poncan, at St. Louis, 1828 155, 158
 —Pottawatomie 161, 166
 —accounts with, 1847-1849, note on, 78
 —at St. Louis, 1826 14, 15
 —Jesuit mission for 419
 —Prairie band of, arrival in Kansas,
 article on, noted 413
 —treaty with, 1829 292
 —Quash-kaume (Jumping Fish), Sac
 chief 389
 —Sac 12, 13, 167, 294, 300, 303
 —and Fox 277, 284, 291, 389, 390
 —at St. Louis, 1827, 1828 29-31
 142, 149-152, 155, 158-160, 166
 396
 —Seneca, at St. Louis, 1826-1828 15, 26
 27, 32, 152
 —Shawnee, 164, 167, 285, 287, 288, 294, 377
 article on, noted 333
 —at St. Louis, 1826-1828 8, 10-15
 25-29, 31-34, 36, 137, 139, 143
 150, 151, 158, 162, 163
 —of Ohio 1
 —Sioux 291, 391
 —Möhlhausen's sketch
 of between 232, 233
 —treaty with, 1830 396

Indians, Wea 15, 25, 28, 164, 284
 —Winnebago 164
 —campaign against, 1827 30, 34
 —Henry Gratiot subagent for, 1831, 23
 —pardoned, 1828 170
 —treaty with, 1829 292
 —Wyandot 328, 329
 Ingalls, John James, silk hat given
 Historical Society 81
 Ingram, Mrs. Retta Freese, Strathmore,
 Cal., reminiscences of, noted 414
 Iola Register, fiftieth birthday edition,
 noted 106
 Ise, Dr. John, article on, noted 415
 Isely, C. C., donor 79
 Ives, Lt. J. C., exploring expedi-
 tion 238-241, 337
 —report of, mentioned 241-244

J

Jack rabbit hunt, by Remington and
 friends 129-131
 Jackson, Andrew, Presidential candi-
 date 160, 169
 Jackson, Archibald, Paris, Ky., death of,
 1827, noted 35
 Jackson, F. H., Maple Hill 354
 Jackson, W. Turrentine, Chicago 328
 Jacquart, Rolland, article by, noted 333
 James, Patricia, article by, noted 332
 Janzen, Franz, Gnadenau 105
 "Jayhawking," stealing a grave 326
 Jefferson, Thomas, ex-president, death
 of, noted 10
 Jefferson Barracks (Mo.) 3, 7, 18, 28, 29
 30, 34, 140, 141, 151, 287, 288, 300, 385
 Jefferson City, Mo. 148
 Jenkins, Gaius, Lawrence 55
 Jenkins, James, hanged for murder 401
 Jennings, Dr. —, at St. Louis, 1828 169
 Jennings, Joseph, and family, Rush
 county 107
 Jennings, P. J., McCracken 107
 —donor 78
 Jennison, Gen. C. R., at Leavenworth 204
 Jesuit Mission, St. Marys, 100th
 anniversary 419
 John Morrell & Co., history of, noted 422
 Johnson, Mary Luella (Bateman), article
 by, noted 104
 Johnson, Dr. Walter, Chicago 78, 82
 Johnson county, articles on, noted 417
 —Linwood school, history of, noted 215
 Johnson County Democrat, The, Olathe, 106
 Johnson County Herald, Overland
 Park 215, 333, 334
 Johnston, Lt. Albert Sidney, note on
 marriage of, 1829 38
 Johnston, Mrs. Albert Sidney (Henrietta
 Preston) 38
 Johnston, Eleanor R., articles by,
 noted 102, 415
 Johnston, Lt. Col. Joseph E. 247
 Jones, Edwin R., Topeka 222
 Jones, Hilton, article by, noted 328
 Jones, Horace, Lyons 97
 Jones, Howel, Chase county 335
 Jones, Taut, home, photograph of,
 noted 331
 Joseph, Rolla, Potwin 123, 125, 134
 Joslin, T. A., drowning of 58, 59
 Josseland, Guy, Dodge City 222
 Jouett, Lt. Wm. R. 148
 Journal of Negro History, article by Roy
 Garvin, noted 329
 Journal of the Society of Architectural
 Historians, Urbana, Ill. 107
 Journal Publishing Co., Newsho county, 417

- Journeys Into the Rocky Mountains of North America as Far as the High Plateau of New Mexico, Undertaken as a Member of the Colorado Expedition by Commission of the Government of the United States*, by H. B. Möllhausen, note on..... 337, 338
- Judy, J., murder of, 1862, noted..... 186
- Julesburg..... 412
- Junction City *Republic*..... 417
- Junction City *Tribune*..... 417
- Junction City *Weekly Union*..... 411
- K**
- Kampschroeder, Jean Norris, Garden City..... 223
- Kanopolis Reservoir, article on, noted... 336
- Kansas (territory), as background for stories and novels..... 226
- First Capitol, article on, noted... 414, 415
- Kansas (state), British visitor's reaction to, article on, noted..... 415
- Great Seal of, article on, noted..... 333
- pictures by Russell Walker, noted... 103, 104, 217, 218, 331
- regiments, Fifth cavalry, grave stolen by..... 326
- Seventh cavalry, 1864.... 201, 202, 204
- Kansas Academy of Science, *Transactions*, 1947-1948, articles in, noted... 102, 215, 330
- "Kansas and the Geodetic Datum of North America," article by Walter H. Schoewe, noted..... 330
- Kansas Association of Teachers of History and Related Fields, annual meeting of..... 420
- Kansas City (Mo.) *Daily Drivers Telegram*..... 217
- Kansas City Dental College..... 383
- Kansas City *Kansas*..... 328
- Kansas City (Mo.) *Live-Stock Indicator*, quoted..... 254, 258
- Kansas City (Mo.) *Star*, historical articles in, noted... 101, 102, 215, 332, 415
- Kansas City (Mo.) *Times*..... 80
- historical articles in, noted... 102, 106, 216, 332, 333, 415
- Kansas constitutions, Wyandotte, election for, 1859..... 71
- Kansas Day Club, article on founders of, noted..... 216
- Kansas *Farmer*, Topeka, quoted..... 256
- Kansas 4-H clubs, article on, noted..... 415
- Kansas historical marker to Coronado and Quivira..... 336
- "Kansas Historical Notes"..... 108-112, 222-224, 335, 336, 420-423
- Kansas *Historical Quarterly*, *The*, Topeka, report on..... 82
- Kansas Historical Records Survey.. 330, 416
- "Kansas History as Published in the Press," 101-107, 215-221, 328-334, 413-419
- Kansas *Labor Weekly*, Topeka, Labor Day edition, 1947, noted..... 101
- Kansas *Magazine*, Manhattan..... 107, 328
- Kansas Medical College, Topeka... 381, 382
- Kansas *Messenger*, Baldwin, 1859, note on, 40
- Kansas-Nebraska bill, 1854, noted.... 247
- Kansas Press Association, Topeka, donor, 79
- Kansas river..... 137, 141, 163, 285, 288, 371, 374, 376, 377, 391
- Kansas State Board of Agriculture, Topeka..... 422
- Kansas State Board of Health, Dr. Crumrine secretary of..... 422, 423
- Kansas State Historical Society, accessions 1946-1947, statistics of..... 82
- annual meeting, 1947, proceedings, 76-
- Kansas State Historical Society, appropriations, 1947..... 76
- archives division report, 1946-1947, 77, 78
- Clark county chapter, 1947 annual meeting, noted..... 109, 110
- committee on nominations for directors, report, 1947..... 95
- directors, list of, 1947-1950..... 97
- meeting of, 1947..... 96
- Elizabeth Reader bequest..... 85
- executive committee report, 1947.... 85
- First Capitol, report, 1946-1947.... 83
- John Booth bequest..... 84
- Jonathan Pecker bequest..... 84
- library, appropriation for stacks.... 76
- report, 1946-1947..... 76, 77
- List of Kansas Newspapers and Periodicals, 1947 statistics of, noted.. 80
- manuscripts division, report, 1946-1947..... 78, 79
- Memorial building, appropriations for painting..... 76
- microfilm division, report, 1946-1947, 79
- museum, appropriation for Goss collection..... 76
- report, 1946-1947..... 81
- newspaper and census divisions, report, 1946-1947..... 80
- nominating committee's report, 1947, 86
- notice of annual meeting..... 335
- picture collection, report, 1946-1947, 77
- Quarterly. See *Kansas Historical Quarterly*.
- research subjects..... 81
- secretary's report, 1946-1947.... 76-83
- Shawnee mission, appropriations for repairs..... 76
- report, 1946-1947..... 82, 83
- Thomas H. Bowlus donation..... 85
- treasurer's report, 1946-1947.... 83-85
- Kansas *Teacher*, Topeka, articles by Cecil Howes, noted..... 328
- Kansas weather, article and book by S. D. Flora, noted..... 330, 422
- Kansas, 1828..... 142
- Kaskaskia, Ill. 19, 23, 28, 139, 143, 144, 152, 173, 287
- Kaw Mission, Council Grove, photograph of, noted..... 331
- Kearny, Stephen Watts..... 7, 35, 418
- commands troops bound for Prairie du Chien..... 396
- marriage of..... 401
- Kearny county, articles on, noted.... 418
- newspapers, article on, noted..... 418
- Keeler, Walter, Lawrence..... 111
- Keeney, James F., Trego..... 412
- Keffer, A. J., Garden City..... 223
- Kehr, William, Butler county..... 125-128, 130-134, 206
- Keifer, Asbury D., Baldwin..... 206
- Keith, Mrs. Edward, Kansas City, Mo., donor..... 81
- Keller, Mrs. Erwin (Dorothy Crane), Topeka..... 112, 221
- Keller, Mrs. Louie, Greensburg..... 110
- Keller, S. B., Pierceville..... 223
- Kendall, article on, noted..... 418
- Kennebec Association, Russell county.. 96
- Kennedy, Dr. A. R., Lawrence..... 421
- Kennekuk ("Kickapoo Prophet")..... 149, 163, 164
- at St. Louis, 1826 and 1827.... 13, 19
- biographical note..... 13
- Kennerly, Alzire (Menard)..... 408
- Kennerly, Augustin..... 4, 26, 39, 302, 384, 387, 388, 398
- Kennerly, Elizabeth..... 17, 26
- Kennerly, George H. 26, 28, 161, 164, 166, 174, 275, 284, 292, 294, 297, 301, 386, 408

Kennerly, Harriet	2, 17,	26
Kennerly, James	26, 37, 139, 386, 391,	109
Kennyon, Elfrieda, Hodgeman county.....		387
Keokuk, Sac Indian chief	159,	277
	278,	284
Kersey, Ralph T., Garden City.....		223
"Kickapoo Prophet" (Kennekek).....	13, 19,	199
	149, 163,	16
Kiewit, Fred, articles by, noted	216, 333,	415
Killer, C. C., Manhattan.....		420
Kill Creek, history of, noted.....	415,	416
King, Hugh, soldier, executed.....		26
Kingery, Cecil, donor.....		79
Kingsbury, Lt. James W.....		393
Kinney, Mr. and Mrs. —, of Cald- well's theatrical company.....		161
Kinzie, John H., at St. Louis, 1827.....		34
Kiowa	247-49	39
—incorporation papers filed.....		270
Kiowa County Historical Society, 1947 annual old settlers' reunion, noted....		170
Kiowa Herald, moves to New Kiowa.....		272
Kiowa News-Review, story by David D. Leahy, noted		272
Kiowa Review		251
Kiowa Town Company, organization of	270,	272
Kirkpatrick, R. D., St. Paul, sketch of, noted		217
Kirwin and Beloit, stage line.....		78
Kish-co, Kickapoo Indian.....		25
Knapp, Dallas W., Coffeyville.....	95,	97
Knights of Columbus, Kansas Council, article on Father Padilla monument to be erected by, noted.....		216
Kratzka (Russian) colony, history, noted		221
Krickeberg, Prof. Dr. Walter, Berlin, letters from, noted.....		229
Krimmer Mennonite Brethren.....		105
Kroh, Sarah, article by, noted.....		332
Kuhlmann, Prof. G. A., Winfield.....		421
Kurz, Rudolph Friederich.....		225
—quoted		228
Kyser, Mrs. Helen B., Neosho county, 331		331

L

La Cygne, W. E. Baer's historical articles on, noted.....	103, 215,	331
La Cygne <i>Journal</i> , historical series by W. E. Baer in, noted.....	103, 215,	331
Lafayette, Gen. Marie Joseph.....		169
Lake McBride, Scott county, picture of, noted.....		218
Lake Pepin.....		11
Lakin, David Long, railroad official....		418
Lakin, articles on, noted.....		418
—schools, article on, noted.....		418
Lakin <i>Independent</i> , diamond jubilee edition of, noted.....		418
Land agency, of Thomas F. Nicholl....		212
Lands, Osage Indian.....		242
Lane, Miss.....		292
Lane, Gen. James H.....	177,	211
—escape from Quantrill's raiders, noted, member of M. E. church.....	54,	55
—statement of, 1859.....		47
Lang, John A., first mayor of Wilson....		416
Langham, A. L., letter of, noted.....		276
Langham, Elias T., Indian subagent....		290
Langsdorf, Edgar, archivist and building manager, Historical Society.....		83
Larned, Presbyterian church, history, noted.....		106
Larned <i>Chronoscope</i>	102, 103, 333,	418
Larsen, Lucile, Johnson county.....		103
Larsen, R. O., article by, noted.....		334
Latchem, Clyde, state fire marshal.....		417
Lathrop, Clifford, Butler county.....		125
Lau, C. D., dental student.....		382

Lawrence	374, 376
—arts and crafts festival, 1948,	
noted	223, 224
—bachelors, census, 1868	98, 99
—boarding houses, 1868	99
—Dutch windmill, note on	111
—hotels, 1868	98
—Quantrill's raid, 1863, described by Julia L. Lovejoy	195-198
Lawrence <i>Daily Journal</i> , quoted	412
Lawrence <i>Daily Journal-World</i>	216
Lawrence Historical Society, note on or- ganization and meeting of	110, 111
"Lawrence University," 1859	7
Leahy, David D., of Kiowa	271, 272
Lease, Mrs. Mary Elizabeth, articles on, noted	104, 107, 331
Leavenworth, Col. (Bvt. Brig. Gen.)	
Henry	23, 286, 303
Leavenworth	181, 378, 379
—historical articles on, noted	219, 334
—hospitals in, 1862	181, 182
—Julia L. Lovejoy's letter from, 1862	178-182
—Methodist church in, 1862	181
—1948 pioneer day celebration at, noted	334
—sketch of in 1858	facings 336
—note on	facings 337
Leavenworth <i>Chronicle</i>	219
Leavenworth <i>Times</i> , historical articles, noted	219, 334, 417
—quoted	327
—to be microfilmed	79
Le Clare, Antoine, interpreter	385
Lecluyer, Judge —, at St. Louis, 1827, 34	
Lee, Emily, marriage of	385
Legler, E. A., article by, noted	333
Leiger, Victor C., article by, noted	332
Leming, J. Y., Barber county, quoted	250
Lemoine	28
Lenexa, articles on, noted	333, 417
Lennen, O. L., Ness county	108
Lester, H. D., Wichita	224
Levinson, Harry, article by, noted	107
Lewis, Colonel, Shawnee Indian	11, 12, 424
Lewis, Meriwether	1, 2
Lewis, Mrs., Shawnee Indian	10
Libraries, of Frederick William IV, Pots- dam, Möllhausen appointed custodian of	238
Library, first in Shawnee county, article on, noted	414
—State Historical, additions to, 1946- 1947	306-324
Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., donor	80
Light and power in Topeka, article on, noted	414
Lillard, T. M., Topeka	76, 83, 97
Lilleston, W. F., Wichita	95, 97
Lincoln, Abraham, paper on, noted	223
Lincoln Center, history, noted	218
Lindquist, John F., Gove county	101
Lindsborg, newspaper history, noted	104
Lindsborg <i>Localist</i> , first paper in Linds- borg	104
Lindsborg <i>News-Record</i>	104
Lindsley, H. K., Wichita	97
Lingenfelter, Angelus, Atchison	97
Linn, George, Neodesha	217
Linn county, battle in	47
Linnwood school, Johnson county, history, noted	215
Lipeap, Solomon, killed by Winnebago Indians	170
Little Arkansas river	369
Little Bear, Little Osage chief, buried near Neodesha	217
Little Sandy creek, Harper county	248
Little Turkey, Kickapoo Indian	162
Ljungdahl, William, of Menlo and Topeka	222

- Lobdell, Charles E., Butler county.... 134
 Lockard, Lee Monroe, Neodesha..... 217
 Logan, J. Glenn, Topeka..... 112
 Loise, Alexis, St. Louis..... 8
 Loise, Elizabeth, St. Louis..... 8
 Loise, Paul, Osage interpreter..... 8, 24
 Loise, Terese 8
 Long, Richard M., Wichita..... 79, 97, 224
 Los Angeles, Cal., 1854..... 237
 Lottery, St. Louis, 1829..... 275
 Loucks, Charles A., reminiscences of,
 noted 418
 Louisville, steamboats to and from at
 St. Louis, 1826 7-11, 15
 —1827 19-31, 33-39
 —1828 137-142, 144-166, 168-173
 —1829 275, 276, 280-292, 295
 —1830 387, 388, 390
 Lovejoy, Rev. Charles H. 44, 46, 53, 54
 56, 57, 60, 62-64, 69, 73-75, 181, 200
 —at Baldwin City, 1863..... 189
 —at Wyandotte City, 1862..... 183, 184
 —letter from, 1859..... 65, 66
 —St. Louis, 1864..... 205-207
 Lovejoy, Charles J. 64, 177, 188
 195, 208, 209
 Lovejoy, Irving R. 41
 —donor 79
 Lovejoy, Julia Louisa, letters of,
 1859-1864 40-75, 175-211
 Lovejoy, Juliette Louisa. *See* White-
 horn, Juliette L.
 Lovejoy, Sarah (Mrs. Charles J.)..... 209
 Lovejoy family, ill with ague,
 1859 66, 68, 69
 Lovewell, Paul A., articles by,
 noted 112, 414
 Lower Cimarron spring, Santa Fe
 trail 341, 342
 Lowndes, R., aid-de-camp to Gen-
 eral Gaines 35
 Lull, Dr. —, Salina 412
 Lumb, Mark, Topeka 111
 Lutheran church, Deerfield, article on,
 noted 418
 Lynam, Mrs. O. W., Hodgeman county,
 Lyons, Ida, Lawrence 109
 Lyons, article on Father Padilla mon-
 ument near, noted 216
- M
- McC Campbell, Charles W., note on.... 245
 —"W. E. Campbell, Pioneer Kansas
 Livestockman," article by..... 245-273
 McCarter, William A., Topeka..... 381
 McCarty, —, of Rome, a murderer, 412
 McCasland, Mrs. Charles, Clark county, 110
 McCorison, J. L., Jr., Boston, donor, 80
 McCoy, Alvin S., articles by, noted... 101
 102, 215, 216
 McCoy, Rev. Isaac 13, 166, 167
 —report on dust storms, 1830, noted, 402
 —sets out on exploring expedition,
 1828 161
 McCoy, John C., Kansas City, Mo.... 78
 McCutcheon, A. S., donor 79
 MacDaniel, —, murderer of
 Chavez 367, 368
 McElravy, May Flenner..... 107
 McFarland, Clair C., Clark county... 110
 McFarland, Helen M., librarian, His-
 torical Society 82, 83, 97, 306
 McFarland, Dr. Kenneth W.,
 Topeka 101, 222
 McFarland, Mrs. Kenneth W., Topeka, 222
 McGee, Allen, Kansas City, Mo..... 78
 McGlinn, Mildred, Neodesha..... 217
 MacGregor, Sen. Riley W., Medicine
 Lodge 106
 MacGregor, Ronald L., articles by,
 noted 102, 830
- McGunnegle, Capt. —, of steamboat
 Liberator 151
 McIntosh, Mrs. Ruby, Osawatomie.... 335
 McKee, Charley, St. Paul, sketch of,
 noted 217
 McKeen, Walter E., Manhattan.... 96, 332
 McKenney, Col. Thomas L., at St.
 Louis, 1827 34
 Mackenzie, Lt. John..... 148
 McKernan, Rev. Thomas A., Neosho
 county 331
 McKittrick, J. T., Wilson..... 416
 McLean, Gen. Milton R., To-
 peka 86, 95-97
 —donor 79
 —president Historical Society..... 76
 —"Selective Service in Kansas—World
 War II," address by 86-92
 McLeod, Marietta, article by, noted... 332
 McMullen, Mrs. O. E., Courtland, 108, 420
 McNair, Alexander, governor of Mis-
 souri 2
 McNair, Dunning D., St. Louis, clerk
 and interpreter 4, 157, 291, 389
 McNeil, Col. John, Third U. S. in-
 fantry, Indian commissioner.... 145, 292
 McNew, Arthur, Marshall county.... 335
 McWilliams, Father Jim, St. Louis.... 419
 Magee, Robert Sorren, Topeka..... 381
 Magenis, Arthur L., St. Louis..... 385
 388, 402
 Magure, —, leaves St. Louis for
 Prairie du Chien 396
 Mahan, Dean Ernest, Pittsburg..... 420
 Majors, Alexander, wagon trains of,
 article on, noted 415
 Malin, Dr. James C., Lawrence.... 81, 95
 97, 135
 Malone, Maj. Francis M., Seventh Kan-
 sas cavalry 204
 Malone, James, Topeka..... 97
 Malott, Mike, Abilene, article on, noted, 102
 Maneval, Mrs. L. F., donor 79
 Manhattan 420
 —Peace Memorial auditorium planned
 for 108
 Manhattan *Mercury-Chronicle*, 329, 331, 332
 Manhattan *Republic* 329, 332
 Manley, C. H., family, Junction City... 417
 Mann, Daniel P., founder of Fort Mann, 348
 Manning, Col. E. C., Winfield..... 220
 March, Clement, St. Louis, death of.. 405
 Marion 417
 Marion *Record-Review* 417
 Marmaduke, Gen. John S., capture of, 211
 Marshall, Frank J., Marshall county... 219
 Marshall, Capt. James, of steamboat
 Maryland 155
 Marshall county, county-seat election of
 1871, article on, noted... 105
 Marshall County Index, Frankfort.... 332
 Marshall County News, Marysville.... 105
 Martin, —, St. Louis..... 393
 Martin, Gordon P., Topeka, article by,
 noted 413
 Martin, Rev. Ralph, Larned..... 106
 Marymount College, Salina..... 423
 Marysville *Advocate* 106
 Marysville *Enterprise*, quoted..... 327
 Mason, Frank, McCune..... 109
 Masure, Dr. Auguste, St. Louis..... 387
 Mattes, Merrill J., articles by, noted... 336
 Maximilian of Wied, Prince..... 225
 May, Lt. Charles O., killed in a duel... 385
 Mead, James R., Wichita..... 221
 Meade, history, articles on, noted... 414
 Meade county, Council of Women's
 Clubs, historical essay contest.... 222
 —meeting of historical committee,
 noted 385
 —E. D. Smith diary of life in, noted... 219
 —salt manufacturing in, noted... 219

Meade County Press, Meade.....	414	Miller, T. E., Illinois.....	254
Meade Globe-News.....	216, 219, 414	Miller, T. L., <i>History of Hereford</i> <i>Cattle</i> , quoted.....	256, 257, 272
Meagher, Mike, killed at Caldwell.....	265	Miller, Tresmon, Finney county.....	223
Means, Eldon, Wichita.....	224	Mills, Mrs. Ella Remington.....	128
Means, Hugh, Lawrence.....	97	Mine Creek, Battle of, noted.....	211
Meat prices, 1867.....	327	Mineral products in Kansas, 1947, article on, noted.....	101
Mechem, Kirke, director Historical Society.....	97	Minnich, Eva, Wichita.....	224
—secretary Historical Society.....	95, 96, 110	Mission.....	417
—report of.....	76-83	Mississippi river stages at St. Louis, 1826.....	6, 7, 9-13, 15, 17
Medicine Lodge <i>Cresset</i> , quoted.....	267, 272	—flood.....	6-8
Medicine Lodge Indian Peace Treaty Pageant.....	105, 106	—1827, 18-22, 24, 25, 27, 29, 31, 33, 35-38 —1828.....	136, 138, 140, 141, 143, 146, 147
—article on, noted.....	101	151, 152, 155, 156, 159, 162	163, 165, 168, 169, 171, 172
Medicine River and Sand Creek Pool, Caldwell, notice of meeting.....	248	—1829.....	274, 277, 279, 282, 286, 289, 290
Meek, F. B., artist.....	234	292, 293, 295-297, 299, 301, 303	—1830.....
Memphis, Tenn.....	156, 192	334, 386-388, 390, 392	394, 396-400, 402-405
—Julia L. Lovejoy's note on, 1864.....	201	—1831.....	407, 409
<i>Men and Women in World War II from Shawnee County</i> , book, noted.....	423	Missouri, war tragedies, 1862, described by Mrs. Lovejoy.....	182, 183
Menard, —, St. Louis.....	24	Missouri Fur Company, St. Louis.....	33
Menard, Berenice, St. Louis.....	7	Missouri river.....	30, 378
Menard, Col. Pierre, Indian subagent at Kaskaskia.....	5, 142, 144, 156, 173, 284	Missouri Valley reservoir areas, article on historical aspects of, noted.....	336
290-292, 397		Mitchell, J. W., <i>La Cygne</i>	331
Menard, Pierre, Jr.....	142, 144	Mitchell, Robert B., <i>La Cygne</i> , article on, noted.....	103
Menninger, Dr. Karl A., Topeka, donor, 79		Mitchner, John, Butler county.....	131, 132
Menninger, Dr. William, Topeka, article on, noted.....	416	Mobile, Ala.....	8
<i>Mennonite Life</i> , North Newton.....	105	Möhlhausen, Heinrich Balduin, appointed librarian to Frederick William IV.....	238
Mennonites, settle Gnadenau, note on.....	105	—article on.....	225-244
"Mennonites in Comanche County, Kansas," article by Mrs. S. Enos Miller, noted.....	330	—biographical notes on.....	337, 338
Meramec river, Missouri.....	143, 288	—"Diary of a Journey from the Missis- sippi to the Coasts of the Pacific," noted.....	353
Meredit, Mrs. Cecil W., donor.....	79	—early life of.....	226, 227
Merriam, articles on, noted.....	333, 417	—in Illinois.....	227
Merrill Springs hotel, near Topeka, history of, noted.....	218, 219	—in Nebraska.....	227-229
Merryman, J., Cockeyville, Md.....	254	—marriage of.....	238
Mertz, Dr. Clarke N., Topeka.....	381-383	—"Over the Santa Fe Trail Through Kansas in 1858," account by.....	337-380
Mesco [?].....	164	—portrait of.....	232
Meteorological data, St. Louis, 1826.....	6, 7	—sketches by.....	232
9-13, 15, 17		<i>between</i> 232, 233; 240, 241	
—1827.....	18-22, 24, 25, 27, 29, 31, 33	—visits to America.....	226-241, 337-380
35-38		Monaghan, J., Illinois state historian.....	328
—1828.....	136, 138, 140, 141, 143, 146	Monument marking Kansas-Nebraska boundary, article on, noted.....	336
147, 151, 152, 155, 156, 159		Monument Rocks, photograph of, noted.....	331
162, 163, 165, 168, 169, 171, 172		Moore, Russell, Wichita.....	95, 97
—1829.....	274, 277, 279, 282, 286, 289	Moore, William T., Clark county.....	110
290, 292, 293, 295-297, 299, 301, 303		Morgan, Ebenezer, founder of Morgan- ville.....	421
—1830.....	334, 386-388, 390, 392, 394	Morgan, Fox Indian chief.....	159
396-400, 402-405		Morgan, J. Kansas, Neodesha.....	217
—1831.....	407, 409	Morgan, Mrs. Matilda, Crawford county, Mo.....	212
Methodist church, Dodge City, history of, noted.....	329	Morgan, Col. Willoughby.....	35
—Lakin, article on, noted.....	418	—appointed commissioner to conclude treaty with Indians on upper Missis- sippi.....	396
Methodists in St. Marys, history of, noted.....	419	—"Morgan's," in Missouri.....	148
Metté, Jacques, interpreter, 27, 166, 288, 292, 296, 396		Morganville, historical pageant, noted.....	421
Metty, —, See Metté, Jacques.....	78	Mormon war, 1857-1858.....	238, 379
Meyer, Mrs. Bruno, Haviland.....	110	Morrison, Thomas F., article on, noted.....	104
—"Miami Post Day Book," 1847-1849, microfilm in Historical Society.....	31	Morse, Theo. W., article by, noted.....	217
Middle Cimarron spring, Santa Fe trail, Miller.....	493	Morton county courthouse, picture of, noted.....	103
Miller, Rev. —, Leavenworth.....	393	Moyer, Mrs. C. I., Topeka.....	222
Miller, A. Q., Salina.....	108	Mudge, Prof. T. H., Baldwin City.....	189
Miller, Ben, Caldwell.....	248	Mullanphy, Catherine, St. Louis.....	147
Miller, Ernie W., article by, noted.....	333	Mullanphy, John, St. Louis, brewery of.....	301
Miller, George, Chase county.....	835	Muller, Mrs. Anna Neal, Topeka.....	101
Miller, John, Clark county, Ky., death of, 1827.....	35	Mullinville, school history, noted.....	218
Miller, John, governor of Missouri.....	294, 395	Mullinville News.....	218
Miller, Karl, Dodge City.....	95, 97	Murdock, Marcellus, Wichita.....	79
Miller, Nyle H., Topeka.....	111		
—microfilm director and managing editor of <i>Kansas Historical Quarterly</i>	330		
Miller, Mrs. S. Enos, article by, noted.....	83		

- Pearson, Charles G., article by, noted, 216
 Peck, Judge —, St. Louis..... 300
 Pengrey, Mrs. Kate Winter, article by, noted 216, 217
 Penishia, Kickapoo Indian..... 28
 Pennington, Dwight, Kansas City, Mo., articles by, noted..... 215, 415
 Penny, M. N., Lawrence..... 111
Peoples Herald, Lyndon..... 330, 416
 Perry, —, Shawnee chief..... 398
 Perry, H. T., St. Paul, sketch of, noted 217
 Perry, John, Shawnee chief..... 139
 Perry, Ludlow, New Albany, Ind., death of, 1827, noted..... 35
 Perry, William, Shawnee chief..... 139
 Petefish, Olin K., Lawrence..... 111
 Pettit, Mrs. P. A., Paola..... 222
 Peto, Martha, articles by, noted..... 333
 Pettis, Spencer, wounded in duel..... 283
 Philip, Mrs. W. D., Hays..... 97
 "Phip," Bob Camp's cook..... 130, 131
 Piazek, Joseph, donor..... 79
 "Pictorial Record of the Old West: V. Remington in Kansas," article by Robert Taft 113-135
 "Pictorial Record of the Old West: VI. Heinrich Balduin Möllhausen," article by Robert Taft..... 225-244
 Pierce, Francis L., articles by, noted, 418
 Pierceville, Indian attack at, note on article on 418
 Pierson, Ray, article on annual catfish fry of, noted..... 101, 102
 Pike's Peak 43, 53-55, 58, 65
 Pistol, Colt's, given Historical Society, 81
 Pittsburgh, Pa. 20, 21, 140, 148, 155, 288, 289
Plains Journal 219
Plainville Times 330
 Plants, new to Kansas herbaria, article on, noted 102
 Platte river 144, 145, 148, 344, 372
 Platte River Bridge Massacre, 1861, noted 181
 Pleasonton, Gen. Alfred..... 211
 Plum Grove, Butler county .. 123, 126, 128, 129, 133, 134
 —schoolhouse 134
 Plumer, Mrs. Mabel Landon..... 96
 Plymouth church, New York..... 330
 Pomatis, species of fish, noted..... 338
 Pomona 333
 Pony Express, articles on, noted, 333, 415
 —station near Hanover, picture of, noted 218
 Pope, Judge Nathaniel, Kaskaskia, Ill., 387
 Porter, Mrs. Clyde H., Kansas City, article by, noted..... 332
 Porter, Edgar, reminiscences of, noted, 333
 Post Meridian News Room, St. Louis, opened by H. P. Bradbury, 1829..... 275
 Poste, William, Canton, N. Y..... 124
 Pottery, Ellsworth, article on, noted... 102
 Potts, Rev. —, St. Louis..... 406
 Prairie du Chien, Wis., 2, 7, 26, 30, 34, 35, 142, 145, 147, 149, 153, 159, 170, 291-293, 296, 396, 397
 Pratte, Gen. Bernard, St. Louis..... 11
 Prentice, Mrs. Dwight, Lawrence..... 111
 Prentiss, Noble L., newspaperman..... 412
 Prescott, Canada, Lovejoy family in, 1862 178, 179
 Preston, Caroline L., Louisville, Ky.... 38
 Preston, Henrietta, Louisville, Ky.... 38, 168
 Preston, Josephine 297, 301
 Price, Ralph R., Manhattan..... 95, 97
 Price, Gen. Sterling, invasion of Kansas, 1864, described by Julia L. Lovejoy 210, 211
 Prideaux, Dr. R. O., article on, noted, 104
 "Printers Protective Fraternity," Topeka, story on, noted..... 101
 Protection, articles on history of, noted, 330
 Protection Historical Society..... 105, 220, 330, 416
 —1947 annual meeting, noted..... 110
Protection Post 105, 220, 330, 416
 Pumpkin, Iowa Indian..... 300
 Purgatorio, R., Frontenac..... 109
- Q
- Quantrill, William C..... 207-209
 —raids by, article on, noted..... 332
 —in Johnson county..... 184-186
 —on Lawrence 195-198
 —rumors concerning, 1863..... 189
 Quatawapea, or Colonel Lewis, Shawnee Indian 11, 12
 Quincy, Ill., Lovejoy family in, 1862, 180
 Quinius, H. M., Wichita..... 224
 Quinlin, Billie, cattleman..... 267
 Quinter, Methodist church history, noted 220
 Quivira, article on, noted..... 333
- R
- Radford, Dr. John..... 2, 37
 Radford, Mrs. John (Harriet Kennerly) 2, 26, 37
 Radford, Mary P..... 37, 281, 297, 301, 396
 —marriage of 400, 401
 Radford, William 162, 283, 290, 293
 Railroad, Union Pacific..... 245
 Rain makers, article on, noted..... 328
 Rain making, articles on, noted..... 107
 Ranch, Butler county, Remington sketch of between 120, 121
 Ranch life, 1870's-1880's, attractions of, discussed 113-120
 Rankin, Robert C., Lawrence 76, 97, 110, 111
 Raser, Mrs. Margaret, Hodgeman county 109
 Rastall, John E., Topeka..... 221
 Ratner, Gov. Payne 86, 88
 Raton mountains (N. M.)..... 339
 Raynesford, H. C., Ellis..... 95, 97
 Read, Mrs. F. W., Lawrence..... 197
 Readville, Mass., Symboler lowered race record at 263
 Realf, Richard, papers of, given Historical Society 78
 Reclamation, in the Kansas basin, article on, noted..... 102
 Red Bird, Winnebago Indian chief..... 170
 Redmond, John, Burlington..... 95, 97
 Reed, Clyde M., Parsons..... 97
 Reed, James, Galena, Ill..... 150
 Reeder, Gov. Andrew J..... 220
 Reese, Amos, Leavenworth residence of in 1858, mentioned facing 337
 Reeve, Juliet, *Friends University, The Growth of an Idea*, book by, noted... 423
 Reigle, Wilford, Emporia..... 97
Reisen in die Felsengebirge Nord-Amerikas bis zum Hoch-Plateau von Neu-Mexico, unternommen als Mitglied der im Auftrage der Regierung der Vereinigten Staaten ausgesandten Colorado-Expedition, by H. B. Möllhausen, note on 337, 338
 Remington, Frederic, in Kansas, article on 113-135
 —Butler county sheep rancher.. 121-135
 —sketch of ranch-house between 120, 121
 —in Montana 120
 —note on articles on..... 102, 333
 —photograph of facing 120

Remington, Frederic, sketches by, *facings* 112, 120, 121, 128, 129
 —student at Yale Art school..... 121
 Remington, Lamartine 128, 129
 Remington, Pierre 128
 Remington Art Memorial, Ogdensburg, N. Y., Remington sketches in, noted, 128
 "Remington in Kansas," article by Robert Taft 113-135
 Renner, Dr. M. J., article on, noted, 102
 Renouard, Hyacinth, St. Louis..... 24
 Republic County Historical Society, 108, 420
 Reuhmann, Mrs. Ella, Wanego..... 222
 Reynolds, Lt. Wm..... 148
 Rian, Capt. —, of steamboat *Atlantic* 395
 Rice, J. Frank, article on, noted..... 216
 Rich, Hiram, marriage of, noted..... 287
 Richards, Gotlieb, family, article on, noted 102, 103
 Richards, Ralph, Fort Scott..... 109
 Richardson, Albert D., Sumner... 59, 62
 63, 65
 Richfield, Morton county courthouse, picture of, noted..... 103
 Ricks, Alva, dental student..... 382
 Ridings, Sam P., *The Chisholm Trail*, mentioned 266
 Riegel, Andrew, articles by, noted, 102, 330
 Riley, Bvt. Maj. Bennet..... 287, 288
 Riley county, historic spots, noted, 222, 223
 Riley County Historical Association, 96, 420
 —annual meeting, 1947, noted.... 108, 109
 —meetings, 1948, noted..... 222, 223
 Rinehart, Edna, dental student..... 382
 Riner, Mrs. T. W. (Nell), Protection, 110
 Rippe, Herman 421
 Risque, Ferdinand 17, 22
 Risque, Harriet 17, 22, 391
 —marriage of 397
 Risque, Maj. James B. 17, 397
 Risque, Mrs. James B. (Elizabeth Kennerly) 17, 26, 397
 Rister, Dr. Carl Coke, *No Man's Land*, book by, noted..... 422
 Robidoux, Joseph, trader..... 387
 Robinson, —, soldier, Civil War... 177
 Robinson, Mrs. —, Sumner..... 206
 Robinson, Gov. Charles..... 49
 —article on, noted..... 332
 Rock creek 374
 Rock river (Ill.)..... 149, 284
 Rockwell, Julia, story of, noted..... 215
 Rocky Mountains, Iroquois Indians arrive at St. Louis from, 1827..... 24
 Roddy, George Sipes, reminiscences of, noted 413
 Rodgers, Jack, Fort Hays State College, 420
 Rodkey, Clyde K., Manhattan.. 95, 97, 223, 420
 Rogers, Mr. —, Cherokee Indian... 17
 Rogler, Henry, Chase county..... 335
 Rome, Ellis county..... 411, 412
 Rooks county newspapers, history of, noted 330
Rooks County Record, Stockton... 106, 330
 Roosevelt, Theodore, ranch life of, noted 114, 115, 121
 Root, George A., Topeka..... 112, 221, 414
 —donor 79, 80
 Rosati, Bishop, of New Orleans..... 154
 Rosecrans, Gen. W. S..... 210
 Rosewood Park, W. E. Campbell's ranch home 249-251, 264
 Rothrock, Rev. —, killed in Quantrell's raid 198
 Rousseau, Mr. — 167
 Rousseau, Lt. Gustave S..... 385
 Rousseau, Pierre, interpreter..... 167
 Rowland, Claude, Protection..... 110
 Roy, Alexander, interpreter..... 294, 295

Royall, Mrs. Ann, at St. Louis, 1830, 395
 Rudd, Hughes, article by, noted..... 101
 Ruland, John, St. Louis..... 4, 14, 23, 25, 296, 389
 —leaves St. Louis for Prairie du Chien, 396
 Rule, Eliza, St. Louis, death of, noted, 148
 Rumsey, A. W., director, Kiowa Town Company 270
 Rupp, Mrs. Jane C., Lincolnville..... 97
 Ruppenthal, J. C., Russell..... 97
 —donor 79
 Rush county, first settlers, note on... 107
 —history, article on, noted..... 107
 —School District 35, history, noted... 101
Rush County News, The, La Crosse, 101, 107
 Russell, Charley, artist..... 120
 Russell, W. J., Topeka..... 95, 97
 Russell-Bull City (now Alton) trail... 416
 Russell county, history of Russian colonies, noted 221
 Russell *Record* 221
 Russian colonies, Russell county, history, noted 221
 Rust, George W., articles by, in *Breeder's Gazette*, noted..... 259, 260

S

Sackrider, Horace D..... 122
 Sage, William Jewell, booklet by, noted, 336
 St. Charles, Mo..... 146, 148
 St. Cyr, Hyacinthe, Jr., St. Louis..... 302
 St. Genevieve, Mo. 21, 153, 157, 173, 424
 St. John's College, Winfield..... 421
 St. Louis, Caldwell theatrical company at 157, 161, 167, 395
 —description, 1826-1831 3
 —earthquakes, 1827 30, 32
 —events, 1826-1831, in William Clark's diary .. 6-39, 136-174, 274-305, 384-410
 —horse races, 1828..... 166
 —Indian superintendency grounds, 1829, described 16
 —sketch of *facings* 16
 —meteorological data. *See* Meteorological data, St. Louis.
 —military ball, 1827..... 18
 —view of, in 1840's..... *facings* 385
 St. Marys, celebration at..... 419
 St. Mary's College..... 419
 —article on, noted..... 415
 St. Marys *Star*..... 419
 St. Paul Journal, 80th anniversary edition, noted 417
 —historical articles by W. W. Graves in, noted 104, 331
 St. Peters, Minn.... 7-10, 23, 149, 151, 285
 St. Peters river..... 7
 Saloon, Wells Fargo, Junction City... 327
 Salt river 149
 Sanachwan, Pottawatomie chief, at St. Louis, 1826 14
 Sand creek, southwest Kansas..... 342
 Sand Creek Pool, meeting of at Caldwell, 248
 Sandburg, Carl, article on General Eisenhower, noted 333
 Sanders, Alvin H., *The Story of the Herefords*, quoted 255
 Sandifer, J. H., El Dorado..... 123
 Sandy Hill creek, Gage county, Mo. 227
 Sanford, Alexander, Baltimore, Md..... 303
 Sanford, Henrietta C..... 303
 Sanford, John F. A., Indian agent... 4, 14, 22, 169, 171, 284, 400
 Sanford, Mrs. John F. A. (Emily Chouteau) 14
 San Francisco, Cal., Möllhausen at, 237, 239
 Sangamo Bay, Ill..... 7
 Sangamon river 7, 8
 San Pedro, Cal..... 237, 239
 Santa Fe, N. M..... 241, 337

- Santa Fe trail..... 418
 —article on, noted..... 415
 —Möllhausen's account of journey
 over 337-380
 —note on opening of..... 328
 Sarony and Co., New York
 lithographers 234-236, 243
 Sarpy, Peter, trader..... 229
 Saucier, Brigitte 7
 Saulnier, Rev. —, St. Louis..... 300
 Sayers, Wm. L., Hill City..... 97
 Schauffler, Edward R., articles by,
 noted 215, 332, 415
 Scheffer, Theo. H., article by, noted..... 107
 Schepers, Frank, reminiscences of, noted, 333
 Schmidt, Heinie, Dodge City, articles
 by, noted 329
 Schmölder, Captain B. 225
 Schoepfel, Gov. Andrew 86, 89
 Schoewe, Walter H., article by, noted... 330
 Schonhoff, J. B., builder of Wamego
 windmill 331
 School District No. 54, Harvey county,
 note on anniversary of..... 413
 Schott, John 412
 Schulman, Frank, Garden City..... 223
 Schultz, Floyd B., Clay Center..... 97
 Schwarz, Henry, Greensburg..... 110
 Scott, —, master, steamboat *North*
 America 292
 Scott, Angelo, Iola..... 106
 Scott, Charles F., Iola..... 106
 Scott, John, custodian First Capitol... 83
 Scott, John H., St. Paul..... 217, 417
 Scott, Judge R. A., El Dorado..... 123
 Scott, Rev. W. E., Quinter..... 220
 Scott County State Lake, picture of,
 noted 217
 Scott County State Park, picture of,
 noted 218
 Seranton *Gazette-Record* 333
 Seckler, Harry H., articles by,
 noted 219, 334, 417
 Sedgwick *Pantagraph* 413
 Seelye, Mrs. A. B., donor..... 79
 Seery, Mrs. Harry, Topeka, reminiscences
 of, noted 112
 "Selective Service in Kansas—World
 War II," address by Milton R.
 McLean 86-92
 Sellers, Rev. —, Missouri..... 177
 Sena-chewin, Pottawatomie chief, at
 St. Louis, 1826..... 14
 Senewathquakaw, Shawnee chief..... 137
 Sennrich, Mrs. John F., donor..... 79
 Setzler, Dr. F. M., U. S. National
 Museum 230, 231
 Shane, Anthony, interpreter... 26, 150, 151
 —stepson of, mentioned..... 163, 164
 Shannon, Wilson, ex-governor..... 49
 Sharer, Mrs. Eva Baker, Garden City, 223
 Shaw, Joseph C., Topeka..... 95, 97
 Shaw, Rev. Knowles, Neosho county, 331
 Shaw, Warren W., Topeka..... 222
 Shawanagua, Sac Indian chief..... 166
 Shawnee, Johnson county, articles on,
 noted 334, 417
 Shawnee county, articles on history of,
 noted 112
 —World War II veterans from, book
 on, noted 423
 Shawnee County Historical Society, annual
 dinner meeting, 1947, noted, 111, 112
 —*Bulletin*, articles in, noted, 112, 221, 414
 Shawnee Mission Indian Historical So-
 ciety 83, 96
 —article on history of, noted..... 333, 334
 —notes on election meeting, 1947..... 108
 Sheep ranching, Butler county..... 121
 —sketches by Frederic Remington
 between 120, 121; facing 128
 Sheetz, Caroline, of Maryland..... 21
- Shelley, F. H., director, Kiowa Town
 Company 270
 Shepherd, George, Peabody..... 128
 Shideler, Ralph, Girard..... 223
 Shideler, Mrs. Ralph, Girard..... 223
 Shippel, L. U., Stockton, Cal..... 263
 Shotgun, muzzle-loading, given to Hol-
 lenberg Ranch Pony Express Station
 State Park 421
 Shrewder, Mrs. R. V., Clark county... 110
 Shrouds, Capt. —, of steamboat
 Essex 30
 Silversmith, Delaware Indian..... 29
 Simmons, Corgia, diary of..... 333
 Simmons, India Harris, articles by,
 noted 418
 Simmons, Jim, article on, noted..... 333
 Simons, Dolph, Lawrence..... 111
 Simons, W. C., Lawrence..... 97
 Sinclair, T., Philadelphia lithog-
 rapher 234, 235
 Singleton, Benjamin "Pap," Negro
 leader 329
 Sিনnett, Mrs. Percy, translation by,
 noted 353
 Sisters of Saint Joseph, Concordia, his-
 tory of, noted 423
 Sketches by Möllhausen, listed..... 229-231
 233-236, 242
 —photographs of, secured by Robert
 Taft, listed 231
 Skinner, Alton H., Kansas City..... 97
 Slavery, Julia L. Lovejoy's views on, 50-
 72, 73
 —Möllhausen's philosophy on..... 372
 Slavery in Kansas, article on, noted..... 333
 Sloan, Alfred C., Topeka..... 381
 Sloan, E. R., Topeka..... 97
 Sluder, W. A., Mullinville..... 110
 Smelser, Edith, museum custodian, His-
 torical Society 83
 Smelser, Maud, Lawrence..... 97
 Smith, Charles S., article by, noted..... 418
 Smith, Dr. Clement, Topeka, donor..... 81
 Smith, D. M., Chase county..... 335
 Smith, E. D., Meade county, diary
 published 219
 Smith, F. W..... 258
 Smith, John, Butler county..... 130, 134
 Smith, Kate Hatcher, Garden City..... 223
 Smith, Mrs. Lena Martin, Girard..... 223
 Smith, Lura, Meade county..... 219
 Smith, Dr. Ralph, Pittsburg..... 109
 Smith, Gen. Thomas A., Franklin, Mo., 276
 Smith, Capt. Thomas F., First U. S.
 infantry regiment 148
 Smith, William, St. Louis..... 287
 Smith, Justice William A., Topeka..... 81
 Smith, William E., Wamego..... 95, 97
 Smithland (Smith's Landing), Ill., 160, 171
 Smith's instant dress elevator, adver-
 tisement for 100
 Snakes, in early Kansas..... 63, 67
 Snyder, Rev. S. S., killed in Quantrill's
 raid 197
 Soapweed, picture of, noted..... 104
 Socolofsky, Homer, Manhattan..... 223, 420
 Solander, Mrs. T. T., Osawatimie... 95, 97
 Solecki, John Henry, Topeka..... 381
 "Some Effects of Burning Upon a Prai-
 rie in West-Central Kansas," article,
 noted 330
 Somers, John G., Newton..... 95, 97
 Southern Kansas railroad..... 270
 South-Western Stage Company, passen-
 ger register, 1874-1879, given Histor-
 ical Society 78
 Sparhawk, Capt. —, of steamboat
 Criterion 152
 Spring Hill, Quantrill's raid on, 1862,
 noted 186
 Springer, Alvin, Manhattan 222

- Squiresville, Quantrill's raid on, 1862, noted 186
- Staatliches Museum für Volkerkunde, Berlin 229
- Stagelines, north-central Kansas, 1874-1879, noted 78
- Stanford, Leland, Palo Alto, Cal. 262
- Stanley, Harriet E., Wichita, donor. 83
- Stanley, W. E., Wichita. 97
- Stanton, Frederick P., Leocompton. 331
- Stanton, William B., Emporia State Teachers College 420
- Starnes, Walter, Topeka, article on, noted 216
- Stauffer, Oscar, Topeka. 79
- Steamboats, *America* 20-22, 24, 26
29-31, 34, 36
- Atlantic* 393, 395
- Atlas* 289
- Attakapas* 162
- Belle Memphis*, on Mississippi, 1864 202
- Belvidere* 25, 26, 28, 141, 281, 283
—sketch of facing 144
- Bolivar* 140-142, 150, 173, 174
- Car of Commerce* 32, 149, 150, 296, 297
- Cavalier* 149
- Ceolo* 7
- Chieftain* 396, 397
- Cleopatra* 20, 21, 23-26, 28-30, 36-38
139, 141, 142, 144, 145, 147, 149
151, 153-155, 157, 170, 171, 173
275, 280-282, 284, 286, 288, 290
298, 388, 390, 391
- Clinton* 280, 387
- Coffee* 147
- Columbus* 156, 157, 166, 167
- Commerce* 25
- Coosa* 8
- Courtland* 143, 144, 148, 149
- Criterion* 143-146, 152, 153, 159-161
164, 166, 171-173, 291
- Crusader* 34, 166, 167, 290-292, 294
- Cumberland* 171, 292
- Decatur* 12, 13
- Diana* 172, 173, 281, 283-288
290, 388, 390
- Dolphin* 13
- Eclipse* 8, 10-12
- Emerald* 288, 304, 305
- Essex* 30, 34, 37, 155, 157
158, 160, 162, 164, 168, 169
283-285, 287-289, 292, 295
- Explorer* 239
- illustration facing 224
- note on facing 225
- Facility* 164, 295
- Fairy* 166
- Fremont* 237
- Galena* 293, 298
- Galena Packet*, 32, 33, 35, 37, 140, 142, 144
145, 147, 149, 150, 152-154, 156
158-164, 167, 281, 284, 287, 290
- General Brown* 8-10, 12, 14
- General Coffee* 7
- General Hamilton* 11, 20, 22, 24, 30, 31
33, 37, 38, 145-148
- General Pike* 4, 172, 291
- General Wayne* 30
- Helen McGregor* 10, 388
- sketch of explosion, 1830. facing 384
- Hercules* 23, 25, 26, 28-31, 38, 141
- Huntress* 13, 14
- Huntsville* 297
- Ibez* (St. Louis ferry). 149
- Illinois* 140-143, 145, 148, 149, 152-158
163, 164, 167, 168, 172, 237, 276
- Indiana* 9, 21-23, 26-28, 30, 31, 36, 37
142, 144, 145, 147-149, 152, 154-156
- Isabella* 164, 165, 170, 171
- Josephine* 31, 32, 34-36, 38, 139, 142, 144
147, 153, 154, 156, 163, 165, 166, 283, 285
- Steamboats, *Jubilee* 23-25
28, 30, 32, 34, 36, 38
138, 140, 142, 145, 146, 150, 154-156
158, 162, 165, 166, 169, 170, 276, 280
283, 284, 287, 291, 297, 385, 387, 391
- Lady of the Lake* 297
- Lady Washington* 140, 149, 152, 154
155, 157, 164
- La Grange* 144-146, 159, 167
- Lawrence* 7, 8, 10-12, 22, 23, 26-28
30, 31, 281, 282
- Lexington* 23
- Liberator* 8, 9, 11, 13, 15, 21, 23, 25
28, 30, 34-37, 139, 141, 142, 144, 146
147, 151, 152, 155, 156, 160
- wreck of 296, 391
- Livingston* 285, 289, 290
- Magnet* 11, 17
- Marietta* 7-9
- Maryland* 140, 142, 144-153, 155, 164
166, 168, 169, 173, 280, 284, 288, 297, 387
- Mechanic* 7, 8, 10, 23
- Mexico* 22-25
- Miami* 14
- Missouri* 144, 145, 147-149, 151-154
157, 158, 160-162, 275, 280-283, 285
287-292, 297, 298
- Muskingum* 12, 20, 23, 24, 27, 28, 30
37, 38, 138, 140-143, 145, 171
173, 276, 283
- Nashville Packet* 141
- Natchez* 283
- Neptune* 298
- North America* 148, 153, 154, 157, 158
161, 166, 170, 171, 280, 284, 288
292, 297, 298
- Oregon* 23, 25, 31, 34, 36, 37, 39, 139
141, 144, 148, 152, 153, 156, 160, 164, 173
237, 283, 287, 290, 291, 293, 294, 297, 388
- Perry*, on Missouri river, 1859. 62
- Phoenix* 25, 26, 29, 30, 142, 283, 287
292, 298, 385
- Pilot* 23, 25, 139, 145, 147-149
151, 153, 155
- Pittsburgh* 10, 11
- Planet* 396
- Plough Boy* 8-11, 19, 21-23, 25-28, 30
36-39, 137, 139, 141, 142, 144, 148, 150
152-154, 156, 157, 170-174, 276, 280
281, 284, 285, 287-289, 292, 296
- Portland* 30
- Powhattan* 294
- Red Rover* 155-158, 284, 285, 287
289, 296
- Republican* 158, 161, 163
- Rome* 281
- Rover* 32-38, 141-150, 153, 154, 156
157, 159, 165, 166, 169, 171, 172
281-283, 286
- St. Clair* (St. Louis ferry). 149, 154, 409
- St. Louis* 297, 298
- St. Louis and Galena Packet* 152, 153
284, 287, 289
- St. Louis Packett* 36
- St. Mary* 145
- Samuel Frisbee* 161, 163, 166-170, 172
- Scioto* 7-9, 21, 26
- Shamrock* 21, 23, 25, 28, 37, 38
- Talma* 280-282, 289
- Tecumseh* 157, 166, 167
- Traveler* 294, 388
- Triton* 281, 284, 287, 289
- Tuscumbia* 8, 37
- Velocipede* 21, 26, 27, 30, 37, 38, 137
139-142, 144, 281, 284
- Victory* 276
- Virginia* 11, 15
- Walk in the Water* 291, 297
- Walter Scott* 289, 290
- William D. Duncan* 170, 171, 173, 276
283-285, 287, 291, 394
- William Penn* 30, 37

- Steffen, Bernard, Neodesha, murals by, noted 217
- Stephens, John E., Clark county 110
- Stephenson, Malvina, article by, noted .. 101
- Stevens, R. B., Lawrence 111
- Stevens county, fight for county seat, 1888 422
- picture of old courthouse, noted 103
- Stevenson, M. G., Clark county 110
- Stevenson school, Winfield 421
- Stewart, —, soldier, Civil War 177
- Stewart, —, killed by Border Ruffian, 72
- Stewart, Donald, Independence 95, 97
- Stewart, Mrs. James G., Topeka 97
- Stewart, R. C., dental student 382
- Still, Dr. —, preacher 59
- Still, J. W., publisher *Kansas Mes-*
sager 40
- Stillwell, Leander, article on, noted 104
- Stockton *News* 330
- Stokes, Ann, St. Louis 287
- Stone, John R., Topeka 97
- Stone, Robert, Topeka 97, 111, 112
- donor 79
- Storms on the prairie, Möllhausen's description of 358-360, 378
- Story of the Herefords, The*, by Alvin H. Sanders, quoted 255
- Stotts, Mrs. R. E., Garden City 223
- Stover, Frank Z., Republic 108
- Stowell, Helen M., Garden City 223
- Strahorn, Robert E., quoted 119
- Street, Gen. —, 386
- Street, Joseph M., Indian agent, 26, 142, 157
- Streiff, Mrs. Theis, Plains 222
- Strong, L. L., donor 79
- Strubberg, Friederich 225
- Stutler, Boyd B., donor 79
- Sulzman, Dolores, article by, noted 107
- Summerfield, article on history of, noted 106
- Sumner (1859), burning of Wood's wagon factory 68
- description of 57, 58
- Fourth of July at 60- 62
- Julia L. Lovejoy's letters from 40- 75
- Sumner Town Company 75
- Sunflower, article on, noted 415
- Sunflower Village, article on, noted 332
- Sunset cemetery, Manhattan 331, 332
- Superintendency of Indian Affairs, St. Louis, William Clark's diary, 1826-1831, of, 1-39, 136-174, 274-305, 384-410
- Suwaunock, Captain, Delaware chief, at St. Louis, 1826 14
- Swan, Joe, Marion fire chief 417
- Sweedlund, Dr. Verne S., Kansas State College 420
- Sweeney, Edward, river pilot 35
- Sweet, Paul B., Topeka 112
- T
- Tabor, Milton, Topeka 79, 112
- [Taffens?], Dr. —, St. Louis 18
- Taft, Robert, Lawrence .. 97, 102, 215, 328
- notes on 113, 225, 337
- “The Pictorial Record of the Old West: V. Remington in Kansas,” article by 113- 135
- “The Pictorial Record of the Old West: VI. Heinrich Balduin Möllhausen,” article by 225- 244
- Talbot, Jim, raid on Caldwell, 1881 265, 266
- Taliaferro, Lawrence, Indian agent, 5, 151, 164, 301, 390, 391
- Taliaferro, Mrs. Lawrence 164, 301
- Tate, Mrs. Lenora Boylan, reminiscences of, noted 418
- Taylor, Rev. N. 177, 187
- Taylor, P. H., astronomer 239
- Taylor, Lt. Col. Zachary 148, 149
- Teed, Mrs. O. L., Hodgeman county, 109
- Temperance in Kansas, 1880, article on, noted 415
- Templar, George, Arkansas City 97
- Templars, Good, organized in Sumner in late 1850's 41
- Templeton, J. S., Rush county 107
- Templeton, Samuel Alpha, Rush county, 107
- Tennessee river 37
- Terrill, Mrs. Nelle C., donor 79
- Terry, Mrs. C. F. 108
- Tesson, Francis, St. Louis 24
- Tesson, Michael, St. Louis 24
- Tevis, Mrs. Don, Wichita 224
- Texas fever 269, 270
- Third Iowa cavalry, Civil War 245
- Thomas, E. A., Topeka 95, 97
- Thomas, Lt. Lorenzo, duel fought by 405
- Thomas, Sister M., Evangeline, Marymount College, *Footprints on the Frontier*, book by, noted 423
- Thompson, W. F., Topeka 95, 97
- Thompson creek, Ellsworth county 416
- Thorpe, Edgar R., article by, noted 418
- “Three-Mile-Strip,” mentioned 247
- Tidball, Lt. J. C. 234- 236
- Tiffany, Rev. —, Chicago 180
- Tiller and Toiler, Larned 102, 103, 106
- 383, 413
- Tillotson, Mary Belle, Washburn University 420
- Tilton, —, fur trader 27
- Timber creek, Ellis county 412
- Tipton, Lt. — 241
- Todson, G. P., surgeon 166
- Topeka 374, 376
- First Congregational church, records of, microfilmed 79
- high school, automobile driving course, noted 101
- history, articles on, noted 112, 221
- library, history of, noted 101
- meaning of name, article on, noted 112
- printing history, noted 101
- Topeka Chamber of Commerce, women's division 108
- Topeka *Daily Capital*, 80, 106, 218, 219, 418
- microfilming of 79
- Topeka Dental College 381- 383
- Topeka *State Journal* 413
- microfilming of 79
- Topeka *Weekly Leader*, quoted 327
- Town-Pictorial Kansas City, Kansas City, Mo.* 417
- Township system in Riley county, article on, noted 415
- Trading Post, Bellevue, Neb., Möllhausen's sketch of between 232, 233
- Trail markers, article on, noted 215
- Trains, for children, made in Wichita, article on, noted 215
- Transactions of the Kansas Academy of Science*, articles in, noted, 102, 215, 330
- Travis, Mrs. Caroline, donor 79
- Trees. See Cottonwood tree; Council Grove, Post Office Oak.
- Trembly, W. B., Kansas City 97
- Tribune-News*, Manhattan 414, 415
- Trinity Ohio 28, 166, 167, 169- 173
- steamboats to and from, at St. Louis, 1829 280, 283, 292, 298
- Trust lands, Osage Indian 246
- Tucker, James B., Kansas State College, 222
- Tumblebugs, Möllhausen's description of 362, 363
- Turkey creek, McPherson county 369

U

- Uline brothers, beer makers..... 417
 Underground railroad, 1859, noted by
 Julia Louisa Lovejoy..... 45- 47
 Underwood, Clark and Company..... 258
 Union Pacific railroad..... 245, 416
 United Spanish War Veterans, Topeka,
 donor 80
 United States, army regiments, First in-
 fantry, at Jefferson Barracks
 (Mo.), 1827 29
 — four companies of, at Canton-
 ment Barbour, 1825-1826..... 7
 — in the West, 1828..... 145
 — Third infantry, at Jefferson Bar-
 racks, 1827 29
 — at St. Louis, 1829..... 289
 — four companies of, establish
 Cantonment Leavenworth 23
 — in the West, 1828..... 145
 — part of, leave Jefferson Barracks
 for Prairie du Chien..... 396
 — Fifth infantry 145, 147, 151, 163
 — Sixth infantry, at Fort Atkinson
 (Neb.), 1827 28
 — at Jefferson Barracks, 1827... 29
 — engineers, report on Kanopolis dam... 336
 — land policy in 1858 as described by
 Möhlhausen 375, 376
 — mail, Möhlhausen's description of its
 transportation across the prairie, 363, 364
 — map of, 1830, H. & F. J. Huntington,
 reproduced in part..... facing 17
 — National Museum, Washington..... 229
 United States Daughters of 1812, Kan-
 sas Society 83
 University of Kansas, Lawrence, ar-
 ticles on 102, 215
 — first commencement, note on article
 on 332
 — Fraser Hall, article on, noted..... 216
 — *Graduate Magazine*, notes on articles
 in 216
 — note on article about alumni of..... 101
 — School of Medicine..... 382
 — article on dean of, noted..... 332
 — Summerfield fund, article on, noted, 102
 — World War II veterans at, note on
 article on 333
- V
- Van Bibber, A. B., Kansas City, Mo., 78
 Van De Mark, M. V. B., Concordia... 97
 Van Natta, —, cattleman..... 258
 Van Natta, Constance, Topeka, donor.. 80
 Vanslyke, J. M., Crawford county, Mo., 212
 Van Tuij, Mrs. Effie H., Leaven-
 worth 95, 97
 Varnum, Walter, Lawrence..... 111
 Vashon, Capt. George..... 287, 290, 393
 Vermont, Julia L. Lovejoy's letters
 from, 1860-1861 175- 177
 Verreydt, Father Felix, early-day mis-
 sionary 419
 Veterans, graduating at University of
 Kansas, article on, noted..... 333
 Victor, Lois, articles by, noted..... 413
 Vide Poche (Carondelet), Mo..... 385
 Vigus, Henry, Wichita..... 245
 Villard, Oswald Garrison, New York,
 donor 78
 Vincent, Mrs. Harry, compiler of Gay-
 lord family data..... 220
 Vincenti, a Mexican..... 353, 354
 Vinton, Lt. J. R..... 28
 Vliets *Echo* 332
 von Egloffstein, F. W., topographer... 239
 241-243, 361, 379
 von Humboldt, Alexander, German
 geographer 227, 232, 238
 Voorhis, Jerry, former congressman.... 386

W

- "W. E. Campbell, Pioneer Kansas Live-
 stockman," article by C. W. Mc-
 Campbell 245- 273
 Wace, Barbara, article by, noted..... 415
 Waconda (Great Spirit) Springs, picture
 of, noted 217
 Wagner, Henry R., author..... 225, 228
 Wagon Bed spring, Grant county.. 341, 342
 Wakarusa river 374
 Walker, B. P., Topeka..... 97
 Walker, Mrs. Ida M., Norton..... 95, 97
 Walker, Russell, photographs by,
 noted 103, 104, 217, 218, 331
 Wallace, Hugh, Kentucky, death of.... 293
 Walnut creek, Santa Fe trail crossing
 of 353-356, 359
 Walton, T. W., Caldwell..... 265
 Wamego windmill, photograph of, noted, 331
 Waniga, Winnebago Indian..... 170
 War of 1812, William Clark in..... 2
 Ward, Allen T., letters of, given
 Historical Society 78
 Ward, Fenn, Highland..... 78, 325
 Warden, Della A., Emporia State
 Teachers College 420
 Wark, George H., Caney..... 97
 Warner, Wynkoop, Indian subagent... 294
 Warren, Forrest, newspaper publisher.. 332
 Warren, Mayor Frank, Topeka..... 111
 Washington (D. C.), Möhlhausen in.... 238
 239, 241
 Washington (D. C.) *Star*..... 420, 421
 Water resources, of Kansas, article on,
 noted 102
 "Water Road," Santa Fe trail..... 348
 Waterville and Concordia stageline,
 1874-1878 78
 Watkins, Thomas G., reminiscences of,
 noted 416
 Watson, Elmo Scott, address of, noted, 328
 Watson, H. G., diaries, given Historical
 Society 78
 Watson, Dr. Louis, diaries, given
 Historical Society 78
 Way, Amanda, Pleasanton..... 215
 Wayne, Gen. Anthony..... 1
 Weather, Kansas, book on, noted..... 422
 — *See, also*, Meteorological data.
 Weaver, Art, Lawrence..... 111
 Weaver, Benj. O., Kiowa county..... 218
 Weaver, Mrs. Benj. O., Kiowa county... 110
 Webb, John, Protection..... 221
 Weber, Alden O., Osawatomie..... 335
 — article by, noted..... 215
 Wedd, A. E., reminiscences of, noted... 333
Weekly Free Press, Atchison,
 quoted 326, 411
Weekly Osage Chronicle, Burlingame,
 quoted 326
 Weichselbaum, Theodore, wooden shoes
 given Historical Society 81
 Wells, Belle, Mullinville..... 218
 Wentworth, D. K., Maine..... 254
 Wentworth, Col. Edward N., address by,
 noted 328
 Wentworth, J. W., Maine..... 254
 Werme, Mrs. Ella, Pittsburg..... 109
 West, Mrs. —, Kansas City, Mo.,
 slaveholder 50, 51
 West, The, 1870's-1880's, articles and
 books on, noted..... 117, 118
 Western Dental College, Kansas City,
 Mo. 382, 383
 Western Kansas Agricultural Association, 78
Westerners Brand Book, Chicago..... 328
 Westport, Battle of, 1864, noted..... 210
 Westport, Mo., account book, 1839-
 1840, microfilm in Historical Society... 78
 Wheeler, Mrs. Bennett R., Topeka... 97
 Wheeler, John P., & Co., expense ac-
 count, 1859 214

Wheeling, W. Va.....	144, 149
Wheelright, Lt. Washington, duel fought by	405
Whipple, Lt. A. W., expedition of 1853-1854, noted	232-238, 353, 354
Whitaker, James Barnes, Topeka, papers of, given Historical Society.....	78
White, Edward D., Louisiana.....	160
White, Mrs. Emma Weeks, Garden City	223
White, Kila Hays, Neodesha.....	217
White, (Rev.) Martin, slayer of Frederick Brown	55
White, William, surveyor.....	237
White, William Allen, home, Emporia.....	112
—letters of, microfilm copy in Historical Society	78
—memorial postage stamp honoring, noted	420
White Plume, Kansas Indian chief, 141, 285	
White river, Ind.	8, 9, 25, 31, 238
Whitehorn, Juliette Lovejoy (Mrs. Samuel)	331, 332
—death of, noted.....	175
Whitley, —, formerly of Boston.....	49
Whitney, Mrs. Evelyn, Topeka, donor.....	78
Wichita	245, 252, 271, 272
—C. B. Driscoll's article in <i>Saturday Evening Post</i> on	221
—“Chisholm Trail Jubilee,” 1947, noted	104
—first church, article on, noted.....	413
—First National Bank, article on, noted	413
—history, notes on.....	221
—housing, in early days, article on, noted	413
—industries, in early days, article on, noted	413
“Wichita . . . About 1883,” article by Rea Woodman, noted.....	413
Wichita <i>Beacon</i>	104
—to be microfilmed.....	79
Wichita <i>Eagle</i>	80, 104
—microfilming of	79
—quoted	255, 273
—story by David D. Leahy, quoted.....	272
Wichita Historical Museum Association, 1948 annual dinner meeting, noted.....	224
Wiebe, Jacob A., Gnadenau.....	105
Wiggin, Samuel, St. Louis ferryboat operator	149
Wiggin, William C., St. Louis ferryboat operator	149
Wigham, —, cook for Möllhausen's party	357, 358
Wilbanks, Thomas, drowning of.....	391
Wild Horse Lake tragedy.....	422
Wilder, Daniel W., <i>Annals of Kansas</i> , appropriation for	76
—report on continuation of.....	80, 81
Wildlife, Kansas, article on, noted.....	107
—census of, article by H. Leo Brown, noted	215

Wilson, Mrs. Drusilla, temperance work of, article on, noted.....	415
Wilson, Mrs. Ethel G., Clark county.....	110
Wilson, John H., Salina.....	95, 97
Wilson, Julia Ann, marriage of.....	287
Wilson, historical article on, noted.....	416
Wilson creek	416
Wilson <i>World</i>	101, 105, 416
Wilson's Creek, Battle of, noted.....	181
Winchester, Okla., W. E. Campbell's ranch at	251
Windmill, Lawrence, note on.....	111
Winfield	421
—history, notes on.....	220
Winfield <i>Daily Courier</i> , diamond jubilee edition, 1948, noted.....	220
Wisconsin State Historical Society, Madison	78, 424
Wislizenus, Frederick	225
Wister, Owen, ranch life of, noted.....	114
Witten, Rev. —, of Missouri.....	177
Wolf, Mrs. Arthur.....	108
Wolf packing plant, Topeka.....	422
Wood, Cliff M., Winfield history by, noted	220
Wood, J. P., marshal.....	45, 48
Wood carvers, Kansas, article on, noted.....	107
Woodman, Rea, Wichita	224
—article by, noted.....	413
Woodring, Harry H., Topeka.....	97
Woodsdale	422
Woodston, Methodist Episcopal church history, noted	106
Woolley, Col. Abram R.....	38, 294
Woolley, Mrs. Abram R. (Caroline L. Preston)	38
Wooster, Lorraine E., Salina.....	97
Worden, D. C., Woodston.....	106
Works Progress Administration, Historical Records Survey by	330, 416
World War II, list of Harvey county veterans, noted	336
“World War II—Selective Service in Kansas,” address by Milton R. McLean	86- 92
Wright, Frances, lecturer, at St. Louis, 1828	169
Wuchter, Mr. and Mrs. Jacob, marriage of, 1885, noted.....	416

Y

York, Rev. L. C., Bull City (now Alton)	106
Young, Hiram H., Cloud county, diary, note on	82
Young, J. J., artist.....	243

Z

Zimmermann, Ellen Victoria, Hiawatha, note on	101
Zook, Abner J., article on, noted.....	215

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