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THE
Kansas Historical
Quarterly

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THE COVER

Dodge City's famous cowboy band as pictured in 1886. The director was Roy Drake (fourth from left in the second row). Seated at the front-row ends are: Left, D. M. Frost, publisher of the *Dodge City Globe Live Stock Journal*, and right, Col. S. S. Prouty, editor of the *Kansas Cowboy*. Chalk M. Beeson, organizer and manager of the band, sits next to Colonel Prouty.

THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Volume XIX

February, 1951

Number 1

The Dodge City Cowboy Band

CLIFFORD P. WESTERMEIER

WHILE its early history was being painted against the canvas of the frontier, Dodge City acquired more lurid and flaming titles than any other city. "The most wicked town in existence," "The Beautiful, Bibulous Babylon of the Frontier," "The Wickedest City in America," "The Deadwood of Kansas," the "rip-roaring burg of the West" were but a few of the scarlet sobriquets.¹ It was a city of violent contrasts—brave men and bad men, harlots and ladies, dives and churches, ugliness and beauty—"Wicked Dodge" was the synonym of all that was profane, immoral and evil. From this "Bibulous Babylon," this "Wickedest City," came an organization so unpretentious and respectable that its virtuous fame made it welcome wherever it appeared. This was the Dodge City Cowboy Band of the 1880's, recognized as one of the finest attractions and entertainments of the era.

Some dubiety exists concerning the year of its organization. Merritt Beeson of Dodge City says his father, Chalk Beeson, organized the band in 1879. Wright, in his *Dodge City*, maintained that the band was organized in 1881, and first appeared as such in a performance at the Topeka fair.² An article from the "Ford County Clippings" of the Kansas State Historical Society says: "The Original Dodge City Cowboy Band was organized in 1881 or 1882 and for many years was a flourishing organization which enjoyed more than local fame."³ The uncertainty is not clarified by the appearance of an article under the title "Dodge City Band" in the *Ford County Globe*, June 27, 1882:

DR. CLIFFORD P. WESTERMEIER is a lecturer in the extension department at the University of Colorado, Boulder. He is the author of *Man, Beast, Dust: The Story of Rodeo* (Denver, World Press, 1947).

1. Robert M. Wright, *Dodge City, The Cowboy Capital* . . . (n. p., n. d.) pp. 6, 142, 144, 147, 148.

2. Letter from Merritt L. Beeson, October 24, 1950, to the Kansas State Historical Society; Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 322.

3. "Ford County Clippings," v. 1, p. 225—Kansas State Historical Society.

Alderman C. M. Beeson or rather "Chalk," as we all know him after years of trials, has at last succeeded in organizing a Brass Band, and we claim it *The Band of the Land*, of which Dodge may justly be proud. . . . They perform every evening in front of the "Long Branch" and Opera House Balcony and crowds gather to hear them. . . .⁴

Late in the summer of 1882 the Cowboy Band received an invitation to enter a band contest during the soldiers' reunion at Topeka. Evidently, the organization was eager to attend and to compete, for an appeal to raise money was published in the *Ford County Globe*. A subscription paper was circulated for the purpose of securing the necessary funds to defray the expenses of the trip. The *Globe* commented:

The boys will need considerable money to properly fit themselves out and pay necessary expenses while at Topeka, and we trust our cattle men, merchants and citizens generally will contribute freely and thus assist the distinguished "Cow Boy Band" of Dodge City to make a creditable display of their musical talent.⁵

Apparently, the band had excellent support, for a week later the same paper published a list of 29 firms and individuals with the approximate head of cattle represented by each—over 400,000 head, or a cash capital of nearly \$10,000,000.⁶ On this trip to Topeka, each of the 25 men in the band wore a longhorn badge on his hat. "Their rigging presented a peculiar appearance, dark shirts with 'leather breeches full of stitches,' together with revolvers buckled on making up the uniform. As the train passed they were singing 'Oh! dear, raggedy Oh! Just look at the riggins on Billy Barlow.'" ⁷

There is little more information concerning the Cowboy Band during the remainder of the year. The *Globe* published an account of a minstrel show, with singing, conundrums, jokes, stories and impersonations; however, music by the band constituted the greater portion of the program. "There was a goodly crowd present who listened with marked attention and showed their appreciation from time to time by loud bursts of laughter and applause."⁸

The *Colorado Chieftain*, the weekly newspaper of Pueblo, Colo., gave an account of the cattlemen's convention held in Dodge City beginning April 10, 1883. The cowboy band, managed by Chalk Beeson, serenaded the governor on that occasion.⁹ The same paper, a week later, commented on the close of the convention: ". . .

4. "Dodge City Band," *Ford County Globe*, Dodge City, June 27, 1882.

5. "The Cow Boy Band," *ibid.*, September 5, 1882.

6. *Ibid.*, September 12, 1882.

7. *Ibid.*, September 19, 1882.

8. "Cowboys' Minstrels," *ibid.*, December 19, 1882.

9. "Round-Up," *Colorado Chieftain*, Pueblo, Colo., April 12, 1883.

the proceedings wound up last night with the grandest ball and banquet ever held in western Kansas. . . . The music was furnished by Beeson's orchestra. . . ." ¹⁰

During the ensuing months occasional mentions were made of practice sessions, but the subject of the Cowboy Band does not become significant until the early part of September, 1884. The proposal to send the organization to the Cattlemen's convention in St. Louis in November met unanimous approval, because Dodge City and the cattle interests of Kansas would receive invaluable publicity at St. Louis. The suggestion was made that the Western Kansas Cattle Growers' Association promote the idea and become the sponsor of the band.¹¹

This obvious promotion on the part of the *Kansas Cowboy* secured the desired results, and during the latter part of October the following article appeared.

It is all fixed that the Cowboy band goes to the National Stockmen's convention at St. Louis. The band will number eighteen pieces, composed of musicians whose music will astonish the ears of the denizens [sic] of the Mound City and others, soies [sic] who will be there during the session of the great convention. They will find that the historic cowboy of the plains, as will be represented by the members of this band, is an individual of a far different color than what has been painted by sensational papers. He will be found to be a gentleman and as proficient in the aesthetical art of music as he is in the skill of punching cows. But we do not wish to anticipate.¹²

The newspapers of the towns situated along the railroad recorded the progress of the band on its trip to St. Louis. From Nickerson came the following information: "Hearing that the Cowboy band of Dodge City would pass through on the evening train, a large number of our citizens met them at the depot and were favored with several choice selections of music."¹³

The band was provided with an especially-made banner—the present of Andy Snider and Sons.¹⁴ The Nickerson report also gave the first complete description of the costumes of the band: "all of them [were] dressed in regular cowboy style, broad hats, woolen shirts, leather leggins, spurs and pistols. . . ." ¹⁵

10. "Cow Congress Round-Up," *ibid.*, April 19, 1883. (R. M. Wright in his *Dodge City* quoted this article in part on pp. 321 and 322; however, he recorded it as appearing in the *Pueblo Chieftain*, April 13, 1882, and he used the words *the Cowboy Band* for the words *Beeson's orchestra*.)

11. *Kansas Cowboy*, Dodge City, September 13, 1884.

12. "Soies" is probably an attempt to make a plural of the word *socius*, meaning associate or member. *Kansas Cowboy*, October 25, 1884.

13. *Ibid.*, November 22, 1884.

14. *Ibid.*, November 8, 1884.

15. *Ibid.*, November 22, 1884.

A report from St. Louis to the *Kansas Cowboy* gave further information concerning the arrival of and the impression created by the cowboy musical organization as it crossed the state of Kansas: "At all the stations in Kansas, word had been received that the band was coming and everybody flocked to the depot to get a peep at the cowboys and to hear their delicious music. The boys kindly satisfied the curiosity of the people by favoring them with airs."¹⁶

The *Missouri Republican* also related a first impression made by the cowboys in full regalia. On the opening day of the convention a band, with trumpets blaring and cymbals crashing, marched down Olive street. A crowd of excited and enthusiastic youngsters followed, watching especially the leader who bore a banner identifying the group as "The Cowboy Band of Dodge City, Kansas." The drum major, Capt. J. S. Welch, waved his hands wildly and thus aroused greater enthusiasm in his fellow bandsmen.¹⁷

But the appearance of the band was gorgeous. It was wild; it was ne plus ultra, sui generis, and superb. The inseparable gray slouch hat with a band inscribed "Cowboy Band of Dodge City, Kansas" and bearing also the picture of a steer, each hat having a different brand. . . . A flannel shirt, leather leggings of a conventional type, bandana handkerchief around throat, belt with a six-chambered ivory handled revolver and fierce spurs completed the genuine cowboy outfit.¹⁸

A *Globe-Democrat* reporter asked the leader of the band:

"What do you swing that gun for?"

"That's my baton," was the answer.

"Is it loaded?"

"Yes."

"What for?"

"To kill the first man who strikes a false note."¹⁹

On the first day of the convention the delegates from Kansas and the Indian territory marched to the hall in a body. The Cowboy Band led the procession, and thousands of people followed; the sidewalks and windows were crowded with cheering and applauding spectators who were eager to see and hear the famous band.²⁰

The curious asked many questions about the band, and the various members of the organization offered interesting bits of information: They were all genuine cowboys, who were able to play different music at sight; they organized in 1882 for the fair at Topeka,

16. "From St. Louis," *ibid.*

17. *Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, November 18, 1884.

18. *Ibid.*

19. "The Famous Cowboy Band," *Kansas Cowboy*, November 29, 1884.

20. *Ibid.*, November 22, 1884.

and Dodge City was selected as the rallying point if the band were ever to reorganize again; the importance of the cattlemen's convention at St. Louis caused them, after a separation of two years, to come together two weeks before it.²¹

The reporter of the *Missouri Republican* was dubious about these statements, for the skill of the musicians showed practice and because the stories varied—one that they had been rehearsing during the year, another that they had not been together in two years. Someone was bold enough to say that the group was simply a local band from Dodge City, for the most part composed of professional musicians.²²

Regardless of these varying stories, opinions or suggestions, the band did intrigue and amuse the St. Louisans. However, there is evidence that some of the delegates from parts of the West lacked enthusiasm for it. A delegate from Texas said:

. . . we are not responsible for this circus and are unwilling to endorse the band as a feature of the convention. We are not in favor of any such display as the so-called cowboy band is making. This leggin' revolver business is out of place in a great city like St. Louis. Besides we are not the desperadoes the band would seem to indicate we are. . . . They parade the streets with the handles of their revolvers protruding from their hip pockets and their leader keeping time with one.²³

A delegate from Colorado expressed his opinion in a similar fashion:

We feel that the cowboy band is out of place as long as they persisted in making a parade of their leggings and revolvers. It is painfully true that people in the East have been led to believe that a greater portion of cattlemen of Southwest and West are as a rule desperate characters; and that we roam about over the prairies armed to the teeth with knives and revolvers. We want to dispel this idea as it places us in a false light before the world. Years ago when likely to meet a bunch of Indians, we were required to go heavily armed when we followed our cattle. Times have changed and the necessity for revolvers no longer exists. On many ranches cowboys are not allowed to carry revolvers. Today the average cowboy is as good an average American citizen as can be found anywhere in America.²⁴

Some of the mystery hovering over, and unanswered questions concerning the band were clarified in the November 20 issue of the St. Louis paper. The editor of the *Kansas Cowboy*, S. S. Prunty, explained and also took responsibility for the appearance of the organization at the convention, namely, western Kansas had sent it

21. *Missouri Republican*, November 18, 1884.

22. *Ibid.*

23. *Ibid.*

24. *Ibid.*

as a token of appreciation for the hospitality shown by St. Louis. Prunty said: "The attire of the members of the band is regulation dress of the plains cowboy. The spurs, pistol, and leather leggings are seen every day on the cowboy of the plains. The members, while mostly cowboys in jest, are gentlemen and some represent thousands of head of bovine."²⁵ Regardless of the controversy, the Cowboy Band was a great attraction for the people of St. Louis.

Immediately following the triumph at the cattlemen's convention, the band, and also the delegates, received an invitation to visit Chicago. During their visit they played daily concerts in the Palmer House and, dressed in full regalia, were a great attraction to the spectators.²⁶ The *Kansas Cowboy* commented: "If one didn't expect that a man that drives cattle could bring music out of a cornet or horn, he was favorably disappointed, for the entire programme was performed excellently and with real pleasure, apart from the interest therein, to every surprised listener."²⁷

The band played such selections as the "Monabellio Waltzes," the "Miserere" from "Il Trovatore," and the "Criterion Quickstep." The audience was particularly interested in the leader of the musicians, who waved his nickel-plated six-shooter for a baton, and "forthwith lead [*sic*] his performers into the open measures of the old operatic favorite, which many a New York opera-goer would think in strange hands if heard performed by such picturesque, half-warlike figures as composed the Cowboy Band."²⁸ The editor of the *Kansas Cowboy* concluded his statement regarding the Chicago side trip with his usual plug for the home town: "They are giving Dodge City such an advertisement as she has never had before."²⁹

The triumphs of the band during the Chicago visit resulted in an invitation from the Milwaukee & St. Paul railroad to visit Minneapolis and St. Paul. Supplied with all the necessary accommodations for the trip, they heartily accepted the courtesy.³⁰

When the band returned to Dodge City, the editor of the *Kansas Cowboy* heaped praise upon the members for "gentlemanly" conduct and their popularization of "the plains cowboy in the estimation of the eastern people." Stating that Dodge City should be proud of its band, he concluded his comment in his usual stirring and cam-

25. *Ibid.*, November 20, 1884.

26. "Cattlemen's Excursion," *Kansas Cowboy*, December 6, 1884.

27. *Ibid.*, November 29, 1884.

28. *Ibid.*

29. *Ibid.*, December 6, 1884.

30. *Ibid.*

painging tone: "A town that can sustain such a popular organization needs a \$60,000 hotel."³¹ The Cowboy Band met in a council and adopted resolutions, "wherein they express their appreciation of the courtesies extended to them on their last trip to the great cattlemen's convention at St. Louis, and their subsequent journey to Chicago, St. Paul and Minneapolis, and points along the route."³²

The next news of importance concerning the band appeared about two weeks before the second cattlemen's convention, held in St. Louis, November, 1885. The members were instructed to meet in Dodge City on November 10 to start immediate training for the convention. "The rehearsals will take place in one of the rooms of the upper story of Prof. Ly Brand's planing mill."³³

Plans were elaborated and expanded this year. Although not too many details are given, a longer tour was evidently in view. En route to St. Louis, they presented a concert at the Grand Opera House in Topeka, which was attended by Governor Martin and other prominent officials. They also entertained in Kansas City and following their engagement at St. Louis, they were scheduled to appear "in other eastern places."³⁴

In commenting on their appearance at the National Convention of Stockmen, the *Kansas Cowboy* said: "The boys were as popular and in as much demand as they were at the convention last year."³⁵ In St. Louis they played three evenings at the Crescent skating rink, "the toniest institution of the kind in St. Louis."³⁶ News of the Dodge City fire caused the cancellation of the plans to appear "in other eastern places," because many of the boys suffered heavy losses and were anxious to see what damage had been done.³⁷

The matter of the authenticity of the members of the band came up again during the Kansas City exposition of 1887, and to settle the question they proposed to give an exhibition of their roping skill. Mr. Beeson, the manager, in speaking of the matter, said that every member of his band were old cowboys who had spent the past ten years in the West and on the ranch. Said he: "I have boys in my band who can throw a steer over a horse."³⁸

31. *Ibid.*

32. *Ibid.*, December 13, 1884.

33. *Ibid.*, November 7, 1885.

34. "The National Convention of Stockmen," *ibid.*, December 5, 1885.

35. *Ibid.*

36. *Ibid.*

37. "Fire at Dodge City," *Rocky Mountain News*, Denver, Colo., December 2, 1885. (The fire of November 28, 1885, was disastrous and "the loss was at least \$30,000 or even \$50,000.")

38. *Texas Live Stock Journal*, Fort Worth, Tex., November 5, 1887, p. 10.

The exposition was honored with a visit from President Cleveland, and the boys of the band, in their true Western generosity and enthusiasm, collected \$100 in order to present him with an original sombrero which they immediately ordered from Mexico City. Much to their chagrin, however, it did not arrive in time to be presented to the chief executive.³⁹

In this same year the Cowboy Band was one of the chief attractions at the fourth annual convention of the Consolidated Cattle Growers' Association of the United States in Kansas City, Mo. According to a *Rocky Mountain News* item, the band had been present at every national cattle convention since it was organized.⁴⁰

In his *Dodge City*, Wright mentions that the band visited Denver and Pueblo, Colo., in 1886; however, no evidence has been found in the newspapers to verify this statement. It is of interest that a contract was made with the Cowboy Band to appear in Denver during the great Colorado jubilee held in the last week of March, 1888, for a four-day engagement at the attractive remuneration of \$450. They marched in the parade which opened the celebration and played at the promenade concert before the grand ball at the Tabor Opera House. The band, even though it received favorable notice and attracted attention, was overshadowed by the splendor and excitement of the jubilee.⁴¹

On February 24, 1889, they returned to Denver to present a concert at the Tabor Opera House. Twenty-five musicians, with Roy Drake as conductor, presented a program, composed of music and a quartet of colored male singers. The selections, "Last Heart Throb," "British Night," "Intrepid," and "L'Espoir de l'Alsace" overtures were particularly worthy of note. The proceeds of the concert were given to the Cowboy Club of Denver to be applied toward the expenses of the club on its trip to Washington, D. C., for the inauguration of President-elect Harrison.⁴² The object of this trip was to advertise Colorado at the national capital, and the Denver club joined forces with the Cowboy Band of Dodge City for the expedition.⁴³

On the morning after the concert in Denver, the band with their majesties, Rex and the Queen of the Pueblo Mardi Gras, left by train

39. *Ibid.*

40. "Kansas City Preparing for Cattle Convention," *Rocky Mountain News*, October 22, 1887.

41. *Denver Republican*, March 15, 17, 29 and 30, 1888.

42. "Cowboy Band Concert," *ibid.*, February 25, 1889; "The New President," Pueblo (Colo.) *Daily Chieftain*, February 26, 1889.

43. "The Cowboy Band," *Denver Republican*, February 24, 1889.

for the latter city. En route they serenaded the people of Colorado Springs and arrived at their destination in good form.⁴⁴

As a feature of the Pueblo Mardi Gras, the band contested with the First infantry band of Denver.

. . . [It] was a gratifying treat to all who were within hearing distance. Martial music, passionate music, voluptuous music, music that quickened the spectators to spontaneous applause, music that thrilled them with the joy of living and music that held them spellbound in appreciative silence. Such was the contest.⁴⁵

The Cowboy Band was victorious in the contest and was awarded a silver medal, presented by Rex after a very long-winded speech. The design of the medal, valued at \$50 portrayed an elegant shield and crown surmounted by an eagle which was suspended from a massive bar. It was appropriately engraved: "‘Rex, To His Royal Band,’ and around the edge, ‘Pueblo, Colorado.’" ⁴⁶

This most recent triumph was surpassed only by the following engagement. On February 27, on a special train of Pullmans on the Rock Island railroad, the combined forces of Cowboy Band and Cowboy Club, numbering about 100, departed for the presidential inauguration.⁴⁷ This joining of forces was clearly an advertising scheme on the part of Colorado and of Pueblo, as is very obvious in a speech given by Colonel Harvey at the Mineral Palace in that city. He said:

. . . that the Cowboy band had gone to Washington with the kindest feelings toward Pueblo and that two of the agents of the advertising committee had accompanied them with instructions to paint the city red. That the band would make a tour of the eastern cities and would take the Pueblo men with them and permit them to make announcements at their concerts, to distribute dodgers and in every other way to give the Pittsburg of the West the benefit of the drawing abilities of the Cowboy band.⁴⁸

On the trip eastward, the combined cowboy groups were interviewed in various places. In Chicago, O. W. Wilcox, the secretary of the Cowboy Club, said to an inquiring reporter: "Oh yes, we are genuine cowboys, every one of us." ⁴⁹

A first hand account of the cowboy invasion of the national capital came from Thomas McGill, the advance agent of the groups, who reported that the cowboys were greeted with enthusiasm in the East

44. "Pueblo Given Up to Mirth," *ibid.*, February 26, 1889.

45. "King Rex in Pueblo," *ibid.*, February 27, 1889.

46. *Ibid.*; Pueblo *Daily Chieftain*, February 27, 1889.

47. "The New President," *ibid.*, February 26, 1889; "Cowboys Off For East," Denver *Republican*, February 28, 1889.

48. "Mineral Palace," Pueblo *Daily Chieftain*, March 1, 1889.

49. "A Western Outfit," *ibid.*, March 2, 1889; "Denver Cowboys En Route," Denver *Republican*, March 2, 1889.

and that on inauguration day, the Cowboy Band and Cowboy Club, led by "Buffalo Bill" Cody and Buck Taylor, were the greatest attractions of the parade.⁵⁰ The news items which appeared the day after the inauguration confirm this statement, and one from the *Daily News* of Trinidad, Colo., said: "It was an object lesson, illustrating things in the west, not often exhibited in that locality."⁵¹

Mr. McGill also informed his contemporaries that at all the station stops enormous crowds waited to greet them, and "with the exception of President Harrison's car no other car east of Indianapolis received so much attention."⁵²

On the evening of March 3 the Cowboy Band presented a concert at the Bijou in the capital city where they were received with much enthusiasm and applause. They also serenaded the President at his Arlington Hotel headquarters during the inaugural ceremonies.⁵³

The immediate plans of the cowboy contingent following the Washington trip are not fully known, although Mr. McGill does offer some information. He had made arrangements for concerts in Philadelphia, New York, Boston and other places; the members of the band, however, felt compelled to return to Dodge City to take care of business matters before embarking on such a tour. He does say that a group of "the boys left for New York. . . . Some of them have gone to New England," but he does not state whether these men were members of the club or the band or of both. However, the band did give a concert at Pittsburgh before returning to Dodge City.⁵⁴

The fitting and honorable gesture, in considering the accomplishments of the Cowboy Band, is to leave it here at the height of this latest triumph. The Dodge City Cowboy Band was one of the unique institutions of western Kansas. It began as a local enterprise which received its first support from some of the most prominent citizens of that city, and with its very colorful and attractive regalia, it caused comment wherever it appeared. That it was composed of skilled musicians is evident, for on every occasion the music played was of a high caliber. The numerous invitations and request performances endowed it with a national reputation. One of the dubious questions about the band was whether or not the members were real cowboys. The bandsmen often answered the question in the

50. "Cowboys Down East," *ibid.*, March 11, 1889.

51. Trinidad (Colo.) *Daily News*, March 6, 1889; "The Inaugural Parade," *Denver Republican*, March 5, 1889.

52. "Cowboys Down East," *ibid.*, March 11, 1889.

53. *Ibid.*

54. *Ibid.*

affirmative, but Merritt Beeson reports that the band's personnel consisted of "musicians playing the little theaters and dance halls" in Dodge City, "and came from Denver, Kansas City, St. Louis and Chicago."⁵⁵ Presenting a type of fine entertainment, the nationally famous Cowboy Band brought more fame to the "Wickedest City in America" than did all the lures concocted to attract the weaknesses of mankind.

Many gaps appear in the chronology of the band's history, still a pattern has been developed which offers a fair understanding of the accomplishments and the entertainment value of this unique musical organization. A final newspaper item, swept with nostalgia and sadness, brings the story of the Cowboy Band to a close:

Idaho Springs, Colo., June 4. (Special.)—The paraphernalia of the famous Dodge City Cowboy Band was unloaded here yesterday and will be used by the Idaho Springs Cowboy Band. . . . Jack Sinclair, the leader and manager of the original cowboy band has been engaged as manager, and the aggregation will be heartily backed by the citizens of Idaho Springs.⁵⁶

55. Letter from Beeson, October 24, 1950, to the Kansas State Historical Society.

56. "Idaho Springs Cowboy Band Succeeds Old One," *Denver Republican*, June 5, 1905.

History of the French-Speaking Settlement in the Cottonwood Valley

ALBERTA PANTLE

INTRODUCTION

SETTLEMENT of the French-speaking people in the Cottonwood valley in central Kansas began during the territorial period. The greatest number came from France but there were many Belgians and a few Swiss who came later. They were all considered an integral part of the settlement, which was usually called the *French Colony*. It was unlike many of the foreign colonies in Kansas in that it was made up of individuals or family groups who arrived at intervals over a period of some 40 years, instead of being a mass immigration.

From 1857, when the first Frenchman settled in the valley, the colony grew steadily until 1885 when there were over 60 families. They were confined largely to Cottonwood township in Chase county, Grant and Doyle townships and the town of Florence in Marion county. In addition, there were at various times several French families in Cottonwood Falls and Marion Centre who allied themselves closely with their countrymen near Florence. They visited them often and attended all the Bastille day celebrations and other social gatherings.

After 1885, few new families came to the settlement. The older residents died and the younger ones intermarried with persons of other nationalities. The colony lost its identity as a French-speaking community and for many years writers have referred to it as the "lost French colony." It is no more lost, however, than any of the many foreign settlements in Kansas. Descendants still live in the Cottonwood valley and the pioneers themselves rest in the cemeteries near the lands they cultivated so many years ago. They spoke a strange language but they had no racial or religious beliefs which set them apart for any length of time. Most of them were good farmers, good neighbors, and they very easily adapted themselves to life on the Kansas frontier.

In the autumn of 1857, Lievin Daems, Francis Bernard, Solomon Schultz and nine other men whose names are unknown located the town of Cottonwood City in what is now Chase county. Each man had 40 acres in the townsite. It was on the Cottonwood river near the mouth of French creek about two miles northeast of the present

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town of Cedar Point. Daems and Bernard were Frenchmen, as was Michael Frachet, who established a trading post at this place. Cottonwood City was the terminus of the mail route from Cottonwood Falls, and a voting place June 7, 1859.¹ For some reason it did not flourish and eventually the townsite was absorbed into the surrounding farms.

As the years progressed, the center of the colony moved west into Marion county. The homes of the French and Belgian settlers bordered the banks of the Cottonwood river, Cedar creek to the south, and French, Brenot and Martin creeks to the north. The latter two were named for early French settlers. These are the only geographical names of French origin in the vicinity, but there are two landmarks still standing on the banks of the Cottonwood that are reminiscent of the once flourishing colony. One is the former home of Francis Bernard, two miles east of Cedar Point, the other is the home of the Bichet family, three-quarters of a mile west of town. One is in ruins, the other is a beautiful farm home still in possession of a descendant of the original owner, Claude Francis Bichet.

Francis Bernard, Claude Francis Bichet and later his son, Alphonse, played important roles in the establishment of the colony and in the political development of the Cottonwood valley. In the early days disputes among the settlers were taken to one of the three men for arbitration. Consequently, few cases involving Frenchmen are found in the records of the county courts. All through the years their homes were open to new families arriving from Europe. Many times the immigrant found that he did not have enough money saved to buy a farm or establish a home immediately. Sometimes there was difficulty in locating a homestead or in getting a clear title to it. The Bernards or the Bichets were always ready to give a new arrival employment or to help him, in other ways, to get settled.

FRANCIS BERNARD, FIRST PERMANENT FRENCH SETTLER

Francis Bernard was born in Dijon, France, April 19, 1821. He was married on May 11, 1852, to his childhood sweetheart, Hermance Senevay, and they came to America two years later. It was commonly believed in the French colony that Mr. Bernard had been forced to leave France because of difficulties over his political activities. This could very well have been true. He was an impetuous man and an ardent Republican. He frequently told of his experiences while fighting in the streets of Paris during the days of the Second Republic and the restoration of the monarchy in 1852, so we know

1. *Chase County Historical Sketches* (Emporia, 1940), v. 1, pp. 24, 25.

he had taken an active part in the uprisings. By 1854, when the Bernards left France, nearly three million Frenchmen had been deprived of their political rights and over one hundred thousand Republicans had been arrested under one pretext or another. Many had been banished from the country, while countless others had voluntarily exiled themselves to escape persecution and to find a place where personal liberty was assured.

The Bernards lived for a short time in New York City, then went to Kankakee county, Illinois, where they farmed for about a year. In November, 1857, they came to Kansas territory and pre-empted 160 acres of land along the Cottonwood river and Cedar creek east of the present town of Cedar Point. Francis Bernard planned when he came west to establish a French colony and brought with him a stock of goods for a trading post. The idea of the post was abandoned, however, and he settled down to the life of a farmer and stockman.

Within a short time, several Frenchmen had settled near by. Joseph and Charles Portry had come in October, just a month before the Bernards. Francis Godard and Louis Ravenet came in May, 1858, the Bichet family came in August, 1858, and Alexander Louis, a Belgian, came in October of that year.

The old Bernard home stands on the south bank of the Cottonwood near the mouth of French creek. To reach the place today it is necessary to leave the highway and drive through a field, fording a creek which is a short distance from the house. The original log cabin, the home of the Bernards in the earliest days, is still standing and still sturdy. It is on the very bank of the river. The big house is in front of the cabin, a bit farther from the river. Part of the house has been torn down and moved out to the highway where it has been remodeled into a home for the present occupant of the farm. The rest of the house has fallen into decay. The huge fireplace built into the wall between the kitchen and dining room has been removed but the hearth is still there, and the long covered wood box beside it has not been disturbed. It is long enough to have been used for a bed and probably was a great many times.

The barn is standing but rapidly deteriorating. There is enough of it left to tell that it was well built, with siding both inside and out. The yard in front of the house is a tangle of weeds, vines and bushes but here and there are the remnants of flower beds, and the road leading to the ford is lined with a profusion of trumpet vines. People who knew the place in the early days remember Mrs. Bernard's beautifully kept flowers and yard.

Francis Bernard never returned to France, but Mrs. Bernard made several trips to visit her people, and relatives came out to visit them many times. Mr. Bernard became one of the most successful farmers and stockmen of Chase county. He was a stockholder and a director of the Chase County National Bank from its organization in 1882 until his death in 1910.

Francis Bernard has been described as a large man with a booming voice. One of his greatest pleasures was to sing the "Marseillaise" at the Bastille day picnics. He was a generous man. Although the Bernards had no children of their own they liked young folks. They helped the children of many of their neighbors through school or gave them financial aid for other purposes.

The Bernard home was the scene of many bountiful dinners cooked in true French fashion. Even after his wife's death, it was customary for Mr. Bernard to invite his French friends for Sunday or holiday meals. As late as 1909 the *Florence Bulletin* carried this news item:

As usual F. Bernard of the East side entertained on Thanksgiving Day with a lavish hand. Besides those from a distance about thirty guests enjoyed his hospitality. Mr. Bernard is 88 years old but his heart is still young and his social entertainments on each recurrent Thanksgiving Day are always the admiration of his friends and neighbors. The guest who dines with Mr. Bernard always fares sumptuously.²

Mrs. Bernard died in January, 1903, and was buried in the Cedar Point cemetery south of town. The following summer Mr. Bernard had a large stone erected at the site of her grave. The base of the monument is white granite and the shaft black granite, forming a pleasing contrast. It bears the following inscription:

Hermance Senevay, wife of Francois Bernard, born in France, November 20, 1833, died January 6, 1903. Came to America 1854, settled in Chase county, Kan., 1857.

She was the first lady settler in this part of the country. Her death was regretted by her husband and friends.

In the autumn of 1909, Mr. Bernard enjoyed a visit from Hippolite and Jacques Clair, his grandnephews from Paris. During their stay the papers carried many items about their activities. They visited friends of the Bernards in Osage City and Reading. On one occasion Mr. Bernard, in spite of his advanced age, took them to Cottonwood Falls to meet his friends there. The young men left Florence on December 11 and were killed, two days later, in the wreck of a Pennsyl-

2. *Florence Bulletin*, December 2, 1909.

vania railroad train at Erie, Pa.³ Their remains were returned to Cedar Point and interred in the cemetery there.⁴

Francis Bernard died October 24, 1910. Both he and his wife were buried from the Presbyterian church at Cedar Point although in the early days they had belonged to the Catholic church. His will is interesting. It begins as follows:

I give to Cottonwood township the house, barn, cornercrib and one acre of land on which they are situated in Section 33 of Township 20 of Range 6, commencing at the west line of the section just south of the little creek.

I also give to the same township the S. E. quarter of Section 32 of Township 20 of Range 6 east. I give the above mentioned land and improvements to Cottonwood township to rent or do that which will bring most profit and $\frac{1}{2}$ profit to poor of township and $\frac{1}{2}$ to the preacher of any denomination in said township so long as they believe in Christ.

I also direct that the officers of said township send a man two days of each year to clear and clean my lots at the cemetery of Cedar Point, Kansas, and that every five years they will have the fences painted.⁵

Then followed bequests to friends and relatives. Several of the persons, to whom legacies were given, lived at Osage City. The relatives included Leon and Louise Berton of San Francisco, Cal., a niece, Clothilde Mes of Seine-et-Oise, France, and a nephew, Francois Clair, of Paris. The latter died before the will had been probated.

THE BICHET FAMILY ⁶

Claude Francis Bichet was born near Dijon, France, February 11, 1812. At the age of 14 or 15 years he enlisted in the navy and served for 15 years. It was customary in the French navy at that time to teach each man some trade. Francis Bichet learned the trade of a "saboteer," in other words a wooden shoemaker. His pay while he was in the navy was one cent a day.

It is not likely that he was married until after his discharge in 1841. Between the time of his marriage to Sophia Jacques and 1858, the year in which he migrated to America, Francis Bichet worked for a farmer near his home for one dollar a week. After his day's work

3. *Ibid.*, December 16, 1909.

4. Since the death of the Clair boys, relatives from France have kept a floral piece in the cemetery in memory of them. The present one is a wreath with a small statue of Christ in the center. It is encased in glass with a steel frame set in cement.

5. Francis Bernard's will is on file in the office of the probate judge in the Chase county courthouse at Cottonwood Falls.

6. Much of the material on the Bichet family was obtained from a sketch written by Fred A. Bichet of Florence, grandson of Claude Francis Bichet. It was originally written for the late Victor Murdock who planned to include the French colony in his series of historical sketches of Kansas then appearing in the *Wichita Eagle*. Mr. Murdock died before he had an opportunity to use the sketch and it was returned to Mr. Bichet. The writer of this article owes a debt of gratitude to Mr. and Mrs. Bichet, not only for this sketch, but also for their friendly interest and invaluable assistance given during the collecting of material for this story.

in the fields he went home and made wooden shoes. When he had a wagon load he sold them in the near-by city of Strasburg.

His fondest dream was to bring his family to America. Many times while he had been in the navy he had visited New Orleans, New York and other seaport cities in the United States, and he had made up his mind that he would return there to live. Finally he and his wife decided they had enough money for the trip and they left France on February 2, 1858. In the group were Claude Francis Bichet, his wife, Sophia, their only child, Alphonse, a lad of 12 years, Mrs. Rosalie Dumartinot and her eight-year-old son, Joseph. After five weeks in the steerage they arrived in New York. Here a French agent sent them on to St. Louis where they were to be further advised about a place to settle. From St. Louis they were sent to St. Joseph, Mo. Upon their arrival they learned of the Chase county settlement.

Mr. Bichet spent his last two hundred dollars on an old wagon and a span of oxen. They set out on the trail to central Kansas. The first night out one of their oxen wandered off or was stolen. They tried to find it but encountered so much difficulty in making themselves understood that they decided to go on with the one remaining. Mr. Bichet tried to adjust the yoke but it hung down and choked the ox. The only solution was for someone to walk beside the ox and carry the other side of the yoke. Mr. and Mrs. Bichet took turns carrying it all the way to the present Bichet farm, a distance of 180 miles.

Upon their arrival at the small French colony they found a large group of Cheyenne Indians camped on the land they wished to preempt. Contrary to their expectations, the Indians were friendly and, at times, even helpful. The Indians stayed on their land for nearly a year after they came, then moved west.

Until 1862, the Bichets lived in a dugout on the banks of the river. Then they built a log cabin which is still a part of the present house on the place. Originally the cabin was covered with walnut siding cut on the farm. Alphonse Bichet, while not a carpenter by trade, must have been very handy with tools. The paneled doors and window frames and the fireplace mantle and trim were attractively finished and have endured all these years.

In 1875, a two-story stone addition was built. Practically all the other buildings on the farm are of native stone. About 20 years ago, John Madden wrote that, "The farm house of native stone, at the end of a great drive of trees, is a memorial to the Bichet family."⁷ Today

7. *Florence Bulletin*, September 19, 1929.

the house stands as sturdy and as beautiful as it was when it was built 75 years ago. The cottonwood trees planted by Claude Francis Bichet along the drive leading up to the house have grown to an enormous height. There is probably nowhere in Kansas such a long avenue of cottonwood trees so tall and straight.

During the early days, the Bichet home, even when it consisted of one room with a loft overhead, was the first stopping place of many of the French people coming into the valley. This must have taxed their hospitality, but each newcomer found a cordial welcome at the Bichet place.

As soon as he was old enough, Alphonse Bichet started "working out." His first job was at French Frank's ranch and trading post on the Santa Fe trail. For wages he received a bushel of corn meal each month. At the end of the month he carried the meal home where it was a very acceptable article of food. After Francis Laloge and Peter Martin sold the ranch, Alphonse worked at other jobs on the trail. He also did some government scouting.

On March 18, 1875, Alphonse was married to Mary Stewart at the home of Mrs. Tamiet, the French milliner at Marion Centre. The big house was not built until later in the year, but he brought his bride home to live with his parents in the tiny cabin. Mary Stewart was Irish and she never learned to speak French. The elder Bichets did not know a word of English but the three soon learned to understand each other perfectly.

In 1883, Alphonse Bichet decided to retire from farming. He moved into Florence, taking with him his parents and his own family, which now consisted of his wife, two daughters, Laura, born in 1876, and Amelia, born in 1878, and his son, Fred A., born April 11, 1880.

Claude Francis Bichet died January 18, 1886, at the age of 74 years. Sophia, his wife, lived nearly 20 years longer. She died July 9, 1905.

After his father's death, Alphonse moved back to the farm for a few years. In August, 1887, he made a prospecting trip to Pueblo, Colo., and in September of the same year went to Las Vegas, N. M., with the idea of moving west if the country suited him. Several members of the French colony had gone to Trinidad, Colo., and Mr. Bichet had some business interests there. The Bichets did not leave Marion county until many years later.

Alphonse Bichet was a progressive farmer. As early as 1881 he was experimenting with Clawson wheat. It proved to be a good

producer in the Cottonwood valley and many of his neighbors bought their seed wheat from him. He was a Republican and took a prominent part in the political affairs of the county. He and T. P. Alexander⁸ made many trips from Florence to the county seat to attend Republican committee meetings and rallies. In 1887, Mr. Bichet was a candidate for the office of county treasurer but was defeated by J. W. Moore of Durham Park. He was a charter member of the Masonic lodge at Florence. As he grew older, Alphonse Bichet suffered greatly from rheumatism, the result of exposure in pioneer days. He and Mrs. Bichet began to spend the winters in a warmer climate. Sometimes they went to Texas, sometimes to Florida where their son was living, and occasionally to California. In 1923, they moved to San Diego, Cal., where Mr. Bichet died January 27, 1929. He was brought back to Florence and buried beside his parents in Hillcrest cemetery on September 15 of that year.

In an address at the memorial service, John Madden⁹ paid tribute to his old friend. Among other remarks, he said:

Alphonse Bichet was a man of superior build, very active and strong, a handsome blond man. He was a welcome guest in the home of every settler, good-natured, kindly, very considerate of the needs and wants of his neighbors. He was loved by all. He was ready to face any danger that menaced the people of his little frontier. He was a general favorite of the young men of that period. They all knew he was ready to meet any emergency and to saddle and ride any hour of the day or night to protect the community from raiding bands of Indians, or lawless white men. . . . He was to my mind a fine type of Frenchman. He embodied all of the finest characteristics of his nation. He could face hardships with courage, always having that abundant hope that would carry him over rough places. He was part of the soul of France, and one of the finest types of American citizens that it has been my good fortune to know.¹⁰

Mary Stewart Bichet died July 31, 1940, at her home in San Diego. She was 81 years of age. When the estate was being settled up after her death, Fred Bichet¹¹ bought his sisters' share of the farm

8. Thomas P. Alexander was born in Eugene, Ind., August 26, 1840. He served in the Eleventh Indiana infantry during the Civil War. In May, 1871, he and his wife, the former Esther Stewart, came to Florence where he owned and operated a hardware store for many years. Mr. Alexander kept a diary from 1888 until the year of his death, 1913. It was published some years ago in the *Florence Bulletin* and is a valuable source of information on the people of Florence and vicinity.

9. John Madden, a prominent lawyer and politician of the state, lived in Marion and Chase counties from 1865 until 1893 when he moved to Emporia. He studied law under the Hon. J. Ware Butterfield, of Florence, and was admitted to the bar of Kansas in 1878.

10. *Florence Bulletin*, September 19, 1929.

11. Fred Bichet, the only son of Alphonse and Mary Stewart Bichet, enlisted in the 40th Hospital corps, U. S. army, in September, 1899. After he came home from the Philippines he was on patrol duty on the Mexican border until September, 1902. While he was in service he had a broken leg, a sunstroke, and, as he expresses it, all the tropical diseases one man could carry off. Had it not been for this misfortune he might have settled on the old farm and become a farmer and stockman as his father and grandfather before him. Farm labor being out of the question he studied pharmacy.

In September, 1905, he was married to Edna Van Way of Winfield. After his marriage he owned drugstores in several central Kansas towns. About 1907, they moved to Auburn-

at Cedar Point. In attempting to clear the title, he found that the patent for the 40 acres in Chase county had never been recorded. It was necessary to get a copy of the original patent from Washington before the land could be transferred. The fact that this farm has been in possession of one family continuously since 1858 is an unusual record for land ownership in that part of Kansas.

LOUIS RAVENET, GENTLEMAN

Louis Ravenet settled in what is now Doyle township of Marion county in May, 1858. He lived there for a number of years on his farm along the Cottonwood river west of Cedar Point. His name appears in the census reports up to 1870 and in records of land transactions for a year or two longer. John Madden, in an article on the French colony, says that Ravenet

was a man of culture, wellborn, and like Victor Hugo—an exile. The coup d'état of Napoleon was distasteful to him so he found his way to Kansas. His old farm, joining the Bichet land on the west, had a setting of wood, valley and stream. The wood extended up to the steep escarpment of a rocky hill on the south side of the river and was one of the beauty spots in the Valley. The old log cabin is gone and so is the cultured gentleman who filled it with books and works of art.¹²

Louis Ravenet was long spoken of with an air of mystery. That his name was not really Ravenet and that he had returned to France to reclaim his estate when the Third Republic was established, was a favorite story when the Frenchmen of the valley got together to talk over early times. Mr. Madden did not believe that the name was assumed. He says rather that Louis Ravenet was "a gallant gentleman who bore the Raven in his family crest since the days of Rollo the Norman—'Chevalier sans peur, et sans reproche.'"

JOHN BRENOT

John Brenot was another early settler about whom we know very little. There seems to be no record of the date of his settlement on the creek which still bears his name. One of his children, buried in the Cedar Point cemetery, died September 3, 1858, so he was living there at least that early. The Bruno creek bridge on Highway 50S is

dale, Fla., where they lived for a number of years. In the 1920's they lived for several years in San Diego, Cal., where Mr. Bichet was general foreman of the operating department of the city. Florence, Kan., is now their home although they spend many of the winter months in the South.

Their only son, Stewart A. Bichet, was born in Florence, December 14, 1906. He studied civil engineering at Heald College, Oakland, Cal. After graduation he worked with the U. S. engineers in the building of the Harvey locks at New Orleans, the Vermillion locks on the Intercoastal canal in Louisiana, and the Calcasieu river channel from Lake Charles, La., to the Gulf of Mexico. During World War II he supervised the construction of the air base to defend the Panama canal at Kingston, Jamaica. It was here he contracted the tropical disease which caused his death on February 23, 1948. He left his wife, the former Celeste Reynes, of New Orleans, and two children, Fred A., II, and Betty Ann.

12. *Chase County Historical Sketches* (Emporia, 1940), v. 1, p. 91.

practically on the Marion-Chase county line. John Brenot built his cabin a short distance up the creek in what is now Marion county. In 1860 this locality was designated as Marion township of Chase county. John Brenot and his wife were the only native French people living in the township in that year.

The Brenots were the only settlers on the creek in 1861. They were not far from the small French settlement on the Cottonwood to the south but north and west of them there were no settlers for many miles and then only a few families at the present site of Marion.

On January 10, 1861, snow fell to a depth of two feet and remained on the ground for a whole month. Because of the extreme cold and lack of forage, buffalo came into the valley by the hundreds. On January 20 a buffalo hunt was organized. C. C. Smith¹³ and O. H. Drinkwater,¹⁴ living near present Cedar Point, killed six of the animals just north of the John Brenot farm.

During the Civil War, John Brenot freighted for the government. In August, 1864, he was hauling corn to Fort Lyon. While he was encamped at Cow creek ranch, probably in present Rice county, the Indians attacked the train. His two teamsters, William Crammer and another man whose name is unknown, were out herding the oxen. They narrowly escaped death. William Crammer was badly wounded. The Indians killed 24 head of Brenot's oxen. He also lost a good pony which had been a gift to his wife from her father.¹⁵

John Brenot has been described as a short, dark man, restless and quick tempered. There were six children listed in the census of 1875 and at least two had died. In 1879, they moved to Franklin county, perhaps to Silkville, although no record has been found. A year or two later they went to California where John Brenot died within a few years. Mrs. Brenot and some of the children came back to visit a time or two but no one has heard of the family for many years.

13. C. C. Smith came to present Chase county, Kansas, in 1856 and settled in the Cottonwood valley near Cedar Point. He acquired considerable wealth as a farmer and stockman and at the time of his death, August 4, 1918, was said to have owned some 2,000 acres of valley land.—*Ibid.*, pp. 391, 392.

14. Orlo H. Drinkwater came from Pennsylvania to Kansas in 1855 and located near Topeka on land owned by Abram Burnett, chief of the Pottawatomie Indians. He took an active part in the Free-State movement. In the fall of 1857 he settled in the Cottonwood valley. In his diary, excerpts of which are printed in the *Chase County Historical Sketches* (Vol. 1) he says: "There were very few white settlers in the Cottonwood Valley at that time. It was government land but was the hunting grounds of the Kaws, Osages and other reservation Indians that lived farther east. The country was full of deer and antelope and wild turkeys, and sometimes buffaloes came into the Valley." O. H. Drinkwater laid off the town of Cedar Point and had a post office established on his farm in 1862. He built and operated the first mill at Cedar Point. He died October 8, 1912.—*Ibid.*, pp. 183-186.

15. *Emporia News*, August 20, 1864.

THE LOUIS FAMILY

The only Belgian to settle permanently in the colony during the territorial period was Charles Alexander Louis. He was born in Brussels in December, 1828. In 1854, he came to the United States and lived in Wisconsin until October, 1858, when he came to Chase county. Alexander Louis and Eliza Jane Creamer were married at El Dorado, March 4, 1865.

Mrs. Louis was born in Indiana, June 15, 1848. When she was 11, her parents moved to Missouri and a few years later removed to Butler county, Kansas. The Louis' lived in Butler county for a short time, then moved to a farm on the Marion-Chase county line south of Cedar Point. In 1868, they took a claim three miles east and one mile north of Florence. This was their home for the remainder of their lives. Alexander Louis died February 17, 1907. Mrs. Louis died March 15, 1932.

There was a large family, mostly boys.¹⁶ Mrs. Louis was an invalid for many years, so much of the responsibility of raising the family fell upon Mr. Louis. When the children were small he not only did his own work in the fields but had to do the housework, the cooking, canning, washing and caring for the family.

During the period of the Civil War the colony did not grow. The Kansas state census for 1865 lists only eight French and Belgian families living in Doyle and Cottonwood townships. They were:

DOYLE TOWNSHIP, MARION COUNTY

<i>Name</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Place of Birth</i>
Laloge, C. F.	31	Rancher	France
M.	28		Ohio
F.	1		Kansas
Martin, P.	41	Farmer	France
Louis, Alexander	34	Farmer	Belgium
E. J.	28		Indiana

COTTONWOOD TOWNSHIP, CHASE COUNTY

Brenot, J.	34	Farmer	France
M.	24		France
L.	4		Kansas
J. M.	3		Kansas
C. F.	1		Kansas
Hallock, N.	66	Farmer	France
J. A.	38		France
Bichet, F.	53	Farmer	France
S.	45		France
A.	18		France

16. Six of the Louis' sons, John, Alex., Charles, Emil, Ed and Fred settled near Florence, Rudolph lived in Barber county for many years. Mary E. Louis, the oldest daughter, married Robert Stewart, a nephew of Mrs. Alphonse Bichet. She died in Trinidad, Colo., in 1890. Jessie, the youngest daughter, married Ed Schroer and lived in Marion county.

Dumartinot, R.	43		France
J.	13		France
Bernard, F.	43	Farmer	France
H.	30		France

Joseph and Charles Portry, Eugene and Rosanna Gurer, Francis Goddard and the Frachets, listed in the 1860 census, had left the community. Presumably Louis Ravenet was missed by the census enumerator because he lived on his farm in Doyle township until after 1870. Hallock is probably a misspelling of Hallotte. They were relatives of Mrs. Francis Laloge. A Joseph Hallotte married Lucinda Cramer in Chase county on November 15, 1866. A John Hallotte also lived in the valley in the early days. He was a government scout for many years.

THE LALOGES¹⁷ AND PETER MARTIN

Francis Laloge and Peter Martin began farming in the Cottonwood valley in 1864 or 1865. Their stories are interesting. Francis Laloge, with 15 other young men, left France June 10, 1857. They landed at New Orleans July 22. Francis took a partner, Peter Martin, another young Frenchman who had probably come to America on the same ship. Both got jobs at a baker's shop and worked for a year. Then they went to Louisville, Ky., where they worked for another year. In July, 1859, they came to Kansas and Peter Martin got a job on the Santa Fe trail. Francis Laloge went on to Pike's Peak to dig for gold. He stayed there about a year, spent all his money and walked back to Kansas.

After his return Laloge got a job at one of the stations on the Santa Fe trail. In 1861, he quit this job and started a trading post on a ranch at Cottonwood hole a few miles south and west of Moore's ranch at Cottonwood crossing. These two ranches, with a third owned by a man named Smith at Lost Springs, were the only ranches on the Santa Fe trail in what is now Marion county. The Laloge store was known as French Franks. Peter Martin again became his partner and together they ran the post for several years. Martin usually stayed at the ranch while Francis Laloge went west to trade with the Indians or east into Chase county to buy produce for the store.

On one of these trips he met a young French girl, Mary Eugenie Hallotte, who had come from Ohio with her parents in 1860. On May 10, 1863, they were married at the home of J. Hallotte in the town of Cottonwood.

17. Information on the Laloge family was obtained, in part, from sketches by Claude and Francis Laloge in the *Chase County Historical Sketches*, v. 1, pp. 266-269.

The Laloges returned to the ranch on the trail to live. By this time the Indians on the frontier were becoming hostile. "French Frank" was accustomed to trading with them and had always found them friendly but the Indians who came to the trading post now were insolent and demanding. One day Satanta and some of his braves came in and threatened the lives of the traders. Laloge told them that if they did not leave he would blow up a keg of powder even though it meant death to all of them. The Indians left but he knew they would soon return and would not be so easily frightened again. In a short time he had a chance to sell the ranch and the Laloge family and Peter Martin moved to farms near Cedar Point.

The Laloges bought a farm at the junction of Cedar and Coon creeks in 1869. This was their home for the remainder of their lives. Francis Laloge died there June 30, 1899, and Mary Hallotte Laloge died on February 14, 1911.

Mr. Laloge was township treasurer for a number of years and served as county commissioner one or two terms. He took a prominent part in the various French societies that were organized through the years.

There were five sons in the Laloge family: Joseph, Francis, Claude, Peter, and Louis who died in infancy.

Peter Martin took a homestead on Cedar creek. On March 1, 1868, he was married to Rosalie Dumartinot, a widow, who with her son, Joseph, had come to Kansas with the Bichets in 1858. Rosalie Martin died December 3, 1872. Soon after her death, Peter Martin left the community and no one now remembers where he went or whether he was ever heard from again.

After the arrival of the Laloges and Martin, no more French people came into the valley until late in the 1860's. The Civil War stopped practically all foreign immigration. Also, conditions on the Kansas frontier were such that settlers from other states were not attracted to the area.

THE 1860's: FRONTIER LIFE, AND INDIAN DEPREDACTIONS

Living conditions in the little settlement during the first few years were difficult. The nearest grist mill was at Emporia, some 60 miles distant. Supplies had to be hauled from there or from Council Grove which was only a few miles closer. After the Bichets built their house in 1862, they used blankets at the windows. Finally they decided to put in real window frames and panes. Alphonse was sent to Council Grove for them. He went with a neighbor, but after they

got to the Grove, the neighbor decided to go on to Leavenworth with his team. The boy bought the windows and walked the entire distance back home with them on his shoulders. His son, Fred A. Bichet, of Florence, still has these windows, although they have been replaced in the house itself.

During drought years the buffalo came off the plains, foraging for food. Hay stacks had to be fenced against them so the farmers would have feed for their livestock. Except for the dry year of 1860, there were no crop failures because of lack of rain. The land in the Cottonwood valley is rich, fertile and well-watered.

The Indians, comparatively friendly in territorial days, became a source of annoyance, if not an actual menace, during the Civil War and for several years afterwards. Francis Bernard, in later years, often told the story of one of his encounters with the Red men.

One day five or six Indians came to his cabin and demanded to see his wife. Perhaps, because Mrs. Bernard was one of the few white women in that part of the country, they really wanted only to see her, but Mr. Bernard, fearing for her safety, could not be sure. He told them she was away from home for a visit. Barring the doors and windows of the tiny cabin, he had Mrs. Bernard crawl between the two feather mattresses on their bed and there she stayed for three days. The Indians waited outside, peering through the window at frequent intervals to see whether he had told them the truth. When it came time for him to eat his meals he ate at the edge of the bed so he could give Mrs. Bernard some of the food as the opportunity arose.

The French colony was on the fringe of settlement. O. H. Drinkwater, one of the earliest settlers on the present townsite of Cedar Point, had a fortified building which was frequently referred to as Fort Drinkwater. Here the settlers gathered for protection when there was an Indian scare. On several occasions, when the reports were particularly alarming, they went on to Shafts, about ten miles above Cottonwood Falls. On July 20, 1864, Ed Miller, a young boy of Marion Centre, was sent to take a message to the E. P. Waterman family at Running Turkey ranch on the Santa Fe trail west of Cottonwood crossing.¹⁸ Ed stopped for a few minutes at French Frank's ranch. Alphonse Bichet who was working there at the time rode a mile or two with him then turned back to the ranch. He was the last person to see the boy alive. Three days later a searching party

18. *Marion Record*, January 11, 1912.

found his body near the present Marion-McPherson county line. He had been killed and scalped by the Indians.

Until late in the fall of that year there were numerous Indian scares. The *Emporia News* reported on July 30, 1864:

We have just recovered from one of those incidents of our present unsettled conditions, "a scare." It did not come from the Bushwhackers this time, but from the Indians on the plains. From the demonstrations at different times this summer from the Indians, it was easy to make the people believe that the reports were true.

The direct cause of the alarm here was the following dispatch from Col. Smith, of the 8th militia, dated at Cottonwood Falls, on Sunday night, and addressed to Col. A. J. Mitchell, of the Eleventh militia:

"The reports are very alarming from the upper Cottonwood in regard to the Indians. The settlers have all left their homes, and are in camp at Shaft's, ten miles above here. Twenty-five men are killed as far as heard from. Every man in Chase, Butler and Marion will be in the saddle tonight. We expect you to help us, and that at once, as the case is one of urgency. Morris county militia will all be on the road tonight. Should you see fit to send a detachment, send up the Cottonwood to the crossing of the road, and there you will get information to control further action. Don't fail to help us, as there is great danger. The Indians are already on the head of Cottonwood. Gen. Wood is out of the District, and I think you are in command of the 5th District. W. S. SMITH,
Col. 8th K. S.M."

This dispatch arrived here about 2 o'clock Monday morning, and Col. Mitchell and Lieut Col. Bunch both being absent at Leavenworth, was sent to Major Abraham. He immediately called out the regiment, and at an early hour Monday morning was on his way, with nearly two hundred men, up the Cottonwood. The forces consisted of parts of Co. A, under command of Lieut. Humphrey; Co. B, under Capt. Elliott; Co. C, under Capt. Campbell; Co. D, under Capt. Hill; and Co. H, under command of Lieut. Borton. Co. E, under Capt. Harper, and Co. F, under Capt. McGinnis, followed in the evening. Lieut. Wilson, who is stationed here with part of Co. A, 15th Kas. Cav., also started early in the morning. In the meantime reports kept coming in of the frightful state of affairs. A lady came from Smoky Hill, stating that the Indians had commenced murdering the settlers in that region. Another report was that a large train was corralled between Cow Creek and the Arkansas, and were being starved out, and that the Santa Fe stage had been captured, and the Indians had possession of Fort Larned, etc., etc.

The command under Major Abraham proceeded to the Santa Fe crossing. They found a good many settlers at Shaft's, as stated by Col. Smith. Some had got over the scare and returned to their homes, while others were about to do so. The command arrived at the Cottonwood crossing Tuesday evening, at 6 o'clock. The Santa Fe stage had arrived a few minutes before and reported that they had seen no Indians between that and Fort Larned. They had passed about 300 militia from Chase and Morris counties, who had turned back. Major Abraham and Lieut. Wilson being unable to hear any news that would warrant them in going on, and the former having no provisions, they turned back, and arrived home Thursday about noon.

It seems there was some grounds for these rumors. The Indians had run off all the horses and mules at all the ranches and stations between the Cottonwood crossing and Pawnee Fork, and several persons have been killed. A band of Indians was seen several miles below the Cottonwood crossing of the Santa Fe road, and it is supposed they were scouts, and when they saw the demonstrations on the part of the people and military authorities, reported to the main body, when the trains were released and the red-skins scattered. There is no doubt but that the plains in that direction are full of Indians, and they must be watched very closely to prevent great mischief. Great credit is due the militia for the promptness with which they turned out, and the determination which they evinced to meet the Indians and drive them back had they really invaded the settlements. This demonstration on their part shows they are ready to defend their homes.

On September 10, 1864, the *Emporia News* reported, "We are informed that the settlers in Marion county, west of here some sixty miles, are leaving their homes and coming this way for protection." The settlers around Cedar Point again assembled at "Fort Drinkwater" and from there went to Cottonwood Falls.

This is the last recorded evidence of Indian trouble in the Cottonwood valley. For several years, however, marauding bands of Indians came at night and stole cattle and horses. The Indian depredation claims, on file in the U. S. office of Indian affairs, list the names of many of the Cedar Point farmers. Alexander Louis and Alphonse Bichet were among those of the French colony who filed claims for stolen or damaged property. Some of these claims were disallowed but some were paid by the Federal government as late as 1898.

In one raid in 1867, a large number of horses were stolen from the valley by the Keechie (or Kichai) Indians. Alphonse Bichet, O. H. Drinkwater and several others, whose horses were taken, followed the trail and found their horses near the present site of Wichita. They were able to recover nearly all of them. Stories of the recovery have become legend. One version is that the men found another tribe camped near the Keechies, approaching these Indians they offered \$5 for every horse returned to them. That night the camp of the Keechies was raided and practically all of the stolen horses were delivered to the Cedar Point men.

THE 1870's: NEW ARRIVALS

Louis E. Berton, the son of Francois Claude and Jeanne Marie (Bajard) Berton, was born in Paris, France, June 6, 1852. When he was 17 years of age, he came to America to visit his uncle Francis Bernard. A few years later he returned to France to bring his

mother to this country. In 1880, they were living on a farm in Cottonwood township, Chase county. On March 10, 1881, he was married to Marie Leonie Marcelot, the daughter of a French farmer living near by.

Mrs. Berton, the mother of Louis E. Berton, died September 2, 1882, and was buried in the Cedar Point cemetery. Some time later Louis E. Berton and his wife moved to California. Mrs. Berton's father, Paul Marcelot, and his two children, Melanie and Henry, went with them.

Paul Marcelot had come to this country from the Department de L'Yonne, Ville de Vezelay, France. His wife died during the voyage to America and was buried at sea. Arriving in New York with his three motherless children, he set out to bring them to central Kansas. He bought a farm in Doyle township and farmed there until 1882 when he went to California with the Bertons. Paul Marcelot later went to Panama to work for the French company which was then attempting to build a canal across the Isthmus. He died there August 5, 1887.

Marie Leonie Berton died in Napa county, California, September 2, 1887, and her sister a year later. Both died of tuberculosis. Henry Marcelot, their brother, died of the same disease many years later.

Louis E. Berton died in San Francisco, February 19, 1902. His children, Leon and Louise, are the last descendants of the two French families, Berton and Marcelot, who once lived in Kansas. They live in San Francisco at the present time.¹⁹

Other names in the French colony in 1870 were: Rassat, Teuta, de Pardonnet, Fortuna, Marcou, Stiker and Ferlet. Jack Teuta was the only one of this group who lived in the neighborhood for the remainder of his life.

Frank Rassat and his wife, Josephine, and the Stikers lived there for some 15 or 20 years. We know nothing more of Jacques Fortuna. The Ferlets, Stephen Marcou, George de Pardonnet and Frederick Teuta soon left but all had interesting histories.

FRENCH INNKEEPERS: THE FERLETS

August Ferlet was born in Burgundy, France, in 1831. He married Rosa Garcon in Paris in 1858 and they lived in LeRoi, France, for four years. In 1862, they came to America, landing at New Orleans. Their first home in the United States was at Farmington,

19. Information on the Berton and Marcelot families was furnished by Louise Berton in a letter dated, San Francisco, Cal., October 7, 1949.

Wis. In 1870, they came to Kansas and homesteaded a farm north of Cedar Point.

In 1873, August Ferlet was sued by Stephen Marcou for possession of a heifer which Ferlet thought Marcou had given him nearly three years before. Marcou denied the gift and thus started one of the most unusual lawsuits Chase county has ever had. The case was tried before one court and then another until finally one jury found in favor of Ferlet, and some \$150 in costs were assessed against Marcou. Marcou appealed the case to the district court.

Col. S. N. Wood and Father Perrier, of the Catholic church, worked on the case and finally solved it in this fashion:

All the suits are dismissed, Marcou paying half the costs.....	\$166.77
Ferlet keeps the heifer and donates to the Catholic church at Cedar Point	20.00
Pays half the costs	166.77
His own attorney fees	100.00
Total	\$453.54 ²⁰

The account in the paper goes on to say that "the heifer was sold last week for \$16.00 on six months credit." The costs in the case would have been considerably more if Stephen Marcou had not acted as his own attorney.

By the time the case was settled, August Ferlet was ready to leave the country. Having received an offer to teach French in a college at Staunton, Va., he rented his farm and left, with his family, for that place in May, 1873.

Just two years later, the Ferlets returned to Chase county and settled in Cottonwood Falls. On May 16, 1875, they purchased the Falls House, one of the early-day hotels in that town. The Falls House was remodeled and enlarged, apparently with the idea of attracting the drummer trade. The first floor contained an office, a sample room and a sitting room. The second floor had bedrooms and a parlor. The hotel, renamed the Union Hotel, proved to be one of the most popular stopping places for travelers in central Kansas. The *Florence Tribune* for January 3, 1885, says that "A. Ferlet . . . is one of the most genial hosts in our knowledge. He has held his custom through times of misfortune as well as in seasons of plenty, and the steady increase in his traveling custom is the best testimony of his agreeable accommodations."

One of the early employees at the Union House was James E. Hurley. He came to Cottonwood Falls in 1875 looking for a job.

20. *Chase County Leader*, Cottonwood Falls, May 9, 1873.

August Ferlet hired him but before he began work Mrs. Ferlet took the half-starved boy to the kitchen and fed him. At first Jim Hurley did odd jobs around the hotel. One of his first jobs was to get two of Mrs. Ferlet's chickens out of a well. After working for hours to get them out they hit upon the idea of lowering one of the Ferlet boys down in one of the well buckets. He rescued the chickens and carried them to safety.

The Ferlets found Jim Hurley dependable and agreeable. He soon advanced to driver of the Union Hotel bus. After a few months, during which Hurley won many friends for himself and the hotel, he quit his job and became baggage man at the Santa Fe station. This was the beginning of his career as a railroad man which was to lead to the general managership of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway Company.

August and Rosa Ferlet took some months off for visiting and sightseeing in 1893 but they came back to run the hotel until August's death, May 2, 1899. Mrs. Ferlet died on August 30, 1917. They had four children.²¹

THE ERRATIC MR. MARCOU

We do not know when Stephen G. Marcou settled in the Cottonwood valley. He was living in Doyle township with his mother, Constance, in 1870. He was then 31 years of age.

Of his activities in the valley, we know little except for his part in the lawsuit with August Ferlet which has already been described. On May 24, 1871, he wrote a letter to Governor Harvey saying that he had called at his office that day and, finding the governor away, had left letters from A. A. Moore of Marion Centre, and O. H. Drinkwater of Cedar Point.²²

21. The Ferlets children were: Anatole, Leopold, Edward R. and Rosalene. Anatole or "Tony," as he was always called, learned the printer's trade under W. A. Morgan, editor of the *Chase County Leader*. He left Cottonwood Falls at an early date and, after working in St. Louis for a few years, went to San Antonio, Tex., where he established a job printing establishment. He was so successful his brother, Leo, joined him in the business. Later they moved their printery to El Paso.

Tony Ferlet was killed many years ago in an accident caused by a runaway team. His brother continued the business. Leo Ferlet was a charter member of the El Paso Rotary Club. When the club celebrated its quarter-century anniversary some years ago he was given a silver plaque for having a perfect attendance for the entire 25 years.

Edward R. Ferlet farmed in Greenwood county after he left home. In 1900, he returned to Cottonwood Falls and operated a hardware store. Six years later he again left and eventually settled in Kansas City, Mo., where he was engaged in the real estate business for many years.

Rosalene Ferlet, the only one of the children born in Cottonwood Falls, took a secretarial course when she finished high school. She worked in Topeka for several years. Just before World War I she took a trip to France. After the war she secured a secretarial position with Anne Morgan in her rehabilitation work in France. When that job was ended she stayed on in Paris with some of her mother's people. She was working for the Adams Express Company when she died, quite unexpectedly, in 1929. She was buried in Paris.

22. The Marcou correspondence is on file in the Archives division of the Kansas State Historical Society.

Marcou further stated that he was on his way to France to lecture in the principal cities on the subject of Kansas and her opportunities with the object of inducing the immigration of French people to the state. He asked the governor to write to President Grant asking for a letter of recommendation to Elihu Washburne, then United States minister to France. Marcou was on his way east and he asked the governor to address his reply in care of F. I. Doremus, Chatham, Morris county, N. J.

We have no record of Governor Harvey's reply but he must have been agreeable to the project because, on June 5, 1871, Stephen G. Marcou was appointed Kansas emigration agent to France.

If Mr. Marcou went to France at this time, he did not stay long. On September 25, 1871, the *Marion County Record* reprinted an item from the Poughkeepsie (N. Y.) *Daily Press* to the effect that Stephen G. Marcou, a resident of southwestern Kansas, delivered an address from the city hall steps to the working men of the city urging them to "go west." Marcou's whereabouts for the next few months are unknown, however, so he may not have gone abroad until after he was in Poughkeepsie.

How successful Marcou's lectures were in inducing Frenchmen to migrate to Kansas is not known. In 1873, a French family settled in Marion Centre and the *Marion County Record* says that they came as a result of Mr. Marcou's recommendation.

In the summer of 1873, Marcou took up his residence in Marion Centre. He was not destined to remain long but there is little doubt that he was one of the most enterprising men who ever lived there.

First, he set himself up as an attorney. He offered his professional services free to anyone who was unable to pay. Every court docket listed several cases in which Marcou represented one side or the other. Several times he acted as his own attorney as he had done in the Marcou-Ferlet case. On some occasions he defended his fellow countryman, John Brenot, whom he always referred to as "My friend, John Brenot."

One would suspect that Marcou went out of his way to create situations out of which lawsuits might arise. One time John Brenot was arrested for a minor infraction of the law. There seemed to be no easy way to get him out of his difficulties. A few days later the sheriff, Samuel Howe, was sued for false arrest and imprisonment. Marcou had discovered that no bond had been filed for the sheriff for that term of office. The matter was referred to the

governor who, after consulting with the attorney general, advised Mr. Howe to resign. He was thereupon reappointed by the governor and a proper bond posted. In the meantime the charges against Brenot had been dropped.

Marcou was a brilliant and clever lawyer but his tactics were oftentimes the despair of the other lawyers practicing in Marion Centre at that time. E. W. Hoch, in the *Marion County Record* for December 29, 1876, repeated this courtroom incident:

Marcou was opposed by A. E. Case,²³ then a practicing attorney, now cashier of the Cottonwood Valley Bank, and his partner, S. R. Peters,²⁴ now judge of the District. Mr. Case, in his quaint way, dryly expressed the belief, that if Marcou should die and go below, he would get up a row and be expelled from old Nick's domains within a week. The ready-witted Frenchman quickly retorted, that if Case should go there, the devil would do as Mr. Peters had done—go into partnership with him.

Mr. Hoch added that the joke had never been published before and if any newspapers wished to copy it they should do so at once for he had an idea Mr. Case would make a desperate effort to suppress it.

Not content with his law practice, Marcou opened a real estate office. He ran large advertisements in the *Marion County Record* and the *Chase County Leader*. He advertised land in Chase and Marion county and town lots in Marion, Florence and Cedar Point. For several weeks he ran his advertisement in English, German and French. Apparently he advertised well because in one week he received 47 letters of inquiry about property he had for sale.

In October, 1873, Marcou set up a sales agency. Included in his advertisement in the *Record* for November 22, 1873, were one yoke of No. 1 Texas work cattle, one threshing machine, four thousand fence posts. On January 10, 1874, the paper reported that S. G. Marcou has contracted for space for his sales agency and added, "His sales agency has already become a permanent institution . . . and that in connection with his land and law business would swamp almost any other man."

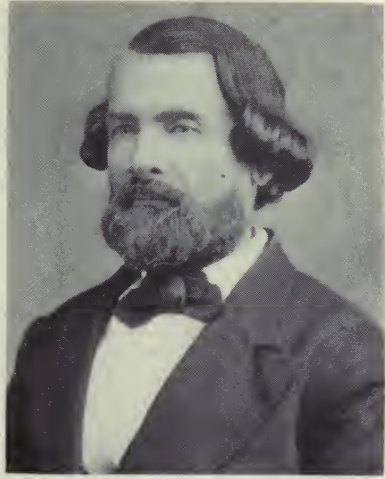
23. Alexander E. Case was born at Canton, Bradford county, Pa., October 1, 1838, the son of Ephraim and Mary (Bothwell) Case. He served in the Union army from 1861 to 1865. In 1866 he came to Marion Centre which at that time consisted of 13 log shanties. Mr. Case became the first county surveyor and in 1869 platted the present townsites of Marion Centre. He was admitted to the bar and served for a time as county attorney of Marion county. In the early 1870's he was appointed Santa Fe land agent and was instrumental in settling many Mennonite groups in that section of Kansas.

On December 12, 1868, he was married to Mary Moulton. She died in 1880 leaving two sons, Rosse and Frank. On June 25, 1884, he was married to Maria H. Wooster. He died January 3, 1929.—*Marion Record*, January 10, 1929.

24. Samuel Ritter Peters located in Marion Centre in 1873 and practiced law there for a short time. In 1876 he was judge of the ninth judicial district. He was prominent politically in Kansas for many years.



MRS. FRANCIS BERNARD
(1833-1903)

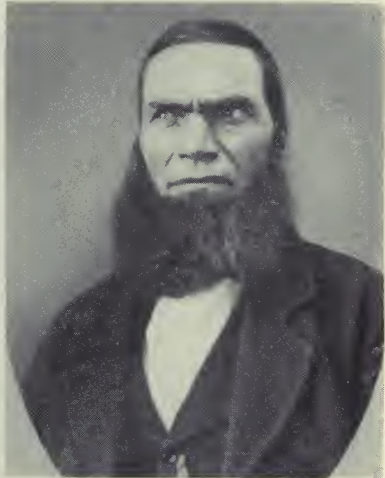


FRANCIS BERNARD
(1821-1910)



ALPHONSE BICHET
(1846-1929)

MRS. ALPHONSE BICHET
(1859-1940)



FRANCIS LALOGÉ
(1831-1899)

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Pictures courtesy of Fred A. Bichet
of Florence.



MRS. AUGUST FERLET
(1837-1917)

Mr. Marcou evidently was not "swamped" because he found time to make speeches and write lengthy letters for publication in the local papers. He also found time to compile and publish a 15-page pamphlet entitled *Homes for the Homeless. A Description of Marion Co., Kansas, and the Cottonwood Valley, the Garden of the State*. It was printed in the offices of the *Marion County Record*.²⁵

His speeches were, for the most part, made for the benefit of the Catholics in Marion Centre and vicinity. They were attempting at this time to organize and build a church in Marion Centre. On January 3, 1874, the paper reported that there had been a meeting of the Catholics to discuss the problems of erecting a church building. Addresses were made by Messrs. Marcou, Brenot, etc. A Marion Centre Catholic Church Association was formed with a capital stock of \$1,000. Trustees for the first year were Jno. M. Henn, Chas. Verling and S. G. Marcou. A contract was let for the building and some time later a small frame building was erected.

Marcou's pet dream for Marion Centre was to have sidewalks in the business district. Some of the merchants had built walks in front of their stores but they were not uniform in height or width and the spaces in between were muddy when it rained. The only way to have proper sidewalks was to have the town incorporated. Marcou began talking and writing incorporation. When the rains came he donned seven-foot stilts and walked about the town on them to tantalize the opponents of his incorporation scheme. He apparently talked sidewalks everywhere he went, because on February 20, 1874, the *Chase County Leader* had this to say:

S. G. Marcou, formerly of this county but now of Marion Centre, came near losing his life by drowning, one day last week. While crossing Main street, in that town, he stepped into a mudhole, the bottom of which had fallen out, and but for the providential proximity of some logs, which were shoved out to him, he would now be in that bourn from which no lawyer was ever known to return.

Things were not going too well with Mr. Marcou. In March, he intimated that he was having trouble with what he called the "Marion Centre ring." His advertisements ceased to appear in May and the *Chase County Leader* for the 22, carried this item: "S. G. Marcou, the erratic, has left Marion Centre and gone to Colorado. Some time ago he said he would bust the ring in the Centre or get busted, and from the unceremonious manner of his leaving we suppose the latter event happened."

25. A copy of the pamphlet is in the Library of the Kansas State Historical Society.

Thus Marion Centre lost one of her most colorful citizens. Stephen Marcou dressed in the height of fashion, it is said, and was always immaculately groomed. He drove a "spanking pair" of horses hitched to an elegant buggy but he lived in a dugout on the banks of Mud creek. He had dreams of making Marion Centre over into a charming village such as those he remembered in France. He was eccentric and, at times, unethical, but he must have been sincere else he would not have put forth so much effort to attain his ideals.

So far as it is known he was never heard of again except on one occasion. In 1876, A. A. (Lank) Moore wrote that he had "recently seen Stephen Marcou, ex-realestate man from your town. I saw him on the summit of the highest mountain on the Pacific slope, headed west, and looking hearty and fine."

GEORGE DE PARDONNET: PROMOTER OF IMMIGRATION

George de Pardonnet lived in the Cottonwood valley seven years, probably from about 1867 to 1872. Governor Harvey appointed him special immigration agent in Europe for Kansas in 1872. At the same time he was to act as agent for the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad Company which was attempting, as were the other railroads in Kansas, to induce foreign residents to come to Kansas to settle on their lands.

The appointment was made by the governor with the understanding, on de Pardonnet's part at least, that the Kansas legislature would follow up the appointment with an appropriation to finance the project. For some reason the legislature did not co-operate.

George de Pardonnet went to Europe confident that the appropriation would be forthcoming. He established an elaborate office at 2 Rue d' Amsterdam in Paris. On June 9, 1874, he wrote Governor Osborn:

. . . The results I have obtained during the last fortnight are excellent. I shall send off a lot of French emigrants on the 10th and 15th of this month and every day for the last month I have been sending off one or two families regularly for Kansas, nearly all of them with sufficient means to start at once, and many good and intelligent workmen.

For the end of the month I have a large quantity of German and Swiss emigrants whom I engaged at Basle and a certain quantity of Alsacian-Lorraine and Belgians who will leave by Antwerp.²⁶

He also wrote that he had started, at his own expense, a special agency at Antwerp *exclusively for the State of Kansas*. His assistant at this agency was his youngest brother-in-law, Frederick

26. The de Pardonnet correspondence with the governor is on file in the Archives division of the Kansas State Historical Society.

Teuty, who had been with him when he lived on his farm in the Cottonwood valley.

De Pardonnet had spent, so he wrote, several thousand dollars of his own and, in addition, part of Madame de Pardonnet's fortune. The only help he was getting from Kansas was \$225 a month from the M. K. & T. "irregularly payed."

In a letter to Governor Osborn dated August 1, de Pardonnet complained that

certain French residents of Topeka ²⁷ who have a long time entertained a deep hatred for me have said, written and had published in New York and Europe, that I was not Special Immigration Agent in Europe for the State of Kansas . . . in spite of my three commissions, the first signed by your predecessor, Hon. J. M. Harvey, who knows me well and the last by yourself 15 February, 1873; 9 February, 1874.

As a result of these articles de Pardonnet had been called in by a French government official and asked to explain his position. This he had been able to do satisfactorily.

In spite of these difficulties, de Pardonnet still expected to continue his work. He had by then expended \$6,000 of his own money and established agencies in France, Switzerland, Belgium and Italy.

He had caused to be printed "thousands and in many languages" pamphlets, views and cards upon Kansas. One of these pamphlets is in the collection of the Kansas State Historical Society.

Within a week after this letter was written, on September 7, 1874, Governor Osborn revoked de Pardonnet's commission. A certified copy of the revocation of the commission was sent to Hamilton Fish, Secretary of State of the United States, asking him to forward it to the proper authorities in France.

Secretary Fish replied that, in view of the fact that de Pardonnet was not an officer of the government of the United States, it was not within its province or that of any of the agents of the United States in France to communicate the revocation to any authorities in France. In an unofficial and private letter he explained that some European countries, especially Germany and France, had shown a repugnance to agencies from the United States or elsewhere promoting or soliciting emigration from their areas. On several occasions agents had been arrested and forced to leave the country.

27. The letters referred to by de Pardonnet were signed by M. A. Campdoras and Louis Laurent. They claimed that he was sending numerous indigent Frenchmen to Topeka with the promise that they would be provided for by the French people of Kansas. We do not know how many came or what became of them. De Pardonnet does not mention Dr. Campdoras in his letters but says that Laurent's actions were prompted by personal hatred for him.

George de Pardonnet and several of his friends wrote Governor Osborn asking him to reconsider the revocation of the commission. S. Lang,²⁸ a French businessman of Leavenworth, wrote a lengthy letter to the governor on November 12, 1874. He praised the work of M. de Pardonnet and lamented the fact that so much zeal and arduous labor in behalf of the state of Kansas should have been so poorly rewarded. He named a number of prominent men, including the Hon. Mr. Stover, J. W. Simcock, Dr. A. J. Beach and Judge Huffaker, who stood ready to vouch for de Pardonnet. The entire French population of Leavenworth, Mr. Lang wrote, backed him in his support of the former agent.

There is nothing in the governor's correspondence to indicate that any of these letters were ever answered. On May 30, 1875, Dr. A. J. Beach, of Council Grove, wrote Governor Osborn asking that a statement be made as to the reason for de Pardonnet's dismissal. The governor replied, "The action of this office was based upon the fact that there is in existence no statute authorizing such a commission. Charges of a serious character were preferred against M. de Pardonnet but for the reason above stated the commission was revoked."

So far as we can determine, George de Pardonnet did not return to Kansas to live. There is no record of the number of immigrants he induced to come to Kansas. Several new families came to the Cottonwood valley in the early 1870's and some of them may have been influenced by his advertising. The Missouri-Kansas-Texas Railroad Company has no record of the activities of M. de Pardonnet as land commissioner and immigration agent of the company nor do they believe that there was any substantial colonization of French people on their lands in Kansas. Many records of the company's predecessor, the Missouri, Kansas & Texas Railway Company, were destroyed when the station and office building at Parsons burned many years ago.²⁹

28. Sylvain Lang was born in Nantes, France, in 1837. He came to America in 1857 and lived for a year at Louisville, Ky. He went back to France and served his required time in the army then, in 1863, he came to the United States and settled in Leavenworth. He was engaged in the wine and liquor business for a number of years. He took a very active part in organizing French residents of this section into societies. In 1886 he succeeded in uniting the French societies of the United States into a national organization and served as president for three years. In recognition of his services Mr. Lang was appointed French vice-consul of Jackson county and the state of Kansas. He served in this capacity until his death April 12, 1900. Sylvain Lang was a frequent visitor in Florence. Emil Brus, also well known to members of the French colony, was appointed vice-consul to succeed Mr. Lang.—*Kansas City Times*, April 13, 1900.

29. This information was furnished by N. A. Phillips, secretary of the Missouri-Kansas-Texas Railroad Company, in a letter dated November 23, 1949.

Miss Nell Blythe Waldron, in her thesis, "Colonization in Kansas From 1861 to 1890," says that Kansas gained not more than 50 permanent settlers and that the project failed,

not because the French did not want to emigrate nor because Kansas could not receive them but because the wrong man was sent as agent. Pardonnet was of the aristocracy and the French Republicans who were in Kansas resented his dealings with the humble folk to whom he undoubtedly misrepresented conditions in Kansas.

THE CAZES AND FIRMIN

Gustave Caze and his sister, Leonie, settled in Doyle township in 1875. He was then 22 years of age and his sister about three years older. He filed his intentions to become a citizen at Marion Centre on December 15, 1875, and received his final papers April 29, 1881. Shortly before the latter date Gustave Caze made a trip to France. It was rumored in Florence that he had been taken into the army but the report was untrue.

On May 8, 1884, he was married to Mme. Ernestine Ayral, the widow of Francis Ayral. The Ayrals had come to Kansas some years previously but Francis Ayral had returned to France in 1883 because of ill health and died there. Gustave Caze took his bride to France for their wedding trip. They spent two months visiting friends and relatives, returning to Florence early in August.

For several years before his marriage, Mr. Caze had been associated in business with his brother-in-law, Emile Firmin. Mrs. Firmin was a sister to Gustave and Leonie Caze.

Emile Firmin was born on October 11, 1846, in Ispagnac, department of Lozere, France. He was the son of Firmin Firmin and his wife, Marguerite Sophie Bouncil. From the age of 11 until he was 18, Emile Firmin attended the college at Mende, France, near his home. In 1870, he was graduated from the Paris law school. During the Franco-Prussian war he served as a lieutenant in General Bourbaki's division in eastern France. After the war he returned to his native department and served for five years as notary of the town of Chanac. In France, a notary is of much greater importance than in any other country. He not only acts as witness in the signing of documents but draws up all contracts, mortgages and other deeds and conveyances where the property in question amounts to more than 150 francs. In 1875, Emile Firmin's attention was attracted to Kansas by a pamphlet published in France, probably the one written by George de Pardonnet. Six years later, he and his wife joined their relatives near Florence.

Both Emile Firmin and Gustave Caze had considerable means and they were shrewd businessmen. They soon became important factors in the political and economic affairs of Florence and vicinity.

For many years the large tract of land east and north of the river and south of the present Highway 50S was owned by Firmin and Caze. As the town expanded, part of this tract adjoining the river was subdivided into lots. After it was incorporated into the city, it was known as Firmin & Caze's addition. They owned other land around Cedar Point and Florence and considerable land in western Kansas.

In July, 1883, Messrs. Caze, Firmin and Ayral completed arrangements for the construction of an opera house in Florence. The contract was let to J. M. Anderson of Emporia. The estimated cost of the building was between \$14,000 and \$15,000 and was to be completed by January, 1884. It was to stand on the southwest corner of Main and Fifth streets and to be three stories in height. The first floor was designed for a store building to be occupied by Tucker & Chandler's Dry Goods Company. The second floor front was to be used as offices. The third floor front was to be fitted up for stage dressing rooms while the balance of the building above the first floor was to constitute the main gallery of the opera house which would seat over eight hundred persons. The front of the building was to have iron columns and French plate glass for the first story and above that "modern improvements" and galvanized iron cornices. The *Florence Herald* for July 21, 1883, in the feature item describing the proposed opera house, stated that it was to be the finest and largest between Emporia and Denver. The editor of the paper also commended the three gentlemen who were financing the project which would give Florence a much needed meeting hall, adding that it was all to be built with *Frenchmen's money*.

The opera house was formally opened on January 24, 1884. For the opening night the managers secured the popular Louis Lord Dramatic Company and the play to be presented was "The Linwood Case." The Hon. J. Ware Butterfield opened the festivities with a short address in which he noted the remarkable advancement that had been made by the town of Florence. He mentioned the fact that the town was indebted to French capital and public spirit "for this substantial evidence of genuine interest in the success of histrionic pursuits."

During the next few years many different dramatic companies and musical troupes played at the Florence Opera House and it was used

by the local people for programs, balls, etc. Usually the traveling companies gave two performances and they were as a rule, well attended. In a little over a year, three different companies presented *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and each played to a capacity house. The third performance, the Boston Double's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, nearly ended in tragedy.

In the third act two donkeys were brought upon the stage. One of them stumbled and knocked over one of the footlights. The lamp broke and oil ran over the floor and back under the stage. The oil ignited and, for a few moments, the fire spread rapidly. In attempting to smother the flames under the stage, one of the men broke through and narrowly escaped falling to the floor of the dry goods store below. The fire was finally put out, and although part of the audience had gone home, the play continued to the end. The lessee of the theater informed the people of Florence that in the future like accidents would be guarded against by keeping a barrel of water, buckets and blankets near the stage during every performance. At that time the city of Florence had no fire-fighting equipment, so the fire could have caused considerable damage if it had not been controlled.

On May 12, 1891, the opera house did burn down but it was at night when the place was empty. It was rebuilt in a few weeks by Firmin and Caze and the building is still in use in Florence.

EMILE FIRMIN: KANSAS AGENT IN FRANCE

In 1888 the congress of the United States authorized the several states to send representatives and exhibits to the industrial exhibition which was to open in Paris in May of the following year.

Later in the year Emile Firmin wrote to L. U. Humphrey, governor-elect of the state, asking that he be considered for the appointment as Kansas commissioner to the exhibition.³⁰ He said that he had been not only an observer but also a student of Kansas climate, soil and products. He had given the matter his attention for the purpose of better informing the French people of the advantages of the great and growing state. He proposed to put the results of his study in the form of a printed pamphlet for these reasons:

First.—To correct some erroneous impressions among the more desirable classes of our foreign population speaking French relative to Kansas, and

Second.—To furnish such information to the business and moneyed classes of France that will induce more of them to unite their abilities and means with

30. The Firmin correspondence is in the Archives division of the Kansas State Historical Society.

ours in still further achievements in the line of commercial prosperity and social progress instead of wasting their time and means in unsuccessful efforts in the crowded portions of the East.

Mr. Firmin felt that a pamphlet in the French language would be beneficial because he recalled that it was through such a channel of information that he was first attracted to this country.

Several petitions urging the appointment of Mr. Firmin were sent to the governor. One was from Rush county where Emile Firmin was well known, another was signed by a number of businessmen of Florence and prominent men from over the state. A third petition came from the French colony at Florence and read as follows:

To the Governor and Members of the Kansas Legislature:

In pursuance of the direction embodied in the following resolutions we transmit herewith the expression of our people on a subject of much importance to the State—

WHEREAS, Congress by resolution and legislative appropriation, has made provision for representation of the United States at the World's Exposition to be held in Paris, France, commencing in May next, and has invited the several states of the Union to participate therein, and

WHEREAS, the French people of Marion county, Kansas, constituting the largest French colony in the State, are desirous of increasing that class of immigration from their country that represents the more diversified industries as well as means sufficient to develop them in Kansas, and

WHEREAS, Mr. Emile Firmin, of Florence, Kansas, has for several years given special attention and study to the question of increasing the variety of our industries in direct adaptation to the climate, soil and seasons of the State, therefore be it

Resolved, That the French colony of Florence and Marion county in public meeting assembled hereby express their deep interest and confidence in the practicability and importance of Mr. Firmin's ideas and energy in the direction indicated, and indulge the hope that our young and marvelous State will add new progress to her achievements by the inauguration of a system of immigration marked by an intelligent discrimination in favor of those who are better fitted to take their places among the industrial and commercial classes, and whose means will enable them to give greater assistance in the development of our natural resources, and be it further,

Resolved, That His Excellency, the Governor and the Honorable Senators and Representatives of our Legislature, be solicited to give this matter their favorable attention and to take such action in regard thereto as will give to Mr. Firmin's efforts the greatest possible influence in bringing within the borders of Kansas more of the classes whose positions in life make them desirable and important factors in all the elements of social and commercial progress, be it also

Resolved, That a copy of the foregoing be presented to the Governor and to each branch of our State Legislature and that our Senators and Representatives be urged to give this enterprise their approval and active support.

COMTE DE PINCRE DE GUIMICOURT, *President*.

ERNEST GINETTE, *Secretary*.

S. Lang, then French consular agent for Jackson county, Missouri, and the state of Kansas, wrote a personal letter of recommendation to the governor. J. Ware Butterfield³¹ and J. B. Crouch of Florence spent almost the entire month of February in the legislature in Topeka working for the passage of the bill which would authorize the appointment of a Kansas agent to the French exhibition.

On March 2, 1889, the bill was signed by the governor. In brief, the duties of the Kansas commissioner were to act in conjunction with the United States commissioner general to the fair in all matters touching the interests of the state; to disseminate information about the state; to issue invitations for participation in the exhibits; to apportion the space placed at his disposal.

The legislature acted on Mr. Firmin's suggestion and provided further that the said commissioner was to prepare and have printed, in the French language, for distribution at the exposition (said printing to be done by the state printer), a pamphlet containing a condensed history of the state presenting such information as would tend to enlist the interest and secure the citizenship of the best class of enterprising and thrifty immigration.

The sum of five thousand dollars was appropriated for the project.

The law was published in the official state paper March 7, and on the same day, Governor Humphrey appointed Emile Firmin to the position. Thus, for the third time, a Frenchman from the Cottonwood valley was sent abroad by the state of Kansas for the purpose of encouraging Frenchmen to leave France and settle in Kansas. This time the Kansas agent went with the consent of the United States government, the approval of the Kansas legislature and the good wishes of a great many of the people over the state who seemed to be genuinely interested in the undertaking. On the whole the appointment of Mr. Firmin brought favorable notices from the press, although Sol Miller and one or two other editors were dubious of the measure. While the primary purpose of the law was to have Kansas represented at the exposition there is no doubt that Mr. Firmin and other French residents of the state were much more interested in the immigration angle.

31. J. Ware Butterfield was born at Andover, N. H., February 24, 1838. He attended Colby Academy, Dartmouth College and was a graduate of Dane Law School at Harvard. He practiced law at Boston, Cambridge and Memphis, Tenn., until the Civil War when he served as captain in the Twelfth New Hampshire volunteers. He came to Florence in 1873 and opened a law office. In 1891 he moved to Topeka where he practiced law and acted as correspondent for several Eastern newspapers, reporting the legislative war of 1893. He served as representative from Marion county from 1883 to 1886. Mr. Butterfield died at Topeka, June 12, 1915.—*Topeka State Journal*, June 12, 1915.

In addition to the pamphlet written by Emile Firmin on the entire state, material was solicited from the various French groups in which their particular section of the country would be described.

On March 30, the French-American citizens of Marion and Chase counties met at the Florence Opera House to organize a society. A second purpose was to discuss the measures necessary to attract the greatest number of French immigrants who would undoubtedly come as a result of Commissioner Firmin's efforts.

The organization of the society was made by the selection of the following officers: Count de Pingre, president; Francis Bernard, first vice-president; Joseph Lalouette, second vice-president; E. Ginette, secretary; C. F. Laloge, treasurer, and Alphonse Bichet, Gustave Caze, August Lalouette, A. Ferlet and Jules Reverend, executive committee.

It was decided to publish a special pamphlet showing the advantages of farming in the Cottonwood valley and informing the French people interested in migrating that they would find many of their own countrymen in the valley where they would be extended a cordial welcome.

The society proposed to raise \$300, the amount necessary for printing at least 10,000 copies of the pamphlet. About \$200 was given at the time.

At the conclusion of the meeting Mr. Firmin, in behalf of himself and his wife, extended an invitation to all those present to bring their families and be his guests at a banquet, concert and ball commencing at 7:30 that evening in the auditorium of the opera house.

There were over 60 people present in the evening. The supper was cooked and served in true Parisian style, the waiters attired in French costume. Count de Pingre presided at the table as master of ceremonies. After the dinner and speeches by several of the guests, a concert and ball followed under the management of Mr. and Mrs. Ginette. Miss Bataille and Louis Guyot added their talent to that of the Florence artists.

Among the guests were Mr. and Mrs. Paul Bartholomey and Mr. and Mrs. Brus, wealthy French people of Kansas City, Mo. These two families were friends of the Firmings, Cazes and other members of the French settlement at Florence and frequently visited in Florence.

Emile Firmin, his wife and son, arrived in Paris on April 28 where he began his work immediately. From time to time various phases

of his activities were reported in the newspapers of the state. He wrote letters to the governor, and Kansas people who visited the exposition brought back favorable impressions of what he was doing.

The Firmins stayed in Paris a year. While there, the little boy died and Mrs. Firmin was seriously ill for some weeks. On May 29, 1890, a few weeks after their return to Florence, Emile Firmin sent a detailed report of his work to Governor Humphrey. It is from this report that we learn of his accomplishments abroad.

Mr. Firmin had received his appointment too late to make arrangements for space for any agricultural or industrial exhibits from the state. He did enter some of the state publications and some others of an industrial nature. The *Sixth Biennial Report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture* received a gold medal and the *Fourth Annual Report of the Bureau of Labor and Industrial Statistics* was awarded a silver medal.

Fifty thousand copies of the Kansas brochure had been printed. Of these 44,000 had been taken to France, 5,000 were distributed in the United States and 1,000 were retained for use in connection with future correspondence with French homeseekers. The copies taken to France were placed in public libraries, clubs, hotels, public reading rooms and sent to individuals. In addition Mr. Firmin had supplemented the information in the pamphlet by articles written for publication in the French journals both in Paris and in the smaller cities of France.

Emile Firmin had corresponded with persons in charge of several of the leading geographical societies of France, Belgium and Switzerland, and the *Societe de Geographie Commerciale de Paris* had honored him by asking him to become a member. His relations with this society were very cordial. He was asked, upon two different occasions, to give lectures on Kansas and his name is mentioned frequently in the society proceedings for the year he was in Paris. Mr. Firmin found editors and society managements willing to publish reliable information about the development and progress of the state of Kansas and it was his intention, if possible, to continue to contribute to these newspapers and periodicals after his return home. In several instances he was able to correct some rather startling misstatements then appearing in regard to Kansas.

At the suggestion of Franklin G. Adams, secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society, Mr. Firmin arranged exchanges of periodicals with ten of the leading learned societies. It is interesting to

note that several of these exchanges were continued until the time of World War I. The books taken to France for exhibit, and several others more local in character, were presented to the Library of the Societe de Geographie Commerciale de Paris.

As a result of his efforts, Mr. Firmin received some 2,000 applications for further information about Kansas. He had hoped, when he went to France, to interest people with education, skill and money so that, if they did come to the state, they could help develop the vast resources here. He believed that he had been successful.

Emile Firmin found, however, that there were two principal obstacles with which he had to contend. First, the impression that public sentiment in the United States was unfriendly to foreign immigration and that stringent laws were being enacted to restrict it, and second, the great effort and monetary inducements of the South American countries being made at this time to attract French immigration made a great many people less interested in coming to the United States.

Mr. Firmin sought to find new industries for Kansas from among those suggested by the vast and varied exhibits of the exposition. He thought that the growing of Ramie or China grass from which textiles could be manufactured would be profitable here and suggested greater encouragement of beet culture believing it to be an industry of great promise to Kansas. At the time of the exposition irrigation projects for western Kansas were important issues. At the governor's suggestion Emile Firmin talked with several irrigation experts who were in Paris at the time and sent home considerable literature on the subject.

In concluding his report, Mr. Firmin acknowledged the uniform kindness of the French press and people toward his mission and thanked the governor for his co-operation in the undertaking.

Several days before Emile Firmin left Paris the French minister of public instruction conferred upon him the decoration of "Officer d'Academie" for his labors in the dissemination of international knowledge of social geography and commerce. Mr. Firmin did not mention this honor in his report.

There is no doubt that Emile Firmin advertised Kansas among his countrymen. The energy and earnestness of his work won the respect and admiration of the French people. The attitude of the country toward emigration agents had changed considerably since George de Pardonnet went to France in 1871.

Le Radical, one of the leading papers of Paris, in its issue of November 22, 1889, commented upon this change in attitude and goes on to say:

We read lately in a pamphlet found at the Exposition, an appeal from a group of our countrymen living in the State of Kansas, the purpose of which is to show the advantages of that country to the farmer, the mechanic, and the capitalist of France. What an astonishing country is that Kansas. Here is a publication due to the labor of one of our countrymen who has come as a representative of that state, and shows it to us in a high and incessant state of development. Its population has increased tenfold in twenty-five years, it has doubled its railroad mileage in four years, and the pamphlet shows that from 1884 to 1888 the value of property increased from \$240,000,000 to \$300,000,000 and all this in the comforts of the highest civilization.

Where is this Kansas? will be asked when reading this. Exactly in the center of the United States—there where the maps of our boyhood placed the great American desert. The development of that country, in view of its former reputation is thereby more remarkable. Therefore we think it our duty to call the attention of the French people to this pamphlet and we thank our countryman from Kansas for this initiative.

Julius Van Beck, a German publicist, wrote Mr. Firmin from Vienna that he had read his excellent book and intended writing some articles on Kansas for various journals in Austria and Germany. He added that he would be very happy if he could make some friends for Mr. Firmin's "marvelous country."

Other journals wrote complimentary articles about the commissioner's work at the exposition. In addition to the many letters Mr. Firmin received in France there were dozens of queries sent directly to Florence. Several of the people who wrote said they would be ready to start to this country a year or two later.

We have no way of knowing how many French families came to Kansas as a result of Mr. Firmin's efforts but there is no indication that they came in any large numbers. Only five or six families came to the Cottonwood valley during the early 1890's and some of them did not stay to become permanent residents. It was not surprising that Emile Firmin failed in this aspect of his mission. Due to conditions both in Europe and in the United States immigration had sharply declined before 1890 and after that date very few people from Central Europe came to Kansas.

Two weeks before Emile Firmin arrived home, two distinguished visitors came to Florence.³² They were Paul de Rousiers, a French author of note, and George Reviere, an artist. Sent to this country by the publishing firm of Firmin, Didot, et Cie., of Paris, they were

32. *Florence Bulletin*, April 25, 1890.

gathering material for a book which was to serve as a guide and instructor to French visitors to the World's Columbian exposition to be held in Chicago in 1893.

It had not been Mr. de Rousiers' intent to examine any of the country between Chicago and the Rocky Mountains but after reading the Kansas pamphlet and talking with Mr. Firmin he decided to make one stop in Kansas. Believing that the Kansas commissioner had preceded him, he made Florence his objective. Although they were disappointed that Mr. Firmin had not yet arrived, the two men stayed in Florence nearly a week. They visited the horse and cattle ranch of the Makin brothers, the sheep ranch of F. A. Wells, the farms down the Cottonwood, the Danish settlement in Summit township, the Mennonites at Hillsboro, and other places of interest in Marion and Chase counties. Paul de Rousiers was very favorably impressed with the vast and valuable lands in central Kansas, their comparative cheapness and the conditions that would make it possible "for a newcomer to start with a few hundred dollars, industry and economy, and in a few years gain a competency in life." A copy of Mr. de Rousiers' book *American Life*, translated by A. J. Herbertson, is in the library of the University of Kansas. Naturally, in a book of this type, names of individuals are not mentioned but he does make one comment about the French colony in Kansas which is of interest. He says:

One day I was with a Frenchman who had settled in Kansas a long time ago. After a long walk over the grounds he said to me, after proudly glancing around him, "you see, Sir, what I have done here. In the time of the Indians I began with my two arms, defending my cattle and crops against them; sometimes selling my plough-oxen to get a few measures of flour, to keep me from starving; and yet I never learned anything but my trade of cabinet making in my home in Burgundy." I asked him if many of his neighbors began farming for the first time on their homesteads. "Why, down in that valley through which you came to get here," he replied, "one farmer was once a waiter, another a salesman at Pygmalions in Paris, a third a journeyman printer from New York, another is an old Norwegian sailor, who deserted, and I can point out to you an advocate, old soldiers, merchants and so on."

The cabinetmaker of whom he was speaking was undoubtedly Francis Bernard and several of the people he mentioned are easily identified among the members of the French colony.

EMILE FIRMIN: PLAYWRIGHT

Emile Firmin wrote a play in 1892. The theme was drawn from the vagaries of the American social and political system as seen through French spectacles. He engaged a professional theatrical

company to produce it and expected, following the initial performance in Florence, to send it on the road.

"Col. Granger," Emile Firmin's four-act play, was scheduled to be produced for the first time at the Florence Opera House on March 26, 1893. A distinguished Frenchman, M. Mital, on an official tour of the United States, was visiting in Florence the week before the date set for the performance. Being somewhat of a dramatic critic himself he read the play, pronounced it good, and extended his visit so that he could see it produced.

The opening night was quite a social event in Florence. The producing company did an excellent job of acting but the audience did not take kindly to Mr. Firmin's play. As Jay E. House, then editor of the *Florence Bulletin*, wrote: "It treads too harshly on the corns of the American people to ever become a money-making production in its present form. People do not go to play houses to have their dearest follies and foibles laughed to scorn."

Many years later Mr. House was writing a column entitled "On Second Thought," for the *Topeka Daily Capital*. One day he made the Firmin play the theme of his column:

Contrary to the general impression E. W. Howe's *Story of a Country Town* is not the first play by a Kansan to be staged and produced by a regular theatrical company. Twenty years ago there lived on a farm on the outskirts of Florence, Marion county, a Frenchman named Emile Firmin. Firmin was a man of marked ability. In France he had been a distinguished lawyer. . . . Firmin was interested in the drama and built the first and only "opera house" in Florence. By and by he wrote a play and it was produced by a traveling company doing a three nights stand in that locality. The writer witnessed the first performance of the piece and wrote the only criticism of it ever embalmed in print and take it from one who attended its untimely demise, it was a pippin. Technically it was almost, if not quite, flawless, and it had all the natural elements of a successful drama. But in writing the play Firmin had smashed every idol the American people hold dear. He took the hide off the old soldiers and the pension plan, a much more heinous offense then than now, slammed the church and rasped the clergy, ridiculed our social and religious conventions, and burlesqued our political gods. Wherever a pimply spot showed on the surface of our body politic there Firmin trampled with both feet. In the originality of its conception and the cleverness and keenness of its satire the mark of genius showed clearly. But it wouldn't do and we knew it. After the performance those of us who were his friends led the author away beseeching him to make such changes in it as would make it acceptable to American audiences. But Firmin was obdurate. He wouldn't change a line nor a phrase. And so, the child of his fancy went into the scrap heap without reaching the dignity of a second performance.

In June, 1902, another of Mr. Firmin's plays was produced in the Opera House. This too was a satire on our social life. It was a one-act play entitled, "Marriage in Chicago." According to the *Marion County News Bulletin*, Florence, for June 12, 1902: "It is safe to say that Mr. Firmin has placed more marriages and divorces in the short space of eighteen minutes than the average Kansas judge could carry through in as many months." Perhaps because the scene was laid in Chicago or because the theme was not so vital this play seemed very clever and amusing. It was received much better than "Col. Granger" had been.

The Firmins moved to town in 1892. At first they lived in the upper story of a building they owned at the corner of Main and Fourth streets. Later they built a house in the Firmin & Caze addition east of the river. Mr. Firmin made a great many trips to western Kansas where he still owned land. He and Gustave Caze owned considerable land east of Florence and they devoted much of their time to improved methods of farming. They specialized in the breeding of Hereford cattle and built up quite a large herd. They had a large vineyard which yielded quantities of grapes of excellent quality each year.

In March, 1904, Messrs. Firmin and Caze announced a sale on their farm later in the spring. They offered 190 head of Hereford cattle, most of which were purebred. They also advertised their town lots for sale.

Mr. and Mrs. Firmin and Leonie Caze left Florence about the middle of May to return to France to live. Gustave Caze and his wife left later in the same month for Kansas City where their daughter, Camille, was in school. They expected to make a rather extended tour of the East and then sail for France in July. The Cazes planned, when they left Florence, to stay in France for about three years during which time Camille would finish her education and then return to Florence to live.

Neither family ever came back to the United States. From time to time friends in Florence received letters from one or the other of the families. In 1905, Emile Firmin wrote H. J. Reverend that he and Gustave Caze had joined another American in the manufacture of prepared milk for commercial purposes, the milk being reduced to a powder.

Emile Firmin died April 19, 1914, at his home at La Garenne-Colombes, near Paris.

Camille Caze married Roger Deletang who died in 1925 at the age of 39. At the time of his death he was mayor of the village of St. Georges des Boillargeau in the department of Vienne, France. Mrs. Deletang never remarried and now lives at Poitiers, Vienne. She writes occasionally to one or two people in Florence. A year or two ago she asked a friend to send her some popcorn. She remembered it from her childhood at Florence and her grandchildren had never had any.

[To Be Concluded in the May Issue]

Robbery on the Santa Fe Trail in 1842

THOMAS FITZPATRICK (c1799-1854) was well-known as a trapper and guide in the year he wrote the following letter. The incident he describes occurred on the Santa Fe trail, probably in present Pawnee county, as Fitzpatrick was returning to St. Louis after two years spent in leading emigrant parties to Oregon.

The letter, and related papers, are to be found in the superintendency of Indian affairs "Records," v. 8, pp. 109-111, in the Society's manuscripts division.

ST LOUIS NOVEMBER 28, 1842

Sir:

I take the liberty of laying before you a case of robbery committed on me by the Pawnee Indians, on the the 28th ulto; about three hundred miles from Independence on the Arkansas river. I left Fort Scott (Columbia river) August 20th in company with one man for the U. S. and that I might more easily avoid the Sioux & Chiennes (who are now considered hostile) I left the usual route and came by Messr. Bent & St. Vrain's trading post on the Arkansas from which to the settlement I anticipated little or no danger; however about half way between that place and Independence I met with a war party of the Pawnees coming from the Sioux,—they at first appeared perfectly friendly, but on our attempting to leave them and continue our route, they showed symptoms of hostility and in a scuffle which ensued they got possession of my gun, in the mean time my travelling companion fled and I have not since heard from him, I was therefore left at the entire mercy of the Savages, and they made good use of the power they then possessed as they rifled me of all my travelling equipage, save my horses which they politely returned to me; they did not leave me wherewith to make a fire, which you know is very inconvenient and one of the greatest privations. I will herein enclose a bill of the articles they robbed me of, in order that I may obtain redress according to the laws existing on that subject. The loss I have sustained is very trifling, but the insult is very great to have occurred as it were on the very borders of the Settlement.

I have appeared before a magistrate of this city, as you will perceive, & have sworn to the correctness of the enclosed bill; however, I will make some remarks on the different articles for your satisfaction. They are all priced and set down at what I believe they cost me, except the Spy glass which would be worth here about fifteen dollars, but in the Indian country I could at any time get a good horse or forty dollars for it. There were many other articles amongst my losses which I could make no estimate of and therefore left out altogether, such as Indian curiosities, many curious petrafactions, mineral Specimens &c

Y Ob St.

[Signed] THOS. FITZPATRICK

D. D. MITCHELL Esq.

Supt Ind Aff

Memorandum of articles taken from the undersigned Oct 20, 1842 by Pawnee Indians, Arkansas river, viz:—

One double barrel & twist gun	\$50.00	Five cotton & Gingham sheets	
One spy glass.....	25.00	at \$1.50 ea.....	\$7.50
One Super broad cloth dress		Powder lead & percussion caps	8.00
coat	34.00	Shot pouch, belt &c.....	3.00
One french Merino frock coat	18.00	One Spanish riding saddle....	10.00
Two vests \$4.50 & \$7.00....	11.00	One Razor case with four	
Two pr. pantaloons at \$5.00		blades fitting into one	
ea	10.00	handle	5.00
Three linen shirts at \$3.50 ea	10.50	Blankets, bear skin &c for	
		bedding	15.00

\$207.50

Fitzpatrick's affidavit, which has not been published here, adds only two items of information, that his companion was named "Vandusen," and that the Pawnees numbered "about twenty." When the Indians met their agent at Council Bluffs on June 2, 1843, they admitted taking all the items except the shot pouch and belt. The matter was finally settled by reimbursing Fitzpatrick from the Pawnee annuities.

The Annual Meeting

THE 75th annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society and board of directors was held in the rooms of the Society on October 17, 1950.

The meeting of the directors was called to order by President Charles M. Correll at 10 A. M. First business was the reading of the annual report by the secretary.

SECRETARY'S REPORT, YEAR ENDING OCTOBER 17, 1950

At the conclusion of last year's meeting, the newly elected president, Charles M. Correll, reappointed Robert C. Rankin and Milton R. McLean to the executive committee. Mr. Correll's term also expired and in his stead he appointed Wilford Riegler of Emporia. The members holding over were John S. Dawson and T. M. Lillard.

BUDGET REQUESTS

Appropriation requests for the next biennium were filed with the state budget director in October. Among the increases and special appropriations asked for were the following:

An additional cataloger for the library, the first since 1921; \$1,500 for new lights in the reading rooms; \$2,000 for repairing and restoring oil paintings and other pictures; and \$1,000 a year additional for the contingent fund.

Requested for the Memorial building were: another janitor; \$1,000 for rewiring and installing modern equipment in the main switchboard; \$6,000 for overhauling the heating system and insulating steam pipes; \$4,000 for painting; \$700 for repairs to the skylights and the roof; and \$500 for repairing the west steps and repointing stone work.

An increase of \$1,000 a year in the maintenance fund at the Old Shawnee Mission was requested. This is for repairs to the buildings, for painting and wallpapering, for grading and seeding the grounds and for five new large metal signs.

LIBRARY

During the year 3,179 persons did research in the library. Of these, 1,197 worked on Kansas subjects, 1,279 on genealogy and 703 on general subjects. Numerous inquiries were answered by letter and 108 packages on Kansas subjects were sent out from the loan file. A total of 6,197 newspaper clippings were mounted from papers covering April 1, 1949, through June 30, 1950. They came from the seven daily papers which are read for clipping, and from six special historical editions and 1,069 duplicate papers.

A number of gifts of Kansas books and genealogies were received from individuals. Typed and printed genealogical records were presented by the Kansas Society of Colonial Dames and the Daughters of the American Revolution. Gifts from the Woman's Kansas Day Club included books, manuscripts, museum pieces, and clippings, pamphlets and pictures on old churches. Microfilm copies of the following books were added to the library: *History of*

Rawlins County by Claude Constable, *Early History of Chapman* by J. B. Carpenter, *Historical Atlas of Kansas* by Robert P. Marple and *History of the National Group Settlements in Republic County, Kansas*, by Ida Lucretia Smith.

PICTURE COLLECTION

During the year 566 pictures were accessioned. Nearly 6,000 new cards were made for the picture catalog, covering illustrations and pictures of individuals from county atlases. New pictures of particular interest are: three original pen and ink sketches of the Old Shawnee Methodist Mission by Harry Fenn; five original pencil sketches of territorial Kansas by H. W. Waugh, including scenes of Leavenworth and Lawrence; an oil portrait of David D. Leahy by the late Ed L. Davison of Wichita, given by Mrs. Davison. A scrapbook containing 86 photographs of carriages, some with the fringe on top, mail wagons, delivery wagons and early automobiles, was given by Mrs. Ralph W. James of Topeka. Many of the carriages were made to order by the Rehkopf Brothers of Topeka. Three photographs of old Fort Wallace were given by Mr. Al Sears of Topeka.

ARCHIVES DIVISION

Work on the new archives stacks is now nearly complete. Pending their installation, no effort has been made to secure new accessions. However, the following were added during the year:

A collection of 318 volumes from the insurance department. Some of these will be destroyed, having no permanent value, and others are being microfilmed.

The statistical rolls of Kansas counties for 1943, amounting to 1,933 volumes, from Kansas State College.

A file of the state architect's weekly "News Letter," beginning in 1949. This is a valuable record of the state's huge building program.

The minutes of the board of managers of the house of representatives in the impeachment of Judge Theodosius Botkin in 1891. It came from David H. Coons of Stockton, Cal., a son of the secretary of the board.

A collection of 170 rolls of negative microfilm, containing records of births, still births and deaths in Kansas from 1947 to the present. This film is held for safe-keeping for the board of health.

The Society's project for microfilming archives has made good progress. During the year ending September 30, 90 volumes of election returns, 1861-1930, and 819 volumes of insurance department records, 1870-1947, were filmed. This work required about 340,000 pictures, or 339 hundred-foot rolls of film. In addition, all unbound statistical rolls of counties and cities owned by the Society have been prepared for filming, which will begin this fall.

MANUSCRIPTS DIVISION

During the year, 34 manuscript volumes and approximately 1,600 individual manuscripts were received.

The largest accession was the William Henry Harrison Kelley collection, given by Miss Gordon Kelley, a great-granddaughter, of Fort Smith, Ark. Harrison Kelley (1836-1897), of Coffey county, after serving in the Fifth Kansas cavalry, was made a brigadier-general of the state militia in 1865. From that year till 1891 he was prominent in Republican politics and held numerous elective and appointive positions. In 1891 he was defeated for re-election to con-

gress and became a Populist. Governor Lewelling appointed him a regent of the Kansas State Agricultural College in 1893, and he was still serving at the time of his death in 1897. The Kelley collection covers the years 1863-1897, but the bulk of the letters date between 1889 and 1893.

A journal kept by 19-year-old Calvin H. Graham as he crossed the plains from western Pennsylvania to California, in 1853, was lent for copying by James Irwin of Topeka.

Papers given by Mrs. H. M. Korns, of Salina, included some William A. Phillips correspondence, and genealogical material on the Spilman family.

From William Mitchell, Yonkers, N. Y., the Society received the 1856-1857 minutes of the Prairie Guards—the militia organization of the Connecticut Kansas colony which settled in Wabaunsee county in 1856. Also related to this colony was a gift from the late Dr. J. T. Willard, Manhattan, of two Wabaunsee Town Company record books (June 17-August 27, 1858; and February 11, 1859-August 7, 1865). The town company succeeded the colony as an organization.

Through the Woman's Kansas Day Club, F. I. Burt, Manhattan, gave the 1886 diary of Charles B. Lines who settled in Wabaunsee county in 1856, as one of the original members of the Connecticut Kansas colony.

A 26-page documented account of the Jordan massacre was presented by the author, Howard C. Raynesford, Ellis. Richard Jordan, his wife Mary, his brother George, and Fred Nelson were murdered by Indians in Ness county in the summer of 1872. The guilty Indians were traced to Indian territory (Oklahoma) but were never brought to justice.

Three volumes of records (1859-1931), of the First Presbyterian Church, Topeka, were lent for microfilming.

Papers relating to the Kaw Valley Basin Flood Control Association (1933-1948), were given by A. Q. Miller, Salina.

Other donors were: Robert T. Aitchison, Wichita; Mrs. Grace Grant Baker, St. Louis, Mo.; Mrs. E. E. Beauchamp, Marysville; Mrs. J. W. Benton, Kansas City, Mo.; F. I. Burt, Manhattan; Mrs. Omar Carlisle; Gov. Frank Carlson, Topeka; Robert Caulk, Topeka; Berlin B. Chapman, Stillwater, Okla.; Chester County Historical Society, West Chester, Pa.; Colonial Dames of America; Mrs. Ada (Dodge) Ferguson, Ardmore, Okla.; Fortnightly Club, Topeka; G. F. Gould, Topeka; Sumner L. Hamilton, Ellis; F. A. Hobbble, Dodge City; Frank Hodges, Olathe; Alva E. Home, Topeka; Louis O. Honig, Kansas City, Mo.; Irene Horner, Topeka; Bruce Hurd, Topeka; Mrs. Frank C. Kelly, Waterloo, Iowa; Eads W. Lehman, Idalia, Colo.; Emma Lyman, Olathe; Myrtle McCamant, Tonkawa, Okla.; Maude McFadin, Wichita; Dr. Karl A. Menninger, Topeka; Mrs. Will C. Menninger, Topeka; Mrs. Sidney Milbauer, Los Angeles, Cal.; Mrs. Frances E. Moore, Fort Worth, Tex.; Theo W. Morse, Mound City; C. E. Nash, Peru; Native Sons & Daughters of Kansas; David Neiswanger, Topeka; Sara A. Patterson, Lawrence; Paul Popenoe, Los Angeles, Cal.; Mrs. H. A. Rowland, McPherson; J. C. Ruppenthal, Russell; St. Mary College Library; Dr. Mary B. Waterman Sanford, Methuen, Mass.; Frederick F. Seely, Meadville, Pa.; Horace J. Smith, Los Angeles, Cal.; Marjorie E. Stauffer, Pasadena, Cal.; M. G. Stevenson, Ashland; Mrs. Eric Tebow, Manhattan; Carl Trace, Topeka; Dr. E. B. Trail, Berger, Mo.; Mrs. Alma Anthony Weber, Dallas, Tex.; Mrs. Evelyn Whitney, Topeka; Woman's Kansas Day Club; Mrs. Jennie R. Wood, Cottonwood Falls; Brinton Webb Woodward, II,

Topeka; Charles S. Wright, Woodland Park, Colo.; Otto J. Wullschleger, Frankfort.

MICROFILM DIVISION

Two million photographs have been made by the microfilm division since its establishment in 1946. About half a million were made the past year: 339,380 of archives, 145,734 of newspapers, and 4,183 of manuscripts. Newspapers of average size are filmed one page at an exposure, but archives and manuscripts generally can be taken two pages at a time, hence the number of pages actually filmed for those departments greatly exceeds the number of exposures reported.

Miscellaneous newspapers microfilmed during the year include: *Anthony Journal*, January 7, 1881-December 28, 1882; *Appeal to Reason*, Girard, August 31, 1895-November 4, 1922; *The Catholic Visitor*, Olathe and Leavenworth, May, 1882-July 1, 1886; *The Kansas Catholic*, Leavenworth, July 8, 1886-September 17, 1891; *Kansas City Catholic*, September 24, 1891-May 12, 1898; *Leavenworth Daily Conservative*, July 2, 1867-September 16, 1868.

Lawrence newspapers microfilmed the past year include: *Daily Gazette*, October 15, 1884-May 31, 1895; *Daily Herald-Tribune*, July 17, 1884-March 29, 1890; *Daily Journal*, June 19, 1879-February 17, 1911; *Daily Kansas Tribune*, January 2, 1882-January 5, 1883; *Daily Record*, September 12, 1889-July 1, 1893; *Jeffersonian Gazette*, April 6, 1899-August 5, 1920; *News and Tribune*, November 16, 1883-July 10, 1884; *Republican Daily Journal*, March 4, 1869-June 18, 1879; *Weekly Gazette*, September 7, 1882-March 30, 1899; *Weekly Journal*, January 7, 1886-June 27, 1889; *Weekly Record*, November 14, 1889-June 30, 1893, and *Western Home Journal*, March 11, 1869-March 25, 1885.

W. A. Blair, publisher of the *Oswego Independent*, lent several early newspaper files of southeast Kansas for microfilming. They were collated with files belonging to the Society and the following microfilms were made: *Chetopa Advance*, January 20, 1869-December 30, 1880; *Chetopa Herald*, March 4, 1876-February 16, 1878; *Chetopa Settler's Guide*, April, 1879-May, 1880; *Neosho Valley Eagle*, Jacksonville, June 13, 1868; *Labette Sentinel*, September 8, 1870-March 2, 1871; *Oswego Independent*, June 22, 1872-December 30, 1876; *Oswego Labette County Democrat*, October 16, 1879-December 30, 1881; *Oswego Daily Register*, May 13, 1869; *Oswego Register*, July 8, 1870-November 27, 1874; *Parsons Eclipse*, April 9, 1874-December 26, 1878; *Parsons Sun*, June 17, 1871-December 29, 1877, and *Western Enterprise*, Parsons, September, 1872-January, 1873.

The Society's photostat collection of Missouri newspapers, dated 1819 to 1856, was also microfilmed. They were fading and becoming illegible. This collection of 53 bundles of photostats was condensed into 16 reels of microfilm.

Publishers of the following daily newspapers are donating microfilm copies of current issues: Angelo Scott, *Iola Register*; Dolph and W. C. Simons, *Lawrence Daily Journal-World*, and Dan Anthony, III, *Leavenworth Times*.

NEWSPAPER AND CENSUS DIVISIONS

Over five thousand certified copies of census records were issued during the year, an increase of more than 32 percent over the preceding year. September, 1950, with 552 records issued, was the biggest month since July, 1942, early

in World War II. This was partly due to the Korean war and the stepped-up war tempo. But most of the requests still come from those who need proof of age for social security or other retirement plans. During the year, 3,148 patrons called in person at the newspaper and census divisions. Five thousand six hundred and sixty-six single issues of newspapers, 5,136 bound volumes of newspapers, 626 microfilm reels and 8,983 census volumes were consulted in giving the service, which is without charge.

The 1950 annual *List of Kansas Newspapers and Periodicals* was distributed in August. This is the 55th issue since the Society's organization. The 1950 *List* shows 697 newspapers and periodicals being received regularly for filing. These include 58 dailies, two triweeklies, 12 semiweeklies, 383 weeklies, 18 fortnightlies, 25 semimonthlies, two once every three weeks, 129 monthlies, three once every six weeks, 16 bimonthlies, 28 quarterlies, 17 occasionals, two semiannuals, and two annuals, coming from all the 105 counties. Of these 697 publications, 257 are listed as independent, 120 Republican and 17 as Democratic in politics; 87 are school or college, 38 religious, 20 fraternal, seven labor, nine industrial, 15 trade and 127 miscellaneous.

The Society's collection of original Kansas newspapers, as of January 1, 1950, totaled 53,488 bound volumes, in addition to more than 10,000 bound volumes of out-of-state newspapers dated from 1767 to 1950. The Society's collection of newspapers on microfilm now totals 2,664 reels.

Included among the donors of miscellaneous newspapers during the year, exclusive of the editors of Kansas, were: Miss Gordon Kelley, Fort Smith, Ark.; Stanley A. Shepard, New Brunswick, N. J.; F. O. Bica, Wellsville; W. G. Clugston and H. J. Freeborn, Topeka.

ANNALS OF KANSAS

The *Annals*, which the 1945 Legislature voted to bring up to date, has now been compiled to 1919. The past year's work, covering the years 1913 to 1918 inclusive, deals with World War I, and the Hodges and Capper administrations. The period was marked by peace leagues, good roads movements, farm-bureau organization and development of the oil and gas industry. There were lean years which reduced wheat growers to seed loans and Russian-thistle ensilage and fat years which enabled them to send shiploads of grain to starving Belgians. Tractors plowed up thousands of acres of grazing land for wheat.

The legislature appropriated a \$300,000 emergency fund to fight livestock diseases and to compensate for losses. Other legislation provided for a highway commission, a welfare commission, a tuberculosis sanitarium and the child hygiene bureau.

In World War I, Kansas oversubscribed all quotas. Hoarding flour, failure to buy bonds or give to the Red Cross or thresh wheat properly brought out the yellow-paint squad. German courses were abolished from schools. "Hooverize" became the housewife's slogan. Spanish influenza in 1918 raised the death rate to 15.2 per 1,000 population—the highest on record.

In the Kansas news, Woody Hockaday marked highways; W. D. Ross, movie censor, rejected *The Birth of a Nation*; Jess Willard whipped Jack Johnson; Dwight Eisenhower became a lieutenant colonel; the Martin Johnsons made a movie film in the South Sea Islands. Deaths recorded included Governors Craw-

ford and Humphrey, William F. (Buffalo Bill) Cody, General Fred Funston, Vinnie Ream Hoxie and Mary Vance Humphrey.

MUSEUM

The attendance in the museum for the year was 46,088.

There were 50 accessions. Two dolls dressed in the costumes of Dauphine, ancient province of France, and six medals struck by the French government in recognition of Franco-American unity in World War II, were gifts to Kansas from the French Merci train.

An old violin which had belonged to Luther Hart Platt, a Congregational minister who came to Kansas in 1856, was given by his granddaughters, Lois and Ruth Platt. Platt was known as the "Fiddling Preacher." In 1865 he taught violin and voice at Lincoln College, Topeka, now Washburn.

Charles S. Wright, of Woodland Park, Colo., gave a Frank Wesson rifle, made in 1859, which was used by William (Buffalo Bill) Mathewson for hunting buffalo.

A quart whisky bottle of pre-prohibition days in Kansas was donated by Pierce R. Hobbie of Dodge City. It originally contained hand-made sour-mash whisky, distilled in Kentucky and bottled for Peter Berry & Son, of Leavenworth. It bears a revenue stamp of the 1890's.

The work of cleaning and repairing the birds in the Goss collection was completed last spring. Some of these birds are nearly 80 years old, and most are over 70. Col. N. S. Goss, who made the collection, came to Kansas in 1857. Starting as an amateur ornithologist, he became a national authority. In 1881 he donated his collection to the state. It consists of 1,523 birds (756 species), and when presented was valued at \$100,000. A unique feature of the display is that every bird is mated. There are a number of rare birds, several of which are now extinct, such as the passenger pigeon.

In 1915 the collection was moved to the Memorial building and placed in charge of the Historical Society. The birds had become very dirty and till this year were displayed in the original old-fashioned cases. A modern case with fluorescent lighting was built along the north wall of the museum, according to plans furnished by Dr. E. Raymond Hall of the University of Kansas. The taxidermy was done by Frank Boddy, a disabled war veteran of Topeka, who was recommended by Doctor Hall. The birds were too fragile to remount, but they were cleaned, the bills and feet were repainted, new eyes were fitted where necessary, and the mounting blocks were refinished. The total expense was \$4,000, twice the original estimate. Even so, four of the old cases had to be used. They were repaired and painted, however, and fitted with fluorescent lights. Mr. Boddy did an expert job, and this fine old collection is now in first class shape and well displayed.

SUBJECTS FOR RESEARCH

Extended research on the following subjects was done during the year: *Biography*: Francis Huntington Snow; James H. Lane; Edward Hogue Funston; Edmund G. Ross. *General*: Railroad development and influence in the Gulf Southwest; Abram Burnett's youngest granddaughter; the period of Charles F. Scott's term in the United States congress; Nicodemus, the negro colony of Graham county, Kansas; Cities west of St. Louis, a study in history and geog-

raphy; territorial laws; Kansas City, Mexico and Orient railway; cattle pools in Barber county; history of Shawnee Baptist Missions; negro troops in Kansas during the Civil War; Indians; Billy the Kid; Indian raids in northwest Kansas, 1864-1878; Kansans in Oklahoma; the army of the Plains, Division of the Missouri, 1866-1876; the Smoky Hill trail in western Kansas, 1859-1869; sod houses and contemporary structures in western Kansas; the Santa Fe trail; land values (Pottawatomie reservation); history of Grant county; history of Lindsborg; public opinion of the cowboy; reforms of Walter Vrooman.

ACCESSIONS

October 1, 1949, to September 30, 1950

Library:

Books	1,015
Pamphlets	2,020
Magazines (bound volumes)	225

Archives:

Separate manuscripts	1
Manuscript volumes	2,251
Manuscript maps	None
339 reels of microfilm	

Private Manuscripts:

Separate manuscripts	1,600
Volumes	34
4 reels of microfilm.	

Printed maps, atlases and charts 320

Newspapers (bound volumes) 708

Reels of microfilm 2,664

Pictures 566

Museum objects 50

TOTAL ACCESSIONS, SEPTEMBER 30, 1950

Books, pamphlets, newspapers (bound and microfilm reels) and magazines	444,369
Separate manuscripts (archives)	1,632,611
Manuscript volumes (archives)	55,224
Manuscript maps (archives)	583
Microfilm reels (archives)	361
Printed maps, atlases and charts	11,418
Pictures	24,503
Museum objects	33,471

THE QUARTERLY

The 18th bound volume of *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, which is now in its 19th year, is about ready for distribution. Among the features are three contributions by Dr. Robert Taft in his series, "The Pictorial Record of the Old West"; Albert R. Kitzhaber's article on the downfall of Senator Pomeroy; Homer E. Socolofsky's "The Scully Land System in Marion County"; and the "Memoirs of Watson Stewart," with an introduction by Donald W. Stewart, a grandson, of Independence. Thanks are due to Dr. James C. Malin of the University of Kansas, associate editor of the *Quarterly*, who continues to take time from his busy schedule to read articles submitted for publication.

OLD SHAWNEE MISSION

During the past year the exterior woodwork of the four Mission buildings was repainted and a new roof was put on the East building. This roof was made of heavy cedar shingles, in keeping with the construction of the 100-year-old building, and cost \$2,000.

In connection with the celebration last spring of the 100th anniversary of the founding of Kansas City, Mo., an open house was held at the Mission on June 4. Members of the Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society, dressed in costumes of the period, acted as hostesses and guides. About 500 visitors attended.

Among recent visitors at the Mission were Mrs. Ida Riley of Oklahoma and her sister, Mrs. Bertha Beaty of Kansas City, who trace their ancestry to Tecumseh, the famous Shawnee chief. Their father and mother had attended school at the Mission. Another visitor was Mrs. Bettie Withrow of Chetopa who traces her ancestry to Charles Bluejacket, at one time a missionary and interpreter in the Mission. Bluejacket later became a chief of the Shawnee tribe.

The Society is indebted to the state departments of the Colonial Dames, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Daughters of American Colonists, the Daughters of 1812 and to the Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society for their continued coöperation at the Mission.

THE FIRST CAPITOL

During the past year the caretaker's cottage was painted and minor repairs were made on the capitol building.

The legislature of 1949 appropriated money for bringing electricity to the caretaker's house. However, when the authorities at Fort Riley were asked to make the installation, for which they had previously given an estimate, the cost was considerably more than the appropriation. The Union Pacific right-of-way runs through the grounds, and it was suggested that the company might help. T. M. Lillard, attorney for the railroad and a member of the executive committee of the Historical Society, was appealed to. Within a few weeks the installation was made without cost to the state. The Society is greatly indebted to Mr. Lillard and to the company. It will be remembered that in 1928 the Union Pacific restored the Capitol building at a cost of \$25,000.

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: Nyle H. Miller, assistant secretary and managing editor of the *Quarterly*; Helen M. McFarland, librarian; Edith Smelser, custodian of the museum; Mrs. Lela Barnes, treasurer; Edgar Langsdorf, archivist and manager of the building; and Jennie S. Owen, annalist. Attention should also be called to the work of Harry A. Hardy and his wife Kate, custodians of the Old Shawnee Mission, and John Scott, custodian of the First Capitol.

Respectfully submitted,
KIRKE MECHEM, *Secretary*.

At the conclusion of the reading of the secretary's report, President Correll 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 25, 1949, to August 21, 1950.

MEMBERSHIP FEE FUND

Balance, August 25, 1949:

Cash	\$4,037.70	
U. S. savings bonds, Series G	8,700.00	\$12,737.70
		<hr/>

Receipts:

Memberships	\$828.00	
Reimbursement for postage	727.95	
Interest on bonds	242.50	
		<hr/>
		1,798.45
		<hr/>
		\$14,536.15
		<hr/>

Disbursements		\$1,174.82
		<hr/>

Balance, August 21, 1950:

Cash	\$4,661.33	
U. S. savings bonds	8,700.00	
		<hr/>
		13,361.33
		<hr/>
		\$14,536.15
		<hr/>

JONATHAN PECKER BEQUEST

Balance, August 25, 1949:

Cash	\$163.56	
U. S. treasury bonds	950.00	
		<hr/>
		\$1,113.56

Receipts:

Bond interest	\$27.27	
Savings account interest	1.35	
		<hr/>
		28.62
		<hr/>
		\$1,142.18
		<hr/>

Disbursements:

Books		\$48.15
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Balance, August 21, 1950:

Cash	\$144.03	
U. S. treasury bonds	950.00	
		<hr/>
		1,094.03
		<hr/>
		\$1,142.18
		<hr/>

JOHN BOOTH BEQUEST

Balance, August 25, 1949:

Cash	\$50.92
U. S. treasury bonds	500.00

\$550.92

Receipts:

Bond interest	\$14.40
Savings account interest68

15.08

\$566.00

Disbursements:

Balance, August 21, 1950:

Cash	\$66.00
U. S. treasury bonds	500.00

\$566.00

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 25, 1949:

Cash in membership fee fund	\$571.19
U. S. savings bonds (shown in total bonds, membership fee fund)	5,200.00

\$5,771.19

Receipts:

Interest	130.00
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\$5,901.19

Disbursements:

Five sketches of Kansas territorial scenes by H. W. Waugh . . .	\$30.00
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Balance, August 21, 1950:

Cash	\$671.19
U. S. savings bonds, Series G	5,200.00

5,871.19

\$5,901.19

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, 1950, these

appropriations were: Kansas State Historical Society, \$143,365.40; Memorial building, \$14,529.80; Old Shawnee Mission, \$7,980.00; First Capitol of Kansas, \$2,602.00.

On motion by T. M. Lillard, seconded by Mrs. W. D. Philip, the reports of the secretary and the treasurer were 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 13, 1950.

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 25, 1949, to August 21, 1950, and that they are hereby approved.

JOHN S. DAWSON, *Chairman.*

On motion by John S. Dawson, seconded by Robert Taft, 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 13, 1950.

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: Frank Haucke, Council Grove, president; Will T. Beck, Holton, first vice-president; Robert Taft, Lawrence, second vice-president.

For a two-year term: Kirke Mechem, Topeka, secretary; Mrs. Lela Barnes, Topeka, treasurer.

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 P. M. The members were called to order by the president, Charles M. Correll.

The address by Mr. Correll follows:

Address of the President

CHARLES M. CORRELL

SOME ASPECTS OF THE HISTORY OF THE G. A. R.
IN KANSAS

THE Grand Army of the Republic has passed into history. More than a quarter of a century has gone by since the last effective encampment of the department of Kansas was held. The books have been closed and the charters of the local posts have been turned in to repose in the archives of an organization which, for several decades, was identified with the public life of locality, state and nation. It is thrilling to study the records of the early meetings of the comrades who wore the little bronze buttons as they assembled in the annual encampments and carried on their business with the full-blooded vigor of active manhood; then it becomes pathetic to read in the records of the later proceedings of the difficulty the officers and speakers had as, with voices weakened with age, they struggled to make themselves heard by those whose ears were increasingly stopped by the passing of the years. In the last few encampments that were held, the business was done in the name of the old soldiers, but the work was actually carried on by the members of the auxiliary organizations, such as the Ladies of G. A. R., the Sons of Veterans and the Daughters of Union Veterans.

It was the boast of Kansas that this young state sent more soldiers into the Union armies during the Civil War than did any other state, in proportion to population. It is also true that, when the war was over, Kansas received an unusually large number of veterans as settlers and citizens. This fact is not surprising for Kansas had attracted nation-wide fame as the scene of the Border war, and of the activities of John Brown, so it was only natural that the young men, released from military service, should be attracted to the state where the prologue of the national tragedy had been enacted. To be sure, this attraction was not lessened by the opportunities offered by the new homestead law. The late William Allen White, in his presi-

dential address before this Society, alluded to this large number of Civil War soldiers who came to make up the G. A. R. in the state, and he said of them, ". . . they all joined the G. A. R. It dominated Kansas politics for 30 years; kept the state a rock-ribbed Republican plutocracy for thirty years after Appomatox. . . ." ¹ Insofar as Mr. White's statement is correct, it alludes to a natural consequence of the situation. These young men had, under the leadership of Abraham Lincoln, served in the armies which saved the Union, and, now that the job was done, the great majority of them would inevitably adhere to the party of Lincoln.

However, Mr. White's statement is more rhetorically correct than it is statistically, for he had in mind the total strength of the Union veterans in the state and not specifically the strength of the G. A. R., for this organization never recruited more than a small fraction of the potential members, and it tried to be strictly non-partisan. It was a comradeship to preserve common memories, to care for the widows and orphans of soldiers and to promote all that could advance the spirit of patriotism in the community. The officers and members were repeatedly being reminded that they must not let partisan politics affect their activities. Like all organizations, it desired to grow in numbers. The number of posts and their membership fluctuated from year to year, but in the early 1890's, when the organization was at its peak, there were somewhat less than 500 posts with a membership of not much over 20,000, while it was estimated that the probable number of Union veterans within the borders of the state was some 100,000. Hence the department officers were constantly urging the officers of the local posts to carry on an active recruiting campaign.

During the decade of the 1890's, when the Populist movement was at its height, one local post commander, in response to the official prompting to recruit new members, wrote the state headquarters that he "never had asked a damned Pop to join and he never would do so." Of course he was properly reprimanded and again all were reminded of the non-partisan rules under which they worked. However, one may suspect that there was quite general agreement with the attitude of the anti-Populist commander on the part of the leaders of the G. A. R., although they didn't dare express it so openly as he did. The state was solidly Republican, as White states, and the old soldier vote no doubt was largely responsible for it, but it is not tech-

1. *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 8 (1939), February, p. 76.

nically correct to say that the G. A. R., as an organization, was responsible for it.

In spite of the large number of Civil War service men who were homesteading in Kansas, the G. A. R. did not come into full recognition in this state until the decade of the 1880's. One may assume that the homesteaders were too busy founding their homes, breaking up the tough sod, fighting Indians and grasshoppers, struggling with the unfriendly elements, and then trying to survive the depression years of the early 1870's, to give time and effort to the establishment and propagation of a social and patriotic organization. However, there was formed in Kansas as early as December, 1865, an order called the Veteran Brotherhood, and the following June a state encampment was held in Topeka. At about the same time the national G. A. R. was founded with the first post at Decatur, Ill., in April, 1866. The leaders of this group evidently invited other veterans' organizations that had sprung up in various states to meet in a national encampment in Indianapolis, November 20, 1866, and the Veteran Brotherhood of Kansas was represented by T. J. Anderson and possibly other members at this meeting. At a second encampment of the Veteran Brotherhood at Topeka in December, 1866, it was voted to transfer into the G. A. R., and the Topeka post of the Veteran Brotherhood became Lincoln Post No. 1 of the G. A. R.²

Kansas was represented at the national encampment of 1867 and again in 1869 but was not in 1870 nor 1871. In this year it was reported that Kansas had had 36 posts in 1868 but had only nine in 1871 and was in arrears with national dues, so was dropped from the roster, but it was represented again in 1872 and reported that a reorganization was in progress. In 1873 the Kansas department was again in arrears, but got its dues paid by 1874 and, although officially present in 1876, the representative had to report that the number of posts in the department had fallen to a single one of 16 members at Independence. However, posts were being organized at Larned and at Leavenworth, so Kansas was carried as a provisional department in the national organization until 1880 when it gained regular status and remained an active department throughout the remaining years of its history.

The first encampment of the state department was held in Topeka in 1882 and regular meetings were held from that time on. In the records of this first encampment allusion was made to the growth of

2. Frank W. Blackmar, *Kansas, A Cyclopedia of State History*, . . . (Chicago, c1912), v. 1, pp. 772, 773.

the order from one post five years before to 36 active posts in 1882. Evidently recruiting went forward at a good rate during the next few years for, at the encampment held in 1884, it was stated that Kansas ranked fourth among the states of the Union in point of numbers in the G. A. R., being surpassed only by Pennsylvania, New York and Ohio, and that there were then 298 posts in the state with 16,551 members.³ Nearly a decade later the number of posts was given as 477 and the membership at a little over 20,000. So, although the numbers on the rolls never included more than a quarter of the potential members, yet it was the actively organized portion of the veteran population, it had definite purposes to attain and, as was emphatically stated at one of the state encampments, "the Grand Army of the Republic is a power in this State, and . . . can make its influence felt. . . ." ⁴

It was a constant objective in the minds of the Civil War veterans to inculcate the spirit of patriotism and, except for the subject of pensions, few themes were more frequently emphasized in the encampments of the organization. The department meeting in 1889 adopted a long resolution setting forth the desirability of keeping alive in the minds of future generations the devotion of those who had saved the Union, and calling upon the schools and state institutions of higher education to set aside memorial halls for reading rooms and historical museums. The next year the encampment urged all local posts to use their influence to get national flags displayed in all public school rooms. In 1891 a resolution was adopted calling on the national encampment to take all necessary steps to insure the teaching of patriotism in the schools, emphasizing in this connection that it was part of their mission to see that the correct history of the Civil War was taught. Throughout the decade of the 1890's, the department commanders and the resolution and education committees were constantly calling on the members and the local posts to urge legislation requiring schools to own and display flags, and more than one commander called upon the congress of the United States to make available for use in the public schools a system of military instruction already in use in colleges.

In 1903 the education committee reported failure to get a bill through the legislature to require the flag salute in the schools of the state because the River Brethren had protested that such a law would inculcate idolatry, while another proposed piece of legisla-

3. *Proceedings Third Annual Encampment, Department of Kansas, G. A. R., 1884, p. 4.*

4. *Journal of Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Encampment, Department of Kansas, G. A. R., 1886, p. 13.*

tion to appropriate money with which to furnish schools a manual of patriotism failed because "a foreign born member who couldn't speak English" had moved that "te pill pe turn down." The committee complained of lack of support from the local posts.⁵ In spite of the seeming apathy of the members of the organization, the committees persisted in their efforts to secure favorable legislation and in 1907 the legislative committee, under the chairmanship of Cyrus Leland, was able to report success in getting the legislature to pass an act requiring school boards to secure flags and facilities for displaying them in the schools, and also requiring the state superintendent to prepare a patriotic manual to be printed by the state printer and distributed to the public school authorities. Just prior to the announcement of this achievement, the office of patriotic instructor seems to have been created in the national organization, state departments and local posts, and in 1906 the department patriotic instructor reported that over 100 flags had been placed in the public schools, but the report failed to indicate where the funds had come from with which to purchase these flags.

In keeping with its interest in patriotism, is the attitude of the organization towards holidays related to Civil War men and incidents. In 1885 the department encampment expressed its appreciation of the act of the legislature making Memorial Day, May 30, a legal holiday, and there is no doubt that the organization and its members had been active in lobbying for that legislation, as they were later for enactment of the law making Lincoln's birthday a legal holiday. That they were jealous of the proper observance of such days is evidenced, for example, by the strong protest voiced by the G. A. R. in 1919 against the proposed plan for President Taft to speak in Kansas City on Memorial Day on the subject of the League of Nations. It is to be assumed that the protest was animated, not by hostility towards Wilson's league, but only by the determination to keep that day sacred to the theme of the Civil War and the sacrifices of the heroes who had fought in the struggle to save the Union. Similar sentiment, evidently, explains the persistent opposition of the G. A. R. to the adoption of a state flag, as they reiterated their slogan, "One Country, One Flag, One Language." It seemed inappropriate, if not unpatriotic, to these boys in blue for any symbol to be raised that might seem to divide allegiance, or to detract from the glory of the Stars and Stripes, and it was not till after the

5. *Proceedings of the Twenty-second Annual Encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic, Department of Kansas, 1903*, pp. 51-53.

G. A. R. had ceased to be a force in public affairs that a state flag was adopted.

It is of rather special interest to note that the G. A. R. went on record as officially approving and endorsing the G. A. R. Memorial College at Oberlin, Kan. This was a college incorporated in 1891 for the especial purpose of giving free college education to the children of soldiers and sailors of the Civil War, and it is said to have been the only college in the country set up for that purpose. The boys and girls who attended were required to wear uniforms furnished by the school at cost and they had to bear the cost of their board and rooms, but they were charged no tuition. The college had but a short existence but while it lived it had the blessing of the old soldier organization.

In this same decade of the 1890's, the department encampment passed a resolution calling upon the state and national governments to appropriate money for the building of a Union Soldiers' Memorial Hall of United States History, to be erected on the campus of the University of Kansas. This structure was to be dedicated to the realization of the G. A. R. purpose that the correct history of the Civil War be taught. In view of this constant and commendable emphasis on what they considered good patriotism, it is a bit surprising that the encampment of 1884 indefinitely postponed action on a proposed resolution commending Sen. John J. Ingalls for "his masterly defense of the martyred hero of freedom and patron saint of Kansas, John Brown." One wonders if the negative action was prompted by a doubt as to the saintliness of John Brown or by a doubt as to the propriety of an endorsement of a prominent politician.⁶

Another evidence of the interest the G. A. R. had in the proper inculcation of patriotism in the rising generation is seen in the concern the department commanders were constantly manifesting in the character of the textbooks in United States history that were in use in the schools. As early as the meeting of 1891 this concern was indicated by the resolution which was passed calling on the national encampment to take steps to insure the proper presentation of the account of the Civil War—its significance, its battles, its heroes—to the youth in the schools of the land. At the state encampment of 1894, the department commander in his address strongly criticized the school histories in use as being written to sell in all parts of the country—the South as well as the North—and so failing to teach

6. *Proceedings of the Third Annual Encampment, Department of Kansas, G. A. R., 1884*, p. 28.

the proper love and reverence for the soldiers who had saved the country. He stated that he had appointed a committee to see about rewriting the histories or having a good one written. Later in this same meeting this committee gave its report, going into some detail in its criticism of the history books in use, and it closed its report with three recommendations, namely, (1) That the department commander appoint a committee of three G. A. R. men to watch with vigilance the character of books used in the public schools of the state and the character of the teachers employed at public expense. (2) That the regents and professors at the state university, the state agricultural college and the state normal school be requested to raise the American flag over their college buildings every school day, and the department commander be authorized to appoint three comrades annually residing at Lawrence, Manhattan and Emporia, to report at each encampment whether the school authorities had respected this request. (3) Each post commander was to have this report read at a post meeting soon after the encampment proceedings were published.⁷

In 1895 the comrades were still worried about this matter as is indicated by a resolution which was passed authorizing the commander to appoint a committee to work out a plan to get a proper history text published for use in Kansas schools. Such a committee was appointed and at the meeting the following year it gave a long report. It told how three comrades had been given time before the state teachers' association meeting to point out errors in the history book then in use and to tell the teachers how to teach patriotism. One of these speakers was quoted as telling the teachers that if he were writing a history textbook he would give, not a few lines, but 50 pages to the story of the Kansas struggle.⁸ Evidently he wasn't worried about the size of the book the children would have to read if all the topics were treated in similar ratio.

Three years later the subject was again attacked in the commander's address when he condemned the book then in use because it gave too little space to the battles and leaders of the Civil War and failed to instill the spirit of patriotism. Another committee was appointed to make a study of the state-adopted text, which was Taylor's *Model History* of the United States, Kansas edition, and at the encampment of 1900 this committee gave a long report which

7. *Journal of the Thirteenth Annual Encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic, Department of Kansas, 1894*, pp. 61, 62.

8. *Journal of the Fifteenth Annual Encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic, Department of Kansas, 1896*, pp. 55-74.

pointed out the inadequacies of the book. Among other shortcomings, it was pointed out that the book devoted only 17 pages to the account of the Civil War while it gave 19 to the story of Cleveland's administration, and, furthermore, it wrongly gave credit to the Cleveland administration for some legislation favorable to the veterans which had actually been passed at an earlier date. This supposed partiality of the author for the Cleveland program made an especially good point of attack, for Cleveland's economy in the matter of pensions had made him unpopular with the members of the G. A. R., just as the program of the earlier commissioner of pensions, Corporal Tanner, with his "God pity the surplus" slogan had made him a favorite with the recipients of pensions. Still the question of textbooks wasn't settled and in 1901 another committee was appointed to investigate school history books, and in 1902 this committee reported that the new textbook commission, appointed by Governor Stanley, had replaced Taylor's history text by one written by Davidson, who was superintendent of schools in Topeka, and the committee highly praised Davidson's book and gave credit to the G. A. R. for getting the change made.

This story of the turmoil over textbooks serves to remind us that each generation has its problems of unpatriotic and subversive influences and each generation produces its censors to correct such influences. In the decade of the 1890's, the terms "socialist" and "anarchist" were rather indiscriminately pinned onto the advocates of political and economic reform, even as the terms "red" and "Communist" are today, and the G. A. R. was one of the organizations that made it its business to see to it that no un-American ideas poisoned the minds of the youth.

Naturally the G. A. R. was active locally and in a state-wide way to get statues and other monuments erected as memorials to men and events of the Civil War, and many such monuments stand on courthouse squares and in city parks as evidence that the organization was effective in this line of endeavor. At the first state encampment in 1882 action was taken urging the quartermaster general of the U. S. army to have erected at the national cemeteries at Ft. Scott and Ft. Leavenworth suitable rostrums for use on memorial occasions. By this time there must have been some agitation for the establishing of a national soldiers' home west of the Mississippi, for, in 1883, a committee was appointed to see what could be done and at the next encampment the committee reported that it had circularized the posts in the states of the Midwest and had secured over

20,000 signatures to a petition asking congress to establish such a home in Kansas. Later the record shows that the department had advanced nearly \$500 to cover the expenses "incurred in securing the passage of the appropriation for the soldiers' home and its subsequent location in Kansas" and that the legislature had in due time refunded the amount to the department.

The campaign carried on by the G. A. R. was evidently effective for in 1884 congress passed a bill appropriating \$250,000 for the erection of a soldiers' home west of the Mississippi and on July 2 of that year President Arthur signed the bill. The location of the home was a matter for further campaigning and bidding from various cities, but Leavenworth gave 640 acres of land and \$50,000 and this, plus the fact that George T. Anthony, of that city, appeared before the national board of managers, was sufficient to swing the matter and the home was located there.⁹ The success of this program was a cause of great rejoicing on the part of the organization, as is indicated in the address of the commander at the encampment of 1885 when he said "What stronger proof can there be of the usefulness of the G. A. R. than the good we have accomplished in this direction."

Probably the supreme achievement of the Kansas department of the G.A.R. in the matter of memorial buildings, was its success, after years of striving, in securing the erection of the Memorial building in Topeka, where the archives of the organization are kept, and in which the State Historical Society is housed. The erection and dedication of this building were high lights in the lives of the old soldiers and their organization, and this was practically the last notable accomplishment of the state department of the G. A. R. It appears that the first foreshadowing of this hall is in the action of the encampment of 1889 asking the executive council of the state government to set aside a part of the capitol building as a memorial hall where G. A. R. meetings could be held and where post flags and relics could be stored, and a memorial hall committee was appointed at this meeting. Some time before 1897 this request had been favorably acted on, for in this year the minutes of the encampment refer to the act of the legislature by which two rooms in the capitol had been set aside as a G. A. R. museum under the custody of men named by the department officers, and the first report of the superintendent of the museum was given at this 1897 encampment.¹⁰ This arrangement didn't prove entirely satisfactory, evidently, for there is later

9. *The Kansas Knight and Soldier*, Topeka, July 1, 1887, p. 16.

10. *Proceedings of the Sixteenth Annual Encampment of the Department of Kansas, Grand Army of the Republic*, 1897, pp. 79-81.

complaint that the capitol authorities had compelled the organization to move to other rooms in the state house, so agitation continued for better accommodations.

At last, in 1909, a department committee reported that the state legislature had appropriated \$200,000 for the building of a memorial hall and had created a building commission on which the secretary of the State Historical Society and the commander of the state department of the G. A. R. should serve. The resolutions adopted at this same 1909 meeting refer to the state appropriation and also state that over \$200,000 of funds received from the general government still remain in the treasury, but give no explanation of the source of this money nor its possible use. However in December, 1908, a circular had been sent out from the department headquarters explaining that \$97,000 had been received in the state treasury from the federal government, being interest due on money spent by Kansas in raising and equipping troops for the Civil War, but also in part, evidently in payment of individual claims, for it is stated that proof of claims for this money had been chiefly supplied by the State Historical Society. It was believed that some \$200,000 would finally be received and hope was expressed that this money, plus state appropriations, would be used in the building of the Memorial hall.¹¹ The next year the department member of the Memorial hall committee reported that he had secured, in the plans for the hall, a G. A. R. room to seat 1,500, a room for a museum and rooms for the auxiliary organizations. In the discussion that followed the report, the question of the materials to be used in the construction of the hall was debated, and also it was strongly emphasized that the G. A. R. museum must be kept separate from that of the Historical Society. It turned out that the money at hand wasn't sufficient for building the hall as planned, but the legislature of 1911 made additional appropriations, and the contract for the erection of the building was let on March 30, 1911. It was arranged that the ceremony of the laying of the cornerstone was to be on September 27, with the President of the United States officiating, but all the exercises to be under the control of the G. A. R.

At the encampment of 1911 an explanation was made as to the source of the funds from the general government which were going into the building of the hall. The government at Washington had paid to the state of Kansas for expenses and personal losses in connection with the Civil War, the sum of \$1,268,503. Of this, \$337,054

11. *Journal of the Twenty-eighth Annual Encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic, Department of Kansas, 1909*, pp. 107, 108.

had been paid to certain individual claimants, and the state's share of \$895,892 had been allocated by the state to the building of Memorial hall.

By 1914 the hall had been completed and the dedication ceremonies were observed on May 26, 27 and 28, at the time of the department encampment. A communication in the press that spring seemed to give the impression that the Kansas Academy of Science would direct the exercises at the dedication. This brought forth from the headquarters of the G. A. R. a vigorous letter declaring that the members of the academy, as well as all other citizens, would be welcome at the exercises, but stating in no uncertain terms that the exercises of the day would be under the control of the G. A. R. and of no one else. The original act of the legislature, which provided for the building of the hall, contained a section which reserved the use of the second floor of the building for the G. A. R. and its auxiliary organizations, but by 1918 the G. A. R. officers were protesting against the use of the second floor by other organizations to the exclusion of their order and contrary to law.¹² The legislative session of 1919 passed an act transferring the custody of the hall from the Memorial hall building committee to the state executive council, but through the efforts of Senator Kanavel, the lone Civil War veteran in the senate, the original provision giving the second floor to the Civil War organizations was retained. And so it is today that the assembly room, the museum, and the offices on the second floor of the hall are memorials to, and contain the records of the Grand Army of the Republic and related organizations admitted to its use before the G. A. R. became defunct.

The limitations of time prevent the telling of many other interesting and constructive achievements accomplished by the organization of the men who, as boys, had fought the battles of the war between the states. Much could be said of the leaders, many of whom served their communities, the state and the nation in public office. The organization was largely responsible for inducing the federal government to turn over to the state the land of old Fort Dodge for the purpose of building on it the state soldiers' home which, down through the years, was indeed a home for many a worthy and needy old comrade in his helpless years. The orphans' home at Atchison was another benevolent institution for which the G. A. R. was largely responsible, and it shared with its auxiliary, the Ladies of the G. A. R., in the establishment and direction of the Mother Bickerdyke Home

12. *Topeka State Journal*, February 3, 1919.

at Ellsworth. The G. A. R. was no doubt what would be called today a pressure group and it certainly applied the pressure for obtaining pensions and other favors to veterans, but it carried on its propaganda frankly, proudly, and in the open for it always insisted that the nation owed to the men who had saved it from destruction a debt that could never be paid with pensions, homes and such benevolence.

The motto of the order—Fraternity, Charity and Loyalty—guided it in caring for the comrades, their widows and orphans, in ministering to any who suffered from epidemics and other disaster, and in keeping alive in the thought of the people the ideal of devotion to country and flag. Their charity came to extend to those outside their order and even to their former enemies, for Kansas posts sent carloads of corn and other gifts to aid in financing the building of homes for Confederate veterans. Yes, the Grand Army of the Republic has passed into history, but the history of its ideals and achievements should not be forgotten.

Following the address of the president, Kirke Mechem, secretary, read a paper giving a sketch of the Society's history:

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, AFTER SEVENTY- FIVE YEARS

EVERY spring hundreds of Kansas school children visit the Memorial building in Topeka. The first thing they see in the lobby is a long case where the original state constitution is displayed. They receive a folder which tells how the document was written. From it they learn that there were three earlier attempts to write a constitution and that all failed because of the bitter fight over slavery in the territory.

Curiously, this was also true of the organization that has charge of the constitution—the Kansas State Historical Society and Department of Archives, to give it its full name.

In 1855 the Pro-Slavery Legislature chartered the Historical and Philosophical Society of Kansas Territory, which lasted only as long as its sponsors. Four years later the Scientific and Historical Society was incorporated. By 1863 it had brought together in Lawrence a collection of 244 books and the files of 14 newspapers. In that year many of its collections were destroyed in the Quantrill raid. Then in 1867 a State Historical Society was projected. But it, too, soon died.

The Kansas Editors and Publishers Association organized the society that finally took root. This was at Manhattan in April, 1875. Today, though 33 states are older than Kansas and many outrank it

in wealth and population, only two or three have historical societies as large.

Perhaps the most important act of the editors was to promise to give back files of their papers and to donate all future issues. For 75 years this promise has been kept, with the result that the collection is now the largest in the United States outside the Library of Congress.

Nothing of course can compare with a newspaper as a source of history. Each file is a continued story of its community. Combined, these Kansas papers record the births and deaths, the successes and failures, the joys and sorrows of the people of the state for nearly a hundred years. No other state has ever attempted such a collection and no other commonwealth, therefore, ever possessed such a minute record of its existence. Consider what historians would give for a file of an *Athens Post* at the time of Sophocles or a *London News* in Shakespeare's day!

The papers received by the society are listed each year in a booklet. The 1950 list shows 697 newspapers and periodicals. Of these, 58 are daily and 383 are weekly, coming from all 105 counties. The total number of Kansas bound volumes is now 53,488. In addition there are over 10,000 bound volumes of out-of-state newspapers dated from 1767 to 1950.

The Society's first library was donated by its first president, Chief Justice Samuel A. Kingman. It consisted of a bookcase in the office of the state auditor. Today the library has few equals in the fields of Western and Indian history, and genealogy. The section dealing with Kansas is the largest in the country, with about 300,000 separate card entries relating to Kansas subjects alone.

An attempt is made to get a copy of every book, pamphlet and magazine article written about Kansas or by a Kansan. In addition, several leading Kansas dailies are read, and the stories with historical value are clipped and catalogued. In this way the current history of the state is kept up-to-date.

The Chinese have a saying that one picture is worth 10,000 words. In the library 24,000 pictures are catalogued, mostly of Kansas subjects. They range from tintypes less than an inch in size to a life-size painting showing Governor Reeder escaping from the territory disguised as a woodchopper. Also, there are 12,000 maps, atlases and charts, tracing three centuries of development in the Kansas region.

The most popular department, especially with children of school age, is the museum. It is the largest of the state historical museums

and contains 35,000 objects illustrating the history of Kansas and the West.

These objects range in size from Mexican dressed fleas to a Concord stage coach, and in time from a Coronado sword of 1541, found on the plains of Kansas, down to the present year. Boys with a Hopalong Cassidy complex flock about the old Western rifles, revolvers, powder flasks, cartridge belts and saddles. None of the relics attracts more attention than an airplane made and flown in Topeka in 1912.

The Society is the official archives department of the state. Archives, strictly speaking, are business records. Schools, for example, have archives in the form of minutes of school boards, records of classes, etc. When a state officer, such as the superintendent of public instruction, wants to dispose of records he notifies the records board. The archives department examines the papers and determines which have permanent value. They are then moved to the Memorial building and organized for use. The others, usually the larger part, are destroyed.

Kansas was the first state in the middle west to pass an archives law. This was in 1905. Not until recent years, however, did the law prohibit departments from destroying records without permission. Since then, more records have been transferred to the Society than in any preceding twenty years. The state's total archives run to over 2,000,000 documents.

In the archives may be found the correspondence of every Kansas governor since 1854. All the original census reports since the first enumeration of 1855 are preserved. Of great value are the charter books from the secretary of state's office which contain a record of all Kansas corporations.

Another department, similar to archives, consists of private letters, diaries and the like. They were written by early-day missionaries, farmers, politicians, housewives, etc., and include records of organizations and commercial firms. Examples are 35 bound volumes of the letters of Isaac McCoy, one of the first missionaries and surveyors in Kansas; the journal of Jotham Meeker, Kansas' first printer; and the official correspondence of the New England Emigrant Aid Company. Nearly every noted Kansan, and hundreds of others, are represented in this collection of 300,000 pieces.

Since all papers break down with age, especially wood-pulp newspapers, a chief problem is to preserve their content. The best method is to photograph them on microfilm, since it also saves space.

The Kansas Society was one of the first to experiment in this field. The microfilm department has now taken 2,000,000 pictures of old newspapers and archives. In addition, it has bought from the National Archives, and elsewhere, microfilm records pertaining to Kansas which total around 350,000 pictures. Three projectors are available for use of these films.

The Society of course is more than a collector. It has published 17 books known as the *Kansas Historical Collections*, 18 bound volumes of *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, as well as numerous smaller publications. It is now compiling an "Annals of Kansas," a continuation of Wilder's *Annals*. This work, when published, will be a day-by-day history of the state from 1885 to 1925.

As trustee for the state, the Society has charge of several historic sites. The most important are the old Shawnee Mission, which was established in 1830 near present Kansas City as an Indian mission and school, and the First Capitol building on the Fort Riley reservation. Custodians at both places care for the properties and show them to the public.

Like other state departments, the Society operates on money received from the legislature. For the most part, this support has been generous. But sometimes there are questions. A few years ago a member of an appropriations committee, visiting the building for the first time, asked, "What the hell good is a historical society?" It turned out that he was a cattleman, and when he was shown a complete collection of brand books, with his father's brand in one of the volumes, he began to look about him with a more open mind.

Actually, the Society serves the public in three ways. The first is in a sense patriotic; it stimulates the pride people have in their past and encourages their natural desire to honor their ancestors. These are legitimate sentiments, and are a trait of all strong civilizations. Likewise, the Society helps teach some of the lessons of history: what can be learned from the struggles and errors of the past.

On another level, the Society is merely an entertainer. People like curiosities, and the older the better. They like to identify the objects their parents or grandparents used. They enjoy seeing the crude utensils of the Indians, the prairie-breaking plows of the pioneers, the rope beds, the hand-written arithmetics. They are entertained by old maps and pictures. They are amused by early-day newspaper advertisements of bustles, mustache cups and bed warmers, and are touched to see steak offered at ten cents a pound and stockings at 15 cents a pair.

For many, there is entertainment in genealogical research. Scores of persons spend hours in the library checking family histories. And of course there are other hobbyists who want to know about stamps, coins, old china, Indian relics, costumes and countless other subjects.

But there is a dollar-and-cents value in historical records that is little appreciated by the general public. A great deal of the advertising Kansas receives is based on the Society's collections. Newspapermen use them constantly, as a source for features, for illustrations, for checking information. This is also true of writers for national magazines and authors of books.

No historian of course can write about the state, or for that matter about the Great Plains region, without reference to the Society's records. Allan Nevins, who has twice won the Pulitzer prize, has visited the Society a number of times. Not long ago, J. Frank Dobie, a leading authority on Southwestern history, wrote that Kansas has the best state-maintained society he has ever worked in. "Go to Kansas," he told his own state, "to learn how a historical society representing Texas might be dignified."

Nearly 300 persons a month come to the Society for help in getting birth certificates, and requests are received by mail from all parts of the country. These certificates are needed for claims for old age assistance, social security, railroad retirement, pensions, passports, proof of citizenship, etc. In giving this service last year it was necessary to search 8,983 census volumes and hundreds of bound newspaper volumes and microfilm reels.

Recently the title to a valuable Kansas property hinged on the validity of a notary's commission. It was claimed that the commission had expired before the notary had witnessed a transfer many years before. By reference to the Society's records it was proved that the commission had been renewed and that the transfer was legal. Frequently, in similar instances, official signatures can be verified by comparing them with known true signatures in the archives.

Even out-of-state business concerns occasionally make use of the Society. Several months ago one of the country's largest chain stores was sued by the federal government. As part of the defense of the suit, the corporation hired a staff of researchers to check their advertisements through hundreds of Kansas newspapers.

One of the state's most beautiful buildings was erected without cost, thanks to the archives. This is the Memorial building, which

probably could not be replaced today for \$1,500,000. During the Civil War, on promise of repayment by the federal government, Kansas spent \$600,000 of its own money. Then for the next 50 years it tried to collect. In 1908 reimbursement was at last approved. Those who handled the matter stated that "without the records kept by the historical society, and nowhere else to be found, the state couldn't have collected a dollar."

There was, therefore, a touch of poetic justice in the decision that made the Memorial building the permanent home of the Society. The building is now 35 years old, yet even today few other societies are so well equipped. Certainly much of the Society's progress has been due to this capacity for expansion.

PRESIDENTS OF THE KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
1875-1951

- 1875-1876 *SAMUEL AUSTIN KINGMAN, Topeka.
- 1877 *GEORGE ADDISON CRAWFORD, Fort Scott.
- 1878 *JOHN ALEXANDER MARTIN, Atchison.
- 1879-1880 *CHARLES ROBINSON, Lawrence.
- 1881-1882 *TIMOTHY DWIGHT THACHER, Lawrence.
- 1883-1884 *FLOYD PERRY BAKER, Topeka.
- 1885-1886 *DANIEL READ ANTHONY, I, Leavenworth.
- 1887 *DANIEL WEBSTER WILDER, Hiawatha.
- 1888 *EDWARD RUSSELL, Lawrence.
- 1889 *WILLIAM ADDISON PHILLIPS, Salina.
- 1890 *CYRUS KURTZ HOLLIDAY, Topeka.
- 1891 *JAMES STANLEY EMERY, Lawrence.
- 1892 *THOMAS A. OSBORN, Topeka.
- 1893 *PERCIVAL G. LOWE, Leavenworth.
- 1894 *VINCENT J. LANE, Kansas City.
- 1895 *SOLON O. THACHER, Lawrence.
- 1896 *EDMUND N. MORRILL, Hiawatha.
- 1897 *HARRISON KELLEY, Burlington.
- 1898 *JOHN SPEER, Garden City.
- 1899 *EUGENE FITCH WARE, Kansas City.
- 1900 *JOHN GIDEON HASKELL, Lawrence.
- 1901 *JOHN FRANCIS, Colony.
- 1902 *WILLIAM H. SMITH, Marysville.
- 1903 *WILLIAM B. STONE, Galena.
- 1904 *JOHN MARTIN, Topeka.
- 1905 *ROBERT M. WRIGHT, Dodge City.
- 1906 *HORACE LADD MOORE, Lawrence.
- 1907 *JAMES R. MEAD, Wichita.
- 1908 *GEORGE W. VEALE, Topeka.
- 1909 *GEORGE W. GLICK, Atchison.
- 1910 *ALBE B. WHITING, Topeka.
- 1911 *EDWIN C. MANNING, Winfield.

- 1912 *WILLIAM ELSEY CONNELLEY, Topeka.
 1913 *DAVID E. BALLARD, Washington.
 1914-1915 *JOHN N. HARRISON, Ottawa.
 1916 *CHARLES FREDERICK SCOTT, Iola.
 1917 *CHARLES SUMNER GLEED, Topeka.
 1918 *GEORGE PIERSON MOREHOUSE, Topeka.
 1919 *WILDER S. METCALF, Lawrence.
 1920 *THOS. A. MCNEAL, Topeka.
 1921 *F. DUMONT SMITH, Hutchinson.
 1922 *SAM F. WOOLARD, Wichita.
 1923-1924 *CHARLES H. TUCKER, Lawrence.
 1925 *THEODORE GARDNER, Lawrence.
 1926 *JEROME W. BERRYMAN, Ashland.
 1927 *SAMUEL E. COBB, Topeka.
 1928 *CHARLES L. KAGEY, Beloit.
 1929 *WILLIAM L. HUGGINS, Emporia.
 1930 W. C. SIMONS, Lawrence.
 1931 CHARLES M. HARGER, Abilene.
 1932 JOHN S. DAWSON, Hill City.
 1933 *THOMAS AMORY LEE, Topeka.
 1934 H. K. LINDSLEY, Wichita.
 1935 *THOMAS F. DORAN, Topeka.
 1935 *FRANK HEYWOOD HODDER, Lawrence.
 1936 *E. E. KELLEY, Garden City.
 1937 *EDWIN A. AUSTIN, Topeka.
 1938 *WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE, Emporia.
 1939 ROBERT C. RANKIN, Lawrence.
 1940 THOMAS M. LILLARD, Topeka.
 1941 JAMES C. MALIN, Lawrence.
 1942 CHAS. H. BROWNE, Horton.
 1943 W. E. STANLEY, Wichita.
 1944 FRED W. BRINKERHOFF, Pittsburg.
 1945 *RALPH R. PRICE, Manhattan.
 1946 JESS C. DENIOUS, Dodge City.
 1947 MILTON R. MCLEAN, Topeka.
 1948 ROBERT T. AITCHISON, Wichita.
 1949 R. F. BROCK, Goodland.
 1950 CHARLES M. CORRELL, Manhattan.
 1951 FRANK HAUCKE, Council Grove.

SECRETARIES OF THE KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
 1875-1951

- 1875-1876 *FLOYD PERRY BAKER, Topeka.
 1876-1899 *FRANKLIN GEORGE ADAMS, Topeka.
 1899-1914 *GEORGE WASHINGTON MARTIN, Kansas City.
 1914-1930 *WILLIAM ELSEY CONNELLEY, Topeka.
 1930 *FRED B. BONEBRAKE, Topeka.
 1930- KIRKE MECHEM, Wichita.

*Deceased.

The report of the committee on nominations was called for:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS FOR DIRECTORS

October 13, 1950.

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 October, 1953:

Aitchison, R. T., Wichita.
 Anderson, George L., Lawrence.
 Anthony, D. R., Leavenworth.
 Baugher, Charles A., Ellis.
 Beck, Will T., Holton.
 Capper, Arthur, Topeka.
 Carson, F. L., Wichita.
 Chambers, Lloyd, Wichita.
 Cotton, Corlett J., Lawrence.
 Dawson, John S., Hill City.
 Euwer, Elmer E., Goodland.
 Farley, Alan W., Kansas City.
 Hobbie, 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.
 Mayhew, Mrs. Patricia Solander,
 Topeka.
 Miller, Karl, Dodge City.
 Moore, Russell, Wichita.
 Raynesford, H. C., Ellis.
 Redmond, John, Burlington.
 Rodkey, Clyde K., Manhattan.
 Russell, W. J., Topeka.
 Shaw, Joseph C., Topeka.
 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.

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN S. DAWSON, *Chairman.*

On motion by John S. Dawson, seconded by Frank A. Hobbie, the report of the committee was accepted unanimously and the members of the board were declared elected for the term ending in October, 1953.

Reports of county and local societies were called for and were given by Mrs. John L. Barkley for the Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society, and by Wilford Riegle for the Lyon County Historical Society.

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

To mark the Society's 75th anniversary, refreshments were served in the secretary's office at the close of the meeting. Mrs. Charles M. Correll cut a three-tiered birthday cake; and Mrs. Kirke Mechem served punch from the silver punch bowl of the battleship *Kansas* service.

MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

The afternoon meeting of the board of directors was called to order by President Correll. He asked for a rereading of the report of the nominating committee for officers of the Society. The report was read by John S. Dawson, chairman, who moved that it be accepted. Motion was seconded by Standish Hall and the following were unanimously elected:

For a one-year term: Frank Haucke, Council Grove, president; Will T. Beck, Holton, first vice-president; Robert Taft, Lawrence, second vice-president.

For a two-year term: Kirke Mechem, Topeka, secretary; Mrs. Lela Barnes, Topeka, treasurer.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned.

DIRECTORS OF THE KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY AS OF OCTOBER, 1950

DIRECTORS FOR THE YEAR ENDING OCTOBER, 1951

Bailey, Roy F., Salina.
Beezley, George F., Girard.
Bowlus, Thomas H., Iola.
Brinkerhoff, Fred W., Pittsburg.
Browne, Charles H., Horton.
Campbell, Mrs. Spurgeon B.,
Kansas City.
Cron, F. H., El Dorado.
Ebright, Homer K., Baldwin.
Gray, John M., Kirwin.
Hamilton, R. L., Beloit.
Harger, Charles M., Abilene.
Harvey, Mrs. A. M., Topeka.
Haucke, Frank, Council Grove.
Hodges, Frank, Olathe.
Lingenfelter, Angelus, Atchison.
Long, Richard M., Wichita.

McArthur, Mrs. Vernon E., Hutchinson.
McFarland, Helen M., Topeka.
Malone, James, Topeka.
Mechem, Kirke, Topeka.
Mueller, Harrie S., Wichita.
Philip, Mrs. W. D., Hays.
Rankin, Robert C., Lawrence.
Ruppenthal, J. C., Russell.
Sayers, Wm. L., Hill City.
Simons, W. C., Lawrence.
Skinner, Alton H., Kansas City.
Stanley, W. E., Wichita.
Stone, Robert, Topeka.
Taft, Robert, Lawrence.
Templar, George, Arkansas City.
Trembly, W. B., Kansas City.
Woodring, Harry H., Topeka.

DIRECTORS FOR THE YEAR ENDING OCTOBER, 1952

Barr, Frank, Wichita.
Berryman, Jerome C., Ashland.
Brigham, Mrs. Lalla M.,
Council Grove.
Brock, R. F., Goodland.
Bumgardner, Edward, Lawrence.
Correll, Charles M., Manhattan.
Davis, W. W., Lawrence.
Denious, Jess C., Dodge City.
Fay, Mrs. Mamie Axline, Pratt.
Godsey, Mrs. Flora R., Emporia.
Hall, Mrs. Carrie A., Leavenworth.
Hall, Standish, Wichita.
Hegler, Ben F., Wichita.
Jones, Horace, Lyons.
Lillard, T. M., Topeka.
Lindsley, H. K., Wichita.

Means, Hugh, Lawrence.
Norton, Gus S., Kalvesta.
Owen, Arthur K., Topeka.
Owen, Mrs. E. M., Lawrence.
Patrick, Mrs. Mae C., Satanta.
Payne, Mrs. L. F., Manhattan.
Riegler, Wilford, Emporia.
Rupp, Mrs. Jane C., Lincolnville.
Schultz, Floyd B., Clay Center.
Scott, Angelo, Iola.
Sloan, E. R., Topeka.
Smelser, Mary M., Lawrence.
Stewart, Mrs. James G., Topeka.
Van De Mark, M. V. B., Concordia.
Wark, George H., Caney.
Williams, Charles A., Bentley.
Wooster, Lorraine E., Salina.

DIRECTORS FOR THE YEAR ENDING OCTOBER, 1953

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

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, 1949, to September 30, 1950. Federal 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 this issue of the *Quarterly*.

KANSAS

- ADAMS, KENNETH M., *Portfolio of Lithographs*. Albuquerque, The University of New Mexico Press, c1950. 8 Lithographs.
- AMRINE, MICHAEL, *Secret*. Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1950. 311p.
- BARBE, MRS. MURIEL CULP, *A Union Forever; an Historical Story of the Turbulent Years, 1854-1865, in the Lincoln Country and the Kansas-Missouri Border of the Old Central West, Based on Contemporary Records, Documents and Letters of Lewis Hanback, Hitherto Unpublished*. Glendale, Cal., The Barbe Associates, 1949. 470p.
- BECKER, EDNA, *900 Buckets of Paint*. New York, Abingdon-Cokesbury Press [c1949]. [22] p.
- BENDER, RICHARD N., *A Philosophy of Life*. New York, Philosophical Library, Inc. [c1949]. 250p.
- BIRCH, CLARENCE ELLIS, *John Faithful, Schoolmaster*. New York, The Exposition Press [c1949]. 200p.
- BRACKE, WILLIAM B., *Wheat Country*. New York, Duell, Sloan and Pearce [c1950]. 309p.
- BRECKENRIDGE, R. H., *An Industrial Survey of Pratt, Kansas*. Manhattan, Engineering Experiment Station, Kansas State College, 1950. 107p.

- BUMGARDNER, EDWARD, *The Life of Edmund G. Ross, the Man Whose Vote Saved a President*. Kansas City, Mo., The Fielding-Turner Press, 1949. 117p.
- Colby City Directory, Including Thomas County, Kansas, 1949 Edition. Colorado Springs, Rocky Mountain Directory Company, 1949. 121p.
- COOPER, HELEN MARIE, *The Wealth She Gathered*. Boston, Chapman and Grimes, Inc. [c1950]. 260p.
- CUSTER, GEORGE ARMSTRONG, *The Custer Story; the Life and Intimate Letters of General George A. Custer and His Wife Elizabeth*. Edited by Marguerite Merington. New York, The Devin-Adair Company, 1950. 339p.
- ENGLISH, E. LOIS, *Of Dreams and Memories*. [New York] The Exposition Press, 1949. 63p.
- , *Travel Memories of Europe*. New York, The Exposition Press [c1947]. 107p.
- GAGLIARDO, DOMENICO, *American Social Insurance*. New York, Harper and Brothers [c1949]. 671p.
- GANN, WALTER, *Tread of the Longhorns*. San Antonio, The Naylor Company [c1949]. 188p.
- GINGER, RAY, *The Bending Cross, a Biography of Eugene Victor Debs*. New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press, 1949. 516p.
- GLOYNE, HOWARD F., *Carl A. Preyer; the Life of a Kansas Musician*. [Lawrence, Preyer Memorial Committee, University of Kansas, c1949.] 99p.
- Goodland City Directory, 1948 . . . Colorado Springs, Rocky Mountain Directory Company, 1948. 134p.
- GORDON, MILDRED, and GORDON GORDON, *Make Haste To Live*. Garden City, N. Y., Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1950. 223p.
- HARDER, MARVIN A., *The Tidelands Controversy*. Wichita, Municipal University of Wichita, 1949. 35p. (*University Studies Bulletin*, No. 20.)
- HIBBARD, CLAUDE W., *Mammals of the Rexroad Formation From Fox Canyon, Kansas*. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1950. [79]p. (*Contributions From the Museum of Paleontology*, Vol. 8, No. 6, pp. 113-192.)
- , *Pleistocene Stratigraphy and Paleontology of Meade County, Kansas*. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1949. [37]p. (*Contributions From the Museum of Paleontology*, Vol. 7, No. 4, pp. 63-90.)
- , *Pleistocene Vertebrate Paleontology in North America*. New York, The Geological Society of America, 1949. [12]p. (*Bulletin*, Vol. 60, pp. 1417-1428.)
- , *Pliocene Saw Rock Canyon Fauna in Kansas*. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1949. [14]p. (*Contributions From the Museum of Paleontology*, Vol. 7, No. 5, pp. 91-105.)
- , *Techniques of Collecting Microvertebrate Fossils*. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1949. [13]p. (*Contributions From the Museum of Paleontology*, Vol. 8, No. 2, pp. 7-19.)
- , and KENDALL A. KEENMON, *New Evidence of the Lower Miocene Age of the Blacktail Deer Creek Formation in Montana*. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1950. [11]p. (*Contributions From the Museum of Paleontology*, Vol. 8, No. 7, pp. 193-204.)
- HINSHAW, DAVID, *Herbert Hoover, American Quaker*. New York, Farrar, Straus and Company [c1950]. 469p.

- HORNER, W. B., *The Gold Regions of Kansas and Nebraska. Being a Complete History of the First Year's Mining Operations . . . a Complete Guide to the Gold Mines.* Chicago, W. H. Tobey and Company, 1859. 67p. (Mumey Reprint, 1949.)
- HOWE, JANE MOORE, *Amelia Earhart, Kansas Girl.* Indianapolis, The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc. [c1950]. 196p.
- HUBBARD, FREEMAN H., *Vinnie Ream and Mr. Lincoln.* New York, Whittlesey House [c1949]. 271p.
- HUBBARD, WILLIAM F., *My Second Trip With the U. S. Navy . . .* (Reprinted from *The Hugoton Hermes* With Additions. July, 1950.) [63]p.
- , *My Trip With the U. S. Navy. Fall Maneuvers, Nov. 1 to 22, 1949, From Norfolk, Va., to Arctic Circle in the Davis Strait, and Return.* (Reprinted from *The Hugoton Hermes*, February 2, 1950.) [24]p.
- HUGHES, LANGSTON, *Simple Speaks His Mind.* [New York] Simon and Schuster [c1950]. 231p.
- INCE, WILLIAM, *Come Back, Little Sheba.* New York, Random House [c1950]. 119p.
- JARECKA, LOUISE (LLEWELLYN), *Made in Poland; Living Traditions of the Land.* New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1949. 289p.
- JONES, ALLETTA, *Peggy's Wish.* New York, Abingdon-Cokesbury Press [c1949]. 175p.
- KANSAS ACADEMY OF SCIENCE, *Transactions, Vol. 52.* N. p., Kansas Academy of Science, 1949. 521p.
- KANSAS AUTHORS CLUB, *1950 Yearbook.* N. p., 1950. 128p.
- KANSAS CITY, KANSAS, WASHINGTON AVENUE METHODIST CHURCH, *Silver Anniversary, 1924-1949.* N. p. [1949]. 39p.
- Kansas Magazine, 1950.* Manhattan, The *Kansas Magazine* Publishing Association, 1950. 108p.
- KANSAS STATE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL WELFARE, *Kansas Handbook of Social Resources, 1949.* No impr. Mimeographed. [376]p.
- KANSAS UNIVERSITY, *New Writers, 1950.* [Lawrence, New Writers, University of Kansas, 1950.] 80p.
- Liberal, Kansas, City Directory, 1948 . . .* Colorado Springs, Rocky Mountain Directory Company, 1948. 184p.
- LOCKWOOD, ETHEL K., *Side Roads Calling; Traveling the Unbeaten Paths From California to Florida.* New York, The Exposition Press [c1949]. 185p.
- LOWTHER, CHARLES C., *A Tale of the Kansas Border.* New York, Vantage Press, Inc. [c1949]. 190p.
- MARKHAM, REUBEN HENRY, *Tito's Imperial Communism.* Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, 1947. 292p.
- MARQUETTE, 75TH ANNIVERSARY PLANNING COMMITTEE, *Marquette's "Pioneer Day" Momento.* [Marquette] 75th Anniversary Planning Committee, 1949. [35]p.
- MARTIN, WILLIAM IVAN, and BERNARD HERMAN MARTIN, *Silver Stallion.* [Kansas City, Mo., Tell-Well Press, c1949.] [26]p.
- MENNINGER, WILLIAM CLAIRE, *Enjoying Leisure Time.* Chicago, Science Research Associates, Inc. [c1950]. 48p.
- METHODIST CHURCH, WOMAN'S SOCIETY OF CHRISTIAN SERVICE, KANSAS CONFERENCE, *Annual Report, 7 and 8, 1947-1948, 1948-1949.* No impr. 2 Vols.

- MILLER, AMY (JOHNSON), *The Pioneer Doctor in the Ozarks White River Country*. Kansas City, Mo., Burton Publishing Company [c1949]. 161p.
- MOORE, CLINTON J., *Brain Storms*. N. p., 1950. Mimeographed. 48p.
- MOSS, L. HANI, *Dust on Memory's Shelf*. Boston, Bruce Humphries, Inc. [c1948]. 80p.
- MUSSELMAN, MORRIS McNEIL, *Get a Horse! the Story of the Automobile in America*. Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott Company [c1950]. 304p.
- , *I Married a Redhead*. New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Company [c1949]. 244p.
- NICOLAY, HELEN, *Born To Command, the Story of General Eisenhower*. New York, D. Appleton-Century Company [c1945]. 192p.
- PARK, ESTHER AILLEN, *Mural Painters in America. Part I, a Biographical Index*. Pittsburg, Kansas State Teachers College, 1949. 182p.
- Polk's Topeka (Shawnee County, Kansas) *City Directory*, 1950. Kansas City, Mo., R. L. Polk and Company, c1950. 782p.
- POPENOE, PAUL, *Marriage Is What You Make It*. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1950. 221p.
- Portrait and Biographical Album of Marshall County, Kansas* . . . Chicago, Chapman Brothers, 1889. 740p.
- POWERS, PAUL S., *Doc Dillahay*. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1949. 250p.
- RAZAK, KENNETH, *Full-Scale Wind Tunnel Tests of 1949 Automobiles*. Wichita, Municipal University of Wichita, 1950. 67p. (*University Studies Bulletin*, No. 21.)
- RIDDLE, KENYON, *Records and Maps of the Old Santa Fe Trail*. [Raton, N. M., The Raton Daily Range, c1949.] 104p.
- ROOT, FRANK ALBERT, and WILLIAM ELSEY CONNELLEY, *The Overland Stage to California* . . . Topeka, 1901. [Reprinted by Long's College Book Company, Columbus, Ohio, 1950.] 630p.
- ROSE, FRANK L., "The Heavens Are Telling." *Jesus Is Coming*. Hazel Crest, Ill., Commentary Publishing Company, c1948. 46p.
- SCHROEDER, RUTH, *Youth Programs for Special Occasions*. New York, Abingdon-Cokesbury Press [c1950]. 256p.
- SIKES, WILLIAM HERMAN, *Life Begins at Ninety*. Girard, Haldeman-Julius Publications [c1949]. 146p.
- SNELL, JOHN, *The Political Thought of Adam Ferguson*. Wichita, Municipal University of Wichita, 1950. 20p. (*University Studies Bulletin*, No. 21.)
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Bypaths of Kansas History

TO PIKE'S PEAK ON FOOT

From *The Daily Times*, Leavenworth, April 4, 1860.

PEDESTRIANS FOR THE PEAK.—We were amused, and at the same time somewhat saddened, yesterday, at a sight familiar enough a year ago, and the terrors of which, through the history of the Blue brothers and the thousand unwritten tales of horror like it, have been terribly taught to others. Still we were amused, as we saw twelve hearty fellows, each with his carpet sack and rifle trudging manfully and hopefully on their road. "Which way?" we asked.

"Pike's Peak or bust!" was the answer, and on they went, cracking their jokes and laughingly turning their faces Westward. To Pike's Peak on foot, with no sufficient provision, or sufficient means for obtaining it—"or bust!" Some will get through—a stout heart, a manly purpose and a sound constitution, will bring success—but some, we fear, "will bust." A hazardous experiment, at least. We would not like to try it.

God speed them on, however, and may they all arrive safely and find plenty of the golden store they seek, and never have need to "bust."

THE FIRST PLUG HAT IN EMPORIA

From the *Emporia News*, July 25, 1863.

Much excitement was caused in town last Thursday, by the arrival of a "plug hat"—the first seen in the place since its settlement. It soon became noised abroad that the "plug" was here, and that F. G. Hunt, Register of Deeds, was its proud possessor. Curiosity was on tip-toe to get a sight at the strange object, and the crowd, obeying a sort of natural instinct, made a rush for Hallberg's, where the receptacle for bricks was found to be undergoing a process necessary to fit it for use. At this point the excitement became so intense that Felix was compelled to mount a beer barrel and make a speech to the assembled multitude—apologizing for making this innovation upon the time-honored customs of the village and entreating the crowd to disperse, after which he hired a small boy to fire a bunch of fire-crackers in honor of the new hat, and the people retired peaceably to their homes.

Thus ended one of the most exciting scenes ever known in the history of Emporia. No cause is known for this unwarranted act of Mr. H., unless it is that he has found the position of Register a very lucrative one. At any rate, such is the general belief, and accordingly two new candidates for that office have appeared since Thursday.

THE LAW IN WALLACE COUNTY IN 1873

From *The Kansas Daily Commonwealth*, Topeka, January 22, 1873.

When the Kansas Pacific train [now the Union Pacific] from Denver reached Wallace, on Wednesday morning, the train men—who go no farther than that

station eastward from Denver, partook of their breakfast and then retired to bed, as is their customary habit. Two of these men, Charles Stillman and Dick Herring, the former baggageman and the latter brakeman, occupied one room together at the station house. Stillman had a pair of new eighteen dollar boots, of fine workmanship, which he placed near his bed, and put his vest, containing a small amount of money, under his pillow. Herring had in his clothing a horse shoe nail, a comb and a tooth brush, and twenty-five cents in money. The two slept long and soundly, and when they awoke, and Stillman attempted to put on his boots, he discovered that his nice ones had become strangely metamorphosed, having turned into a pair of coarse \$6 affairs. The boys then began searching their clothing, and Herring found that his horse shoe nail, comb, brush and money were gone. Then they began investigating the matter. Stillman suspected a fellow who had been working his way along the road as fireman, and thought he had gone off on a freight train; but he was shortly afterward found at the table eating his dinner. Stillman then went to a man in Wallace who sells boots, and asked him if he had any like the ones the thief had left him, and the storekeeper said he had, and, further, pointed out the fellow who had bought them there before. It proved to be the identical chap then at his meal. Pat Greeny, deputy sheriff, was summoned, and when the young man finished eating, the officer told him that he wanted to see him a little while. They took him into a back room and investigated his foot gear, and sure enough, there were Stillman's boots. Furthermore, he had in his clothing the articles taken from Herring.

Pat Greeny, the deputy sheriff, thereupon constituted himself a court, and the evidence being of the most positive kind he pronounced the prisoner "guilty," and proceeded at once to pass judgment upon the offender. The court didn't fumble over law books or statutes any—not he; neither did he assess damage or pass sentence in the good old style. He had his man right before him, and, being a practical sort of fellow, he just "passed the culprit one" with his clenched fist, letting him have the benefit of a demolishing blow right between the eyes. This laid the offender out on the floor, and the court administered another dose of "justice" to him as he lay there, when, considering that he had gone to the extent of the "law," Wallace law, he let him up, and told him most emphatically to "get up and dust himself" right away, and the fellow "dusted," and he didn't wait for a train either.

THE INTRODUCTION OF POSTAL CARDS

From *The Kansas Daily Commonwealth*, Topeka, June 6, 1873.

The first lot of postal cards for distribution at the office in this city arrived yesterday, and are now on sale. The demand for them is almost beyond the ability of the department to supply. Probably the novelty of the arrangement has much to do with the demand, but the indications are that the cards will come into very general use.

While everybody has been looking eagerly for the appearance of this cheap method of communication, acknowledging in them very pleasant mediums of correspondence, there are some who have expressed a fear that the foul-minded may make these sources of the interchange of business intelligence and friendly feelings, real nurseries of evil. It is a gratification to be able to state, however,

that such parties as may write indecent matter on these cards are headed off in two ways. One is, that it is made the duty of all postmasters and clerks to throw such indecently worded cards into the waste-basket. The other is, that all such writers, if discovered, are subject to "a fine of not less than \$100, nor more than \$5,000 for each offense." After a few splurges of the foul-thoughted and dirty-penned, some criminal will be detected; some example will be made; the evil will disappear; and postal cards will become what they are intended to be, a great public convenience for the transmission of correspondence that is not meant to be altogether private.

SOCIETY REPORTING IN EARLY DODGE CITY

From the *Dodge City Times*, August 4, 1877.

THE SOCIAL HOP.—Another of the social hops for which the Dodge House has become famous, was on yesterday evening indulged in by quite a number of our citizens who worship Terpsichore. The names of Ike Johnson, John Newton and G. E. Hadder as managers were sufficient to insure a success, notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather. Our special reporter who was detailed to write up the costumes of the ladies, and who was in our usual liberal way furnished an excessive amount of pocket money to make himself agreeable with, has in some way got the boot on the wrong leg, and submits the following varied description of the paraphernalia of the Lords of Creation:

Mr. J. F. L. appeared in a gorgeous suit of linsey wolsey, cut bias on the gourd with red cotton handkerchief attachment imported by Messrs. H. & D. from Lawrence.

Mr. H. was modestly attired in a blue larubs wool undershirt, firilled. He is a graceful dancer, but paws too much with his fore legs. His strong point is "the schottisch, my dear."

Mr. I. G. J. was the envy of all; he wore his elegant blond moustache a la ginsling, and was tastefully arrayed in arctic over shoes with collar buttons and studs.

Mr. J. N.—The appearance of this gentleman caused a flutter among the fair ones; as he trimmed his nails, picked his nose and sailed majestically around the room, the burr of admiration sounded like the distant approach of the No. 3 freight train. His costume was all that the most fastidious could desire. His train cut "ea regale," his mouth set "pour en milkpunch," it was evident that he sails on Love's golden pinions far into the blue etherial.

Mr. H. H.—the Duke! the Duke! was whispered as the nose and eye glasses of this gentleman commenced to appear in the doorway. This stranger is some distinguished foreigner traveling incog. It is darkly hinted that he is the Prince Imperial in disguise. He was beautifully ornamented with two pair of eyeglasses; his hair was trimmed by Mr. Sam. Samuels at an enormous expense; his beard cut a la pompadore, he was the loveliest flower of them all.

Mr. G. E. H.—"Oh! the charming creature," said a beautiful angel on our left, as Mr. H. appeared fantastically arrayed in a sad, sweet smile, which occasionally exploded into a laugh of the most unearthly sweetness. He wore full Georgia costume, lacking the collar and spurs.

Mr. A. H. J.—There was a split in the air, a streak of white whirling through

space, and Sam was performing a highland fling with grape-vine accompaniments, as only Sam can do it. He was costumed as an angel playing on a harp of a thousand strings. Were it not for a slight gang-saw movement of his hind legs, which occasionally shook the foundation and jarred loose the bridge on the base viol, his dancing would indeed have been the essence of a car-load of long horns.

NOTICE.—It is evident that at this point something happened [to] our reporter. There is a maudling description of P., but it is so mixed with gin slings, straits, and cigars and lemons, as to be unintelligible.

NEWS IN 1908

From *The Daily Union*, Junction City, November 18, 1908.

A touring car and a roadster, both Ramblers, passed through the city this afternoon on their way from Kansas City to Russell.

Kansas History as Published in the Press

An eight-page history of Wichita, with photographs, entitled "A Town Grows in Kansas," by Chauncey H. Black, was published in *The B S & B Beacon*, an industrial magazine published at Kansas City, Mo., February, 1950.

Ernest Dewey's "Legends of the Wheat Country" have continued to appear in the *Hutchinson News-Herald*. Included were: "[Don Antonio Jose] Chavez Buried His Bullion?" May 28, 1950; "Lady Godiva of Prairies Carried a Six-Shooter," June 18; "The Wild Huntress Had to Ride," June 25; "Silkville in Wheat Country," August 21; "Few Beat 'Poker Alice' Until Death Sat in on the Game," September 3; "Culture Came Hard to Early Kansans," Sara Bernhardt's reception in the state, September 24; "Doc [Holliday] Was Dentist Who'd Rather Shoot You Than Pull Your Teeth," October 11; "Kansas' Last Armed Invasion Met Its Waterloo at Scott City," October 22, and "Only Ghosts to Bring Memories [in Dead Town of Zarah]," November 12. The Silkville article was reprinted in the *Iola Register*, August 16, and the *Salina Journal*, September 10.

Articles in the *Bulletin of the Shawnee County Historical Society* for June, 1950, included: "In Memoriam—Cecil Howes, 1880-1950," by Marco Morrow and Paul A. Lovewell; "Old Shawnee County Families"; the ninth installment of W. W. Cone's "Shawnee County Townships"; the second part of "Reminiscences of the Son of a French Pioneer," by Louis Charles Laurent; a continuation of Part II of "The First Congregational Church of Topeka, 1854-1869," by Russell K. Hickman; "Fifty Years Later—What Would Carry Nation Think About Kansas Now?" by Paul A. Lovewell; "'Uncle Chet' Thomas—How He Helped Make Topeka the Capital," and a continuation of George A. Root's "Chronology of Shawnee County." Among articles in the December, 1950, number of the *Bulletin* were: "Early Hospitals of Topeka"; the second installment of "Old Shawnee County Families"; Part III of "First Congregational Church of Topeka, 1854-1869," by Russell K. Hickman; "Jacob Chase's Story"; W. W. Cone's Shawnee county history; "The Husking Bee"; "Told by a Pioneer," John Speer's recollections of the early days of Topeka and Tecumseh, and George A. Root's "Chronology of Shawnee County" continued.

A series of articles dealing with the early history of Baxter Springs

has appeared regularly in the *Baxter Springs Citizen*, beginning July 20, 1950.

Articles of historical interest to Kansans appearing in recent issues of the *Kansas City (Mo.) Star* included: "Cavalry Service, Famous for 2,500 Years, Now Motorized and Named Armor in U. S.," by Franklin S. Riley, Jr., July 25, 1950; "Wealth in Western Kansas for Men With Spirit to Win," by Karl L. Peterson, Jr., July 30; "Venerated Educator [Dr. Julius T. Willard], Who Died at 88 Gave 71 of His Years to Kansas State," by Thomas D. Leathers, August 17; "Life of Ed Arn Is Geared to Family Activities," by Margaret Hamilton, September 10; "Ike Looks to Kansas as Leader in Training American Citizens," by Alvin S. McCoy, September 17; "A Continued Story of Western Life Keeps Growing in Kansas Capital," an article on the Historical Society, by Henry Van Brunt, October 16, and "Life With Ike Is Being Wed to Three Men, His Wife Says," October 22. Articles in the *Kansas City (Mo.) Times* included: "French and Spanish Explorers Opened Kansas to Trade in Days of Indians," by J. M. Dow, September 28; "Reporter [Albert D. Richardson] Found Kansas City Small and Muddy But Full of Confidence in 1857," by John Edward Hicks, August 9; "Artist [William Allen Rogers] Who Did Not Wait for Orders Produced Interesting Report on West," a summary of Dr. Robert Taft's article on Rogers, October 20; "Brick 'Castle' Overlooking Kaw Valley Reflected Success of German Pioneer [Anthony Philip Sauer], by E. B. Dykes Beachy, October 21; "Masks Were Used by Indians for Fall Festivals Before White Men Arrived," by Marjorie Van De Water, October 31; "Strange Today Is the Carefree Note of World War I Classic 'Henry [J. Allen] and Me [William Allen White],'" Everett Rich, November 11; "Kansas City as Focal Point in Strange American Beginnings of Julia Marlowe," by Henry Van Brunt, November 16; "Bold Start Toward Kansas Magazine Reached Goal After Many Troubles," by Webster Schott, December 1, and "Cowpoke Is A Hay Hand Much of the Time as the Cattle Country Turns to New Ways," a review of C. L. Sonnichsen's *Cowboys and Cattle Kings: Life on the Range Today*, by John Edward Hicks, December 2.

A brief history of Frankfort appeared in the *Frankfort Index*, July 27, 1950. In 1867 the Frankfort Town Company was formed and the townsite laid out, but the town was not organized as a third class city until July 24, 1875. R. S. Newell was the first mayor.

C. D. Smith's series of historical articles in the *Blue Rapids Times* continued on August 3, 1950, with biographical sketches of John

McPherson, Albert E. Sweetland, Rufus S. Craft, Festus Cooley, Edwin M. Brice and James G. Strong, all prominent in the early and middle years of Blue Rapids history. The last article in the series appeared August 31.

Among numerous articles on Ellis county history appearing in the Hays papers in recent months was the continuation of Raymond L. Welty's series in the Hays *Daily News*: "Negro Troops Arrived at Old Ft. Hays 83 Years Ago," August 6, 1950; "Moving of Post Was Exciting Event at Old Fort Hays," August 13; "Indian Hostilities Kept Ft. Hays Troops Busy," August 27; "Guards of Soldiers Went With Stagecoaches From Hays," September 3; "Buffalo Bill Failed in Real Estate Business," September 10; "Cholera Epidemic Hit Fort Hays and Rome in 1867," October 1, and "4 of 5 Companies at Fort Hays in 1867 Were Negro," October 8. The *News* printed a special edition November 12, the 21st anniversary of the publication of its first issue, in which several historical articles were reprinted from the first issue. The story of a shooting duel between Ellis county sheriff Alexander Ramsey and an outlaw, Jim Flory, in 1875, was printed in the *News*, September 24. A series of articles on the history of Victoria was begun in the weekly *Ellis County News*, Hays, September 21, 1950. Victoria was founded in the early 1870's by George Grant, a wealthy Englishman.

The building of the first church in Kiowa county was described in the *Kiowa County Signal*, Greensburg, August 10, 1950, from information supplied by John S. M. Howard of Englewood, Colo. The building was erected in the fall of 1879.

The dead town of Ravanna, Finney county, is the subject of a historical editorial in the Garden City *Daily Telegram*, August 12, 1950. Organized in the 1880's as Bulltown by John Bull, Ravanna engaged in a bitter fight with Eminence over which was to be the county seat of Garfield county. In 1893 Garfield became a part of Finney county, and both Ravanna and Eminence have ceased to exist. The Johnson *Pioneer*, August 17, also printed a brief history of Ravanna.

The Mt. Olive African Methodist church of Emporia reached the 80th anniversary of its founding August 13, 1950, and a brief history of the church was published in the Emporia *Times*, August 17. A short history of the Cottonwood Friends church, five miles west of Emporia, which recently celebrated its 90th anniversary, appeared in the Emporia *Gazette*, October 7.

A short history of Marshall, early Sedgwick county trading post, was published in the *Cheney Sentinel*, August 24, 1950. David Moore who started the Lone Tree ranch in 1872 was the first settler in the region, and Emmett Joslyn established the first store at Marshall. The town flourished for a few years, but the railroad missed it by two and one-half miles and the entire town moved to Cheney in 1883.

"Neosho Valley Facts and Legends," by Audrey Z. McGrew, published regularly in the *Humboldt Union*, ended with the issue of August 31, 1950. Among the later articles were brief histories of the Poplar Grove Baptist church, July 13, and the Humboldt Methodist church, July 20.

A review of the history of the Friends church, Riverton, by Mrs. Alfaretta Mitchel, appeared on August 31, 1950, in the column "Do You Remember When?" still being published regularly in *The Modern Light*, Columbus. Mrs. Mitchel's article also was printed in the *Columbus Daily Advocate*, August 29, 1950.

An account of a mule-team trip from Illinois to Kansas in 1876, written by Alfred W. Lindley in 1931, was published in the autumn, 1950, issue of the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* of Springfield. Alfred was the driver of the lead team when his mother's family made the journey to Cloud county in the early fall of 1876.

An eight-page review of "The Work of James C. Malin as Historian and as Critic of Historians," by Thomas H. Le Duc, professor of history at Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio, appeared in the September, 1950, issue of *Nebraska History*, published by the Nebraska State Historical Society at Lincoln. Mr. Le Duc has written so highly of Dr. Malin that we are reprinting (without consulting Dr. Malin) a few excerpts from the review:

"With the publication of the *Essays on Historiography* and *The Grasslands of North America* it became apparent that James C. Malin now and for almost thirty years a teacher of history at the University of Kansas, was thinking about history and historical writing in ways that are fresh and fundamental. It is clear that he is not only an incisive critic of several basic hypotheses long and well regarded among historians, but also a creative worker of prodigious industry, immense learning, and disciplined imagination.

"Malin's individual works have been reviewed in the learned journals and their originality recognized not only by historians but by

specialists in other fields. . . . His is a common-sense, practical approach to history. . . .

"He challenges the fundamental implication of the Turner hypothesis. Turner announced in 1893 that the frontier was gone and the supply of usable land exhausted. By asserting that the availability of free land had conditioned, indeed determined, the development of American institutions up to that point, he implied that America had reached the catastrophic end of the first chapter of her history. Nonsense, says Malin. The critical element is not land entry but land use. What really matters is intelligent adaptation to environment. The frontier is not closed as long as we are moving towards that goal. Turner's frontier is gone. The shabby, exploitative, wasteful west of the 1820's is happily lost. The scrubby cattle are replaced by the more efficient Herefords; the paltry corn is supplanted by new hybrids; the primitive tillage is succeeded by new techniques. Out of experiment and innovation has come enrichment. . . .

"One wonders how long it will be until James C. Malin is as fully appreciated by the historians as by the scientists and economists."

"State Administration of Wildlife, A Natural Resource," by E. Raymond Hall, University of Kansas, was published in the *Transactions of the Kansas Academy of Science*, Lawrence, September, 1950. Other articles included: A discussion of Diamond springs, Morris county, by the editor, Dr. Robert Taft; "Prairie Chickens in Kansas," by Maurice F. Baker; "Botanical Notes: 1949," by Frank U. S. Agrelius, and "Kansas Phytopathological Notes: 1949," by E. D. Hansing, L. E. Melchers, H. Fellows and C. O. Johnston.

A three-installment biographical sketch of the late Ed Dean of Morton county, by Willard Mayberry, was published in the *Elkhart Tri-State News*, September 1, 8 and 15, 1950. Dean came to southwest Kansas in 1884 at the age of 15.

A short history of St. John's Lutheran church, near White City, was published in the *Council Grove Republican*, September 4, 1950. The 75th anniversary of the church was celebrated September 3. A school centennial edition of the *Republican* was published September 29, 1950. Council Grove's education history began in January, 1850, with a school for Kaw Indians.

Stories on the attempt by the Dalton gang to rob the Coffeyville banks on October 5, 1892, were published in the *Coffeyville Daily Journal*, September 12 and October 5, 1950. The *Journal* is leading

a movement to establish a museum for Coffeyville, of which the mementos of the Dalton raid would be the nucleus.

A history of the Abilene Public Library, by Mrs. Lucy Burkholder, the librarian, was published in the *Abilene Reflector-Chronicle*, September 19, 1950. The library had its beginning December 20, 1900, when the ladies' literary clubs of Abilene formed a library association. The library formally opened on January 1, 1903, with Lida Romig as librarian. The present library building was dedicated on October 1, 1908.

Dan Hillman's reminiscences of the early days around Beloit were printed in the *Beloit Call*, September 28, 1950. Hillman came to Beloit in 1873 at the age of six. Beloit's history begins about 1866 when Aaron A. Bell was the first settler on what was to become the townsite.

Reminiscences of the settling of Gnadenau were printed in the *Hillsboro Journal*, September 28, October 5 and 19, 1950. The settlers arrived from the Crimea, Russia, in the summer of 1874, the location having been selected by Jacob A. Wiebe and Franz R. Janzen. "History of the First Mennonite Church of Lehigh, Kansas, 1900-1950," by Mrs. Frank H. Klassen, appeared in the *Journal*, October 19.

"Kansas Wheat Farmer," is the title of an article in the *Harvester World*, publication of the International Harvester Co. at Chicago, October, 1950. Ronald Bricker, Wallace county, is used as an example of the younger Kansas wheat farmers and what they have done since the dust bowl years.

An article entitled "The Tale of Two Cities," Victoria and Herzog, by the Rev. Fr. Blaise Fusco, was published in the *Victoria Visitor*, October 12, 1950. The first British colonists arrived at Victoria in 1873 after George Grant had received a grant of nearly 100,000 acres from the railroad. In 1876 German colonists arrived and settled near Victoria, naming their settlement Herzog. The communities united in 1913 under the name of Victoria.

Frontier days near Fort Scott, as recalled by Henry Gross, were described by Frank Reeds in the *Fort Scott Tribune*, October 18, 1950. In 1855 Gross' father and mother homesteaded about ten miles north of Fort Scott.

Included among brief historical articles which appeared in recent issues of *The News Chronicle*, Scott City, were: "Coxey's Invasion

Was Big Event," October 26, 1950; "El Quarteletejo," site of Picurie Indian pueblo, November 2; "Last Indian Battle in Kansas Was Fought Just South of the Present State Park [Scott county]," November 9, and "The Trail of Vengeance' Ended Near the Smoky Hill River," a Pawnee Indian legend, November 16.

A series of brief articles under the title of "Holton's Colorful History," was begun in the *Holton Recorder*, October 26, 1950. Material for the articles is being assembled by W. T. Beck.

Heinie Schmidt's column, "It's Worth Repeating," still appearing regularly in the *High Plains Journal*, Dodge City, has recently featured a number of men who helped fashion the frontier history of the Dodge City region, including: Gen. George A. Custer, October 26, 1950; "Doc" John Holliday, November 16; William Barclay "Bat" Masterson, November 23, and George Reighard, November 30.

The Quantrill raid on Olathe, September, 1862, was described by Mabel M. Henderson in the *Johnson County Herald*, Overland Park, November 2, 1950. The early days around Lenexa were recalled by Ed Legler, and written by Miss Henderson, in the *Herald*, November 9.

Articles in the 1951 number of the *Kansas Magazine*, Manhattan, included: "The Great Drouth of 1860," by Russell K. Hickman; "Pancakes Across the Sea," by Humphrey Cotton Minchin, British consul in Kansas City, Mo.; "Calamity Jane," by Caroline Cain Durkee, and "Kansas City Traders and Merchants," by Zealia B. Bishop.

Kansas Historical Notes

A Douglass Historical Society has been organized under the sponsorship of the Copeland Memorial Library of Douglass. Officers are: Mrs. Elmer Sherar, president; J. M. Guyot, vice-president; Mrs. Inez Graves, secretary; Mrs. Daisy Lamb, historian, and Mrs. Viola Dennett, reporter. Persons who came to Douglass before 1878 are honorary members. Meetings are scheduled for the second Monday evening of each month.

The old guardhouse at Fort Harker, Ellsworth county, has been turned over to the Kanopolis post of the American Legion. The Legion has converted it into a historical museum. The guardhouse was built about 1867, when Fort Harker was an important military outpost.

The historic Council oak at Council Grove, a famed Santa Fe trail landmark, recently underwent "surgery" and is now expected to live another 50 years. Money for the work was raised by the Council Grove Historical Society.

A pageant depicting episodes in the history of Larned and Pawnee county, which was written by Judge Lorin T. Peters of Ness City, was presented in Larned, August 11, 1950. A reunion of Pawnee county pioneers was held as a part of the day's program.

George Miller was re-elected president of the Chase County Historical Society at a meeting at the courthouse in Cottonwood Falls, September 9, 1950. Other officers re-elected were: Henry Rogler, vice-president; Helen Austin, secretary, and George T. Dawson, treasurer. Members of the executive committee are: Ida M. Vinson, Clint A. Baldwin, Minnie Norton, T. R. Wells and Claude Hawkins.

Mrs. C. D. Cheatum was elected president of the Shawnee Mission Historical Society at a luncheon in Spring Hill, September 25, 1950. Other officers elected were: Mrs. James Glenn Bell, first vice-president; Mrs. Homer Bair, second vice-president; Mrs. Arthur W. Wolf, recording secretary; Mrs. R. D. Grayson, corresponding secretary; Mrs. Charles Houlehan, treasurer; Mrs. Kenneth Carbaugh, historian; Mrs. C. L. Curry, curator; Mrs. William Brazier, chaplain, and Mrs. Percy L. Miller, parliamentarian. Mrs. John Barkley was the retiring president.

Ralph Shideler of Girard was elected president of the Crawford County Historical Society at a meeting in Pittsburg, September 28, 1950. Other officers chosen were: Dr. Ernest Mahan, Pittsburg, vice-president; Mrs. Ines Dixon, Pittsburg, secretary, and Opal Smith, Pittsburg, treasurer. Dr. Alvin Proctor, Mrs. J. U. Massey and C. P. Kelso were elected to the board of directors for three-year terms, and Dr. Josephine Trabue was named a director for one year. The history of the McNally Pittsburg Manufacturing Corp. was outlined by Thomas J. McNally, head of the firm, as the main feature of the program. Dr. H. M. Grandle, the retiring president, headed the society for two years.

A campaign was launched by the Kiowa County Historical Society at its annual Gold Ribbon party in Greensburg, October 5, 1950, to raise money for a museum at Greensburg to house the society's collection of relics. Gold ribbons were worn by 105 persons of the more than 250 attending the party, indicating that they had come to Kiowa county more than 50 years ago. Sixteen golden wedding couples were present.

The annual meeting of the Riley County Historical Association was held October 12, 1950. C. A. Kimball was elected president; Mrs. Florence Fox Harrop, vice-president; Joe D. Haines, treasurer, and Mrs. Max Wolf, secretary. Albert Horlings, Richard Rogers and Mrs. F. A. Marlatt were elected to the board of directors. A talk by George Robb, state auditor, on Sen. James H. Lane, was the main event on the program. Prof. George Filingner was the retiring president.

A 30-foot stone cross, erected near Lyons in honor of Juan de Padilla, Franciscan friar who visited that area with the Coronado expedition in 1541, was dedicated by Bishop Mark K. Carroll, Wichita, on October 15, 1950. The monument was presented to the state of Kansas by the Knights of Columbus.

About 75 persons attended a meeting of the Dickinson County Historical Society at the Willowdale church, October 19, 1950. D. W. Tappan, Abilene; Bruce Crary, Herington; Mrs. Mame Riordan, Solomon; Mrs. George Mark, Chapman; Elsie Koch, Hope, and Mrs. Marie Chandler, Enterprise, were appointed as a committee to work toward getting a room for a museum in the new courthouse when it is built. Mrs. F. E. Munsell, Herington, is president of the society.

The Protection Historical Society was organized into the Comanche County Historical Society at a meeting in Protection, No-

vember 14, 1950. Warren P. Morton, Coldwater, was elected president of the new organization. Other officers chosen were: Fred Denney, Protection, vice-president; Mrs. Nellie Riner, Protection, recording secretary; Mrs. Lillian Lyon, Coldwater, corresponding secretary, and F. H. Moberley, Wilmore, treasurer. Judge Karl Miller, Dodge City, was the principal speaker at the meeting. Denney was the retiring president of the Protection society.

The Wyandotte County Historical Society has been given a plot of land 100 by 100 feet, located at the old Shawnee Methodist Mission monument near Turner. In order to accept the gift a decision was made at a meeting November 14, 1950, to incorporate the society. Clifford H. Millsap is president

A 36-page pamphlet has been printed by the Assaria Lutheran church in connection with the 75th anniversary of the organization of the church. Included in the pamphlet are pictures of the pastors, church leaders and present church organizations, and the church history. Some of the history was printed in the *Salina Journal*, September 16, 1950.

The Funston Homestead is the title of a recently published 30-page booklet by Mrs. Ella Funston Eckdall of Emporia. The homestead which was bought in 1867 by Edward Hogue Funston, was the home of his son, Edward H. Funston, member of congress, 1884-1894, and the boyhood home of his grandson, Gen. Frederick Funston.

The first Swedish settlement in Kansas, at Mariadahl, was mentioned in Oscar N. Olson's new book, *The Augustana Lutheran Church in America: Pioneer Period, 1846-1860*. The 397-page book was published by the Augustana Book Concern, Rock Island, Ill.



THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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THE COVER

THE OLD KAW SCHOOL AT COUNCIL GROVE

This building was erected in 1850 by the federal government. The Methodist church operated it as a school for the Kaw or Kansas Indians from 1851 to 1854.

The state bought the building in 1951. It will be managed by the Kansas State Historical Society as a Santa Fe trail museum and as a memorial to the Indians for whom the state was named. (*See p. 222.*)

THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Volume XIX

May, 1951

Number 2

The Letters of Joseph H. Trego, 1857-1864, Linn County Pioneer

Edited by EDGAR LANGSDORF

PART ONE, 1857, 1858

INTRODUCTION

IN THE autumn of 1857 Dr. Joseph Harrington Trego left his home in Mercer county, Illinois, for a new residence in Linn county, Kansas. Because the southeastern part of Kansas territory was rough and unsettled, he left his wife and three little girls in Illinois until he could prepare a home for them in the new country. Earlier in the year he had selected a location at Sugar Mound, now Mound City, and had completed arrangements with Thomas Ellwood Smith and his brother, Edwin Smith—the Ell and Ed mentioned in the letters—to erect and operate a sawmill on Little Sugar creek.

The townsite had been located in 1855 by David W. Cannon and Ebenezer Barnes, and was known as Sugar Mound because of its proximity to a mound of that name which lay a little to the east. An act of the territorial legislature of 1858 incorporating the Mound City Town Company was approved February 2, 1858, and thereafter the town was called Mound City. Trego and the two Smiths were among the prominent men of the settlement. When the town company was first organized, in 1857, Trego became secretary and T. E. Smith was a trustee. Their mill was one of the important industries of the community. Commencing operations near the end of December, 1857, it produced the lumber and shingles for the first frame buildings in Mound City. A store and post office belonging to Charles Barnes, the first president of the town company, was completed on January 30, 1858, and the first three frame houses, property of the sawmill proprietors, were finished in April and June.

Trego was born at Pineville, Bucks county, Pa., on May 8, 1823, one of eleven children of Jacob and Letitia Trego. Although there

are some discrepancies in the accounts of his early life, it is known that he lived in Pennsylvania probably until 1843, when he moved to Illinois with other members of the family. They settled in Mercer county, where Trego farmed for three years before he went East to enter the medical school of Jefferson College in Philadelphia. After graduating in March, 1849, he returned to Illinois to practice medicine at Willoby, near the town of Preemption. He was married on August 22, 1850, to Alice Mannington, whom he had met in 1849 when she was visiting an aunt in Mercer county.

Although he was a practicing physician in Illinois, Trego never attempted to establish himself in his profession after coming to Kansas. His letters indicate that he was dissatisfied with a profession that, in those days, involved so much inconvenience and left him little leisure time to spend with his family. At any rate, he was a doctor only by title in Mound City.¹

The following letters were written by Trego to his wife during the fall and winter of 1857-1858 while she was in Illinois and he in Kansas. They are part of a group of family letters which were presented to the Historical Society in February, 1949, by Dr. Trego's daughter, the late Mrs. Sara Trego Morse of Mound City. In preparing the letters for publication, passages containing only personal or family reference, and those lacking general interest, have been omitted.

THE LETTERS OF 1857, 1858

ST LOUIS SEPT 10TH/57

We are yet in St Louis as you see but we start from here some time tomorrow. This is now sunday night, and I write you from, or in, one of the heavenward rooms in Barnum's hotel. It is a very rainy night and we are very well content to stay indoors having had plenty of exercise, anxiety and hot weather to endure since our arrival. . . . The boat we came down on from the foot of the rapids, should have made her regular trip down to-day but was disabled in a storm which we encountred directly we left Keokuk. It blew so hard that the hurricane deck was loosend in many places and the roof over the Ladies cabin was partly blown overboard exposing the fine furniture to the beating rain as long

1. Sources of information concerning Trego are: A. T. Andreas and W. G. Cutler, *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago, 1883), pp. 1108, 1110; A. Trego Shertzer, *A Historical Account of the Trego Family* (Baltimore, 1884), pp. 40, 47, 81, 82; *Kansas City (Mo.) Journal*, August 26, 1900; *Mound City Torch of Liberty*, July 20, 1905; *Mound City Border Sentinel*, 1864-1874, *passim*; letter of Theodore W. Morse to Edgar Langsdorf, Mound City, August 27, 1950.

as the shower lasted. The ladies were not exposed to it so long, as they proceeded toward the bow of the boat at a quicker step than would be considered dignified enough under ordinary circumstances. . . .

The Missouri river is low & we expect a rather tedious trip to Kansas City, but we will take along a supply of *novels* & *peaches* so it wont be so bad

You must write me at

Sugar Mound P. O.

Linn Co

K. T.

very soon. Tell me all about the affairs at home &c. . . .

With much love to you

J H Trego

MONDAY 4 O'CLOCK—

Boat starts soon. We have been as busy as possible so far to day closing up our business & moving to boat. Have just received my med[icine]. chest. The boat got aground and was delayed untill the next [li]ne [?] boat came along to-day & pulled her off yesterday & to-day's boat coming in together. A store house is on fire nearby which bids fair to be a big one yet. There was another exciting occurrence on board our boat. While we were at dinner a trunk was broken open in a room adjoining ours and several thousand dollars taken out. Family that is moving west—all they have in way of money—

J H Trego

SUNDAY AFTERNOON [SEPT. 1857] ON BOARD
THE S[TEAM]. B[OAT]. J. H. Oglesby, MIS-
SOURI RIVER 12 MILES BELOW KANSAS CITY—

DEAR ALICE

Have been going to write all day but couldn't get at it untill about the last chance that I can have on board this boat, & after we leave the boat it is probable we will find no more time or opportunity for letter writing untill we reach our destination, so I thot I would write you from this place, thinking it *might* be agreeable to have intelligence of our progress before we get entirely thro' with our journey. We have made slow progress, very, in consequence of low water, and a boat so heavily laden that it has been difficult to keep her floating in daylight; having to tie up of nights.

Many a stick we have had on the sand bars & many a snag has made the boat quiver & bound till I have been seriously concerned

about her safety, because if she had sprung a leak we would have been put the trouble and perhaps loss of getting our baggage off and obtaining passage on another craft. But we are within three hours of our stopping place & I have no doubt now but that we will be on land by sunset. The boat shakes so that I cannot write without making a rather old looking hand of it. There has been nothing of particular interest since we left St Louis. . . .

No more at present so good bye love until we get to Sugar Mound. With love to all I am

Yours always
Jo

IN OUR LOG-CABIN AT SUGAR MOUND OCT 16TH/57

MY DEAR WIFE

I did not think I would have deferred writing you so long as this. It has been three weeks, and a few days over perhaps, since I wrote you from Kansas City,—the day of our departure from that place. . . .

We hired a teamster in Kansas C. to bring us and our luggage down to the Mound. We expected to stop, on the way, at public houses, as the road is an old military road leading to Fort Scott, consequently we made no preparation much for camping out; but in this we were disappointed, for the driver would stop every night on the open prairie so his mules could feed close to the wagon and our only chance for eating was to lay in a heavy dinner when ever we came to a cabin where we could get some,—there being no regular places for accomodating travellers on the route,—and go to bed—on the ground—without any supper. We had some coffee, mornings, & a few crackers would do us very well untill about noon of each day that we were on the way, when we either stopped at a cabin while the driver would go on to a feeding place or, if he was at a good pasture about noon and no cabin near we would go ahead and order a dinner which was always the same, fat pork corn-bread, *fried* butter and coffee, followed with peach pie without sweetening. We saw several farms where they had a great abundance of peaches. The road out from the river is on the state line and for nearly a days journey it is fenced all up on one side with old and well improved farms as far east as we could see, while to the right—in the territory, owned by Indians some of it—it is open, wild prairie.

When we arrived at *home* we found the family yet in the house, but they began at once to pick up there plunder and move it into

the still smaller cabin that was first put up here to make the claim. It is not fit to live in only in good weather. They have since erected a new cabin on their claim, which we helped them lay up and which they are now living in. They are very clever folks and as pleasant as they can be, but they are of the "Hoosier" stripe and of course not company for us. They came from Missouri opposite the Ohio and are proslavery, but the subject has not [been] mentioned between us yet; we have it from free-state neighbors, and [from] seeing a slave to work for one of the family who lives on another claim. The brother of whom we bot this place has lived here longer, was present last summer during the war and this fall voted the free state ticket.

We boarded for a week or two after our arrival, as our provisions had not yet arrived from St Louis when we left Kansas, tho', as soon as we could get rested and Mr. Chidester had time to see around and conclude to take an interest in the town, he and I started, with a driver, back to Kansas [City], he to return home and I to buy a stove and other fixings to keep house with. It was the hardest job I ever had. In consequence of a rainy spell which came on after we started home with the load we were much longer on the road, and then the nights, oh dismal! We were wet all the time day & night and my boots were so tight on my feet after the first day's walk in the mud that I was afraid to pull them off lest I could'n't get them on again. On a Sunday night, Oct 4th we were over taken by night on a prairie and as hard a rain as I ever saw about, the wind, too, blew hard all night which drove the wet thro the muslin cover of the wagon till the driver was nearly drowned. I fared better because I had the large buffalo robe around me with the hair side out which kept me from getting any wetter than I was by walking in the rain thro the day, which we were obliged to do all the time on account of the deep mud. There were two teams in company and the drivers had to each one hire teams to finish up their journey, there own teams being completely done for, soon after crossing the Marias des Cygnes, only about fifteen miles from home. Since that time we have had good weather, and warm, untill yesterday, which was a cold blustering day and this morning we had enough frost to nip pumpkin vines &c.

We have our things arranged for living now & have been getting things ready to go on with the work. We made *beadsteads* by putting together some poles and swinging the fabric from the joice by means of ropes. This was to get our roost where the *inhabitants*

cant bore us with their company, and there are several large families hanging 'round. Some day when I have time I think I will take a sketch of the interior and send it along and, also, of the travellers and thier rigg as they appeared the day the teams gave out. We were out hunting one day since we have been here—often go into the wood to shoot squirrils—and brot home a turkey. I prepared it for cooking, and all right too, but the stuffing, which we couldn't come, for want of bread. It went very well and lasted us several days, but—but I guess I wont eat any more turkey this winter. We gathered some hops and if we had a little yeast to start with I think I could make bread. Will get some when we go up to Kansas [City] again after the Mill. When at Kansas [City] I bot a small wash tub & a washboard, and two flat irons, so we could do some of our washing. We tried it one day and done up a pile of socks, and some towels, the shirts we concluded to leave awhile; since that we employed a neat kind of woman to do our washing for the winter. I think tho' we will continue to wash towels & socks as we have to pay 10 cts a piece . . .

SUGAR MOUND, DECEMBER 5TH 1857

MY DEAR WIFE

It is morning, four O'clock, and I have swept up a place before the fire and swept the ashes and litter all into the fire so that it looks kind of comfortable around and before me. As to the appearance of things back in the interior of the cabin I have nothing to say. I am writing with a board in my lap that serves as a desk. We *have* a table but I can't sit by that and be close to the fire. . . .

We have had such bad weather ever since our arrival here that it has been quite discouraging. So much rain that we could not keep our work going along to advantage and about two weeks ago we had a real cold snap. The murcury getting down to 10° one morning that was an extreme, but many days it was 18 and 20° scarcely thawing all day. All this week the weather has been good enough, mostly warm, sunny days and some nights not cold enough to freeze any. Have had no snow to lay on the ground more than a few hours and *all* the stock is yet doing well on the low prairies there being plenty of grass that is some green yet. I say all the stock because I don't know of one stable in the country and the animals are necessarily exposed to the weather just *as it comes along*.

Ell starts this morning for Kansas City &, if the boats are yet running, will go on to St Louis to bring up some machinery, the

chief of which is a corn mill which bids fair to be a very profitable investment as flour here is worth six dollars per hundred. We bought a lot when the machinery was brot down which we sold at five & quarter. There is a small affair for grinding corn, a few miles from here which has been doing as such mills generally do in a new country, taking enormous toll and selling meal high. They manage to get one third for toll and sell the meal at one dollar per bushel. So the people are bound that we shall bring on a corn mill as we talked of doing. I find that I will have to close soon for there is so much stir and getting ready to start to the mill,—we have breakfast so as to get the hands off to work before sunrise having two miles to go,—and I want Ell to carry this to St Louis with him so you can get it direct. I will write again soon when I have more time and nobody to interrupt. . . .

I am as ever your affect husband

SUGAR MOUND DEC 11TH 1857

DEAR LITTLE WIFE

. . . Ell came back . . . this evening; was not able to get to St Louis, or, at least, there was no prospect of getting back again, with freight and the fare down is enormous. The river is clear of ice but boatmen are afraid there might be some made suddenly.

Since last Saturday, the weather has been warm enough, some of the time rainy like, tho' not to stop work. Yesterday and to-day the sun shone very fine and warm, the murcury getting up from 36° this morning to 64° at noon; after noon it was much higher, but the sun could shine on the thermometer. The Indians, and all the old trappers and traders, agree in the opinion that we will have but little freezing this winter, if so, it will be nice enough for the grass is not all killed by the frost yet and animals continue to feed pretty well on it. . . .

During this last week, Ed and I have been down to the mill untill late of evenings, when we would come home tired and have a fire to make up and supper to get, which is often some bread and molasses— we get some bread baked in at the next door— and the same old tune “what fools we were to come out here to live this way” with various accompaniments, such as ‘how nice it would be to have a *clean* room to sit down in,’ or ‘would’nt I like to have the children to talk to awhile,’ or ‘I’de give a pile of money if my wife was here instead of *ten thousand* miles off,’ and a great many other *preposters* exclamations, but we can’t help it. Time does hang

heavily and we dont expect it to do otherwise untill we can see our families again. . . .

There is to be a meeting to-day of the town company. We have not selected our locations in the *city* yet. We have been waiting for this meeting and I suppose we will make our selections soon and have the cellars dug for the houses. I hope to get a lot in among some trees near the mill and where we can see the creek from the windows and the falls too when the leaves are off which, in high water, is very fine. At present it is not much for the streams are only just a little affected by the rains which we have had. We are having a moveing today, but it is only a large log-crib to sleep in of nights when we don't all want to walk home, which, with me would often be the case.

We bought provisions in St Louis, on our way out intending to board our hands. We tried it but found it no go, and our own living now costs *Ed and myself* as much as it would to keep our families. Oh the waste and the very extrava[ga]nt use of coffee and sugar and Golden syrup at \$1.30 per gal. Ed gets rampant once in a while because, he says, 'what he has he worked for' and I have resolved many times that when I *can* get out of this "baching it" I will provide only for my own table, and all those who like to eat sugar wet with very strong coffee, and syrup with cake crumbs in it may be at the whole expense of procuring them.

Yesterday I was as busy as possible "clearing up," and salting down some beef. We cant keep meat fresh but a few days. It was so warm yesterday that flies were about the house.

I will mail one of our papers to-day (if I get to the office in time) for Walt that he may see the other side of the free-state party from what is represented in the Tribune. I regard it as a kind of mediator for the Southerners here who are in favor of and have voted to make Kansas a free-state, indirectly, that is, by voting the free-state ticket in October, but they would have their prejudices excited against any movement intended to benefit the niggers. They are in favor of a free state government from politic motives & not humane. Nearly all our neighbors are of that kind and they will probably do anything to resist the efforts of office seekers—as they regard them—from forcing slavery upon us, but to fight. They were all run out of the territory a year ago and running would be thier choice again. It makes some of them look pale to hear of danger of collisions and I've no doubt we would too if we were not so absorbed in business that we have not time to think enough about the matter to appreciate the danger.

A party of armed F[ree] S[tate] men passed by here two days since, on their way to a nest of pro-slavery scoundrels in Bourbon Co but thier business was not made public so we were left to conjecture. The conclusion was that they intend to string up a man who has made himself particularly odious to the people of Lawrence and gone to old Ft. Scott for protection from those who would deal with him as the laws would direct if there was any law capable of directing.

Well, I must go into the woods now and rake up some dry leaves to put into our bed; it has flattened down so that it is to much like laying on a pile of rails with only a quilt over them. Ell's bed is no better at all and he is to *tired* to fix it any better so I expect he can just have it so as long as he has a mind to. I stop in the cabin this forenoon to help the teamster load the logs while the others are at the mill. After dinner I go down to the mill and if the mail has not passed will mail my letter to-day, otherwise it will not go untill Tuesday, the up mail being on Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday. . . .

Your devoted Husband

SUGAR MOUND DEC 21st 1857

MY DEAR WIFE

I shall adhere to the promise of writing every week, as closely as possible. We are exceedingly busy every day except Sundays, when we desist from work as the hands, some of them, and the people generally are Methodists or Baptists.

Of evening I am often so tired that I cannot read more than a few minutes and writing is no go at all. Yesterday week I went out to shoot deer, wounded one and followed it so far that we—Ell was along—did not get back untill noon the next day. What a splendid prairie we saw, high mounds and broad valleys without a tree or house in sight all day, except at starting, and when we were returning home came in sight of timber on Big Sugar. We had set out fires as we went along and a night there was a big fire. We stopped at a cabin, at eight o'clock, for the night. It was warm enough to lie out but the ground was rather moist, without blankets to wrap up in. We were *nearly* as tired as tho' we had been at work.

Yesterday too I wanted to be at head-quarters to see and hear. You will have heard when this reaches you, no doubt, of the doings here and, as usual, much will be said that will proceed chiefly from some imaginative brains. I will try to give a little sketch of the matter as nigh the truth as anybody who will write for the papers.

There has been difficulty on the Little Osage all summer & fall between pro-slavery and free-state men, about claims, hogs &c. The free-state men that were driven away a year ago, came back to their claims and found them, in many cases, occupied by Missourians who refused to give them up, and [their] hogs, [and] other stock being clean gone—which were in the timber [were] claimed by these Missourians. In short, there was continual bra[wls?] among them and the pro-slaves being the most numerous in this locality they could enforce the bogus laws and have things pre[tty] much their own way. The free-state men 'would'nt give it up' and some of them are not the most peaceable kind of fellows either, and the disturbances encreased untill there was open war between them.

They have a bogus court at Ft Scott and free-state men were brot before it for defending their rights and in every case beaten and court charges & law[y]ers fees piled on so heavily that they were unable to pay so their property was seized and sold to Mis-sourians at nominal prices, and immediately driven away. I have talked with several who were stripped of every thing they had in that way. Free-state men from different parts went down there to assist them in there difficulties, the party, when all together, numbered fifty. They were attacked by the ruffians. The particulars of the attack, as I heard the 'Boys' tell it over and over again in their camp, was that the ruffians numbered about two hundred mounted men, while the Boys numbered but fifty and but few mounted. The ruffians came upon them and were about to surround them, to take them prisoners it was supposed, so fifteen of the Boys opened a fire upon them with Sharpe's-rifles. The fire was returned but the commander being wounded he set up such a cry of 'I'm shot I'm shot' that the ruffians broke and run to a distance of three fourths of a mile. Considering themselves at a safe distance they halted to take further council probably. So one of the boys got permission to try his skill with his rifle to see what he could effect. He fired and knocked a man off his horse. The man was gathered up as speedily as possible and the party got themselves out of sight before they stopped again. The ruffians had three wounded, but none killed that has been heard of yet. The boys came off unscathed, tho one fellow narrowly escaped having a ball shot thro' his body, the ball having struck his revolver which was under a belt, at his side. The boys then came up to the Mound here to await reinforcements as they knew that a still larger body of ruffians would be collected in the vicinity of the Fort. The intention of the boys is to go down there as soon as they are sufficiently

strong in numbers, and give the ruffians a sound drubbing, such a one as will make them keep the peace hereafter.

[Addison] Danford and [R. B.] Mitchell, representatives from this county, came home last night in a great hurry having heard, while at Lecompton that Sugar Mound was about to be taken. The ruffians had become alarmed at the storm they had raised and sent up the most preposterous stories about the burning and pillaging that was being perpetrated by the *Abolitionists*, to induce the governor to send U. S. troops to their aid. Stanton² sent troops, too, to the fort with orders to protect the land office and other government property but *not* to interfere with the fight, for [he] said "if they want a fight let them have it out."

Last night some time it commenced snowing. I could feel it coming thro' the roof into my face, it fell very light however and was no further inconvenience than the sensation produced, which was similar to being tormented by flies. To-day it has continued [to] fall nearly all the time and is yet snowing but the air is so warm yet that it does not collect any as I can see, it being just about enough on the ground to make good tracking of deer and turkeys. We have not had the ground frozen for three weeks and many days the mercury has been up to 64° or there about. . . .

WEDNESDAY EVENING 23RD . . . We moved to the mill yesterday. You may remember perhaps that our cabin in the woods is two miles from the creek, we sometimes had to walk it, frequently of late, and we got tired of the fun so we moved a *corn crib* down here and put our things into it, that is all that we could. It is a fact and no joke and we find it *quite comfortable*. It is 12 ft long and 9 ft wide; no floor but a kind of a door is reared up to keep the wolves from stealing our meat our bed is put up so high that we can sit under it and the stove close [is] up in a corner.

You may wonder why we don't make a house [of] boards. Well I never told you anything about the mill business I believe so I will do so now. In the first place the mill was late getting here, then the roads were very bad which made everything go slowly. It was so rainy that we could do almost nothing for a long time and it has only been within the last three weeks that we have made much progress. Besides all that we employed a man to build the mill who proved himself to be quite incompetent and while Ell was up to Kansas [City] I got out of all patience and gave him his walking papers, and forthwith hired two men both experienced in their line,

2. Frederick P. Stanton was secretary, and twice acting governor, of Kansas territory from April 16 to December 21, 1857.

one an engineer, the other a *preacher* just from [Io]wa who is an excellent sawyer. I did not employ the latter one to preach, as I don't know much about his *experience in that line* but in line of sawyer I meant. The weather is very fine again and we expect to start the machinery in two or three days. We would have made enough by sawing to have paid the expense of erecting the mill, easily, if these men had taken it in hand from the start. Ed and I worked at *rebuilding* for a week which was more than would have been required to do the work right in the first. We thought some queer words—out loud—most every day we were at it.

I dont know how well you are posted in *political* news but I will give you the latest. The Freestate legislature when they met [at Lecompton, December 7-17, 1857,] repealed all the bogus laws. Made Gen Lane commander in Chief of the Territory with power to organize a militia and he has already done so. He is now here but what his intentions are we know not as he keeps, the troops even, in ignorance. Before he came down we could learn all about the movements of the army and the ruffians understood there plans as well as any body. We heard to-day that the bogus capital, Lecompton, is in ashes, but nothing of the why or wherefore. Several hundred men are encamped in the neighborhood and squads of horse-men are passing to and fro almost continually. Last Monday was the day to vote on the constitution which was framed by the proslavery-National-democrats. Have heard nothing of the result, only know that the polls were not opened in this precinct. The legislature, *elected by the people of Kansas*, last October, have appointed the 4th of January next to vote for or *against* that constitution, all who have a right to vote will put in, that day. . . .³

MY DEAR WIFE

SUGAR MOUND JAN 2ND 1858

I have no news to tell you this time, I believe, unless it is that we have, at last, raised the steam and got our mill to working. . . .

Your affect. Husband

MY DEAR WIFE

SUGAR MOUND JAN 9TH 1858

. . . *Dont* . . . let anything here trouble you in the least for I can assure you that the only trouble we have, now that the mill is doing business, is the vexation of housekeeping and that you know is, by no means, of a serious nature. . . .

3. The election on the Lecompton constitution occurred on Monday, December 21, 1857, and resulted as follows: for the constitution, with slavery, 6,226; for the constitution, without slavery, 569. It was reported that 2,720 illegal votes were cast in the election, at which the Free-State partisans abstained from voting.

As to the *wars* which I see are reported in the papers, if you dont feel any more concern about it than what we do, you wont loose a moment of sleep. . . . That there has been warlike demonstrations here, right in this place, I dont dispute, but I can say truly that there is no probability of the people here at Sugar Mound being molested for two reasons There is no particular cause and if there was we are to many for them We have no fear so I hope you wont, and now for every thing that I can think of. We have done some washing with the creek water and find it *soft*. Are you not glad, its so handy too. We bought a bag full of apples, real nice ones for \$1.25 per bushel. Plenty of them in the State [Missouri], within a days drive. . . .

I have learned that there are nurseries over in the state where trees can be had at \$1.50 per dozen,—we have a few on our claim, set out last spring—so much nearer than any point on the river that nobody in this county would ever go to the river for trees. Most every body has oxen and it requires eight days or more to make the trip. That is too long a time to be getting one load of trees when they can get them out of the nursery and be home in four days at most. I have no opportunity of knowing what chance there may be along the river but suppose that there may be good sale within twenty or twenty five miles and probably much farther in the direction of Lawrence. They would, however, have to be shipped in the fall as they could not be sent to the territory before the season would be too far advanced. That however is a matter of opinion. . . .

We were so late getting the mill to running that we have given up the building of houses this winter. We are engaged in putting a two story building over the mill seventy feet long and twenty six wide at one end with an ofsett over the boiler making it about thirty four feet at the other end. It will keep us all winter, save time enough to build something to move into next spring, before we start home. A good stable will do for a few weeks I guess, rather than wait here to build a house. . . .

Love to the children and Kiss them for me. Husband

SUGAR MOUND, JAN 18TH, 1858

MY DEAR! WIFE

Last Saturday was my day to write you but I was prevented from getting a letter in the mail that day, by our work which was going on furiously all day, and then I was so tired of nights that I went to roost *immediately* after supper and, besides, last week was my week

to get the meals. This week and next I will be out and can have time, of evenings, to read some before supper and when not too tired can put in an hour or two after *tea*. Oh dear! how tired I am of keeping 'bach' Nothing but the interest I feel in seeing the work going on, enables me to stand it now. To-day I have been riding all day partly on business connected with the mill and partly to get signers to three road petitions, for roads *branching off from Mound City*.

The weather is delightful, 55° to-day, warm sun, I enjoyed the ride very much untill after noon when I began to tire of it. We don't perform much hard labor, it is more care and anxiety than of physical labor; we hire most of that done. We can saw 4000 ft of lumber a day. We have not worked any after night yet. If we were only living together here now I should like the business very well. I think it will be much pleasanter than either riding around thro' hot sun or cold winds, rough roads and muddy roads, rainy days and dark nights to peddle pills, or to raise crops and have to watch them so much to keep them from being destroyed and then to scarcely get enough for them to pay expenses. It will be pleasant too to be near enough to places of public gathering to go without riding several miles in the dark, over a rough or muddy road, and to call on the neighbors too of an afternoon. . . .

Maria ⁴ had better keep in the notion of coming here. There is no question about the school if she wants to teach. There is a school house here but no school this winter. I have not heard of any one who could be had to teach a school, who is capable. Ed expressed himself as being very well pleased that Maria purposed coming here, so that his boys could go to school. That was on our way out, last fall. . . .

Now my dear wife you must *excuse* me for another week for my back *aches*, and, if I aint sleepy now, I will be in the morning at getting up time— Your loving Husband

SUGAR MOUND JAN 24TH 1858

MY DEAR WIFE

We have had a pretty heavy rain since dark, last (Saturday) evening. It ceased to-day about three or four oclock. The creek is pretty well up and the *Falls* are making a *stunning* noise. After the rain, we went up to see how it looked. We tarried there untill night gazing upon the, seemingly, angry flood, with mingled feel-

4. Maria Mannington, sister of Alice Trego. Maria came to Mound City in 1858 and was married that year to J. S. Atkinson. This was the first marriage to take place in Mound City.—Andreas-Cutler, *op cit.*, p. 1108.

ings of awe and admiration. Last night, during the thunder storm, there was but very little admiration of it (the storm) expressed and no *awe* as it takes reverence to make up that feeling. The expressions were a kind that indicated a different state of feeling when the warm rain began to spatter all over our berth. We have a *very* great deal of work to do and see after, our mill is not raised yet, that is, the house part, and we are exposed to the weather so much that it is a great disadvantage. Some days the wind blows the belt off, and saw-dust in our eyes so we can scarcely see; other days it rains and that, of course, puts a stop to the work entirely. But we are hopeful yet. With good weather as we have had we can have the mill building done in two weeks, and in two more we can have our houses so they will do to live in next spring, untill we can finish them up on our return with families, *if we can find them again*.

Rainy weather will begin in a few weeks and we *must* have the mill sheltered before that time or we can do nothing at all.

Ed and self are bound to start just as soon as we can possibly get our buildings so they will do to live in, after we are done working on the mill. If there will be no delays, we can be off yet, by the first of March, we may not, however, for two or three weeks later. We have been wanting, all winter, to go to the Neosho to get some robes of the Indians, and a pair of ponies, we see no chance to get away and I fear it will be a failure. I would much rather ride across the country part of the way home than be at the expense of going all the way to St Louis.

FRIDAY 28TH [29TH]—You see I did not get my letter off the first of the week, the reason is, that the mail was stopped by high water, having no bridges over the streams yet, and it was brot down to-day for the first [time] since last Friday. Now I must drop it in the office before the mail returns to-morrow for I've no doubt you are as anxious to see a letter about every week as I am. . . .

We had a hearty laugh over the *Advertiser's* account of a collision between the U. S. troops and those of Kansas. The fellow that got up that and some other Kansas yarns must have some of the stuff in his composition, that novel writers are made of.

Well, there is nothing like telling something stunning when the design of it is to produce a sensation. That fuss was all over and would have been forgotten but for the huge waves that roll back upon us in the shape of newspaper accounts swelled by every *blow* of letter writers for the papers. Before you get thro' with that job we will have another, worse yet, perhaps. I hope at any rate it will result, this time, in the destruction of Fort Scott. We had a town

meeting to-day The prospects for Mound City are indeed very flattering. The probabilities are favourable for its becoming the county seat and the Rail road from St Louis to Jefferson City, will, when extended on thro' the Territory, pass thro this valley and if Mound City can get to be somebody in two or three years, there is no reason why the R. R. should not pass thro its boundaries. . . .

Your devoted Husband

SUNDAY EVENING [JANUARY 31]—My love, I hope you will excuse my *failure* to drop this letter in the Office yesterday. It was not neglect but the being absent on business until it was too late. . . . I learned yesterday that the mail, on that day of the week, only goes to the end of our carriers route only a few miles, where it lays over untill the next Tuesday, so you see it will be not more than a day later at any rate. After this I will send my letters off in Tuesday's mail. Now I wish to send you news in advance of *all* the papers if the telegraph dont beat me, but they will have to *wait untill the occurrence takes place*, before they can send while I will guess what is to happen. The Bourbon County Banditti have been committing more robberies upon the settlers in that region and seem determined to have everything they can possibly make use of. They are allowed to do so because the pro slaveryites think they will drive away all Free State men by so doing. Such being the case there is no law to punish the thieves. They even attempted to hang one man because he would not go away. The man is here at the Mound now. Captain [James] Montgomery was here this evening telling about the affair but I did not learn how the man escaped from the ruffians, but Montgomery told us that several Companies, his among the number, are in readiness to march upon Fort Scott to-morrow, for the purpose of destroying the place, scattering the band and perhaps to hang up the leaders of it to prevent them from making similar nests anywhere else. . . .

To be read last—The news which I referred to was the burning of Fort Scott. It aint done yet but will be I suppose, so you see, *you get the news earlier than any body else*)

MOUND CITY FEB 11TH 1858

MY DEAR WIFE

. . . To-morrow we raise the mill house. It will be a big job and all the help we can get will be required. It is cold this evening, raw east wind blowing into our pa[r]lor so that I feel like forsaking it and going up stairs to bed— Will write more tomorrow evening. Since writing the foregoing I concluded to



THIS SAWMILL, BUILT BY TREGO AND THE SMITHS ON LITTLE SUGAR CREEK IN 1857, WAS BURNED BY BORDER RUFFIANS IN 1859. THE AMBROTYPES OF 1858, FROM WHICH THIS AND THE FOLLOWING PHOTOGRAPHS WERE MADE, WERE LENT BY THEODORE W. MORSE OF MOUND CITY.



THE HOMES (LEFT TO RIGHT) OF EDWIN SMITH, J. H. TREGO, AND T. ELLWOOD SMITH, AS THEY APPEARED IN 1858. THE HIGH GROUND ON WHICH THEY STOOD WAS LATER KNOWN AS "SQUALLY RIDGE" BECAUSE AT ONE TIME 19 CHILDREN LIVED THERE.

let this go by the board and write another, which I did this morning. Now am not satisfied with it either so I have concluded— just as Ed is getting ready to go to the office— that I will send *both* I have only time to say that the freestate party—according to report of a messenger just in—have taken Fort Scott, without any fighting as the villians fled to save their bacon. There was some kind of treaty entered into about the future conduct of the people there which I consider of very little importance but a good deal of the stolen property was returned to the owners, however and *promises* enough for the forthcoming of some horses which the thieves took away with them. The day is very fine, snow is melting and E wants to go now to the office before the male [?] arrives so goodbye again

Your loving husband

MOUND CITY FEB 13TH [1858]

MY DEAR WIFE

. . . We raised our mill yesterday and got thro' without accident tho' we very narrowly escaped having the chimney fall by the breaking of a guy rod caused by trying to lift a guy, on the opposite side from the break, to allow a part of the frame to pass under it as they were raising. Before we got thro' it commenced snowing furiously and continued on after dark. This morning the snow is 5 inches deep. The first snow we have had worth calling a snow. Now I have about filled this up, so good by again for another week

Your aff husband

MOUND CITY FEB 28TH 1858

MY DEAR WIFE

Now I expect that by the time you get this you will think it has been a long spell since you received the preceeding one, and it has been two weeks now since I wrote you.

The reason of that is that I have been off a week, cruising around Went down into the Osage Nation, whilst we were out, to buy ponies, but we did not get any because the Indians wont sell them when thin in flesh. No matter what price is offered, they cant be made to believe but that the person making the offer would give more for the pony after he fattens up in the Spring. We were some little disappointed in not getting ponies, but we had a pretty good trip of it and saw a great deal of fine prairie and fine timber which will soon be open for settlement, at least we were told by Indian traders, agents &c in the nation, that a treaty was likely to be effected this spring with that tribe. Ed and one of our hands

and myself, with a driver to take us, constituted the company. The first evening out we encamped on the Little Osage river, where I shot a wild cat out of a tree near the woodchopper's cabin which we went into to cook our supper. The cat was run out from under the floor of the cabin by the dogs. The next day our road lay across a large prairie where we saw nothing all day but wolves and one flock of deer. At sunset we came within sight of a house. We tried to get on to Cofachique,⁵ on the Neosho, but failed to reach it, tho' it was but four miles distant. We encamped on the prairie. The day had been perfectly clear and the sun was shining too hot to feel comfortable. We regarded it as prognostic of storm but did not think it would come on so suddenly as it did and with such violence too. We were too conscious that we were exposed, in the after part of the night to a perfect gale of wind, cold and raining, which covered every thing with sleet, and before day it turned to snow. When light enough to see, we started for the town, the snow flying so thick that we could see but a few rods ahead but were soon enabled to make our way without difficulty, but the fences. It was very cold and we stopped at the hotel,—the only building in the place capable of accomodating us—and made ourselves at home untill the next (Monday) morning. The house, up stairs, was full of snow as was every building in the town. While we were stopping there, a family came up from the Virdegris, where they moved last fall. The family consisted of a woman and several children who were left alone some weeks ago by the *man* who went away for the ostensible purpose of getting provisions, of which they were sadly in need, and they have heard nothing from him since. He is an inebriate. The family were suffering from want of food and clothing. Fortunately summer is near by when they wont need much only in the eating line. The villagers furnished them with a house and provisions and, being invited to contribute something we furnished each of the little chaps with a pair of shoes.

On Monday morning it was very cold but the sun came out clear and having the wind to our backs we had a pleasant drive of it. Night came on long before we arrived at a stopping place, but a team was just ahead of us and we followed their track, the only one to be seen since the snow. It is very seldom that wagons are seen so far down among the Indians. We arrived at the post of a trader about 9 o'clock and put up their for the night. A village of several

5. Cofachique, Allen county, was established in 1855 about two miles southwest of present Iola. It was the county seat from 1855 to 1858, and soon thereafter the townsite was abandoned.

hundred Indians is close by the post. Many of them were in the eating house where we got our suppers. there is no white woman here. The trader has a very respectable looking squaw in his part of the establishment and a slave to wait upon her. In the kitchen there was another squaw who done the cooking for the trader and his assistants and any one who might chance to be travelling that way as was our case. I had a tolerably good bed, the rest rolled themselves up in buffalo robes and slept on the floor. The team which open[ed] the way for us so far, also stopped here, the men were on a trading expedition and had a lot of prints and jewelry. We played euchre untill midnight, the only time I have played since coming into the territory. In the morning we went to the Indian village, the wigwams made of buffalo skins, and took a look around at the fashions. Ed and I were objects of great curiosity to the grown people because of our unmutilated beards being covered with a good coating of frost, the morning being very still and frosty, But the worst of it was that when I went into a wigwam where there was a lot of children they all began to scream and dodged out like frightened cats as soon as I was far enough inside to leave room for them to pass out behind me. One little fellow, who, no doubt, told the rest that *he wasn't afraid*, came back and lifted the robe which hung over the entrance was coming in all so fast but he gave a yell and "pop went the weasel" I regreted very much that I had no trinkets to give them but I told an Indian who could speak English that I expected to be down there again before they started on their summers hunt and would bring the little fellows some presents, to make friends with them. We saw a buffalo here, that has been tamed. Our travels to-day were thro' the country where the Indians have erected their wigwams in considerable numbers from a dozen to twenty together and these villages a few miles apart. We arrived at the Osage Mission⁶ by the middle of the afternoon and having gone about as far south as we wanted to this time we started home by the way of Fort Scott, and got far enough out to find a first rate camping ground without fear of having anything stolen from us by the Indians. The next day we started early and traveled towards home as far as we could; intended to get into Ft Scott and have a good supper and beds to sleep in but could not possibly do it. Went in before breakfast the next morning tho not untill breakfast was over at the hotels. After

6. The Osage Catholic Mission, at present St. Paul, Neosho county, was founded in 1847 as a mission and school for the Osage Indians living along the Neosho and Verdigris rivers.

breakfast we took a look around town, went to see a new steam mill—same make as ours—that was only started the day before. I have seen five mills besides ours and only one of them is equal to it, that one is no better only in the management of the saw, which is done by one of the owners who understands a saw better than any man we can hire in the territory. The town of Ft. Scott is handsome the houses being all large and built hotel fashion. It was used by the U. S. troops as a boarding place when not required to be on duty. The buildings are arranged in a square with a fine Plaza inside planted with trees which are of probably eighteen years growth, the broad steps from the second story varanda of each house toward the open square or plaza and a fine well under a clump of trees, with a tasteful structure over it supported by six round pillars. We were in to much of a hurry to get home or we could have seen the U. S. troops come in there that day, they having been sent there again to prevent the freestate men from destroying the town. If we had been two days later in getting along we might not have been allowed to go & come without some trouble as the free state men are collecting in considerable numbers, with canon, determined to make them give up the theives that are harbored there or destroy the town. Every house in it would cost \$3000, in Illinois. Much more than that here. We arrived at Sugar Mound very late at night, having stopped at the Fort some two or three hours—Well I have filled up my paper with an account of my trip, I see, and as there is no news or anything else of special interest I will let it go at that. . . . Good bye my dear wife and all the love to you which I am capable of bestowing on the best of good women is yours— Husband

[Part Two—the Letters of 1861, 1862—Will Appear in the August, 1951, Issue]

The Kansas Senators and the Re-election of Lincoln

WILLIAM FRANK ZORNOW

IN THE presidential election of 1864 the two Republican senators from Kansas found themselves supporting rival candidates for their party's nomination. James H. Lane cast his lot with the incumbent, Abraham Lincoln, who was seeking a second term; while Samuel Clarke Pomeroy joined the chief executive's opponents who were attempting to nominate Secretary of the Treasury Salmon Portland Chase.

The Republican, or Union party as it had been called since 1862, was sharply divided during most of the war period over the perplexing problems of emancipation and reconstruction. Lincoln represented a moderate wing of the party which believed that the restoration of the Union was the paramount aim of the war. Regarding the institution of slavery, they preferred gradual, compensated emancipation, followed, perhaps, by colonization. They agreed that slavery was morally wrong, but they steadfastly refused to tamper with it unless its abolition would directly influence the salvation of the Union. Toward the erring Southerners they were inclined to be governed by a policy of moderation and tolerance. Lincoln had charted the course for this group on December 8, 1863, in his message to congress, when he reaffirmed his adherence to the emancipation proclamation, but offered a pardon to nearly all the persons in the seceding states who would take an oath of loyalty to the constitution, congressional acts, and the said proclamation. He further declared that when ten percent of the number of voters in 1860 in any of the Southern states had taken an oath of loyalty, they could set up a state government and receive his executive recognition.¹

These policies, as set forth in the proclamation, and the policies of reconstruction, as outlined in the congressional message, were unacceptable to a group within the party known as the "radicals." This wing was led by Senators Benjamin Wade of Ohio, Charles Sumner of Massachusetts, Zachariah Chandler of Michigan, and

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1. *Appendix to the Congressional Globe*, 38 Cong., 1 Sess. (1863-1864), pp. 1-4.

Rep. Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania. They felt that slavery was the fundamental cause of the war, and they regarded the emancipation proclamation in the light of a promise rather than a fulfillment. Nothing short of immediate emancipation would satisfy them. (They did not seem to understand that such a step was impossible until the Confederate armies were broken.) They also insisted upon the confiscation of so-called "rebel" property, and the employment of Negro troops. As part of their long-range program they favored the enfranchisement and social equalization of the Negroes in the hope that by these means Republican political and economic control could be saddled upon the South after the war. Few humanitarian impulses animated these men; their main inspiration came from a blind, unbending partisanship and a desire for repression. These unenlightened policies were destined to bear fruit in the tragic years of reconstruction.

Both Lane and Pomeroy were self-styled members of this radical faction of the party. Lane, in a speech before the senate in July, 1862, defined what he understood radicalism to be:

If to oppose the using of American volunteers for the protection of rebel property; if to favor the confiscation of rebel property constitutes radicalism, then, Mr. President, I am a radical. If opposing the use of American soldiers for the return of fugitive slaves to rebel masters; if opposition to the policy of driving from our lines the loyal men of the rebellious States because of their color renders me an abolitionist, then, Mr. President, I am one. Radical and abolitionist, Mr. President, I say crush out this rebellion, even if human slavery should perish in the land.²

Pomeroy had similar views, but they differed widely on the merits of the President and on his capacity for carrying out such a program. Lane always maintained that Lincoln was at heart a radical too; a view with which Pomeroy took a most decided exception.³ In Pomeroy's opinion, the man who had the talent and inclination to administer the radical program was Salmon Chase, and the senator became chairman of a committee which was organized to advance the presidential aspirations of the Secretary of the Treasury. The Lane-Pomeroy feud over the merits of Abraham Lincoln was symptomatic of conditions generally within the Republican-Union party.

Salmon Chase had been working since 1862 for the purpose of presenting his name for the presidential nomination. In this work he was ably assisted by a large following within the Treasury Department, for his agents were most active in his behalf, although

2. *Congressional Globe*, 37 Cong., 2 Sess. (1861-1862), Pt. 4, p. 3151.

3. Wendell H. Stephenson, "The Political Career of General James H. Lane," in *Publications of the Kansas State Historical Society*, Topeka, v. 3 (1930), p. 143.

Chase always steadfastly maintained that he never made use of his treasury patronage to erect a machine for himself.⁴ Chase was on intimate terms with most of the radical leaders in 1863, and he supported many of them during the state elections of that year in the hope that they would reciprocate his kindness in 1864. He worked hard to gain the support of powerful financial leaders throughout the nation, and once again his position in the Treasury Department was of great help in winning him the friendship of this group. Through his agents he sought to gain the assistance of the most powerful newspaper editors and publishers, such as Horace Greeley, James G. Bennett, Joseph Medill and John Forney; and he also tried to win the support of the influential Union League of America which boasted a membership of 700,000.

The climax to all of Chase's efforts came when a group of his friends called an organizational meeting on December 9, 1863, in Washington for the purpose of erecting a national and some state committees to work for his nomination.⁵ This first Chase advisory committee, which drew most of its membership from the secretary's own state, Ohio, proved to be a very nebulous affair, but within a few weeks its membership was expanded and it became a permanent organization. It finally became known as the Republican national executive committee, and Sen. Samuel Pomeroy was made chairman.

Pomeroy had been reported to be a supporter of President Lincoln in June, 1863, but during the intervening six months he had changed his mind.⁶ On December 13, a few days after Pomeroy accepted the chairmanship of the secret Chase committee, Mark Delahay, whom Lincoln had made a judge in Kansas, reported to the chief executive that Pomeroy was one of the "head devils" of a Chase conspiracy. The senator, however, was unwilling to reveal the work of the committee at that moment and still publicly claimed that he was supporting Lincoln.⁷

It is difficult to explain why Pomeroy deliberately abandoned the President and secretly led a committee which was working to bring about his overthrow. John Nicolay and John Hay, Lincoln's two very enterprising and observant young private secretaries, wrote later

4. Clarence E. MacCartney, *Lincoln and His Cabinet* (New York, 1931), p. 254.

5. Charles R. Wilson, "The Original Chase Organization Meeting and *The Next Presidential Election*," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, v. 23 (1936), June, pp. 61-79.

6. James Blunt to Salmon Chase, June 14, 1863.—Salmon Chase MSS. (Library of Congress).

7. Tyler Dennett (ed.), *Lincoln and the Civil War in the Diaries and Letters of John Hay* (New York, 1939), p. 138. Diary entry of December 13, 1863.

in their biography of the President that Pomeroy had become estranged from Lincoln because he felt the President showed more favor and gave more patronage to Lane.⁸ Donnal V. Smith in his study of Chase's bid for the presidential nomination maintained that Pomeroy's predilection for the secretary may have been prompted by the fact that Chase had shown some favors to the Hannibal and St. Joseph railroad in which the senator was a large stockholder.⁹ Whatever the motive may have been, there can be no doubt that Pomeroy was actively engaged in building an organization for Chase early in 1864. The secretary, who always feigned complete disinterestedness in the presidency, was aware fully of what was going on, for he wrote to a friend in Ohio on January 18 that a committee composed of "prominent Senators and Representatives and citizens" had been formed for the purpose of making him president. He also added, "This committee, through a sub-committee, has conferred with me . . . and I have consented to their wishes."¹⁰

Senator Pomeroy's committee undertook its work on behalf of Chase in earnest, and on January 26 a rumor appeared in the press that one hundred thousand copies of a pamphlet were about to be gratuitously circulated. The rumor proved to be true, for within a few days a document was being distributed throughout many of the states under the frank of Sen. John Sherman and Rep. John Ashley of Ohio, as well as that of Rep. Henry T. Blow of Missouri.¹¹ Ward Hill Lamon wrote to Lincoln that he had recently received news from Ohio that "a most scurrilous and abusive" pamphlet was being distributed; Leonard Swett procured a copy of the document, and according to Lamon, intended giving it to the President on his next visit to Washington.¹² This document was a pamphlet known as *The Next Presidential Election*.

The Next Presidential Election was, indeed, a "most scurrilous and abusive" document. The pamphlet maintained that Lincoln's re-election was impossible in view of the opposition being manifested against him. If he were re-elected it would be a calamity, the writer maintained, for it would destroy American liberties to concentrate so much power and patronage in the hands of

8. John G. Nicolay and John Hay, *Abraham Lincoln: A History* (New York, 1890), v. 8, pp. 318, 319.

9. Donnal V. Smith, *Chase and Civil War Politics* (Columbus, Ohio, 1931), pp. 114, 115; Salmon Chase to Samuel Pomeroy, November 17, 1863, in Salmon Chase MSS. (Pennsylvania Historical Society).

10. Salmon Chase to James C. Hall, January 18, 1864, quoted in J. W. Schuckers, *The Life and Public Services of Salmon Portland Chase* (New York, 1874), p. 497.

11. Philip Speed to Abraham Lincoln, February 22, 1864; J. Gibson to Abraham Lincoln, February 22, 1864, in Robert T. Lincoln MSS. (Library of Congress).

12. Ward Lamon to Abraham Lincoln, February 6, 1864.—*Ibid.*

one man for eight years. The document concluded by stating, "We want in our coming President an advanced thinker; a statesman profoundly versed in political and economic science, one who fully comprehends the spirit of the age in which we live." Lincoln, in their opinion, fell far short on all three counts.

The unfavorable reaction to the pamphlet was entirely unanticipated by Pomeroy's committee. The voters in Ohio poured out the vials of their wrath on Senator Sherman for franking it out; and one of his best friends warned him, "If you were to resign tomorrow you could not get ten votes in the legislature provided it could be shown that you have been circulating such stuff as this."¹³ The political ground slipped from beneath his feet so rapidly that Sherman was forced to publicly disavow any connection with the document.¹⁴

Chase's managers, however, misgauged its effect and prepared a second circular, dated February 8. Since this document bore the signature of Senator Pomeroy, it has gone down in history as the "Pomeroy Circular," although he was not its author.¹⁵ As in the case of the first document, it was franked out by several prominent radical congressmen. The Pomeroy circular was marked "strictly private," but it soon appeared in the public journals. On February 20 the Washington *Constitutional Union* published a copy of it, and the following day it appeared in the Cincinnati *Daily Enquirer*. By Washington's birthday it was released to the public generally over the wires of the Associated Press. The Pomeroy circular made essentially the same points as the earlier pamphlet, and it was only in their conclusions that the two documents differed at all. Where the pamphlet merely hinted broadly that a man of other talents was needed in the White House, the circular left nothing to conjecture but stated candidly that Salmon Chase had "more of the qualities needed in a President during the next four years than are to be found in any other candidate."

The Next Presidential Election and the Pomeroy circular intensified public opinion against Chase and his managers. "The Pomeroy Circular has helped Lincoln more than all other things together," was the opinion of one of Sherman's constituents.¹⁶ The circular

13. G. W. Gordon to John Sherman, February 26, 1864.—John Sherman MSS. (Library of Congress).

14. He published an open letter in the Cincinnati *Gazette*, March 3, 1864, in which he stated that he had been tricked into franking the document.

15. According to Chase's biographer, J. W. Schuckers, the document was written by James M. Winchell, secretary of the Pomeroy committee. See J. W. Schuckers, *op. cit.*, p. 500. Lincoln's Postmaster General, Montgomery Blair, insisted that Chase wrote it himself, but there is no corroborative evidence for this.

16. Lewis Gunckel to John Sherman, February 29, 1864.—John Sherman MSS.

made enemies for Chase, wrote the *Pittsburgh Gazette*; the document was "not manly—not truthful—mean."¹⁷ Pomeroy's "yeast don't make the Chase pudding rise," was the triumphant observation of one of Lincoln's partisans.¹⁸ The storm was rising to such alarming proportions that the radicals soon had to seek means of disclaiming their connection with the documents. Senator Sherman, as mentioned, publicly stated that he had been tricked into franking out the first pamphlet. All along the line the radicals were forced to retreat from the advanced position they had taken against Lincoln, and even Secretary Chase hastened to write the President on February 22, explaining his connection with the document and offering to resign. He gave a brief account of the solicitation of his friends in compliance with which he had consented to become a candidate for the presidency. He assured Lincoln, "I had no knowledge of the existence of this letter before I saw it in the *Union*. . . . If there is any thing in my action or position which in your judgment will prejudice the public interest under my charge, I beg you to say so. I do not wish to administer the Treasury Department one day without your entire confidence. . . ." ¹⁹

Before Lincoln could reply to this letter an incident occurred which completely suffocated Chase's hope of securing the nomination. The Ohio state legislature, thanks largely to the undercover work of a host of Lincoln's friends and officeholders, adopted a resolution endorsing his renomination. Chase had no hope of securing the prize when even his own state refused to support him. Pomeroy's circular had forced a showdown in Ohio. Up to that time Lincoln's friends had made repeated attempts to move the legislature to endorse the President for another term, but each time the Chase men had beaten them. The Pomeroy circular, however, according to one of Chase's friends in Cleveland, "produced a perfect convulsion in the party."²⁰ The Kansas senator's ill-advised, hasty action in issuing this maligning pronouncement actually defeated the presidential aspirations of the man he was dedicated to serving.

Lincoln replied to Chase's letter on February 29 and assured

17. *Pittsburgh Gazette*, February 24, 1864.—Clipping in *ibid*.

18. George P. Lincoln to William Doyle, February 26, 1864.—Robert T. Lincoln MSS.

19. Salmon Chase to Abraham Lincoln, February 22, 1864, quoted in J. W. Schuckers, *op. cit.*, pp. 500, 501.

20. Richard Parsons to Salmon Chase, March 2, 1864.—Salmon Chase MSS. (Library of Congress). L. Devin to John Sherman, February 26, 1864.—John Sherman MSS.

him that he perceived no reason why the secretary should resign.²¹ Chase continued to serve the administration as a cabinet officer until June, but his opportunity to secure the party presidential nomination was blasted. On March 5, the secretary wrote to his manager, James C. Hall, in Toledo, Ohio, telling him that no further attention was to be given his name for the nomination. This letter appeared in the press throughout Ohio on March 11.²²

Regardless of the fact that Chase had decided to withdraw from the presidential race, Pomeroy announced that his committee would not be disbanded but would continue its work on behalf of the secretary. On March 10, he rose in the senate and described how the national executive committee had been organized in January for the purpose of making Salmon Chase President. He stated boldly that he alone was responsible for issuing the circular, and he absolved Chase of any guilt by insisting that the secretary knew nothing of the circular and that he had only consented to run when the committee insisted.²³

Pomeroy's indiscreet action had done him irreparable damage with the President, and the patronage fount was shut tighter after the circular episode than it had been before. This did not ease the situation in Kansas, for Lane and Pomeroy, who hated each other with an unexcelled ferocity, redoubled their feud over the state's patronage. The situation was aggravated further when Lane denounced his colleague before the senate because of the Chase circular. Lincoln tended to rely more closely upon Lane, who, despite the fact that he often said uncomplimentary things about the President's ability and policies, was astute enough never to place himself in a position of open hostility as Pomeroy had done.

The two senators continued to wrangle over patronage, and in May Pomeroy visited Lincoln in the hope of mending his fences. The chief executive, who rarely carried a grudge for past political sins, did so on this occasion, and Pomeroy returned from his visit empty handed. John Hay noted in his diary on May 14, "Pomeroy has recently asked an audience of the President for the purpose of getting some offices. He is getting starved out during the last few months of dignified hostility and evidently wants to come

21. Abraham Lincoln to Salmon Chase (copy), February 29, 1864.—Robert T. Lincoln MSS.

22. Salmon Chase to James C. Hall, March 5, 1864, quoted in J. W. Schuckers, *op. cit.*, pp. 502, 503; Salmon Chase to James C. Hall, March 6, 1864, in Salmon Chase MSS. (Pennsylvania Historical Society).

23. *Congressional Globe*, 38 Cong., 1 Sess. (1863-1864), Pt. 2, p. 1025.

down. He did not get any.”²⁴ Immediately after the interview Lincoln wrote a note to the senator in which he implored, “I wish you and Lane would make a sincere effort to get out of the mood you are in. It does neither of you any good; it gives you the means of tormenting the life out of me, and nothing else.”²⁵ The rift between the two senators, however, was not bridged.

Pomeroy’s national executive committee continued to function until June, and he devised a plan for holding what he termed a “People’s Convention” in Baltimore on June 7, the same day on which the regular Union party convention was to meet.²⁶ Lincoln’s officeholders with their power and irresistible organization easily overcame these plans. The Union convention met in Baltimore as scheduled and the nomination of Lincoln was obtained with no difficulty; only Missouri cast her 22 votes against him on the first ballot, but speedily shifted to him before the roll call ended so that the selection was made unanimously.

Secretary Chase resigned from the cabinet shortly after the Baltimore convention, and he retired to the White Mountains for a long rest. He kept close contact with the political situation, however, and made frequent trips to New York and Boston, which were centers of anti-Lincoln activities. Pomeroy and others kept him abreast of developments at the capital. There was still some talk that Chase might be nominated at another convention, but the national executive committee was no longer functioning and Pomeroy apparently had given up his work. He was still not reconciled to accepting Lincoln, but intimated that he might go to Europe for a vacation rather than enter the canvass.²⁷

While Pomeroy was busily engaged in heading up much of the opposition to President Lincoln, Senator Lane had climbed aboard the President’s bandwagon and was leading the fight to secure his renomination. In 1863, when Lincoln incurred the wrath of the radical Republicans in Missouri by appointing Gen. John Schofield to the military command in that state, Lane had indirectly opposed the President. At the meeting of the Union League of America in Cleveland on May 20, he presented a series of resolutions demanding Schofield’s removal but finally withdrew them

24. Tyler Dennett, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

25. Abraham Lincoln to Samuel C. Pomeroy, May 12, 1864.—Robert T. Lincoln MSS.

26. John Wilson to Salmon Chase, May 2, 1864.—Salmon Chase MSS. (Library of Congress).

27. Salmon Chase’s MS. diary, entry of July 6, 1864 (Pennsylvania History Society). William E. Smith, *The Francis Preston Blair Family in Politics* (New York, 1933), v. 2, p. 270.

in the face of the opposition of Lincoln's friends.²⁸ On several occasions during that year, Lane had expressed the belief that Lincoln's re-election might be inadvisable. He had been won over completely to Lincoln's side, however, when Gov. Thomas Carney of Kansas made a bold bid to usurp his senatorial seat. In the struggle which followed, the President had supported Lane and checked the governor's maneuver.²⁹

As the canvass for the presidency approached, Lane took the stump in December, 1863, at Waterbury, Conn., and named Lincoln for re-election. From there he moved on to New York, where he addressed a crowd at Cooper Institute and once again praised Lincoln and favored another term. It was rumored that Lincoln had personally chosen Lane to begin the canvass for him.³⁰ Lane continued his peregrinations throughout New England and never lost an opportunity to endorse Lincoln for re-election.

Early in 1864, various state legislatures and Union party state conventions began to adopt resolutions endorsing the President for another term. Among the first was the Kansas legislature. Lincoln had won the approbation of the radicals in Kansas by a timely appointment of Gen. Samuel Curtis, an idol of that clique, to the military command there. A correspondent hastened to write the chief executive that this wise, happily received appointment would win him at least 100,000 votes in Kansas. The estimate may have been exaggerated, but it does serve to show the extreme popularity of Curtis among the Kansas radicals.³¹ Late in January, spurred on by Curtis' appointment, the legislature put through a resolution, with but one dissenting vote, in favor of Lincoln's re-election.³²

The mere fact that the legislature had been induced to support him did not mean that Lincoln was universally in favor among the Republican leaders in Kansas. As we have seen already, Pomeroy was busily at work during January and February with his Chase committee. Governor Carney, probably still smarting because the President had sided with Lane over the senatorial seat issue, joined forces with Pomeroy in the anti-Lincoln crusade.

28. *Union League of America Proceedings of the National Convention* . . . With Reports (Washington, 1863), pp. 11, 12.

29. Wendell H. Stephenson, *loc. cit.*, pp. 137-141.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 141, 142; Leverett W. Spring, "The Career of a Kansas Politician," *The American Historical Review*, New York, v. 4 (1898), October, p. 102.

31. E. N. Clough to Abraham Lincoln, January 27, 1864.—Robert T. Lincoln MSS.

32. *Ibid.*, Thomas Carney to Abraham Lincoln, February 3, 1864; N. Chipman to John Nicolay, January 28, 1864, in *ibid.*; William B. Hesseltine, *Lincoln and the War Governors* (New York, 1948), p. 355; John Nicolay and John Hay, *op. cit.*, v. 9, p. 55.

Early in February, one of Lincoln's friends in Kansas wrote to Lane that Carney; Pomeroy; James McDowell, United States marshal for Kansas; James F. Legate, United States assessor, and the three Indian agents, Fielding Johnson, William Ross and H. W. Martin, were using all their influence and patronage to defeat Lincoln, even though the legislature had already spoken in his favor.³³ Another Lincoln man in Kansas wrote the President shortly after the Pomeroy circular had been made public, acquainting him with the already apparent fact that Pomeroy was "with the bought up faction." He promised Lincoln, however, that the people of Kansas were with Lane and would attest their devotion in November at the polls.³⁴ As an added precaution against Pomeroy and Carney, Lane returned to Kansas after his Eastern journey to keep his eye on the situation.

The Kansas Union state convention assembled at Topeka on April 21. Prior to this meeting, Lincoln instructed John Speer to return to the state capital for the purpose of securing the election of Lane as a delegate-at-large to the Baltimore convention and also to aid in his selection as a delegate to the meeting of the Grand Council of the Union League of America, which was scheduled to meet in the convention city on June 6.³⁵ At the Topeka meeting Speer performed his commission; James Lane was selected as a delegate-at-large along with A. C. Wilder, Thomas Bowen, W. W. H. Lawrence, M. H. Insley and F. W. Potter.³⁶ Subsequently the Kansas Union League held a convention at Leavenworth, and Lane was selected also to attend the meeting of the grand council.

On the appointed day the grand council held its session in Baltimore. There were 136 members present at this meeting; many of these men, such as Jim Lane, were also delegates to the Union party convention scheduled to meet the following day. According to William O. Stoddard the Union League meeting was to be "the place where all the anti-Lincoln steam [would] . . . be let off, so that it [would] . . . not scald the work in the Wigwam."³⁷

The radical Republicans were prepared to make a last attempt

33. W. H. Lawrence to James Lane, February 15, 1864.—Robert T. Lincoln MSS.

34. R. C. Garvey to Abraham Lincoln, February 25, 1864.—*Ibid.*

35. John Speer, *Life of General James H. Lane* (Garden City, Kan., 1896), p. 279.

36. Wendell H. Stephenson, *loc. cit.*, p. 143; *Kansas Daily Tribune*, Lawrence, April 23, 1864.

37. William O. Stoddard, *Inside the White House in War Times* (New York, 1890), pp. 238, 239; Anna Smith Hardie, "The Influence of the Union League of America on the Second Election of Lincoln," unpublished A. M. thesis (1937) in the library of the Louisiana State University, p. 43.

to prevent Lincoln's selection by the national convention. Samuel Miller of Pennsylvania presented a resolution to the grand council recommending the renomination of Abraham Lincoln.³⁸ This was the signal for the radicals to begin their all-out offensive. They paraded again the old story of Lincoln's alleged malfeasance, tyranny, corruption, abuse of power, favoritism, ribald frivolity, and a host of other crimes and indiscretions of which the President had been accused. After listening to this torrent of scurrility for a while, Senator Lane rose to his feet and began to refute the charges. At first the radicals raged under his stinging verbal lashes, for according to Stoddard, Lane had a "peculiar faculty for saying an offensive, insolent thing in the most galling offensive and insolent manner." He riddled the radicals' indictment against Lincoln, and as he progressed with his speech the delegates began to lean forward and listen, while they more or less rapidly were swept into the tide of conviction and are made to believe, with him, that any other nomination than that of Lincoln to-morrow is equivalent to the nomination of [George Brinton] McClellan by the Republican Convention and his election by the Republican party; that it would sunder the Union, make permanent the Confederacy, reshackle the slaves, dishonor the dead and disgrace the living. At length Lane's speech carried the day, and the grand council endorsed Lincoln with only a few dissenting voices.³⁹

At the Union national convention on June 7, Governor Stone of Iowa presented Lincoln's name to the delegates. Some of them began to grumble and it looked as if the fight would begin afresh. Above the din the governor later reported that he could hear the clarion voice of Jim Lane shouting, "Stand your ground, Stone. Stand your ground! Great God, Stone, Kansas will stand by you!"⁴⁰ After a few tense moments the opposition subsided, and Lincoln's renomination was secured without further difficulty.⁴¹

Three days after the meeting of the national convention, Senator Lane attended a session of the National Union executive committee for the purpose of preparing for the canvass. He proposed the creation of a "National Committee for the West," with headquarters at St. Louis, as a subsidiary agency of the national committee so that the canvass in the states beyond the Mississippi

38. Anna Smith Hardie, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

39. William O. Stoddard, *op. cit.*, pp. 239-242.

40. John Speer, *op. cit.*, pp. 283, 284. Gen. George B. McClellan was nominated on August 29 by the Democratic convention at Chicago. He was nominated on a peace platform which branded the war a total failure and called for a cessation of hostilities and an eventual convention of the states to discuss a reunion.

41. Edward McPherson, *The Political History of the United States of America During the Great Rebellion* (Washington, 1865), pp. 403-409. This contains an account of the convention.

could be more easily conducted. The other delegates saw the wisdom of such a suggestion and the group was established with Lane as its chairman.⁴²

Lane was a most influential speaker during the canvass. He did much good in the important state election in Indiana where Gov. Oliver P. Morton was seeking re-election. Indiana, Ohio and Pennsylvania held their state elections in October, so they were regarded as key states. It was generally felt that whichever party carried the elections in the three October states would undoubtedly win the national election in November, therefore, Lane's campaigning in Indiana was of great importance.⁴³ The senator spent most of his time campaigning in Missouri and his own state. According to a Chicago journal, he "stumped southern Kansas, rode fifty miles a day for eighteen days, and made three speeches per day—never missing an appointment."⁴⁴

The senator's work was not confined entirely to speech making. Late in the canvass it was learned that the rebel general, Sterling Price, intended to invade Missouri and Kansas. Lane immediately went to Leavenworth where he offered his services to Gen. Samuel Curtis to meet this crisis. His senatorial rival, Samuel Pomeroy, who had been sulking like Achilles in his tent during most of the canvass, responded too when his beloved state was threatened. Both senators became aides-de-camp in Curtis' army, and the general later wrote that he "found both of these men of great service in giving correct intelligence to the wavering public mind, and in suppressing false impressions. . . ." ⁴⁵

Thus throughout the year, Lane and Pomeroy had played leading roles in the Lincoln-radical feud. Though the two men represented different ideals and gave much to the causes to which they subscribed, they co-operated under General Curtis to save their state and the North from the danger of another Confederate invasion. The force of partisanship was forgotten in this effort which required their mutual assistance.

42. Wendell H. Stephenson, *loc. cit.*, p. 145.

43. William F. Zornow, "Indiana and the Election of 1864," *Indiana Magazine of History*, Bloomington, v. 45 (1949), March, pp. 13-38.

44. Wendell H. Stephenson, *loc. cit.*, p. 146.

45. *Ibid.*, p. 147; *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1880-1901), Ser. 1., v. 41, Pt. 1, pp. 471-473, 484.

Fighting Aguinaldo's Insurgents in the Philippines

TODD L. WAGONER

I. INTRODUCTION

ONE hundred and forty days of front-line duty on the island of Luzon, in 1899, are recorded in this account by Todd L. Wagoner, a private of Company F, 20th Kansas Volunteer infantry. From Mr. Wagoner's manuscript, covering his year-and-a-half service with the regiment, the section describing the fighting he saw between February 4 and June 24, 1899, has been selected for publication.

The 20th, of the four Kansas regiments (20th, 21st, 22nd and 23rd) organized to fight in the Spanish-American war, was the only regiment to be sent to the Philippines, and the only one to experience actual fighting. At the time of mustering in it numbered 46 officers and 964 enlisted men. In all, three officers and 30 enlisted men were killed in action, or died of wounds, on Luzon. Three of the latter were from Company F. Mr. Wagoner tells of their deaths in his account, and also describes the killing of 1st Lt. Alfred C. Alford.

The 20th Kansas was organized at Topeka between May 9 and 13, 1898. Soon afterward the regiment was sent to the San Francisco bay area where, until June 18, Lt. Col. E. C. Little was in command. Then Col. Frederick Funston arrived and took over. In late October and early November the United States transports *Indiana* and *Newport* carried the 20th Kansas troops to Manila, where they arrived on December 1 and 6, respectively.

Mr. Wagoner's account, as published here, begins approximately two months later (February 4, 1899) with the first engagement between United States forces and the Filipino insurgents; and ends with the embarkation of the regiment on the transport *Tarter* on September 2, 1899, homeward bound. The 20th Kansas troops disembarked 39 days later at San Francisco, and 17 days thereafter (October 28), the regiment was mustered out of service.

II. THE NARRATIVE

The air was full of war, the big ball was about to roll. We had been brought here—for what purpose we knew not. We had

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guarded churches, pest houses and graveyards. We had suffered disease and privation of food. Insult upon insult had been heaped upon us by these conceited little Filipinos who were armed with much better muskets than we were. We had been spit at; rifles had been pointed at our heads with threats to kill; and we had stood like dummies with orders "Don't shoot!" AND CONGRESS WAS STILL DELIBERATING.

But on February 4, 1899, about eight o'clock in the evening, the old eagle, soaring high above all this uncertain state of affairs, let out one mighty and far-reaching scream. A repeatedly-insulted Nebraska soldier took matters into his own hands and shot a Filipino. The sound of that old Springfield echoed and re-echoed. It reverberated with the sound of Mausers and Remingtons, the boom of Gatling gun and cannon. It reached the bay, and from end to end of the 15-mile front, only to be augmented and sent back in broadside after broadside in the unerring aim of the boys on the sea who had so neatly made a submarine of the once invincible Spanish Manila fleet.

In the warm barracks quite a number of us had discarded our heavy woolen shirts and were unprepared for the hasty order to buckle on our cartridge belts, fill our haversacks with ammunition and proceed at double time to the scene of action. After we had run about three-fourths of a mile, something else besides tinware began to fly. From every window and alley came rifle and pistol flashes, and instantly we returned the fire from every quarter in such a convincing manner that it soon ceased. A few of the boldest rushed at some of the boys with machetes, thinking to strike a blow for liberty, and they did. They struck blows from Springfield bullets that gave them liberty of soul from body.

An hour put these city heroes back to bed, where the quiet surroundings were more productive of health and longevity. Riots broke out in various parts of the city, but the American soldier was "Johnny on the spot" and immediately quieted them. Soon the town was more peaceable than before the outbreak, with the exception of the continuous crack-crack, pop-pop-pop, boom-boom from the solid fighting line and the battleships; and the bullets dropping on the roofs like hail.

After the riot was quelled, guards were located in various quarters. Bally, on guard at the fourth post from where the main body of the battalion rested for the night, had an interesting little experience. Orders were to command anyone crossing your beat to "Halt, halt, halt!" and if said trespasser did not halt, to shoot him.

Trespasser No. 1 started across Bally's beat and Bally shouted: "Halt, halt, halt!" Trespasser failed to obey. Crack!—trespasser No. 1 dropped. Trespasser No. 2, following No. 1, started across the street and Bally shouted: "Halt, halt, halt!" Trespasser failed to obey. Crack!—trespasser No. 2 dropped. Bally shouted: "Officer of the guard, post No. 4," which Nos. 3, 2, 1 repeated. At which the officer of the guard formed a squad, myself being one, and we hastened to the scene.

The street Bally was guarding was only light enough to distinguish a moving form. On our approach Bally shouted: "Halt!" But he never got to say the second "halt" for we halted. "Who comes there?" Reply: "Officer of the guard with squad." "Advance officer of the guard and be recognized." Which we did. "What's going on down here Bally?" Bally: "Nothing at all now, it's all over I guess." Officer: "What was it?" Bally: "A couple of guys tried to cross over here and I halted them but they refused to stop till I weighted them down with a .45." Officer: "Where are they?" Bally: "Down the street there somewhere." We found them—a couple of frightened Chinamen trying to get home, who probably did not know what Bally meant by "halt" until he emphasized it with a .45. Bally had obeyed orders to the letter, but he had been gentle in so doing. He had only winged this pair of chinks. We used to jolly Bally afterward about fighting the Chinese in Manila. To which he would reply, "Well they had no business outdoors a strenuous night like that."

The fighting on the line ceased a short time before the following day which was Sunday, but began again shortly after daylight. We stood and watched the old gunboat as she hurled broadside after broadside into the Filipino ranks.

There was one man among us whom I shall term "Old 56," but who was, nevertheless, a true character—true to himself, I mean, in the commissary department. He is now dead, and in all due respect for his murdering and villainous nature I shall not speak ill of him. "Old 56" and my pal were chatting and watching the gunboat in action, when a native strolled up to them and stood by, watching the boat also. Well, the story as "Old 56" told it, was that the native walked around while my pal's attention was attracted to the boat, got behind him, and slipped his hand down inside a loose blouse he (the native) was wearing. At this moment "Old 56" looked at him, and without any formality shot and killed him. On investigation it was found that he died with a big dirk knife in his hand, but never got it outside his shirt.

I did not see this incident, do not know the imminent danger in which my pal was situated, and he never knew just how close the native was to him. But from the very nature of "Old 56" and an act he committed later, I have always considered this a cold-blooded murder. But why speculate over a little matter like this, "Old 56" had a license from the U. S. to kill! Is it not strange that murder committed in our country by the hand of the individual is punishable by death or life imprisonment and yet a soldier may commit the same crime in the service of his country, and in the very presence of the flag of his nation, and be applauded before the world as a hero?

The fighting on the line ceased within an hour or two, and the rest of the day till about three o'clock passed quietly. We formed in line and started to the front, marching in columns of fours. We passed the old graveyard, crossed a bridge over the little canal, and advanced up the road without a sound of friend or foe to be heard in the dense mass of vegetable growth on either side. The first sound that suggested we were seen was a prolonged "Wheeeee!" of a Mauser bullet high above us. The boys all exchanged smiles which seemed to say: "If they don't shoot any closer than that, this fighting will not be even interesting." But just as everyone was meditating what a snap this battle was going to be, a big .45 brass-covered Remington passed just above our heads and on back over the entire battalion with a Brrrrrrrr! that changed the pleasant smile to a sickly grin; and everybody seemed to be stooping toward the ground in search of something he had recently lost—and it might have been a piece of his nerve.

But no one had time to look long, for at that moment the whole island before us rattled and thundered with musketry and artillery; and with the crack of the old Remington sending its deadly brass-covered bullets and the pop-pop of the Mauser spurting its penetrating little steel messengers. This was responded to by volley after volley from the Springfields of the boys already located in the fighting line; and the boom-boom-boom of the Gatling gun, which shot an inch-solid ball from various circular barrels set in revolution and operated by machinery; and the little, rapid Maxim, working like a mowing machine with a purrrrrr! that lulled many a Filipino to his eternal rest, often penetrating his body eight or ten times before he had time to fall. These various sounds were confused and augmented by the terrific explosions of the big eight-or ten-inch guns of the navy.

We continued our course up the road about 100 yards till we

reached the three two-inch field pieces of the Utah battery. These had just been hauled from the brush and set in action to clear the breastwork of ties, steel and dirt located about half a mile on up the road just in front of the bridge we were soon to cross. We received orders to lie down till the battery had removed this obstacle to our progress, which took perhaps 10 minutes. As we lay stretched flat upon the ground back of fence posts, bamboo trees and various objects of mediation between a bullet and our heads, we wondered if we had been brought all this 8,000 miles to be shot at without even a show of resistance. But soon the situation changed. The breastwork ahead being completely cleared for our advancement we were ordered to our feet and formed in line, thus filling up the vacancy made for us on our approach.

The whole line was ordered forward with the command to "fire at will" as we advanced. I can see our little colonel [Frederick Funston] standing there with arms folded as he gave the order to go. He remarked as we started: "Boys you've got a nasty fight ahead of you, but I know you are good for it." My company, F, started directly up the road. In passing the field pieces with which those volunteer Utah gunners had just completed such successful destruction of the obstruction ahead, my attention was called to various little grooves cut in the wheel tires by little steel Mauser bullets and I wondered that not one of the gunners had been hit.

The Filipino stronghold lay along, and just beyond, the river; and still further beyond were tier after tier of them, back of rice dikes rising at gradual elevations like a big amphitheater. The elevation of this incline was sufficient to allow all of these Filipinos to shoot at the same time, without danger to the tiers ahead of them. As soon as we had started the general advance there was certainly not an idle gun in the hand of the thousands of Filipino soldiers before us. The road was not wide enough for a company to be deployed in skirmish order, six feet apart, and being in the first squad to the right I was forced out into the brush and soon got mixed up with M company. I knew however that I was still with the regiment as M company carried the regimental flag. So I fell in line with them and continued to pump those old .45's from the old Long Tom as fast as I could load it.

Having gone about halfway to the river, I felt something strike the calf of my right leg. I hesitated a moment to ascertain whether a bullet had hit me or the stub of a weed had run up my trousers (I not having put on my leggings in our haste the night before). Making a hasty examination I discovered a small spot on the back

of my leg bleeding, with the skin just broken but no hole in my trousers. I looked at the outside of the trousers leg and found a streak across it—the mark of a passing bullet.

In the meantime the company had probably gone three or four rods, but were out of sight in the brush. Turning my trousers leg down I straightened up. There before me stood the captain of M company about six feet from me with sword raised in the air, looking straight at me. He broke forth in a volley of ejaculations, questions and orders, privately and personally directed to me. This is the colloquy which took place: Captain: "What are you doing back here?" To which I replied: "I was looking to see if a bullet had struck me." Still waving his sword around through the air in a menacing fashion, he said: "Get on up there in your company." To which I responded: "I know where my company is all right and I don't need any directions from you to find it." That old war hoss went right up in the air, and I sure thought he intended to perform some sort of a surgical operation on me right then and there with that little pointed steel blade. He made a step toward me with his saber raised. I stepped back a step, meanwhile leveling old Long Tom, with the pointed bayonet on the end, straight at this old grouch's commissary department. Yanking the hammer back and with a finger on the trigger, I looked him fairly in the eye with a little smile and asked: "What are you doing back here. Aren't you afraid you'll get lost? Hadn't you better get up there with your company? I'll find mine all right without any of your assistance." The air fairly turned blue, as with a few promises he left me.

Well, I let him get entirely out of sight, and knowing I could not get back into my own company, and not wanting to enter his company near him, I took a run down to the other end of company M, fell back into line without the captain's discovering me, and proceeded to pump lead with the rest of them. We soon entered an open space and here we had good shooting. We could see the timber on the banks of the river we were approaching, where the Filipinos were entrenched. With all the drill we had gotten over the old sand hills at Frisco, when it came to real fighting all we had to do was to maintain an unbroken line, advancing and shooting at everything that jumped up before us. In this we were succeeding nicely, shooting perhaps eight or ten times a minute, while the enemy, with the lever-loading-and-unloading attachments on the Mauser was probably shooting three or more times to our one. But, as is commonly true in battle, and especially with the powerful

guns they had, they mostly shot high. So, continuing our advance, we soon reached the river.

Company F, now holding the bridge, halted a moment at the river. Looking across we beheld hundreds of Filipinos tearing out through the brush into another opening, running like a stampeded herd of Arkansas hogs. We continued to shoot, but were soon ordered to cease fire as the captain declared we were shooting into our own men on the opposite side. To my own knowledge not an American soldier had yet crossed the river; and besides we could see them as plainly as we could see each other. I presume the captain's eyes were full of smoke so he was not to blame.

Meanwhile the enemy escaped, getting over across the railroad which lay about 200 yards to the right of the wagon road, and on out behind the dikes in the big amphitheater. We were all assembled at the bridge, and about 30 or 40 of us thinking that we were supposed to cross over and catch these fleeing Filipinos, and then come home, never stopped at the bridge at all. We rushed across thinking all were coming. About half of us ran to a small fortification directly ahead; the other 15 or 20 cut diagonally to the right, reaching the railroad right-of-way fence before we looked around.

But, on doing so, we discovered we were at least 200 yards ahead of the regiment, with no one else coming, and not even an officer with us. The Filipinos discovered this about the same time we did and hiss, hiss, hiss, brrrrrrrr, things were sure coming our way. The boys out in front had a small breastwork for protection. We had nothing so far discovered. We all thought the balance of the regiment would follow, so we remained, shooting at anything that moved. But the Filipinos' equilibrium having become somewhat restored, they were getting our range. There was a little ditch alongside of the fence just deep and wide enough to lie in. We all lined up and lay down in this rut, face toward the enemy, perfectly quiet, waiting for our comrades to make the grand rush from the bridge. The grand rush never came from the bridge. But let me tell you, as soon as we had become comfortably located, the grand rush *did* come, from the opposite direction, and in an entirely different form than from friendly comrades.

I have always believed that those Filipinos, deliberately resting their rifles on the rails of the track not three rods from us, actually tried to bury us alive by trimming the edges off that rut and letting it roll down upon us. We lay here for perhaps five minutes. I am guessing at this as you will realize it is a little difficult to calculate

time correctly under such conditions. There being a patch of weeds and brush between us and the track, the enemy could not see us, but they were mighty good guessers. I presume some of them had just left the ditch we were then occupying, for I know my place was still warm. We did not rise above the weeds to see where the Filipinos were. We knew. But we did look to see if we had any officers interested in us, and to our great pleasure we beheld our doughty and nervy little colonel Fred coming on a full run. He advanced about 100 yards beyond the bridge, stopped, folded his arms, took in our situation and paused for perhaps half a minute in deliberation, with bullets falling around him like the big drops of an April shower. With a final 10-inch shell exploding directly above him, he decided. Though his voice could not be heard amid the noise of musketry, he waved his sword toward the bridge, and proceeded back on a slow run.

We soon arranged our immediate removal from this being-buried-alive process which was getting quite interesting. Our plans were to face about, still lying down, and at a given signal rise to our feet, run low for a short distance along the ditch, and try to avoid the direct fire of the enemy so close at hand. In rising above the weeds at a different point from which we had lain down we would deceive the enemy until we had a good start back.

This plan was carried out to the letter, and listen—you have seen fast horse races, marathon races, auto races, motorcycle races—on leaving that ditch with only about 150 yards to cover, each one of us, amid the mighty thundering behind us, fairly shot across that space like zigzag streaks of lightning, going this way and then that way, but at the same time traveling exceedingly fast straight ahead. Tall and short, fat and lean—all arrived at practically the same time, propelled by the hiss, hiss, hiss of the Mauser rifle and the brrrrrrrr of the old brass Remington. We shot across the bridge amid the final farewell of our aerial associates spattering against the steel rails of what was left of a once-secure and formidable stronghold. Perceiving a big hole in the ground (the dirt having been removed in making this fortification), we jumped in and sat down to rest.

But no sooner had we entered till orders were given to fall in, and forming in column-of-fours we retreated down the road perhaps 200 yards. During this time two or three shells from the boats burst above and beyond us. A piece of one struck a comrade on the shoulder, but being so small and its force expended, it did him no injury. He picked it up and put it in his pocket.

Company F entered a small church by the roadside to receive

instructions for the night. With the pop, pop, pop of all the shots I had heard and was still hearing, and the noise of occasional bullets shattering windows of the church, I could see the captain's lips move, but could not hear what he said though he stood directly in front of me. We went from here in a body and took our position again in the general line which had advanced into the enemy's territory all around the city to an average distance of a mile.

I have just told you what *I* saw and experienced in this first general movement of the American forces around Manila. Imagine if you can the magnitude of this advance in all directions by the 15-mile solid line of American infantry and artillery into the enemy's territory, fighting every step of the way. At the close of this battle we were deaf from the noise, our clothing wet with sweat, our faces dirty almost beyond recognition. Our old Springfields were almost red-hot—the grease frying out of the stock end which held the barrel like fat meat sizzling in a skillet. With no blankets, and many of us without even our overshirts, we lay down on the ground to sleep—no, not to sleep, but to dry out and chill in the cool night air of a tropical climate.

Guards were placed ahead, and the enemy, returning in small numbers, kept up an incessant fire all night. A lieutenant, officer of the guard that night, secured a large piece of matting in which he wrapped himself when not busy looking after the guards. The rest of us had been unable to secure any covering. Whenever this lieutenant would take a stroll out to see how the guards were getting along, my pal and I lying near him would take possession of this piece of matting and cover up; and warming up, would drop to sleep. When the lieutenant returned he would remove the cover, wrap up in it, and soon my pal and I would awaken again thoroughly chilled. That is the way he and I put in the night, but many were not as fortunate as we were. We were all dry by morning, but let me tell you, that bunch of soldiers were mighty glad to see old Sol peeping over the horizon.

The commissary supplies and more ammunition had been brought up during the night, but no blankets or clothing. With a few acrobatic performances as we arose, as a substitute for the missing shirts and blouses, and a hot cup of black coffee and a few hardtack as a means of loosening up our partly-congealed blood, we were ready to go. We filled our haversacks with cartridges, replaced the vacancies in our belts, and advanced once more across the bridge. Then, in single file, we pursued a narrow path through the brush and weeds in a diagonal direction to our left. We passed several

honorably-discharged Filipino soldiers lying in various positions—sleeping on their laurels of the previous evening's fight.

Proceeding about a mile we halted just in front of a heavy timber of mahogany, rosewood and palms, undergrown with brush and weeds. We met with no interruption. The rest of the line advanced accordingly. Immediately in front of this dense timber, perhaps 50 yards, we dug trenches, piling the dirt up in front of us; and rested here for the day. That afternoon our scouts reported that the Filipinos were advancing through the timber preparatory for a night attack. About three o'clock one company was sent into the timber to reconnoiter and discover the location of the hidden foe. These boys had not gone over 300 yards until they found them all right, and they were met intantly with the reports of a thousand rifles.

Our boys, being well deployed on entering the woods, fought in the true Indian fashion, dodging from tree to tree, but advancing steadily, and those old Springfields talking right along. The natives, outnumbered our boys ten to one, and fighting behind a zigzag line of breastwork of logs and dirt, shooting through portholes and armed with the repeating Mauser rifle (whose little steel bullet penetrated trees two feet in diameter as a sewing machine needle penetrates a thin piece of cloth), should have been able to hold 10,000 at bay. But not so, not against these determined Americans who always went where they wanted to go though the going was often far from good.

The trenches were taken, the enemy routed. At this moment other enemies were discovered. Reports of rifles from above attracted the attention of several of the Americans and casting their searching glances into the treetops they discovered an unusally heavy clump of leaves in the top of one. By way of investigation they sent a volley of Springfield bullets through said clump of leaves and shot a Mauser rifle loose and then they understood.

At this moment a sad incident occurred because of the sympathetic nature of one of the kindest, noblest and bravest officers of the regiment. Advancing side by side with a comrade, he noticed a wounded Filipino soldier sitting on the ground, leaning with head bent, resting his body on one outstretched arm, the blood pouring from his breast, his old Remington lying on the ground beside him. As this sympathetic officer paused to bind up the bleeding hole in his wounded and dying foe's breast, he remarked: "Poor fellow isn't it a shame, a few minutes will end it all with you." Passing on in pursuit of the fleeing enemy, the officer had not gone two rods

until this bleeding, dying, half-ape-and-half-devil seized his rifle, took deliberate aim and shot the lieutenant squarely through the head. As he fell dead, the officer's comrade turned and beheld that grinning Malay demon sitting erect in a dying effort to reload and strike one more blow for his cowardly and wealth-aspiring chieftain (who never got closer to the line of battle than our own large contented chieftain—the big shot of the Eighth Army Corps). The dying wretch never fired the second shot. The old Springfield, in the hands of the American soldier, snuffed out the Filipino's light.

I shall never forget the cyclonic roar of that dense timber battle and the hail of bullets around us as we sat in our trenches and listened. After about an hour the boys returned through the timber and with the keen sight of squirrel hunters they picked the Filipinos from the treetops. Some of the tree fighters fell on being shot; some only dropped their rifles; others remained, retaining their arms. The first class, not having tied themselves to the limbs on which they sat, fell. The second class remained on the limbs of the trees because they had strapped themselves there. The third class remained in the trees because both they and their guns were fastened securely. These tree fighters had orders from their officers to remain quiet until the American soldiers had passed, and then shoot them from behind. Only under penalty of death could they return to their respective organizations preceding the attack by the American force. Then, if it were possible for them to escape and make their way back through the American line to their own regiments, good and well. But, in this particular battle—the first in which the Filipinos had resorted to the tree method—the main body of the American line remained at the edge of the timber. And the Filipinos, knowing that we had not all passed by, remained on their perches until the boys returned to the trenches over the same route by which they had advanced. Then the boys relieved these back-biters from the intense strain of the recent excitement during which they had had a bird's-eye view, but a squirrel's death. The boys figured if they were going to play the squirrel act they must expect to be treated like squirrels. There was no night attack.

The next afternoon there was a general advance. We had no sooner entered the timber than the enemy, before, and above, opened up on us. Little squads dropped out to do the squirrel shooting, while the main line pushed the enemy back. The same trench was retaken. A large stone church stood beside the wagon road, at Caloocan, a small town about five miles due north of Manila. We

were about two miles from Caloocan, but nearing it rapidly. The hottest fire seemed to come from the direction of this church, and the bullets were hissing and buzzing past, close and fast. Not being able to see the church ourselves, on account of the timber, we were unable to locate this bunch of sharpshooters, but they seemed to know where we were. However, our old stand-by out in the bay located our lofty entertainers. With the never-failing accuracy of the boy behind that old 6-inch gun, one solid shot at that old house of worship, from a distance of at least five miles, tore one whole corner off it, bored through a solid stone wall surrounding the church, dug a good-sized cistern and bounded out into the great beyond. In respect for that gunner's accuracy, the Filipinos in the belfrey got down, fell down or jumped out. Any-way the firing from that quarter ceased.

We continued our advance, turned to our right, and approached the old church directly. The enemy vanished before us. Entering Caloocan we heard another mighty boom from the bay and wondered what other obstruction our comrades on the sea were removing from our progress. As we caught sight of the old church we understood the sudden cessation of the sharpshooters. Off to the right, planted squarely on the railroad track and pointed our way, stood a big muzzle-loading cannon about 10 feet long. On examination this proved to be loaded half full of grape and canister consisting of bullets, whole cartridges, bolts, nuts, iron, cocoanuts and rocks, all held in with dirt. Back of all this junk was an equal amount of powder, with a fuse attached, ready for ignition. Now just think of the nerve of those braves, figuring on loading us up with all that junk! Fifty feet short of the old gun was an excavation that would have held a dozen American-retired Filipinos; and on a dead line with the cannon, about the same distance beyond, was a similar hole. But the big round messenger which had so kindly and convincingly impressed the enemy had bounded on out into the distance beyond.

As we advanced through the timber and town, an old white-haired Filipino who had been shooting at us ran out of a little shack, leaving his gun inside, and dropped to his knees as the Americans came upon him. He clasped his hands extended upward in prayer and supplication for mercy. Nobody paid any attention to him, seeing he had no gun, and never thought of harming him. But "Old 56," advancing squarely in front of him, ignored his humble attitude of submission and his prayers to man and God for mercy, and shot him. Murder No. 2 by "Old 56."

I shall not comment on this second inhuman crime of "Old 56," but wish to call your attention to another one that occurred on this advance. A big, lank, cadaverous corporal, a fool by birth, and a smart-aleck by habit, plunged his heel into the face of a helpless, dying Filipino, with an oath that would have caused any man able to stand on his feet, to fight. You say: "Why didn't you shoot both of these dogs?" It wasn't up to us, we had officers to look after these affairs.

The main line advanced on beyond Caloocan about one half mile. But the 20th Kansas, being somewhat in advance of the line, to the right of the railroad, failed to get the order to halt and rushed on beyond for a mile, through another timber, in hot pursuit of the fleeing enemy. We finally wound up at the further edge of this second belt of timber with dark overtaking us. After a few farewell shots at the hastily retreating foe, we settled down for the night. The next morning a bunch of staff officers rode out to find out where we were going and ordered us back into line. We fell in and marched back, occupying the position which we should have held the night before.

This had been a general advance of about three miles. Our solid line now extended probably 25 miles around Manila, the enemy having been pushed back from every quarter. This line reached from bay to bay on the north, east and south. Here we dug trenches and awaited re-enforcement as our line was becoming weakened by extension. To our left now was Malabon. In front of us was the belt of timber we had previously crossed and re-crossed. About 500 yards distant on our right was the Utah battery. To their right was the First Montana regiment; and to their right was the First Nebraska, then the Dakotans, Pennsylvanians, Tennesseans, Coloradoans, Oregonians, some other batteries and cavalry units, on down to the gallant First Californians, the standing joke of American soldiery. They were the bowery boys of California, and the only American organization that the Filipinos ever whipped. In all, some 15,000 soldiers formed this line. The poor Iowa regiment was still held on board its transport, quarantined, and was finally taken off to another island.

The Filipinos returned to the strip of timber ahead of us the night of the same day we fell back into line. They built a formidable fortification just in the edge of the timber in front of us and next morning were ready for business. So were we, in our little holes dug in the ground, with the loose dirt thrown up before us. The Utah battery held the situation in hand, being located on a high knoll well fortified with sacks of dirt piled up around.

While we held this line there was much discussion of our advance on Caloocan as we related our similar, yet varied, experiences. The long, lean, lank, cadaverous corporal boasted of his self-considered brave and honorable act in stamping his heel into the helpless, dying Filipino soldier's eye. A dozen soldiers were on their feet instantly, and in one voice threw the same epithet into his teeth that he had so cowardly insulted the helpless native with. There were suggestions that if he wanted to ram his heel into any more eyes he might have the pleasure of trying it on any of the dozen pairs that faced him; and that if any one of them ever heard another boastful expression out of him concerning that dirty, cowardly act, he would get his own eyes poked back into the cavity which should have been occupied by brain. Now do you ask what a private can do to right the wrongs committed in his presence? This long, lank, cadaverous corporal never repeated the boast, or the act. But a little later on, an old Remington tore the calf off one of his legs. "Old 56" made no comments on his dastardly deed. He wanted to appear brave in battle, even though nothing was to be gained by doing so.

A few days later the enemy opened up on us from front and left flank, a terrible fusillade pouring forth from Malabon. We had placed little strips of matting, obtained in Caloocan, over our pits to shield us from the sun. The bullets came ripping through these coverings fast and furiously. We kept up a continuous fire to prevent an assault. Rising above the pile of dirt in front of us we would fire, drop down to reload, rise and fire again, and so on. Not so with "Old 56," he stayed right up on top of the dirt pile, reloading and shooting from this exposed position all the time. Some of the boys near him cautioned him of the recklessness of his actions, which he absolutely disregarded. Pretty soon pop-bang, and "Old 56" dropped with arms outstretched, head drooping, on the outside of the dirt pile, feet hanging down in the ditch. He was dead—shot through the head.

Re-enforcements having been placed in the line somewhere, we were crowded a little farther to the left, the end of our line being on the extreme left, right up to the bay. The two lines extended at an angle from the bay out to the right. The Filipinos moved to the left also, and in closer. The boys at the left found them one morning strongly fortified just across a wagon road from them. The lines widening toward the right, this placed F company about 400 yards from the entrenched enemy. Here we lay for seven weeks waiting for re-enforcements to cross the *big pond*.

While located in these trenches we had plenty of fish to eat, mixed with ducks and chickens. We were right at the bay and there were various fish traps near, enclosed by high dikes with a slat gate opening. We would go out in the evening as the tide was coming in and open the gate. Before the tide went out the following morning we would go out and drop the gate, thereby imprisoning all fishes large enough to eat. Then, after the water had dropped, we would go out with sacks, wade out into the mud, and gather up all the fish we needed. Every catch gave us plenty and some to spare.

Our company on the left, and the opposing enemy company just across the road from them, could not get along at all. You have heard it said that intimacy breeds contempt. I presume this must have been the real cause of their difficulty because they certainly were too closely associated for a really warm feeling to exist between them. Yet each tried to make it as warm as possible for the other. They usually succeeded, not only as far as they themselves were concerned, but for everybody else within a mile of them.

Down to the left, the boys did their guard duty from back of their breastwork, while we, being further from the enemy, placed pickets out in front. The usual location of our picket was about 75 yards ahead, through open land, then about 25 yards of timber, and then out perhaps 25 yards more in the open. The American guard was placed here only at night, after dark, and taken off at daybreak. A squad of eight of us being located here one moonlight night took our position back of a rice dike. Everything remained quiet for perhaps half an hour, until down on the left the boys got into an argument with the enemy and there broke forth, from either side of the road, flashes from musketry that seemed to meet in the center. We were on the flank of the Filipino company down the line, so we thought we would surprise them a little with a few volleys. I presume we did, but let me tell you they were not the only ones surprised. Out of a little horseshoe entrenchment, not 100 feet ahead of us, came a volley of flashes that almost singed our whiskers. So we had a little fight on of our own. We gave our attention to this little horseshoe group, perhaps about equal in number to us. We lay back of our dike and gave them as much noise as they did us. But soon, to our discomfiture, the whole Filipino line beyond, having located us by our gun flashes, centered their fire on us.

Our orders were to stay out there as long as we could, and we did. But when they began to trim down that little rice dike (only

about a foot high to begin with), we had completely fulfilled our orders. We had to go in in order that our main line could fire. Marathon race No. 2. Our trenches were a series of pits, each pit being occupied by two. On reaching the pit which I supposed was mine, I jumped into it, thinking I would learn after I got in whether or not it was. I found out all right, without investigation, or even stopping to look at it. I have always felt grateful to my two comrades, lying there on their backs so comfortably, for letting me down so easily. I lit fairly and squarely, with a heel in each one's National Biscuit-and-Salmon establishment, passed on, and turned abruptly into my own pit which lay next to theirs. About that time someone shouted "outpost in," and I got busy preparing to shoot, and they never knew that it was I who had recently passed over. But when those boys caught their breath I knew that Webster had deceived the American people on his completeness of the English language.

Orders immediately followed to fire. After an hour we went back to the recently-deserted rice dike. The Filipinos had been there and gathered up a few articles which we had left. Within a half hour practically the same experience happened again, only this time I had placed a piece of white cloth in front of my pit. After fighting for another hour, three of us went out, but this time only to the timber. We were forced in again. Another hour's fighting and again we three went out to the timber. The enemy opened up, but we picked us a good tree each and watched to see if they were coming, and stayed there until they ceased firing, without a shot returned from us. We stayed our required length of time, and then were relieved and returned to the trenches about midnight. This ended the fighting for that night and we slept.

There was not a day passed that shots were not exchanged. It was simply a matter of picking each other off on sight. I have witnessed an 8- or 10-inch shell from the gunboats light in a bunch of Filipinos, separate and scatter them into the air as a wind stacker scatters the straw which it carries from the thresher, and dig a grave for them while they were still in the air. I have watched the Gatling guns and battery field pieces trim the limbs off trees as a sharp razor clips a hair.

They fired on our flag of truce. They placed their women and children in front of their ranks and attempted an assault, presuming on the tenderheartedness of the American. But they could not run anything like that over us, for we calculated that if they did not care any more for their own families than that, we didn't. How-

ever, they only tried this once. They carried away all their dead and wounded that they conveniently could. Up to this time we had sent their wounded back to our hospital for Filipinos in Manila. Some of the prisoners were retained, and some were turned loose. It became a matter of getting the guns with us now. After the death of the lieutenant, whenever we found a gun we stuck the barrel through the fork of a tree and bent it, then broke the stock off. The largest Filipino funeral I had seen to date was 60 enemy soldiers buried in one hole.

Sitting in the trenches one day we watched a shadowy form winding its way towards us. It seemed more ghost than human. On its arrival how surprised we were to see our old friend and comrade Bill, all this time in the smallpox pest house, and as we supposed never to return. Glad indeed we were to see him. Everybody greeted him warmly, then all jollied him a while. I said to him, "Bill, why in the world didn't you get someone to bury you back in town, instead of coming out here to eat up rations that we need? And, by the way Bill, does it hurt to have smallpox?" To which he replied, "Never mind old boy I'll get even with you."

The night of the outbreak the Filipinos had escaped with every train but one. It furnished us transportation for our necessities. By this time we had our clothing and blankets and although sleeping on the ground, we were quite comfortable. It was certainly interesting to see a group of natives watching our boys run that train. No side breaks for them. It looked as if their eyes never would return to their sockets, nor their mouths ever shut. It made no difference to those Frisco railroad engineers and firemen whether the train ran on the track or out in the road. The natives wouldn't even stay on the right of way when the train passed. These little brown men were seeing and learning new things as well as we were.

The lizard screamed, the parrot screeched, the monkey chattered; and the enemy at various intervals reminded us with a volley of musketry that he was still present. Some of the wounded, and prisoners, informed us that the enemy complained that we did not fight fairly. They said that when the Spanish were fighting them the Spanish soldiers would come out of Manila, drive them out of a trench and then go back to Manila to smoke cigarets and have a good time, leaving the trench again in possession of the Filipinos; and also that the Americans did not use an ordinary rifle but carried a little cannon. The old Springfields sure felt like little cannons to us at times. Our shoulders were black and blue all the time from the reaction of them. They were inefficient at a distance

much greater than 500 yards, though they were sighted at 1,000 yards. After 50 or 100 shots the gun became hot and the barrel expanded, thus causing the bullet to fall short and be inaccurate even at short range. The Remington was more powerful and deadly than the Springfield, shooting the same size bullet, but with a brass covering. If the bullet failed to kill, the brass was likely to complete the operation, and perchance this brass covering happened to burst before reaching its intended victim there was no calculating its destructiveness. This gun was sighted at 1,400 yards.

The Mauser rifle, the most powerful of the three, was sighted at 3,000 yards, and would shoot three miles. It shot a .28 steel bullet which produced a wound the same size as the bullet after the first half mile; but up to this distance it made even a larger hole than the Springfield, as the back end of the bullet rotated. We would have exchanged our rifles for theirs gladly. But they could not stand against the roar of the Springfield and the soul-chilling American yell which always accompanied it on every advance. They soon learned also that it was expedient to provide some safe means of escape as well as defense while they remained to fight. From here on, they always had a nice open getaway ditch leading back about half a mile; and as we advanced they made our approach exceedingly interesting for us, shooting through portholes with their repeating Mausers and deadly Remington, until we reached a distance of perhaps 200 to 300 yards from their trench. Then they invisibly beat it. But we always found the getaway ditch, and woe unto those who had stayed too long and failed to get to the ditch. When they started out in plain view across country, even if the old Springfields were boiling grease and wouldn't carry up, we sure saw some classical dodging and running.

Two of the saddest events of the war occurred in these trenches at Caloocan. One day, while the most of us not on guard were sleeping, the authorities decided to build our breastwork higher. It consisted of just a high pile of loose dirt and they decided to add to it with sacks of dirt. Several of us were awakened to perform this task. Among the number were my pal and myself. My pal, being shorter than I, was located down the line a short distance. He, and a little corporal about his height, arose yawning and stretching, and took a look over the breastwork to ascertain if there were any Filipinos in sight. They saw none, but one saw them, and a sharpshooter at that. With a crack from an old Remington, my pal got it just above the left eye, the bullet coming out his right ear. At the time he was shot he was standing close to the breastwork,

facing the enemy. In a minute I knew it and rushed to him. He was lying on his back, head still towards the enemy, his arms folded, and a gallon of blood on the ground beside him. No one had touched him. Only a 20-year-old boy, he had died—in the service of his country, shall I say?—fighting Filipinos 8,000 miles from home. You answer that question for yourselves please and don't let politics enter into the decision.

This sharpshooter was soon located in a tree and allowed to descend, not at a rate of speed he might have chosen, but at a speed determined upon by a volley of Springfield bullets. I obtained permission to assist in carrying my pal back to the church which we were using as a temporary hospital.

Fighting began again in earnest. Bullets whizzed past our heads as we started. We were compelled to seek shelter for a time as we had to ascend a hill to reach the church. When the firing ceased somewhat, we resumed our journey. About halfway we saw Don, Oscar's older brother, approaching as was his custom after every encounter with the Filipinos. (Don assumed a fatherly interest over the "Kid," as he always called him, and would always ask: "How is company F? How is the Kid?") As Don met us we could not face him. We cast our glances to the ground. He asked, "Who is it, boys?" We could not answer. He knew. As we stood with heads bowed and hats removed, Don approached that silent form, raised the little white cloth from Oscar's face, and seeing that ghastly wound over his eye, sobbed, "My God, the Kid!" Pausing a minute or two, Don regained self-control, and said, "Boys I must not detain you longer. Thank you." He walked along with us until he reached his own company. We left him standing there, hat in hand, head bowed in grief.

We finally established our guard post about three rods in front of our line. Here, behind sacks of dirt, we sat alone in the silent hours of darkness and watched the enemy, while our comrades slept. One night after I had been sitting quietly for perhaps half an hour, a huge lizard, as unaware of my presence as I of his, let out a scream that caused my hair to stand on end and my whole form to ascend into the air for probably a couple of feet. The lizard, as much alarmed as I, rushed off into the darkness, rustling the grass and weeds as he went.

On another occasion, just before daybreak, while we were sleeping back of our fortifications, a comrade lying beside me awakened me with a bump from his elbow along side my head which caused me to wonder if we were being engaged in a hand-to-hand encoun-

ter with the enemy. Rising to ascertain the source of the blow, I received another punch squarely on the nose. Moving to one side, a safe distance from my comrade, I beheld the source of my sudden awakening. There he lay on his back in all the apparent agonies of a hideous nightmare. I shouted at him, "Hey, wake up there! What's the matter with you?" The only response I received was a muttering as he desperately clawed at his breast as if trying to tear his heart out. When at last he withdrew the hand from his shirt front, he hurled a small but active little three-inch lizard on the ground with such a vengeance that the poor little fellow curled up his claws (which were very like needle points), and departed forever from his native tropical clime. My comrade sat up with a silly grin on his face and said, "By George, you'd squirm too if you had one of those pesky little lizards in your shirt."

A truce was declared one day, as the enemy regiment before us was contemplating surrender. About noon, a group of the boys were engaged in a little game of draw when someone called their attention to a prominent and important-looking Filipino soldier standing on the very top of his fortification. With the practice we had had while here most of us could have cut the dust from the top of this breastwork every shot. Jim—one of those engaged in this little profit-and-loss amusement—rose to his feet and stood for a moment watching the Filipino in his exalted position. Jim smiled, but said nothing, and returned to the game. He played another hand, then asked, "Is that Filipino still standing there?" Someone told him yes, so he got up again, picked up his old Springfield and leveled it at the stationary form on top of the enemy breastwork. He looked over the sights for an instant, then lowered his gun and remarked, "I'd like to take a shot at that guy just for luck, if it wasn't for this bloomin' truce." The boys suggested he better forget taking a shot, and come on back to the game if he intended playing any more. Another hand was played, and I presume Jim thought he had better change his luck, so he says, "If you fellows will keep your mouths shut I'll cut the dirt out from under that Filipino's feet. He's seeing too much for our good." The boys replied that it was none of their business what he did, as none of us were officers. "O. K., here goes," Jim said. He got up, picked up his old Long Tom, took a fleeting squint along the sights, pulled the trigger, and boom! the Filipino got down.

All the boys had risen and watched this performance, so all knew who fired the shot. The game proceeded as before, only with more apparent interest. The rest of us lay down and went to sleep

immediately. The captain quickly appeared, and in curt tones, asked, "Who fired that shot." No one answered. Then he proceeded to question each one of us as follows: "Did you fire that shot?" "No, sir." "Do you know who did?" "No, sir." And so on, till he came to Baldy. "Did you fire that shot Baldy?" "No, sir." "Do you know who did?" "No, sir." But Baldy grinned. That was evidence enough for the captain, so he says, "All right Baldy, I'll just hold you responsible until you tell me who did it." Jim spoke up at once and said, "You don't need to hold Baldy, captain. I fired the shot." "Report to the colonel at once," ordered the captain.

Jim reported at once, and his trial procedure was as follows: "Is your name James ——?" "Yes sir." "You are a member of company F?" "Yes sir." "You are charged with disobeying orders by firing upon the enemy under a truce. Guilty or not guilty?" "Guilty." "Well, sir, why did you do this?" "Well, I'll tell you colonel, I just calculated that that guy perched up over there on top of that mound was exceeding the conditions of the truce, and seeing more than he had a right to, or was to our interest; and I decided to make him quit it." "Did you hit him?" "Couldn't miss him at that distance." The colonel replied very gruffly, "Return to your company. But don't let it happen again." Jim returned with a smile and related the conditions on which he was released. He said they suited him all right, as he did not think that the curiosity of any of the rest of those Filipinos over there would reach the height of the recently departed one.

A sufficient number of exciting and interesting incidents had already occurred in these Caloocan trenches to leave a lasting impression on the minds of all present. But one more event occurred which was the climax to all preceding ones. One day, sitting under the matting awning which we had stretched above us to shelter us from the enervating rays of a tropical sun, Howard and I engaged ourselves in memories of the past, discussing the whys and wherefores of our enlistments. Howard was a perfect type of physical manhood, about six feet tall, straight, square-shouldered, with large, intelligent gray eyes and brown hair. He was a little reckless at times in his conduct and speech, but he had a good heart and good intentions. While we talked, a sharpshooter had been incessantly pecking away, but no bullets could be heard. Just beyond the end of our breastwork, to the right, stood a large tree with a brush pile about three feet high in front of it. At the close of our conversation Howard rose to his feet, walked up before a group of ten or so of

the boys, and suggested that we all go out in front of that tree and fire a few volleys in trees and clumps of bushes and try to dislodge the sharpshooter. All assented, willing to take a chance for a little diversion, and forthwith advanced to the position suggested.

Howard, though a private, assumed command and directed the shooting. We fired several volleys at suspicious-looking places but failed to locate the sharpshooter, or to interrupt his shots, which came at intervals of from two to three minutes. Wise old Faber spoke up, "Say boys I'll tell you, this is a little diversion all right, but having no orders to expose ourselves in this reckless manner, it seems to me to be quite a bit of foolishness as well. The enemy may open up on us any moment with a volley. That Filipino out there isn't doing anything now but wasting ammunition, but mind what I tell you, he is going to get our range pretty soon, and it will be just like shooting into a bunch of quail. So my advice to the bunch is to cut this nonsense out." To which I replied, "I believe you are right Faber." So he and I walked back to the breastwork and sat down.

The rest of the bunch, unheeding his advice, remained and continued to fire according to Howard's directions. Faber and I had become interested in some other subject of interest when bang, crack, a bullet hit the tree just back of the boys. All started on a run for the breastwork but Howard, who sat back on the brush pile in front of which he had been standing. He exclaimed, "Where are you fellows going? Are you going to leave me out here?" None of them knew then that the shot had been effective, but at his call they turned back and brought him in. They laid him down beside me, his head resting upon my knee. The boys circled around. All were silent. The doctor opened Howard's clothing and examined the anterior wound, where the big, ugly Remington bullet had entered. Turning him over we saw the mark of its exit. He was shot through the groin.

The boys all loved this reckless, goodhearted youth, and the faces of all in the group clouded in an expression of sympathy and grief when they saw the wounds caused by the bullet. The wounds were not bleeding much, but the doctor proceeded to bandage them securely. As calmly and unaffectedly as I am writing to you, Howard asked, "What is your opinion of the wound, doctor?" To which the doctor replied, "I am unable to answer your question fully, Howard, as I have not yet formed a complete opinion. From external appearances the wound does not seem so bad, but concerning the internal injury, I do not know. In case the bullet has

missed the vital parts within, the chances are ten to one in your favor." But Howard understood too well the deadly effect of a big .45 brass-covered Remington passing through his body.

Fighting had immediately reopened, and we carried him back to the old church at the top of the hill, and placed the stretcher on the floor. Along with numerous others, I tarried for a moment and knelt down beside him to ask if there was any corresponding he wished me to do for him while he was laid up. He replied, "No I think not. I don't think I want to do any writing until I get better." He asked me to look after his belongings and bring them to town as soon as I could get away. I hated to leave him, and I told him so. He said he was glad I felt that way, but realized that I must return to the line soon. As I said good-by to him I knew I would never see the boy alive again.

He was taken back to the hospital at Manila. That night about 10 o'clock he sent word by his nurse that he wished to see the chaplain. The chaplain came and talked with him, and then at Howard's request knelt by the cot of the young soldier and prayed with him. Howard thanked him, and as the chaplain passed on to speak to some of the rest of the boys, he turned over on his side. Returning soon, the chaplain on his way out, said, "Good night, Howard." Receiving no response he bent over the outstretched form to look closely into Howard's face, and then he understood. This young soldier had finished his honorable earthly career. He had fought his last battle with the same courage and fearlessness that he had been fighting the foe before us.

Sufficient re-enforcements having arrived by this time, those in authority decided to make a general advance. The whole line was divided into three parts: one to go south, one east and one north. One night our regiment was placed at the extreme right of the brigade, to continue the northward advance. The Oregon regiment was stationed in our trenches with orders to remain there until we had completed the big left turn (thus keeping our line intact), and had reached the bay again to the north. Each separate division had its purpose. Our purpose was to surround Aguinaldo, who all this time had been in Malabon, about two miles to the left of our trenches. The right end of our line reached beyond a heavy strip of timber. Under its cover we advanced rapidly ahead of the rest of the line, since the enemy could not discern our movements.

This plan would have proved successful had it not been for the ambitious impulse of the colonel of the Oregon regiment and his disobedience of orders—or his ignorance of the position at that

time of the right end of the big swing. When we had covered only half the distance, the Oregon colonel ordered a charge, with fixed bayonets. These Oregon boys were a fine bunch, and at the word from their colonel over that old breastwork of ours they went. About a dozen of them never went any further. Several others fell by the wayside, but the majority of them climbed the Filipino breastwork and engaged the enemy hand-to-hand. They routed them through the timber, chased them into the swamps, and had made a general cleaning of this bunch of Filipinos within half an hour. Though it was a heroic and complete victory, they caused us to fail in our final purpose.

Aguinaldo, observing the advance of the Oregon regiment only two miles to his right, slipped out of Malabon and made his getaway before the right end of our line had encircled him. Our brigade lined up again and continued the advance northward. We routed the Filipinos out of trench after trench, down their getaway ditches, and chased them over railroad bridges. The men, women and children fleeing before us burned their towns, or at least tried to. We occupied the homes that were not destroyed, during their absence. We took Malolos, their capital; fought some 15 or 20 more battles, finally reaching San Fernando, about 50 miles due north of Manila.

It would become monotonous to you for me to go into detail concerning all the battles on this advance, for we fought every step of the way. Bill, who had promised to get even with me for asking if it hurt to have smallpox, now got even. I received a bullet through the calf of my leg at Malolos, and as it entered my legging it cracked like a pistol. Bill, down the line, not knowing the nature of my wound, true to his promise, and seeing his opportunity, shouted, "Say Wagoner, did that hurt?" Our jokes were always to the point. But it all went to keep us optimistic.

In one advance we became short of ammunition before we reached the enemy in the timber ahead. We only had about a half-dozen cartridges each, and the ammunition wagon was a considerable distance to the rear. Several of the boys were only going through the motions of firing, saving those few cartridges for an emergency. Let me impress upon your minds, as on this particular occasion it was impressed upon mine, it did look like those Filipinos knew we were short of cartridges and were coming straight for us. I always had felt sorry for our poor commissary sergeant. He seemed to have attacks of nervous headache, and on the present occasion the attack grabbed him hard. Well, I never heard of the

sunshine cure for nervous headache, especially in a tropical sun. But let me tell you just what this honorable defender of his commissary privileges did. He went around on the sunny side of a little haystack just behind our line, while the enemy bullets were penetrating the shady side of the same stack. Of course, you will all understand that the sunshine was preferable treatment. And the big, fat commissary sergeant remained right there until the enemy ceased firing while the rest of us lay stretched out upon the ground with our hats pulled down over our faces to keep the bullets from throwing dirt in our eyes.

Well, we never got orders or ammunition. But I have always thought the enemy found out the sergeant had a severe attack of nervous headache and refused to attack us, realizing the confusion and turmoil they might cause in our ranks in the absence of our cautious and secretive stomach robber behind the little haystack.

On various occasions our advance was halted after we had routed the Filipinos from their fortifications and had pursued them to within a proper distance for securing effective results. Once, when we had a whole regiment of the enemy lined up on either side of a railroad bridge and crossing the bridge at the same time, about a mile ahead, in plain view, with the Utah battery's field pieces trained to fire on them, orders came to cease fire. Thus the entire enemy regiment was allowed to escape and secure themselves in fortifications beyond, so we might have the pleasure of routing them out again. This was showing humanity to the enemy, and extending the term of service to the well-paid American army officials. But what was the private getting? One more opportunity to walk for a mile or two in the face of the deadly Mauser and Remington in the hands of the previously unmolested foe. The private soldier as a rule believed in showing humanity to the enemy and did so from an individual standpoint. But we never could see where the justice or the humanity part of it came in when the high officials, hobnobbing around Manila with the false and robbing spiritual advisors of our enemy, extended this mercy to the enemy at the sacrifice of the lives of the American soldiers who were fighting their country's battles. In military circles who cares for the private? What rights has he that he can secure with honor? High remunerative positions in the army unmake many men and develop them into heartless and selfish beasts who push their ambitions for self-aggrandizement and profits, at the sacrifice of comforts, necessities, honor, and even the lives of their inferiors in rank, over whom they have unrestricted jurisdiction.

Three or four battles of importance occurred at San Fernando. The result of one was the almost complete annihilation of a Filipino regiment, the funeral lasting all the next day. The natives in town were forced to dig the graves—immense holes in the ground; and the American teamsters, with four big American mules hitched to a big army wagon with high sideboards, hauled dead Filipinos all day from the battlefield (to say nothing about those who had attempted to escape through the swamps, but failed, being interrupted by Springfield bullets). These stiffened dead bodies were dumped from the wagons like so much cord wood. And perchance the wagon was not close enough to the big hole in the ground for the bodies to fall into it as they fell to the ground, the master of ceremonies stuck a spade under the inert human clay and rolled it over and over until it fell in. They were covered up as they lit: face down, face up, mouths open, arms and legs at various angles, cross-wise, lengthwise, clothes on, clothes off. The dirt was heaved in, and these Filipino warriors were left to disseminate into Old Mother Earth from which they had originated.

Occasionally a "man" gets a commission. We had one: Lieutenant Colonel Ed [Lt. Col. Edward C. Little]. He met with a misfortune in line of duty, being injured by the accidental discharge of his own gun. He was laid up most of the time from its results. Several of the officers insinuated that he had shot himself on purpose. But the wound was inflicted by his accidentally dropping his six-shooter on the ground, the hammer striking and discharging the bullet upward into his leg—not a very likely way for a man to shoot himself. On one occasion Lieutenant Colonel Ed led us in an advance against a threatened attack. We boys knew the country out in front for a couple of miles as we had captured many a forsaken chicken and hog there. One of the boys spoke up to the colonel informing him that a straight advance was a mistake. He said that the Filipinos were located in a deep irrigation ditch directly parallel to our intended approach. The colonel called a brief council of several of the boys who at once verified the information given by the spokesman, and then remarked, "If that is the case then boys, we'll flank them." He then gave the order, "left face, file right march, double time." Colonel Ed ahead of us—not behind us as the officers usually were—erect and cool, led us to one of the most successful and complete victories of the campaign.

We had no sooner started than that whole irrigation ditch flooded us with bullets. In a short time we had reached their flank and

then the flood returned to the banks from which it had come. The enemy beat it, and we followed in hot pursuit, Lieutenant Colonel Ed in our midst. There was another funeral. Those who escaped did so under the protection of timber with heavy undergrowth and a dense field of sugar cane. We all sat down to rest. After a short time I ambled off into a strip of jungle alone, looking for some fruit. At about 100 yards distance I paused a moment peering on through the brush, when wham! an old Remington cracked within two rods of me. Don't think for a minute that I stood still for his second shot. I entirely forgot what I went into that timber for, but I have never forgotten what caused me to get out.

One more battle was fought here before we returned to Manila. As we advanced against the entrenched enemy in columns of fours, along a narrow path, we were suddenly fired upon. The bullets came thick and fast. An order was shouted to lie down, and we did so. Then came a confusion of orders from the various officers in command. We all knew the position into which they were attempting to place us, but we lay there for a while till the confusion of commands should resolve itself into one definite order of movement. Staff officers shouted one order, majors and captains another, lieutenants still another; and the sergeants and corporals tried to repeat all of them at once. And there we lay, like a nice strip of green meadow with the sickle closing in on us at every round of the enemy. But like the thistle, influenced by the steady and persuasive breezes blowing overhead, we pulled up and blew away. In a minute we were deployed back of a rice dike, returning the enemy fire.

I never learned whether that bunch of shoulder straps ever agreed on a definite order of movement out of our hazardous position. But they did not follow us according to any military order I ever heard. We advanced, firing as we went, routing the enemy before us. Two lieutenants in conversation at the close of this battle asked as to each other's welfare. One replied that he was feeling all right, only a trifle stiff in the joints. A private remarked that the lieutenant hadn't shown any indication of stiff joints when he dropped to the ground under that fusillade of bullets. The lieutenant said that the private's joints had seemed to be in good working order then, too. To which the private replied that had he remained where he was until the officers had reviewed the book of tactics for the proper move out of the dilemma, neither he nor the lieutenant would then be anticipating our homeward journey.

The theoretical movements and methods of warfare are as different

from the actual movements and methods as shooting at a squirrel is from being the squirrel shot at. Some officers in the army are a handy nuisance, and a good means of increasing the superfluous expense of war. War is legalized murder, often encouraged from a commercial standpoint of profits, but carried on by those who never receive any benefits worthy of mention: The Filipinos were fighting to gratify the personal ambitions of Aguinaldo. We were fighting for our lives. We had now been on the firing line about five months, had advanced 50 miles, taken the Filipino capital, fought almost every day. We had defeated every resisting foe in human form, had impressed the Filipinos with our relentless methods of warfare, had eaten great quantities of tropical fruits, fishes, chickens, hogs, had drunk some wine, and had planted the old American flag in the very heart of the Philippine Islands.

On June 24 we were replaced by fresh troops and we returned to Manila where we went into quarters inside the walled city. There was a report circulated that General Otis had been shot at twice in Manila, by American soldiers. We privates all felt sorry indeed that he was "shot at."

The buildings inside the walls were constructed of better material than those outside. The rainy season had set in. One night I was awakened from my sleep by such a sudden downpour of rain on the tin roof that I imagined the whole top of the barracks was falling in. I jumped up and was halfway out of a window at the head of my cot before I discovered that it was only raining. There were at least two inches of water standing on the level ground.

We remained here about two months performing guard duty in various parts of the city, as formerly. One institution coming under our jurisdiction was the penitentiary. (We found the convicts engaged most of the time in making ornaments from water buffalo horn and the fine native woods.) Inducements were offered for our re-enlistments—\$500 and a promotion. Several of the boys accepted.

We had established a permanent foothold in the Philippine Islands. Following the devastations of war came the blessings also. Emerson says "Everything goes in pairs, and evil for every good." So here they were already—the big brewery companies, and the American Christian missionaries working side by side—both offering the heathen Malay the healing balm. He accepted from both, realizing now that he was rapidly becoming a full-fledged American citizen. He must fall into line and do as Americans wanted him to

do. He must wear American clothes, eat American foods. He must use his own tobacco after it had visited America and returned. He must drink American booze. He must do all these things, and many more, and thus become a living source of revenue for the coffers of those whose influence had brought about this Filipino insurrection.

Orders came for us to embark for home. Our friends being few throughout the city, it did not require much of our time to bid them be good. We went aboard an English transport—capacity 1,000, with 1,300 on board. We were jammed up some, but what did we care, weren't we coming home? The boys from our ranks who had re-enlisted stood on the wharf as we pulled out. The \$500 bounty had grabbed them. They looked mighty lonesome standing back there as we started to take our \$500 out in another trans-Pacific voyage. Let me say, by the way, the par value of this homeward trip increased 100 per cent every day, as long as it lasted.

Fellow Americans, can you not see the inconsistency of patriotism being the prevailing spirit in the heart of the American soldier, 8,000 miles from home, fighting a people in no way responsible for the cause in which we had enlisted; fighting a people who loved their own homes as we loved ours? Let me tell you, as a private soldier, the spirit within the heart of every true American who soldiered in the Philippines was one of pity and sympathy for this simple-minded, deluded foe. The prevailing motive that brought about this conflict was profit. So the simple Filipino and the American soldier were placed in the same boat—forced to engage in a death struggle with each other that the ambitions of the powers that were, might be gratified in dollars and cents.

History of the French-Speaking Settlement in the Cottonwood Valley

ALBERTA PANTLE

PART TWO—CONCLUDED

MADAME GOST: FLORENCE MILLINER

SOMETIME after 1870 Bernard Gost and his wife, Victoria, moved to a farm in Doyle township, Marion county. Both were natives of France but they came to Kansas from Massachusetts where they had lived for a short time. They did not stay on the farm long, however, and in January, 1874, Madame Gost started a millinery store in Florence, featuring the latest Paris fashions. The advertisement announcing the opening of her store listed a great variety of articles other than hats. She carried practically everything one would find in the present day ladies' ready-to-wear shops, a stock of clothing for children, together with socks, gloves, shirts and scarves for men. For a few weeks Mr. Gost did tailoring in the shop then we hear no more about him.

In 1876, Madame Gost sold her entire stock of goods to Gustave Caze but remained in the store as clerk. In April, 1878, she bought the store back and we learn that she "is now sole proprietress of the largest and most complete millinery in this [Marion] county and is selling goods at prices that are lower than the lowest." She was in a new building of her own and her "French waiting room" was in order for all visitors who deigned to call upon her.

From that time until after 1890, Madame Gost was an important factor in the business life of Florence. In 1882, when she planned to erect a two-story building on her lots at the corner of Fifth and Main streets, the local newspaper stated that "Madame has more business tact and mania for improvements than half a dozen extra good men." Madame Gost made trips to New York every fall and spring buying merchandise for the store. Before each trip she inserted a notice in the newspapers of Florence and Marion offering to give special consideration to any special orders that ladies of the community might wish to give her.

Madame Gost seems to have been a very successful business woman. When times were bad and money was scarce she often

ALBERTA PANTLE is a member of the Library staff of the Kansas State Historical Society.

ran a notice in the paper stating that she would accept corn or other produce in lieu of cash for merchandise bought from her.

On June 29, 1885, Madame Gost was married to James B. Crouch, then editor of the *Florence Herald*, later editor of the *Florence Bulletin*. Thereafter Mr. Crouch often referred to himself as a Frenchman by marriage. During the time he owned the *Bulletin*, news items about the French people occupied a prominent place in his paper. After he left Florence, the French colony activities were less frequently noted.

In March, 1892, J. B. Crouch sold the *Florence Bulletin* to Jay E. House. He worked, for a short time, on a newspaper in El Dorado then the Crouches moved to West Virginia, his native state. Mr. Crouch published a newspaper there for seven years then came back to Kansas. For a few months in 1900 he edited the *Chase County Courant*, Cottonwood Falls, but was forced to give it up because of ill health.

Mr. and Mrs. Crouch again left Kansas. On August 1, 1901, the *Marion County News Bulletin* carried a short item to the effect that J. B. Crouch and his wife had both been seriously injured when the porch of their home at Rich Hill, Mo., had collapsed. On April 2, 1903, the same newspaper reprinted an article from the *South-west World*, Guthrie, Okla., stating that, "J. B. Crouch has just received his credentials from the district clerk of Marion county, Kansas. He will soon appear before Judge Burford and enter into the active practice of law. Mr. Crouch has ripe experience as a lawyer being recognized among the leading legal lights of central Kansas. Every case intrusted to his care will receive prompt attention." The *Bulletin* added, "J. B. Crouch was editor and publisher of the *Bulletin* up to 11 years ago. Since leaving Florence, Crouch has traveled over considerable country and has had many ups and downs of life. He seems to be now on the upgrade."

In addition to Madame Gost, there were several other French people in business in Florence at various times. In 1879, there was a first-class wagon maker in the person of Etienne Bliccq. He had been sent to this country by the French government in 1876 to demonstrate the art of wagon making at the centennial exposition at Philadelphia. In February, 1879, E. Bliccq was established in business at the manufactory of W. F. Aves at Third and Main streets. Later he equipped a wagon works at another location. Associated with him was another Frenchman by the name of Ernest Gendarme. The greater part of their work was resetting tires and other repair

work but they did find time to make several very elegant buggies and carriages in the short time they remained at Florence.

Petrus Guillon ran a billiard parlor in Florence for a number of years. Part of the time he was located in the basement of the opera house. In 1887, he moved to Arkansas City but later settled at Osage City. He frequently visited in Florence for many years.

G. E. Baillod and M. A. Cuenod established a jewelry store in Florence in 1885. Two years later they moved their store to Arkansas City. Baillod was in business there for several years. The Cuenods left Arkansas City and lived in Colorado for some time. In 1889 they stopped in Florence to visit the Ginettes and were, at that time, on their way back to France to live.

THE TAMIET FAMILY

During the years Madame Gost had her millinery store at Florence, Marion Centre also had a French milliner. In 1874, the Tamiet family, consisting of F. Tamiet, his wife, Elizabeth and stepdaughter, Victoria Bataille, came to Marion Centre to live. Stephen Marcou is given credit in the paper for inducing the family to settle in Marion Centre.

In a short time the Tamiets had erected a building on Main street and Madame Tamiet had opened a millinery shop. She, like Madame Gost, seemed to stock a great variety of articles of wearing apparel in addition to her hats. M. Tamiet ran a tailor shop in the same building but he did not stay long. By 1880, Madame Tamiet had married Peter Toomey, a carpenter from Pennsylvania. Mrs. Toomey operated her store for a number of years. She maintained a close relationship with the families in the French colony east of Florence.

Victoria Bataille grew up to be a very beautiful and talented young lady. She was an accomplished musician. She taught piano for several years and always sang in all the concerts given by the French people at Florence. On October 2, 1889, she was married to Laurent DeBauge who lived near Reading in Lyon county where there was a settlement of French people. They had a religious ceremony at the Catholic church at Florence and a civil ceremony that evening at the home of Judge Foote, probate judge of Marion county. Following the latter service an elaborate wedding dinner and reception was held at the Elgin Hotel at Marion. The guests included many of the French people from that section of the country as well as residents of Marion.

We know little of F. Tamiet after he left Marion. He came back

for a visit once or twice. Shortly after he left he was editing a French newspaper in California.

FRANCIS SOYEZ: SANTA FE TRAIL FREIGHTER

Francis Soyez moved to a farm in Grant township early in the 1870's. He was born in Paris, France, August 10, 1818. His father served with the French army during the Napoleonic wars and for several years afterwards. When Francis was 16 his father advised him to come to America. Just when he came is not known, but it was quite early. He landed at New Orleans but eventually went to Missouri. For several years he worked as a freighter on the old Santa Fe trail, making many trips between present Kansas City and Santa Fe, N. M. In 1856 or 1857, he was married in Mora, N. M., to Frances Schlineger, a young girl from Alsace Lorraine. She had come to America with her parents in 1854. They lived in St. Louis for a year then traveled overland by way of the Santa Fe trail to Mora. After the Soyez's were married they lived in New Mexico several months then moved to Missouri. About the close of the Civil War, in which Francis Soyez served for a short time, they came to Kansas. They lived near Topeka and Mr. Soyez worked as a mason on the statehouse. In 1872, they moved to Marion county and took a claim north and east of Florence. Francis Soyez died July 9, 1906, and his wife on June 17, 1913. They had a large family. Many of their descendants live in Marion county today and one of their children, Mrs. Emilie Lehmann, was living near the town of Marion until her death on February 25, 1951.

THE ARTISTIC GINETTES

Ernest Ginette was born in Paris, France, September 1, 1831. He was married to Camille Caroline Bouzenot on May 10, 1859. Mr. Ginette was engaged quite successfully in business in Paris until the Franco-Prussian war in 1870. At that time he sustained such heavy losses that he decided to bring his family to America. The Ginettes, with two of their sons, Gabriel and Ernest, settled on a 160-acre farm five miles northeast of Florence in 1873. The third son, Maurice, stayed in Paris to take advantage of a scholarship which had been given him. He came out to Kansas by himself two years later.

Charles Ginette, a nephew, came from France to make his home with his uncle's family in 1876. He lived in or near Florence the remainder of his life but made several quite lengthy visits to France. He died April 8, 1928.

City born and bred, the Ginettes did not like farm life. After a few years on the farm, they moved into Florence. The boys, as well as the parents, were well educated and began working, when quite young, as bookkeepers and salesmen. One time Ernest acted as interpreter in a lawsuit involving two French families which was tried at Cottonwood Falls. He was highly praised by the presiding judge for his scholarly translation and interpretation during the trial.³³

Ernest Ginette, Sr., had considerable talent as a painter. Several times he made sketching tours over the state. In 1888 he made a very "natural and pleasant view of Mr. Firmin's farm and improvements in crayon."³⁴ The *Bulletin* commented that he had been devoting much time and study to painting the past year and his work exhibited a high degree of artistic ability.

The Ginette family contributed much to the musical life of Florence. Ernest Ginette, Sr., and Mrs. Ginette were in charge of the music at the Catholic church for many years.

In November, 1884, a group of the young men of Florence met at the Ginette home to organize a band which was called the Florence Brass Band. The elder Mr. Ginette was chosen as leader of the band and his son, Maurice, was elected president and treasurer of the group. This band was quite an active organization in Florence for a number of years.

Mrs. Camille Ginette was a cousin of M. Casimir-Perier who became president of France in 1891. She is remembered as a very charming woman and an accomplished pianist. The entire family took prominent parts in the musical entertainments which were customary at all of the Bastille day and other French celebrations.

Ernest Ginette, Sr., died after a short illness February 24, 1893. His widow survived him many years. She was almost totally blind for several years before her death December 29, 1914.

Maurice Ginette, the oldest of the sons, married Dora Cox of Atchison in 1893. They settled in Florence where he was cashier of the Marion County State Bank. He continued in the employ of the bank until his death September 24, 1925.

Gabriel and Ernest Ginette left Florence many years ago. Ernest eventually settled in Kansas City. Gabriel located in St. Louis, Ill., where he had an interest in a company which manufactured sashes, doors and blinds. For many years he was the leader of the Sixth

33. *Florence Bulletin*, May 17, 1889.

34. *Ibid.*, February 9, 1888.

Illinois regiment band which has been described as "one of the crack musical organizations of the Sucker State."³⁵

THE MERCETS AND THE LAMBELS

Two of the French families in the colony came to the Cottonwood valley after a residence of several years in other states. The first were the Mercets who came in 1873. August Mercet was born in northern France on April 8, 1841, the son of Julius and Julia Mercet. They left France when August was eight years of age and came to America, settling in Perry county, Missouri. August was married to Elizabeth Cerkie, a native of Switzerland, in June, 1861. He served with the Missouri troops during the Civil War and, about 1867, both father and son moved their families to Minnesota. They came to Kansas in 1873 and settled on a farm in Doyle township. After a few years on the farm they removed to Florence. Mrs. Julia Mercet died before 1880 and her husband on March 28, 1887. He was 81 years of age, a native of the department of Doubs, France.

August Mercet died July 4, 1884, leaving a family of six children.³⁶ One daughter, Louisa, died the year previously. Mrs. Mercet was a kindly woman who raised not only her own large family but had to assume the care of several of her grandchildren who were left motherless at an early age. She died January 7, 1918.

Andre Lambel, the father of Mrs. Julius Mercet, was born in the village of Therondelle, department of Aveyron, France, May 20, 1847. He served through the Franco-Prussian war in 1870 and 1871 and in March, 1872, he went to Winnipeg, Canada. On September 28, 1873, he was married to Marguerite Mager at St. Boniface, Manitoba. The new Mrs. Lambel was born in Metz, province of Lorraine, on October 14, 1854, and had come to Canada in 1872. After their marriage the Lambels took a timber claim at Pembina, Dakota territory, and lived there until they moved to Kansas in March, 1879. They homesteaded a farm three or four miles east of Cedar Point. During the latter part of 1895, Andre Lambel

35. *Ibid.*, August 26, 1892.

36. Three of the Mercet children married into French families. Josephine, the oldest daughter, married Joseph B. Rossillion, and Julia Mercet married Francis Rossillion. The Rossillions, Joseph, his wife, Mary Perrier Rossillion, and the two boys mentioned, came from Savoy, France, to America in 1873. Another son, Alphonse, was born after they came to Kansas. They settled near Madison, Kan., and lived there until 1877 when they moved to Rock Creek where the parents died. The Rossillion boys came back to Lyon county and were frequent visitors at Florence. Francis Rossillion and his family lived east of Florence from 1890 to 1895. Later they moved to California where some of the family still live.

Julius Mercet was married first to Mary Fisher who died within a year of her marriage. He was married to Caroline Lambel on October 31, 1892. They lived in or near Florence until his death October 16, 1937. Adeline Mercet married Francis Green. Alma married William G. King in California in 1887. They both died young as did Mrs. Josephine Rossillion. The younger son, Emil, married Grace Edna Wright. He and his wife died many years ago.

decided that a warmer climate would be beneficial to his health and prepared to move south.³⁷ At this time certain companies in the Southern states were sending out quantities of boom literature accompanied by roseate letters describing the cheap lands and the abundant crops to be grown thereon. Having no doubt that he could find a farm to his liking, Mr. Lambel sold his livestock and farm implements and rented his farm for three years. He went south to find a place to locate. He took his time and investigated farms in Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana and several other southern states. There was plenty of cheap land but he found that it was also low in fertility. Nothing looked so good to him as his farm in the Cottonwood valley so he came home. He paid his renter \$150 to break the contract and, in a short time, was established on his own farm again. Mr. Lambel estimated that the experience had cost him over a thousand dollars.

In 1903 the Lambels retired and moved into Florence. In 1907 Mrs. Lambel made a trip to France to visit her parents and other relatives and in 1909 both she and Mr. Lambel went to France. Mrs. Lambel died December 13, 1925, and her husband on January 9, 1941, at the age of 93 years. They had four children, Caroline, who married Julius Mercet; Andrew J., who married Amy Crawford; Anna May, who married Albert R. Kruse, and Paul. Paul lived in California for many years but the others lived near Florence and Cedar Point.

Louis Nicholas Mager, a younger brother of Marguerite Lambel, also came to America but at a much later date. He lived at Pembina, N. Dak., the former home of the Lambels, for 18 years then, in 1900, he moved into Florence where he lived with his sister's family. A few years after Louis Mager came to the United States, he returned to France for a visit. While he was there he was impressed into the army and forced to serve his military duties which he had missed by coming to America. He died at Emporia December 29, 1911.

THE INGENIOUS MR. PERAULT

With few exceptions the French settlers in the valley were thrifty, hardworking farmers who, although they were handicapped by a difference in language and background, got along well with their neighbors of other nationalities. One of the exceptions was a young man by the name of Perault. He devised an ingenious scheme for making an easy living but it didn't work out exactly as he had planned.

37. *The Pointer*, Cedar Point, October 19, 1895.

At this time Marion county, being largely crop land, had a herd law requiring anyone who had cattle to keep them fenced in. Chase county, stock country, allowed the farmers to let their herds roam at will. Shortly before 1882, Perault settled on a farm in eastern Marion county just across the Chase county line. He built extensive corrals surrounded with stone walls from 18 to 24 inches thick. The farm consisted of 40 acres of gravel, situated on a high bluff over the Cottonwood river. On the east line he planted a few rows of sod corn and pumpkins, as a bait to the cattle on the Chase county range.

According to the *Marion Record* for March 22, 1889:

These cattle often tasted of the forbidden fruit and were, in consequence, taken up by his Lordship, A. Perault. It is claimed that oftentimes they were driven through this field to the corrals by Perault in order to obtain damages for destruction of crops. This procedure continued for some time, tribute being exacted by the Frenchman. The price asked varied according to the extent of the damage claimed.

As time went on, the Frenchman grew more and more abusive. In June, 1882, he shot a Mr. Seaman who was seeking to recover some horses which Perault had taken up. On August 7, one of his neighbors missed two of his cows and found them in Perault's corral. Perault demanded \$10 for the release of the cattle. He was offered 50 cents a head. Perault became angry and used threatening language. Finally arrangements were made with Mrs. Perault for the release of the cows for one dollar. The neighbor had no money with him so he had to go home to get it. When he returned he brought his hired man with him. While the hired man was paying Mrs. Perault the sum agreed on, the neighbor went out to the corral for his cows. When he opened the gate Perault, who was standing by the wall, struck him on the head with a club (some called it a stick) from the effects of which he would have fallen to the ground but for a barrel across which he fell. As Perault was raising the club to repeat the blow the hired man fired at him, the ball striking Perault in the hip. A few days afterward, Perault died of blood poisoning.

Immediately after the shooting the two men surrendered themselves to the authorities and, a few weeks later, a preliminary examination was held and they were discharged, the examination showing clearly that the killing was self-defense. Normally this would have been the end of the affair but the case was revived seven years later and the two men were indicted. The hired man was tried and acquitted and the other case dismissed.

The only other Frenchman I have heard of who had any unorthodox plans for earning a livelihood was one who came much later. On the way to America he had an opportunity to buy a Scotch bagpipe. Thinking that he could stand on the street corners and play his bagpipe if he couldn't make a living farming, he bought it. He proved to be a very good farmer so he didn't need the bagpipe.

THE COMTE DE PINGRE

With the possible exception of Louis Ravenet, whose noble birth is largely a matter of hearsay, the early settlers in the valley were farmers and tradesmen of the middle classes of France and Belgium. They came to America because of their belief in a democratic form of government and a desire to better their economic and social condition. In 1877, a Frenchman of another class came. He was Adrien Thimoleon Victor, Comte de Pingre de Guimicourt. The manner of his coming and the reason for his traveling to Kansas are best described in an article which appeared in the *Kansas City (Mo.) Times* for January 13, 1877:

On Thursday morning there arrived in this city on the Missouri Pacific train a strange looking individual and three dogs. The stranger was a foreigner of very distinqu appearance, and seemed to be at a loss where to go and what to do with his dogs. He wore a beard, grizzled and grey, falling in luxuriant profusion upon a massive breast, which gave to the owner a bearing which stamped him at once with military antecedents. Upon his left breast he wore several ribbons, all of the tri-color of La Belle France, and in the center of all was noticed the renowned cross of the "Legion of Honor." While the stranger was chattering away in his French patois to his dogs, endeavoring to keep them together, he was noticed by Count Smissen, the agent of the Santa Fe road, who approached him, and accosted him in German, then in French. The stranger was at home in a minute, and entered into conversation at once. He appeared to be delighted to find some one to converse with and who could assist him in his embarrassing troubles. His troubles were as follows:

His name is Count de Paingrie, and he is Colonel of the famous second regiment of Chasseurs d'Afrique, one of Napoleon's favorite regiments. His only son is now a resident of Florence, Kansas, and the veteran soldier was on his way to visit him on a six-months' leave of absence. The dogs he had with him were full-blooded hounds, raised by himself in Algeria, and are the offspring of a pet dog which his son (now a Kansas granger) loved very much when a boy at the garrison at Toulon. The old man thought that he could not bring his pet boy a better present than these three dogs, which he had cared for and attended all the way from Marseilles to Southampton, and from thence to New York, and from there to Kansas City. It was quite refreshing to see the noble Frenchman rejoice in the meeting of one man who could speak his language and could help him with his dogs. He told of his history which dated back to the *coup d'etat* of 1851, and the old man puffed out perfect volumes of smoke

while he talked of the campaign he made with his regiment with Marshals St. Arnaud and Canrobert in the Crimea. His ideal appeared to be the young man at Florence, Kansas, who left Paris at the overthrow of the empire in 1870 and fled to escape the Commune. He says he wants his boy to come back to France, but cannot induce him to do so. So, finding his boy so decided in his desire to stay in America, he had concluded to come and see him and bring him a present of three full-blooded Algerian hounds. The old French Colonel was every inch of a soldier in appearance. He was a perfect type of the old Imperial Guard, and seemed to be a fish out of water—so to speak—and found no consolation except in his pipe and conversation with his imported dogs. The Count de Paingrie was escorted to the proper train by Mr. Smissen, and started west to find his lost boy on the prairies of Kansas.

Count de Pingre was born April 14, 1827, so he was not as old as this entertaining account would lead one to believe. The family de Pingre, originating in Picardy, may be traced back to very ancient times. Through a series of distinguished marriages they became owners of a large number of lordship-estates. Among these estates was that of Guimicourt which designated the branch of the family to which Count Victor de Pingre belonged. Various members of this distinguished family were noteworthy for their military services as well as services in the court and in the church. The name figures among those of the founders of the abbey of Premy in 1180. For a long time the nuns of Premy had to pray for the souls of Florent de Pingre and his wife, Jeanne de Lavin, and for that of their daughter, Jeanne de Pingre, who had been a nun of that abbey.

In the year 1476 Arnault de Pingre lost his life in the slaughter of Cambrai while defending this place which belonged to the Duke of Burgundy against the forces of King Louis XI. From this time on, the family split into two factions, those who were loyal to the king and those whose sympathies were with the Arnault branch.

Presumably the count belonged to the former because it was to his father, Adrien Pierre Paul, Comte de Pingre de Guimcourt, that King Louis XVIII entrusted all his personal papers during the "Hundred Days" in 1815. The count's mother was Louise de Grouches de Gribeauval. He had only one sister, Adrienne, who married Philippe d'Entend, attorney-general during the reign of Louis Philip.

Count de Pingre was graduated at an early age from St. Cyr, the West Point of France. During the insurrection of 1848 he served as a sub-lieutenant in the national guard. On July 21, 1848, he received a promotion and was decorated with the Chevalier de la Legion d'honneur. Count de Pingre received many other decorations during his long military career which included services in

the Crimean war, the Franco-Prussian war, and the French campaigns in North Africa.

Count de Pingre was married to Marie Clara Victorine Adele de Lagrene on July 24, 1854, in Arry, department de la Somme. They had four children, two daughters who married and remained in France, one son who died young, and Louis de Pingre who came to America. The mother died some time before 1877.³⁸

No one seems to remember much about Louis de Pingre. Mrs. Alphonse Bichet used to tell about the day he appeared at their door a short time after she was married. Until that time no one knew he was in the country. He always dressed in cowboy attire and his ambition was to be a ranch owner and stockman. In 1881, he declared his intention to become a citizen but he did not stay in Chase county long enough to get his final papers. Some years after Louis left the colony he was living in Lake Charles, La., where he was running a ferry across the lake. He came back to Florence for a short time when his father died in 1892 but never came back to live.

Count de Pingre soon decided to stay in Kansas. He bought a farm on Martin creek northwest of Cedar Point. He and his son stayed at the Pike Hotel in Florence while the house was being built. On November 13, 1877, the father was married to Mdle. Ernestine Marie de Lobel, a young French woman who had come out to Kansas shortly before the date of the wedding. They were married at the home of Mrs. Tamiet in Marion Centre.

Count de Pingre and his wife lived on the farm until 1884 when they moved into Florence, having purchased the Hiram Pike residence. Just before they moved they had a public sale. Among the items listed was a herd of purebred cattle. Despite the fact that he must have lived a far different life in France, Count de Pingre apparently adjusted himself quite well in his new home. He maintained his military bearing and aristocratic manner to the end but he made many friends in Florence and seemed always ready to help out in any good cause. One time he donated some of his own handiwork to sell at a bazaar at one of the Protestant churches in town although he was a regular communicant at the Catholic church. There was only one time at which he could not enter whole heartedly into the social life of the French colony. That was on July 14 when his French Republican friends celebrated the fall of the Bastille.

38. Details of the family background and early life of the Count de Pingre were supplied by a researcher of the office de documentation of the Bibliotheque National, Paris, France.

The de Pingre home must have been filled to overflowing with beautiful furniture and family heirlooms. In 1884, an art loan exhibition was held in Florence. The greater part of the exhibit consisted of articles lent by the count and his wife. They included handmade black lace 150 years old, handmade white lace 200 years old, a French fan beautifully painted and inlaid with jewels, a violin 184 years old, two elegantly hand-carved candlesticks, a sabre used by a French nobleman one hundred years before, an idol four hundred years old and other articles, both costly and antique. Madame Gost and the Ginettes also contributed quite a number of interesting items for the exhibition.

Some of the de Pingre furniture is still in Florence. Mrs. Amelia Ullman has a chair elaborately carved and upholstered in what was once very beautiful brocade. Count de Pingre's clock which was made in France about 1750 is now in the possession of a Florence family.

The count stored his collection of arms in the loft of his barn. Some of the little boys in town learned of its existence and "playing soldier" became a favorite pastime. As soon as a new member was added to the gang he was taken to the de Pingre barn and outfitted with swords and pistols. Eventually the count discovered that his precious collection of firearms was diminishing. The countess interviewed Mrs. Bichet and the mothers of some of the other boys whom they suspected of "borrowing" the weapons. The arms were promptly restored and a certain group of small boys "ate off the mantel" for several days.

The de Pingre's entertained many guests in their home and very often visited friends in Reading, Emporia or Kansas City. The Debauges of Reading and the Jean Perriers of Emporia visited them quite frequently. In September, 1888, Madam de Medou, a celebrated Italian pianist, who was on her way to Newton to give a "Soirie Musicale," stopped to see her old friends, the de Pingres. Another time, M. Jules Ruleaux, consul-general for Belgium in the United States, came to Florence to consult with Count de Pingre concerning the feasibility of sending colonists from overcrowded Belgium to the Cottonwood valley.

Madame de Pingre was an accomplished pianist and very frequently played in public. The only time there is any mention of her taking part in a Bastille day concert was in 1889. At that time the count was president of the Union Francaise and both he and the countess took a prominent part in the centennial celebration of that

year. Probably by this time the count had forgotten his loyalist tendencies to a large extent.

Count de Pingre died November 20, 1892, and was buried in Mt. Calvary cemetery west of Florence. His tombstone bears the simple inscription, "Victor de Pingre, 1827-1892."

The count bequeathed all his family letters, papers, and books from his library to his son, Louis. Louis also received his father's pistols, swords and other arms. The family portraits were divided equally among his three children, Louis, Adrienne de St. Victor and Yolande Chenolt. The remainder of his estate was willed to his wife. At one time he is reputed to have been quite wealthy but had apparently lost his money before he came to America.³⁹

Mrs. Marie de Pingre was married to Dr. J. Hammond Lovatt ⁴⁰ on September 29, 1893. After his death in November, 1901, she made a visit to France. She returned to Florence to dispose of her property and went back to France to live in less than a year after the doctor's death.

THE FAGARD FAMILY

The story of the Fagard family may best be told in the words of Paul Fagard, of Emporia, who was a boy of 11 when he came to Kansas.

"Auguste Fagard, his wife Virginia, two children, Virginia 10, Auguste 8 years old, sold their home in Lassigny, France, to emigrate to the United States in 1848. They sailed from LeHavre en route to some place in Tennessee where they intended to purchase a farm to engage in farming. Unfortunately cholera broke out on board the vessel a few days after sailing. Over 100 passengers contracted the disease and died, my grandfather among them. He was buried at sea.

When they arrived at New Orleans the disease had disappeared. They were allowed to land without being quarantined so my grandmother decided to go on to Tennessee. Arriving at Louisville, Ky., where they had to lay over for a few days grandmother was contacted by some French people residing there and persuaded to try to make a home. She remained a little more than two years, her children attended the schools and learned the English language. Then she decided to return to France.

On the vessel going over she met a business man by the name of Mercier, a maker of artificial flowers. He persuaded her to apprentice her son to him. So she and her daughter proceeded to Lassigny, my father was left in Paris

39. Count de Pingre's will is on file in the office of the probate judge of Marion county.

40. Dr. J. Hammond Lovatt was born in Manchester, England, in 1841. He studied surgery and practiced in England for a number of years. He was a member of the Royal College of Surgeons and various other British medical societies. After the death of his first wife in 1879, Dr. Lovatt accepted an appointment as surgeon in the British army and served in India, Africa and Australia. He retired from the army and came to America in 1885. For a time he was chief surgeon in the City Hospital in St. Louis, but his health had been so impaired by his army service that he was forced to give it up. He came to Florence in 1887 and bought the Sherwood drug store. Later he practiced medicine in Florence. He is remembered there as a well-educated and well-read man and an accomplished musician.

with this M. Mercier. He remained and worked for this man until 1861 when he decided to go to Africa. He resided in Algeria somewhat over two years, contracted the malaria fever and became blind. In 1863 he returned to France, some months later he regained his sight to a great extent but always had difficulty guiding himself after dark. He served in the national guard in the war of 1870. He and his family were besieged in Paris in 1870 and 1871. Seeing the devastation and horrors of war he decided to move back to the United States. In 1881, he sold the little home he owned in Bois de Colombes, a suburb of Paris, and he and his family sailed on the French line S. S. Labrador, December 30, 1881. They were five, the father Auguste Fagard; mother Pauline Gailliard Fagard, three boys, Auguste aged 14, Paul 11 and Eugene 5 years old. Landed in New York January 14, 1882. After the usual examination by the immigrant officers we were allowed to proceed to Kansas. We landed in Florence January 24, 1882. My father had been directed to Kansas by a Mr. Reverend, a neighbor of ours, who owned land in Marion county. His oldest son was farming that land.

Soon after we had settled in Florence a Mr. Horner opened up a quarry, having secured a contract from the Santa Fe Railroad to ballast the tracks from Kansas City to the Colorado line. We (my father and me) worked in this quarry for two years when for some unknown cause the shutting down of this quarry caused the town to have a depression. There were no other industries except the Santa Fe which employed a few men.

Mrs. Fagard died in January, 1884. In May of that year, Auguste Fagard took his three boys and settled on a farm in Chase county. Andre Lambel had induced him to file on a homestead of upland. It was necessary for Mr. Fagard to amend his first filing because part of the tract he desired had been taken by Louis Duehn as a timber claim. The land office approved his amended filing but it was discovered, after having the land surveyed, that an Amos Varner had built a small cabin on one corner of the land and was justified in claiming the quarter section of land on which the cabin was located. Varner later did file suit against Mr. Fagard. The case was not settled for 12 years. Finally in 1896 the land was awarded by the court to Auguste Fagard but, in the meantime, the expense of hiring lawyers and paying the other expenses incidental to the case had worked a great hardship on the family.

In 1907, Auguste Fagard sold out and he and his son, Eugene, moved to Whitechurch, Mo. They farmed there until 1920 when they died within a week of each other during the influenza epidemic.

Auguste Fagard, Jr., never married. He died in 1925 and is buried in the Cedar Point cemetery. Paul Fagard was married to Bertha Lalouette, daughter of Joseph and Marie (Marchal) Lalouette, on June 3, 1900. She died June 20, 1909, leaving one daughter, Mignon. Paul Fagard is now living at Emporia and is one of the few remaining native Frenchmen of the old colony.

SETTLERS FROM BELGIUM

The colony was composed almost entirely of French people until after 1870. The only Belgian to make a permanent settlement before that time was Alexander Louis. By 1875, several Belgian families had settled in Doyle township. The census for that year lists the following: Alfred de Smet, Ivan Balcaen, Theophile and Marius Philibert and their families, Francis Goffinet and his wife, Victoria, and a relative of hers, Henry Maillot. Of this group only Ivan Balcaen and the Goffinets stayed to make permanent homes. The two Philibert families left within a few years and settled elsewhere in Kansas. Alfred de Smet left before 1880. While he was there Ivan Balcaen worked for him. One time while he was working for de Smet the two got into an argument over wages. The case was brought to trial in Marion Centre and the newspaper there reported that practically the entire French population accompanied them for the trial. By this time the people of Marion Centre had become accustomed to hearing German on the streets but a group of Frenchmen speaking their native language never failed to amuse them. The newspaper commented on their "peculiar talk."

After Alfred de Smet moved away, Ivan Balcaen worked for one valley farmer and then another until he finally settled on his own farm up Bruno creek in Grant township. In 1890, he was married to Laura Huguenin, the daughter of Henry and Adele Huguenin who had come from Switzerland a few years before. Ivan Balcaen died in 1903, and his widow married Henry D. Soper. She lived at Florence until her death June 19, 1934.

The Goffinets also lived in Grant township. Victoria Goffinet was a Maillet, probably the daughter of Henry Maillet who was living with them in 1875. They had several children. Some of the family still live near Florence.

Francis Goffinet returned to Belgium to live about 1907. At the time of the first World War Alphonse Bichet received a letter from a man in a small French village stating that a Francis Goffinet had escaped from Belgium into France ahead of the German army. He had asked the Frenchman to get in touch with Mr. Bichet in the hope that he could help him get to America. This was not possible and nothing further was heard about him. Mr. Goffinet was nearly 80 years of age at this time. Mrs. Victoria Goffinet died at the home of her son, Ellis, in Lubbeck, Tex., in March, 1929.

The Rensen family came to Florence in 1876. The family consisted of Joseph Rensen; his wife, Petronile; his son, Joseph, Jr., and

three daughters, Frances, Josephine and Matilda. They had arrived in the United States at Portland, Maine, February 15, 1871, and had lived in Chicago before coming to Kansas. When they came to Florence they bought a farm on Martin creek. Here Joseph Rensen died May 3, 1885, at the age of 56. Mrs. Rensen lived on the home farm until her death January 25, 1914.

Joseph Rensen, Jr., was born at Liege, Belgium, December 8, 1859. He lived on a farm at Florence until his death November 18, 1931. In January, 1891, he was married to Augusta Gaymay, a French girl whose family had come to Kansas late in the 1880's. The Gaymays lived at Florence for a short time but eventually settled in Wichita county. The Joseph Rensens had two daughters, Alice and Mrs. Oscar Branson who live near Florence, and a son, Albert, who died in 1938. Mrs. Augusta Rensen died August 13, 1949.

Frances Rensen, daughter of Joseph Rensen, Sr., married Joseph Martinot. He was the son of Rosalie Dumartinot who had married Peter Martin. Frances Martinot lived less than a year after her marriage. On August 31, 1878, Joseph Martinot married Josephine Rensen, a sister of his first wife. Mrs. Martinot is still living at Florence, one of the few remaining members of the French colony born in Europe. She frequently visits at the home of her daughter, Mrs. Louise Crawford, near Clements. One day during the summer of 1949, she came to Clements by bus from her home in Florence. She waited for an hour or so at the post office for some one who was going by her daughter's house a mile and a half away. When they did not come she set out to walk there. The writer overtook her after she had walked over a mile. This 87-year-old woman, her bundle of clothes in her hand, trudging along the dusty road, seemed to typify all the strength and stamina of these foreign pioneer women who settled in the French colony. Theirs was not an easy life. Many of them helped their husbands in the fields. They did all their own housework and raised large families. Tied down at home, they had little opportunity to meet other people or adjust themselves to their new environment. These women must have been lonely, and yet, with few exceptions, none of them regretted that they had come to America to live.

Joseph Martinot was for many years before his death, October 13, 1932, the oldest of the pioneer settlers in Marion county. As early as 1924 he was presented with a bouquet at the old settlers' picnic in Marion as the oldest person in point of residence in the county.

Matilda Rensen, the youngest of the Rensen children, married

H. J. Reverend, making the fourth of this Belgian family to marry French members of the colony.

Henry Julius Reverend, or Jules as he was usually called, was born in New York City, October 11, 1859. In 1873 he came with his father, Henry Reverend, to the French settlement. They took up a timber claim four miles east of Florence in Doyle township. After four months in Kansas they left and went to Paris, France, the father's native city. The family established there, Jules was placed in school.

In 1879, however, he returned to America and settled on the old homestead. On December 15, 1884, he was married to Matilda Rensen. Although the elder Mr. Reverend never returned to Kansas to live he did make several extended visits with his son and family and it was through his influence that several of the French families came to Florence to settle when they decided to come to America.

About 1902 Mr. Reverend moved his family into town. There were two children, Henry and Amelia Fanny. In 1904 Jules Reverend's father died in Paris leaving quite a large estate. It was necessary for the Reverends to go to Paris. The whole family went and stayed for several months.

After Amelia was graduated from high school in 1905, her mother took her to Kansas City, Mo., where she studied violin and piano for several years. Mr. Reverend stayed in Florence for some time looking after business interests but finally joined his family in residence there. He taught French in the manual training high school for several terms then engaged in the real estate business with John Beymer, a former Florence resident. He was very active in the Alliance Francaise of Kansas City, serving as its president for one or two years.

Jules Reverend was a colorful figure in the business life of Florence. He was instrumental in organizing the Florence State Bank and in securing an ice house for the city when it was badly needed. He bought the Mastin lumber yard in 1907 and ran it for several years. After the family returned from Kansas City to live in Florence he invested quite heavily in real estate and, at one time, owned several business buildings on Main street. In 1923 he helped organize the Florence Chamber of Commerce and was elected its first president. Mr. Reverend died May 13, 1942, his wife having died several years previously on December 16, 1931.⁴¹

41. Amelia Fanny Reverend taught music in Kansas City until the fall of 1913 when she went abroad and studied for a year in Berlin under Alexander Fiedermann.

On August 24, 1914, she was married to Bernard Ullman at Pittsburgh, Pa. Four years later Mr. Ullman died and she was left with two small children, Gilbert and Robert. A

The Lalouette brothers, August and Joseph, were born at Geronville, Belgium. When August was 16 years of age he went to Paris, France, where he worked for 12 years. In 1867, he and his brother, Joseph, came to the United States. They arrived in New Orleans and found that city in the throes of a yellow fever epidemic. The young men worked their way to New York where August served for eight years as the head waiter in a large hotel.

On March 25, 1873, he was married to Leonie Marchal, a young French girl. Three years later they came to Kansas and settled on a farm east of Florence. Joseph Lalouette married Marie Marchal, a sister of Leonie. They came to Florence at the same time. There is a story in the family that one of the brothers wanted to settle in Virginia. The other thought they would have more chance for success in the newer west so both came to Kansas.

A short time after they settled at Florence, August Lalouette and his wife lost their two small daughters, Augustine, five, and Elvirie, three years of age. They died within a week of diphtheria and are buried in the cemetery at Cedar Point.

The Lalouettes came to Kansas when times were very hard. They had never lived on farms before and many times they actually did not know how to go about their work. Their wives, however, knew a bit more about farm life so they worked with their husbands in the fields until the farm chores became a bit easier.

In spite of early hardships, both August and Joseph Lalouette became successful farmers and August, in particular, accumulated large land holdings in addition to his original homestead. Mrs. Leonie Lalouette was an invalid for many years before her death March 17, 1929. August Lalouette died December 4, 1923.

August and Leonie Lalouette had two sons, in addition to the two girls who died in childhood. Leon, born in 1879, was married October 6, 1913, to Anna Margaret Carpenter, daughter of Jerome Carpenter. He lived near Florence until his death July 15, 1945. The other son, Ernest, lives east of Florence on the home place. On October 24, 1905, he was married to Cecilia Soyez. Mrs. Lalouette is the granddaughter of two pioneer settlers of the old colony. Her father, J. E. Soyez, was French, the son of Francis

daughter, Bernadine, was born February 20, 1919, four months after her father's death. Mrs. Ullman brought her family to Florence and has since lived there.

Amelia Ullman purchased the Horner building in 1919. At that time it was arranged for a restaurant on the first floor and office rooms on the second. She and her father remodeled it into a hotel and operated it under the name of the Horner Hotel until 1927. Henry Reverend, Mrs. Ullman's brother, ran it for several years after this date.

After leaving the hotel, Mrs. Ullman established a music studio in which she taught very successfully for a number of years. An accomplished musician, she contributed much to the cultural development of Florence.

Soyez, and her mother, Mary Constance Rosiere, was the daughter of Felix Rosiere who came to Kansas from Belgium about 1880.

The Ernest Lalouette home is a treasure store of relics of pioneer days. Among the interesting articles is a hand-carved rosary brought to America by the Rosiere family and prayer books formerly used by both her father's and mother's people. Mrs. Lalouette also has costumes and jewelry once worn by the women of her family and those of Mr. Lalouette's family. One of the dresses dates back to 1860. It belonged to Mrs. Frances Soyecz, her grandmother. Simply made, the dress is of black material. The most interesting part of it is the pocket. It is set inside the skirt and is over 12 inches in depth. This pocket would hold the baby's bottle, a change of clothes for him, and anything else the pioneer mother might need when she went visiting for the day.

Mrs. Lalouette also has the wedding outfit made and worn by her husband's aunt, Berthe Marchal, when she was married to Charles Rassat on January 9, 1887.

Berthe Marchal, the sister of Mrs. August and Mrs. Joseph Lalouette, came to Florence in 1886. She came directly from Paris where she had been working for several years in various millinery and dressmaking establishments. Her father, Nicholas Louis Marchal, and his wife came about this time to make a home near their daughters.

Berthe decided to locate in Florence and bought out the millinery stock of a Mrs. Bardwell. She was a dressmaker of unusual skill. The wedding outfit spoken of before included a two-piece dress of sheer black wool material. The color is as true today as it must have been when the dress was made although black very often turns rusty or green as it ages. The boa which reaches to the hem of the dress was made of black net with yards and yards of narrow satin ribbon sewed on it. On the collar of the boa the ribbon was arranged in such a way that it very closely resembles Persian lamb fur. It must have taken many hours of work. Berthe Marchal made a trip or two to New York to buy stock in the short time she remained in Florence so her shop must have been successful. In November, 1887, she announced her intention of closing out the business, and early in 1888 she and her husband, Charles Rassat, moved to Trinidad, Colo. After she went to Colorado Mrs. Rassat was the dressmaker in the Bee-Hive, a dry goods store owned by Henry Klein. Later, after Mr. Rassat's death, she married Mr. Klein and they



MRS. ERNEST GINETTE, SR.
(1840-1914)



THE COUNTESS DE PINGRE
(LATER MRS. J. HAMMOND
LOVATT)





BASTILLE DAY CELEBRATION HELD IN BARKER'S PARK, NORTH OF FLORENCE,
JULY 14, 1884

operated the store successfully for a great many years. Berthe Klein died April 1, 1943, at the age of 76 years.

Mrs. Klein was an artist of considerable talent. During her 50 years as a business woman she found time to paint a number of pictures. Mrs. Ernest Lalouette has several of these paintings in her home.

Joseph Lalouette and his wife, Marie Marchal, had four children, Bertha, married Paul Fagard; Jane, married John Johnson; Helen died unmarried at the age of 22 years, and Marius. Marius married Edna Cochran, a niece of Mrs. Alphonse Bichet. He lives at Hartford, Kan., at the present time. Joseph Lalouette died in 1896. His widow lived at the home of her son-in-law, Paul Fagard, for many years. After her daughter's untimely death in 1909, Mrs. Lalouette took over the care of her granddaughter, Mignon Fagard. She died in Emporia in 1922.

A third Lalouette brother, Christome, came to this country about 1900. He, too, had gone to Paris at an early age and lived there for many years. He served with the French army in the Franco-Prussian war and was decorated for valor during the campaign. After he came to Florence he lived with relatives until his death in September, 1928.

Three Rosiere brothers, Felix, August and Henry, came from the town of Rosiere, Belgium, between 1876 and 1879 and settled on farms north and east of Florence. Henry stayed for only a few years and then moved to Oklahoma where some of his family are still living.

Felix Rosiere was the oldest of the three brothers. He was married about 1860 to Frances Delforge of Luxemburg, Belgium. They had quite a large family when they came to Kansas and one or two children were born in this country. Felix Rosiere died February 10, 1901, and his wife on August 25, 1914. Two of his children are still living, Felix, of Chula Vista, Cal., and August, of Denver, Colo. Many of the descendants of this couple live near Florence and Marion.

August Rosiere was much younger than his brother. His wife was Marie Leotine Degaif, daughter of Hubert and Catherine Degaif who lived in the French colony. The parents were quite elderly when they came to Kansas and they died many years ago. Mrs. August Rosiere died about 1909 and her husband died in October, 1920. They had five children who were living at the time of the

father's death. They were Elvirie, Leopold, Eugene, Joseph and Mary.

The Herzets were about the last of the Belgians to settle permanently in the colony. The family, arriving in Florence June 14, 1886, consisted of Mrs. Theresa Herzet and her four children, Robert and Charlotte Thomas and Joseph and August Herzet.

Theresa Counet Herzet was born April 5, 1843, at Liege, Belgium. She was graduated from a normal high school and taught school for three years before her marriage to Charles Thomas in 1864. They lived at Aywaille, Belgium, where her husband died five years later. In 1871 she was married to Peter Herzet. When he died in 1883, he left a profitable mercantile business. Mrs. Herzet did not feel that she could carry on the business because of the prejudice against women in industry and the unstable economic conditions in Belgium. A relative, Mr. Stillmant, a photographer in Florence, had written glowing accounts of prosperity in Kansas so she decided to sell out and bring her family to the state. When they arrived in Florence, they found that Mr. Stillmant was not so well-off as his letters had indicated. The first evening after their arrival he had to borrow money from Mrs. Herzet to buy groceries for supper. They were soon settled in a house by themselves, however, and two of the boys found employment at the stone quarry. In 1887, the Herzets moved to Trinidad, Colo., where the boys could work in the mines. After a year they came back to Florence and settled on a farm east of town. Mrs. Herzet died January 14, 1929, at the age of 85 years.

Robert Thomas, the eldest son, was born near Liege, Belgium, on March 4, 1867. One of his first jobs after he came to Kansas was to help in the construction of the Horner Hotel at Florence. Within a few months he began to prove up on a homestead south of Cedar Point. On June 14, 1893, he was married to Matilda Legere, the daughter of Elisie Legere, an early-day Belgian farmer of the valley. Robert Thomas died May 10, 1947. Mrs. Thomas lived near Cedar Point until her death on March 19, 1951. She was one of the early "Harvey girls." She worked at the Clifton Hotel, owned and operated by Fred Harvey as a railroad eating house in Florence in 1880, and later worked at the Harvey House at Newton.

Charlotte Thomas was born March 31, 1865. A short time after she came to Kansas she was married to Julian Lespegnard, a young Belgian whom she had known in the old country. With the exception of a year at Trinidad, Colo., the Lespegnards lived near Cedar Point the remainder of their lives. Julian Lespegnard died August

15, 1922, and his wife on January 6, 1939. They had several children who live near Cedar Point.

Joseph Herzet left Kansas many years ago and settled in Oklahoma. He died in December, 1928, just a few weeks before his mother's death.

August Herzet was born at Aywaille, Belgium, March 7, 1874. He was only 12 years of age when the family came to Kansas. Mr. Herzet recalls that he was very lonesome after they came. One day shortly after he arrived in Florence he overheard Count de Pingre talking in French to Mr. Ginette. To the lonely, homesick boy, the sound of his native tongue sounded very comforting. He edged closer and closer to them so that he would not miss a word. Finally the count noticed him and remarked that he didn't see why the boy had to act so curious when he probably couldn't understand a word they were saying. Mr. Ginette explained who he was and that French was the only language the lad could speak. The count spoke kindly to August and never missed an opportunity to be friendly with him after that.

The Herzets live on their farm north and east of Florence. Mrs. Herzet, before her marriage on January 27, 1898, was Elvirie Rosiere, the daughter of August Rosiere.

OTHER FRENCH AND BELGIUM FAMILIES

One could not, in the scope of this story, include all the French and Belgian people who lived in the valley between 1858 and 1890. Many names appear in the census, in the records of land transfers, in applications for citizenship, or in the columns of the local newspapers but little else is known about them.

The Plumbers, who came from Leavenworth to work as stonemasons on the Chase county courthouse, were of French origin. Julius Remy, a Frenchman, ran a barber shop in Cottonwood Falls in the early days, L. E. Duman was a jeweler there and Joseph Bibert a shoemaker. Joseph Beaudreau was a gunsmith at Cottonwood Falls as early as 1874, but in 1878 he was living on a farm in Doyle township, Marion county.

Among those who applied for citizenship in Chase county we find the names of Theodore Dubs, French, 1872; Gaspard Perret, French, 1873; C. M. G. Briart, Belgian, 1874; Amiel Pechin, French, 1875; Louis Maillet, French, 1875; Louis Chaban, French, 1877; Albert Prosper, French, 1884, and Charles Paquat, French, 1885. So far as can be determined none of this group stayed long enough to get their final papers.

Nothing further is known of M. Muriet who was chosen president of the first French society in 1875. Eugene Pottier and his wife, Mary, lived in Cottonwood township in 1885. His son, C. Pottier, married a daughter of Elisie Legere, and another son, Julius, married Lizzie Rosiere, daughter of Henry Rosiere. Julius lived in the neighborhood for a number of years, probably until he moved to Emporia in 1909.

Pierre Noel, a young Frenchman, applied for citizenship at Marion Centre in 1877. He never married, living in or near Florence until 1887 when he was drowned in the Cottonwood river. He must have been a person of some importance because the French consul from St. Louis came out to Florence after his death to take charge of his affairs. Ernest Bosc owned land in the valley in the 1880's and was associated in several business deals with Messrs. Caze and Firmin.

There were two Belgian families living in Cottonwood township in 1880 who apparently stayed only a short time. One of them was J. A. Broner, his wife, Anna, and their five children. All of them were born in Belgium except the youngest child, aged four years. The wife of their eldest son, Felix, was living with them and she was also a native of Belgium. The other family was that of John Francis and his wife, Rudlet. According to the 1880 census, their two oldest children were born in Belgium, three were born in Michigan and the youngest, a baby of seven months, was born in Kansas. By 1885, the two families had moved from the township and no one now remembers anything about them.

The Quiblers were closely allied with the French colony for several years. Henry Quibler was a native of Switzerland but his wife, Salena, was French. They lived east of Florence on a farm but moved to California many years ago.

The La Coss family, of French origin, was not first generation French. Joseph La Coss was born at South Bend, Ind., on November 4, 1851, the son of Charles La Coss. In 1869, he was married to Josephine Beaudeau, a native of St. Rock, Canada, of French parentage. They came to Kansas ten years later and settled on a farm east of Florence. In 1890, they moved into town. Charles La Coss and two other sons also came to Kansas and lived near Florence at a much later date.

Mrs. Josephine La Coss died October 3, 1913, and her husband on February 17, 1920. They had four children, Victor, Bert, Louise who married John Louis, and Mayme who married Stearns Bloom.

Mayme still lives in Florence where her husband was in business for a great many years.

Of the few French families who came out at the time Emile Firmin was Kansas immigration agent only the Clavels remained permanently. Celestine Clavel and his son came directly from the department of Luzerene in June, 1890. In a short time they had saved enough money to send for the rest of the family. They lived on a farm in Doyle township for many years. The family was large but all of the children left Marion county after they grew up. Several of the boys are railroad men and live in the West. Celestine Clavel died June 14, 1926, and Mrs. Clavel died in Topeka, March 9, 1935.

The Reverdys lived on H. J. Reverend's farm for a few years, then moved away. Charles Thuillot came from Paris in August, 1889, and lived on a farm north and east of Florence. In the same month A. Dunas, of Mans, France, but more recently from London, England, arrived in Florence. He was described as a gentleman of thorough education and varied experience. He planned, if he was pleased with the country, to locate there and expected that some of his relatives would come also. The *Bulletin* extended him a cordial welcome and predicted that he would become Americanized soon because he already knew the English language. In October his sister joined him and they lived on the farm he had recently purchased near the city. Their father and mother were expected to follow them to this country in a short time, but, if they came, it was not reported in the paper and nothing more is known of them.

Thebault Antoine came to live in Doyle township in 1889 or 1890. It is not known where he had been living just previously but some 20 years before coming to Kansas the family lived in Mexico. In April, 1890, their 21-year-old son died of consumption and Mrs. Antoine died on March 8, 1892. A second son, Ernest, married Josephine Soyez, the daughter of Francis Soyez.

BASTILLE DAY CELEBRATIONS

It seems very likely that the French settlement celebrated Bastille day from the beginning although we have no records earlier than 1875. Even after this date the affairs were not always reported in the papers. In addition to the celebration on July 14, it was customary for the members of the French colony to have another reunion in the fall, usually about September 15.

In 1875, the French citizens of the Cottonwood valley celebrated

the fall of the Bastille at Florence. M. Ginette, lately from Paris, was the principal speaker of the day. He proposed that they form a society, the object of which was to help one another continuously. The society was accordingly organized with the following officers: M. Muriet, president; M. Ginette, secretary; C. F. Laloge, treasurer; Messrs. Sticker, Puhellier and Philibert, executive committee. It seems characteristic that even at this early date at least one of the officers, M. Philibert, was Belgian, not French. So far as can be determined the Belgians and the few Swiss settlers of the valley always considered themselves a part of the French colony and always participated in their activities.

We have no further record of the celebrations until 1883 when the big affair was held at Reading, northeast of Emporia. Many of the French people from Florence, including the cornet band, attended. Over five hundred were present. In the evening those of the French citizens who did not go to Reading gathered at the home of Mr. Ginette. The house was adorned with the French flag, and the "Marseillaise" and other French songs were sung.

The celebration in 1884 was held at Barker's grove north of town. It was quite an elaborate affair. The park was beautifully decorated with American flags and the French tri-colors. A platform was erected near the center of the park with room for the speakers and the band. A large arch spanned the front of the stand with the following inscription written on a large banner: "U. S. — France — R. F. — Etats Unis."

The program commenced with the "Marseillaise" played by the Florence cornet band, followed by "Hail Columbia." During the rendition of these numbers the French tri-colors and the Stars and Stripes were prominently displayed by Alphonse Bichet.

Emile Firmin was the speaker of the day. At the conclusion of his remarks, Mr. Stillmant, the photographer, took a number of pictures. At noon refreshments were served and after that a program of music was given. The program was under the direction of Mr. Ginette. The band played instrumental music and there were vocal pieces in both French and English. Victoria Bataille, of Marion, with her "cultivated voice and clear enunciation," won favor with the audience. Petrus Guillion and Louis Guyot sang, the former was encored again and again for his presentation of French comic songs.

At four o'clock the platform was cleared and dancing commenced. The dancing continued until twilight at which time the French

chorus formed with flags in hand and marched from the park singing the "Marseillaise" and "The Red, White, and Blue." After dark a "grand pyrotechnic display" was given from the eminence east of the Cottonwood. It was witnessed by practically all of the citizens of the town.

This concluded the festivities of July 14 but it did not conclude the celebration. A grand concert was given in the Florence Opera House the next evening. The French musicians of Florence were assisted by talent from Emporia, Reading, Osage City and Marion. Mrs. Ginette presided at the piano. The French chorus sang. There were solos by Miss Bougere of Osage City, Miss Debaugé of Reading and Victoria Bataille of Marion. Messrs. Guillion and Guyot again sang duets.

During the next few years the celebrations did not receive much notice from the press. The centennial anniversary of the fall of the Bastille in 1889 called for a special celebration. The several committees of the newly organized "Union Francaise" planned an elaborate affair. It was attended by the entire French and Belgian population of Marion and Chase counties and guests from all over the state as well as some from Missouri. On the evening of the 13th at least 200 people gathered in the opera house, "where a banquet, such as only our French friends can prepare, was partaken of." After the dinner the president welcomed the guests and made a short speech, then the auditorium was made ready for the concert which was to follow. A very select program was given. It consisted of:

PART FIRST

- No. 1. Grand Medley of popular and patriotic French airs, arranged by Chas. Leonard, by complete orchestra.
- No. 2. Romance from Giralda (Adam) accompanied by Mrs. Ginette, pianist, Mr. Louis Guyot.
- No. 3. Aria from Domino Noir (Auber) piano accompaniment, by Prof. Ginette, Mrs. De Pingre.
- No. 4. Grand Fantasia for Piano, from Haydee (Auber), Mrs. Ginette.
- No. 5. Salut a la France, patriotic air, Mrs. [P] Bataille and Louis Guyot.
- No. 6. Air from Noces de Jeannette (Masse), E. Ginette, Sr.

PART SECOND

- No. 1. Gloria from Mozart's 12th Mass, Orchestra: Chas. Leonard, A. A. Beebe, J. H. Lovatt, M. Ginette.
- No. 2. Aria from Les Dragons de Villars (Maillan) Miss Victoria Bataille.
- No. 3. Selection from Il Trovatore (Verdi) Louis Guyot.
- No. 4. Grand Quatuor, arranged by Leonard: Orchestra Quartette.
- No. 5. Duet from Les Noces de Jeannette: Mrs. De Pingre and Mr. Ginette.

- No. 6. Grand Concert Waltz for piano (Hertz) Mrs. Ginette.
 No. 7. Duet from Le Mascotte, Miss Bataille and E. Ginette, Jr.
 No. 8. Grand Finale Marseillaise, by complete orchestra.

After the concert, the chairs were removed and all joined in dancing until the close of the evening. On the afternoon of the 14th, a grand picnic was held in Bichet's grove. At the business meeting Mr. Bernard was chosen president; Frank Laloge, treasurer, and Alphonse Bichet, secretary of the French society for the ensuing year.

In 1890, the French society put forth special effort to make the annual reunion on Bastille day a success. The program for the day was announced in advance in the *Bulletin* for July 11 as follows:

<i>English</i>	<i>French</i>
1. Recreation	1. Divertissement
2. Dinner	2. Diner pique-nique
3. Speaking	3. Discours
4. Various amusements	4. Jeux divers
5. Games	5. Tombola
6. Grand ball	6. Bal a Grand Orchestre

The *Bulletin* commented, "A people in distant lands, who remember with annual celebrations the achievements of liberty in their native country, can never prove unworthy of the land of their adoption."

On the day of the picnic the exercises began with the address of welcome by Francis Bernard. He concluded his remarks with this comment, "The young Republic is already established in France, like it is in the United States. Let me join the two countries—our two fatherlands—in one sentiment of love and recognition. Long live France and long live the Union."

Mr. Lang, the French consul in Kansas City, favored the society with an excellent speech in which he said:

The colony of Marion and Chase is the elite of the French in Kansas. It numbers among its members the generous philanthropist, Mr. Bernard, the erudite philosopher, Mr. Firmin, men of mind and heart like Mr. Caze, the fearless pioneer like Messrs. Laloge and Bichet, the artistic and versatile like Mr. Ginette, the representative of our military in the person of Mr. de Pingre, the best specimens of laborers in the honorable and industrious farmers of French origin, and chief among them all the charming group of graceful womanhood who are known throughout this valley for their pleasing hospitality. I am happy indeed to be with you, and in the name of the country I have the honor to represent, permit me to congratulate you upon the flavor you have given to the French name, and for your achievements in winning the esteem and admiration of representative Americans.

We do not know how much longer the Bastille day celebrations were held regularly. The last time the paper mentioned one of them was in 1892. In that year the *Bulletin* reported that "Many of our townspeople participated in the festivities which were held in Bichet's grove east of town." This explains, in part, why the celebrations were discontinued. Bastille day lost its meaning when so many people attended who did not understand nor appreciate the reason for its celebration. Then, as a former member of the colony explained, some of the young men of the county took advantage of the hospitality of the French and Belgian people by attending and turning the celebrations into exhibitions of rowdiness.

CULTURAL CONTRIBUTIONS

The French people love music and those who settled in the Cottonwood valley contributed much to the cultural life of the community. There were many talented musicians whom we have already mentioned: the Ginettes, Madame de Pingre, Victoria Bataille and others. Another family who lived there only a short time is worthy of mention.

Caesar Moutonnier, his wife and three children, Laura, Mary and Paul, were all graduates of the Paris Conservatory of Music. Early in 1875 they were living on a farm near Cedar Point. The Catholic church at Cottonwood Falls planned a festival for May 27 and asked the Moutonnier family to give a concert in the evening. M. Ferlet, of the Union Hotel, was asked to prepare a real French dinner in honor of the occasion. The affair was attended by practically all of the residents of the French colony as well as many French people from other parts of the state. The concert was enjoyed by a large and appreciative audience. In July, the Moutonnier family moved to Emporia where they expected to teach music and French. Later that year they went Lawrence to live. M. Moutonnier held a professorship in the conservatory of music. We have no further record of this talented family but it would be interesting to know what became of them.

Many of the French had excellent voices and they enjoyed singing. To those who are old enough to remember the reunions in the Bichet grove, the mighty oaks still seem to reverberate with the stirring "Marseillaise" and the other French songs they so loved to sing. Apart from these special occasions, it was customary for the families to meet in the evenings and spend the hours talking and singing. Love of companionship, of good music and dancing, more than any other characteristic, set these people apart from their American

neighbors who had little time for recreation. Life on the frontier was serious and rugged but these French pioneers were seldom too tired after a hard day's work to enjoy a few hours of leisure with their friends.

French weddings were special occasions. The ceremony itself was usually held at the county seat, either at Marion or Cottonwood Falls, or at the Catholic church at Florence. After the service a celebration was held at the bride's home. The festivities often lasted three days. All the French and Belgian people for miles around attended at least part of the time. If the house had two stories the lower floor was used for visiting and dancing. A room or two on the second story was cleared and big tables put up there for food. There seemed to be a never ending supply of good things to eat.

One wedding in the colony was a bit unusual and caused a great deal of merriment. The wedding was to be held in the home of the bride's parents. On the afternoon chosen the guests arrived and the bridegroom put in his appearance just a short time before the hour set for the ceremony. He was dressed in his best but his best was none too good. He had laundered his own shirt and had done a very poor job of it. When the bride saw him she ordered him to take off his shirt. Then while the guests and the bridegroom waited the bride washed and ironed the shirt. As soon as she had it done up to her own satisfaction the groom put it on and the ceremony proceeded.

FRENCH COOKERY

The people of the valley were famed for their hospitality and the women were noted for the wonderful food they set before their guests. They all had favorite recipes brought from the old country and there is no doubt that the food they prepared differed considerably from that of their American neighbors. They were handicapped by a lack of variety in the foods available on the frontier and inability to buy condiments easily obtainable in France.

The following recipes were among those used by the French and Belgian housewives:

La Pomme de Terre avec la Viande.

Cut fat meat into inch squares and brown in deep iron kettle. Add flour and water to make gravy. Salt to taste. Pare potatoes and cut into inch cubes and add to gravy. Add one large onion, cut fine. Cook slowly on the back of the stove, stirring frequently.

Rabbit.

Dress and cut rabbit into pieces. Salt and pepper to taste. Cover with water. Add two tablespoons of vinegar and let stand over night. Wipe

pieces of rabbit and brown in hot lard in skillet. When rabbit is brown remove from skillet and add flour and water to make gravy. Add browned rabbit to gravy and cook slowly until tender.

Chicken with Sour Cream.

Cut up young chicken. Have skillet hot with plenty of butter. Place chicken in fat and fry slowly until brown (Do not flour the chicken). When tender, and just a few minutes before serving, pour a cup of good sour cream over the chicken. This will thicken up in a good rich sauce. Serve immediately. Sweet cream will thin out and get watery. Be sure the cream is sour.

Pig's Feet in Brown Gravy.

Make a gravy in a heavy skillet by browning flour in several spoonful of meat fryings. When brown add cold water, stirring slowly to make a smooth gravy. Add salt to taste. Put the scraped and split pig's feet in a deep kettle and pour the gravy over them. Cook slowly over a low fire for several hours, until the meat is tender and dropping from the bones. Add a little hot water as the gravy gets too thick. Stir often as it sticks easily.

Turnip Kraut.

This is made about the same way as cabbage kraut but has a different flavor and is much better if the turnips are tender and juicy. Pare the turnips and shred in narrow strips. Pack tightly into jars and add salt to each layer (about a heaping teaspoon to each quart). Cover with cloth and weighted lid. Set in cool place and let ripen. When ready to eat the kraut may be boiled or drained and fried.

Fried Noodles.

To make the noodle dough break an egg into a bowl of flour. Add pinch of salt and half an egg shell of water. Form into a ball and roll very thin on a floured bread board. Dry this thin sheet of dough for several hours (Grandmother used to hang it over the back of a chair). When dry but not brittle roll like a jelly roll and cut crossways about $\frac{1}{4}$ inches wide. Shake apart and drop in boiling water. When tender, place in collander and drain. Fry in skillet, stirring often like fried potatoes.⁴²

Prepared yeast was not available in the early days so it had to be made at home from wild hops, corn meal and water. It was made into cakes and dried, then used when needed. Sometimes the bread was not ready to bake by noon. In this event they would take part of the dough and roll it out about an inch thick. It was then cut into strips an inch wide and six or seven inches in length and fried in deep fat. The bread sticks were sprinkled with sugar and eaten while hot.

About the only salads they had in pioneer days were lettuce and other greens grown in the garden. Usually the lettuce was wilted. It was cut into pieces, a few green tops of onions, sugar and seasoning

42. The recipes given were used by the women of the Rosiere, Soyez and Bichet families. They were furnished through the courtesy of Mrs. Ernest Lalouette and Mrs. Fred A. Bichet of Florence.

added. Bacon grease and vinegar were poured over it and a tight lid put on for a few minutes. Wilted lettuce was a standard dish for spring whether in an American or French home.

Potatoes and wild game, of necessity, had a prominent place in the menu. The French were very fond of pork. It formed the basis for the innumerable soups they made and was used in many other ways. Blood sausage was a favorite. When butchering time came they made quantities of it. Mrs. Toomey, the French milliner of Marion, was especially fond of blood sausage and each fall when the Bichets butchered she always made it a point to be on hand to get her share.

The French, in particular, liked their wine. Each farmer had his vineyard and some of them were masters in the art of grape culture. When the grapes were ripe, they were picked and washed and turned into the large stone vat provided for that purpose. The juice was pressed out and bottled or put in a barrel. It was customary to add a bit of water and press the juice out a second time. This wine, which was not as good as the first run, was given to the hired help or used when company was not present. The count, according to tradition, never drank plain water. If he couldn't have wine he insisted on adding vinegar to the water to kill the germs. Coming from a country where drinking water was traditionally impure and wine was used freely, it was not remarkable for him to feel about it as he did.

RELIGIOUS LIFE

The settlers in the colony were predominantly Catholic but there was no church close enough for them to attend until several years after the Civil War.

It was not until 1866 or 1867 that a priest visited the Cottonwood valley. At that time Father Louis Dumortier, located at St. Mary's Mission on the Kansas river, extended his missionary district as far south as Council Grove, Diamond Springs and Bazaar. He established a station for the French people on the Cottonwood. Father Dumortier tried to cover a very large territory. He had stations north and east of St. Mary's, up the Republican valley, the Smoky Hill valley as far as Salina, as well as those settlements south through Dickinson, Morris and Chase counties. He could not visit each station more than once every five or six weeks because of the long distances and difficulties of travel. In the summer of 1867, cholera broke out among the soldiers at Fort Harker and Father Dumortier went there to aid in caring for the ill. He contracted the disease and died on July 25.

The next year Father Paul Mary Ponziglione, working from Osage Mission in Neosho county, extended his missionary "parish" beyond the settlements on the Verdigris and Neosho valleys and visited Father Dumortier's newly established stations on the Cottonwood. In his "Western Mission Journal" he wrote that on August 17, 1868, he "went to visit a French settlement on Cedar creek and stopped at Mr. Bernard's."⁴³ On August 18, he made this entry, "From Mr. Bernard's house this morning the Father went in company of Mr. Bernard himself to visit another French family." They found the father of the family "a confirmed infidel, who acknowledged that he used to be a Catholic, but now claims to have no religion of any kind. Unlike to a Frenchman he received the Father with . . . contempt so that Mr. Bernard felt very much ashamed for having brought the Father to such a house." Father Ponziglione would have been very gratified to know that this same Frenchman who claimed to have no religion, worked very hard to organize a Catholic church in Cedar Point a few years later.

Father Philip Colleton, also from Osage Mission, visited the Catholic settlements in that section in 1869. He reported a "station put up in favor of the French settlers at Mr. Bernard's house."

There was no Catholic church in Chase county until 1871. It was made possible through the generosity of Judge Samuel N. Wood who, although not a Catholic himself, offered Father Ponziglione some land and a donation of money for the erection of a church at Cottonwood Falls. The church was built and dedicated to St. Francis Borgia on March 26, 1871.⁴⁴ There were few, if any, Catholics at Cottonwood Falls but it was planned that this church would serve the Catholic families at Union, Cedar Point and Bazaar. In February, 1873, a meeting was held at the school house in Cedar Point "to provide means for the steady erection of a church building, and to secure the services of a fit person (conversant with both the French and English languages) to officiate therein, on every Sunday, according to the rites of the Roman Catholic religion."

On March 1 another meeting was held for the purpose of formally organizing a Catholic church. A charter was adopted, signed and ordered to be filed with the secretary of state in Topeka. The incorporation was under the name of the Cedar Point Catholic Church.

43. The notebooks containing Father Ponziglione's "Western Mission Journal" are in the archives of the Missouri province of the Society of Jesus, St. Louis University. Excerpts from the "Journal" were copied through the courtesy of Father Robert Kraus of St. Louis University.

44. The church of St. Francis Borgia was in existence only a few years. Later, in 1881, St. Anthony's church was built at Strong City, a mile north of Cottonwood. It is doubtful whether any of the French colony attended either of these churches regularly because of the distance from their homes, although the baptismal records show that some brought their children there for baptism.

Francis Bernard, Francis Laloge and Stephen Marcou were chosen trustees for the first year. Apparently the church was never built.

During the next years, church services were held in the homes of the settlers by visiting priests. The church was moving west quite rapidly and the location of the priest administering to the French people at Cedar Point, changed from time to time. Father Joseph Perrier became resident priest at Emporia in 1874 and he was expected to take charge of a mission district extending from Carbondale to Cedar Point on the Santa Fe railroad and from Council Grove to Hartford on the Missouri, Kansas and Texas railway. Father Perrier ⁴⁵ had an assistant, but with such a large territory to cover, it was not possible to reach each settlement very frequently.

A small stone church was built in Florence in 1878. By this time there was a large Irish settlement west of town so the church was built as much for them as for the French and Belgians. They did not have a resident priest until 1882.

Practically all the Belgian settlers and a large number of the French became communicants of St. Patrick's parish at Florence. Occasionally the newspapers announced that services would be conducted in French. Ernest Ginette was, for many years, the music director at this church. A new and larger building was erected in 1883 and the present church was dedicated on December 11, 1923. Many of the descendants of the French and Belgian pioneers are members of this parish at the present time.

45. Father Joseph Perrier was born March 23, 1839, at Savoy, France, and was ordained May 30, 1863, at Chambéry. He came to Kansas as a missionary priest in June, 1866, starting his work from Lawrence. After serving the church at Emporia where he went in 1874, he was transferred to Concordia in 1880. He was the first resident priest of this parish and through his efforts the cause of the Catholic church in this region was advanced materially. Father Joseph was made Monsignor at St. Joseph's church, Concordia, June 24, 1911. He died December 31, 1917. Sister M. Joseph Perrier, for many years mistress of novices of the Sisters of St. Joseph in Concordia, was a cousin of Father Perrier as was Jean Perrier of Emporia. Mrs. Rossillion, the mother of Joseph and Francis Rossillion, was a relative of Father Perrier.

Along the Line of the Kansas Pacific Railway in Western Kansas in 1870

I. INTRODUCTION

THE following appraisal of the towns and stations on the Kansas Pacific (now the Union Pacific) railway between Salina and Pond City (near the west line of the state), early in 1870, is taken from *A Business Directory . . . Entitled St. Louis to Denver, for 1870 . . .*, published by N. W. Josselyn & Co. of St. Louis (presumably in 1870), pp. 376-388. The agent of the *Directory's* publisher who traveled over the Kansas Pacific's "Great Smoky Hill Route" and recorded his candid impressions, remains anonymous.

II. EXCERPTS FROM THE DIRECTORY

SALINA, . . . is one of the most flourishing and prosperous towns in Western Kansas. The town site . . . was selected and the first settlement made here in 1858 . . . by a small party under the leadership of Col. Wm. A. Phillips. . . .

During the war emigration westward was almost entirely suspended, and Salina did not grow much until after its close. In September, 1866, when the first saw mill successfully operated in the country began to turn out lumber for building purposes, there were scarcely more than a dozen buildings in the town, and those were mostly small. The town as it now stands has nearly all been built within the last three years.

Until within the last few years Salina was little more than a way station on the Santa Fe and Overland freight and stage route, and its business consisted in supplying a few farmers in the valley, the ranchmen on the Plains, and in trading with the Indians, Mexicans and freighters. Now she has a large and rapidly increasing trade in the various branches of business, with industrious thrifty farmers in large numbers. . . .

The market west is caused by the demand for the government posts along the line of the railroad, and for Sheridan, Hays City and Ellsworth, as after you get 30 miles west of Salina it is almost an impossibility to find an acre of tilled land. In fact, Salina may very properly be considered as being on the boundary line of civilization, and one is surprised on coming there from the east to find so much quiet and order in a town so far west. . . .

The K. P. R. W. runs through the town, and a movement is on foot to build a road from Salina south into Texas, and thus open an all rail outlet for the cattle trade. Another road is prospected, which will run diagonally across the lower portion of the state and through Salina. . . .

Salina contains four hotels, a large number of business houses in the various branches of trade, a Presbyterian church, a Methodist church, and an elegant Baptist church, just completed. It is one of the best churches in Western Kansas, and is a perfect gem. Salina also contains a good public school building, which cost between \$7,000 and \$8,000, two grist mills, one saw mill, a newspaper, &c.

. . .
BAVARIA, a flag station, 195 miles from [Kansas-Missouri] State line. . . . One stock ranche and a store are all the improvements to be seen as yet.

BROOKFIELD. This will be a place of considerable importance, as the Kansas Pacific Railway Co. are building a fine round-house here, and contemplate building the principal machine shops of the road at this point. No other improvements at present. . . .

ROCK SPRING: A flag station on the K. P. R. W., containing only a water tank and a section house. . . .

FORT HARKER. This is a military post for the protection of the frontier against Indians. . . .

ELLSWORTH . . . is a promising young town located at the most Southern point of the K. P. R. W. four miles west of Fort Harker on the Smoky Hill river. . . .

This place and Fort Harker are the points of reshipment of supplies for Fort Sill, Camp Supply, and the other points in the Indian territory and Forts Larned and Dodge, in the South-west.

Ellsworth now commands a fine trade from an extensive range of country. . . . Extensive sales of land are being made to actual settlers of a class that will make their mark with permanent improvements. This is also a point of reshipment for Texas cattle and large numbers will be driven here this coming season as good grass and water are to be had in abundance.

The town was laid out in lots in July 1867, and in August following the Railroad company commenced building their depot. Since that time notwithstanding the cholera scare and the Indian difficulties it has been steadily improving, and now has a population of over 500 souls.

The climate is excellent and the atmosphere is pure, dry and

exhilarating, with no malarious diseases, incident to most new countries. Physicians find little employment. . . . Buffalo, Antelope and other game are found within a few miles of town.

A vein of anthracite coal is being worked near the western boundary line of the county, and is delivered at the railroad for \$8 per ton. . . .

The National Land company . . . have an agency here designated as the "Ellsworth district" including all the Railroad lands in Ellsworth, Lincoln, Rice and Barton, under the charge of that indefatigable Western Kansas man Judge James Miller. . . .

The only public buildings yet in course of construction are a church and school house which are evidences of an advancing civilization and a more healthy public sentiment.

What the future of this town is to be can only be a matter of speculation, but judging from what has already been accomplished in so short a time we are inclined to the opinion that there will one day be a large and flourishing town, at this point, which was once known as a portion of the "Great American Desert." . . .

COW CREEK STATION. This is simply a wooding station and like all the stations from here to Sheridan except Hays City, the largest portion of it is its name. . . . From here to Sheridan, there is not a foot of ground under cultivation. . . .

WILSONS STATION. A "wood and water" station, 239 miles from State Line. . . . Coal is found about 5 miles south of here and is being worked but it is not of a very good quality. . . .

BUNKER HILL, "Wood and water" are all the train stops here for. Nothing to be seen for miles, except boundless prairies and coarse buffalo grass. . . .

FOSSILL CREEK. Another "wood and water" station, with a corporals guard of soldiers on duty as at the other Stations along here to prevent any indian troubles. . . .

WALKERS STATION. This is the first station east of Fort Hays and "wood and water" or water and wood for a change, is all that is wanted here. . . .

HAYS CITY . . . is the county seat of Ellis County Kansas and is situated on Big Creek about half a mile from Fort Hays from which it derives its name. From here, or rather from the Fort a very large amount of Government supplies are sent south, as it is from Fort Hays, that Fort Dodge and Camp Supply receive there[!] supplies as well as a large quantity of Indian goods. Fort

Hays is probably one of the most important Government posts on or near the Kansas Pacific Railway and is at present, Jan. 1, 1870 under command of Col. Gibson.

Hays City is in the heart of the buffalo and Indian country and but for its close proximity to the Fort would be completely isolated as it is the only town within a radius of nearly 75 miles. It was near here that the principal outrages were committed during the Indian troubles of 1868 and it was as much a man's life was worth to venture half a mile from town.

In former times it had a very bad reputation, as being the resort and abode of a large number of roughs and outlaws, but the law abiding citizens having taken matters into their own hands and hung a few of them, have so completely changed the order of things as to now make Hays City quiet and orderly in comparison to what it used to be. . . .

ELLIS is 302 miles west of State line. . . . It is another "wood and water" station, with a few bluecoated fellows on guard.

OGALLAH . . . is in the very center of the buffalo country, and besides the everlasting "wood and water," the train stops for dinner, and you are regaled with buffalo in all imaginable styles. Nevertheless it contains no houses, and is like all the stations along here. Distance from State Line 318. . . .

PARK'S FORT. There is nothing here but "wood and water," and very little of that. 329 miles from State Line, 610 miles from St. Louis, and you know all about Park's Fort any one can tell you.

COYOTE . . . is another "city of the plains," and boasts of one house and a limited supply of "wood and water," with a few blue-coats to watch it. . . .

BUFFALO. A "wood and water" station, 351 miles from State Line. . . .

GRINNELL. More mud forts, presided over, built and commanded by the "boys in blue," here meet the traveler's gaze, as another stop is made for "wood and water," at a point 364 miles from State line. . . .

CARLYLE. A mere stopping point for trains, with a side track and water tanks, 375 miles from State Line. . . .

MONUMENT . . . is 386 miles from State Line . . . and is another stopping point to replenish the fuel and fill the water tank. . . .

GOPHER . . . is 7 miles east of Sheridan, and the last station

on the road before you reach there. "Wood and water" again, and we are off. Distance from State Line 398 miles. . . .

SHERIDAN . . . was settled during the summer of 1868, and until within the last few weeks of 1869 was the western terminus of the Kansas Pacific Railway. Now, however, the road is in operation to Eagle Tail, Colorado, 25 miles west of Sheridan, and will soon be opened to Carson City, 83 miles west. For a long time doubts were entertained as to whether the road would be completed any further, as the Government subsidy expired here; but the company have determined to push it forward to Denver, anyhow, and a large force of men are now at work on what is called the Denver Extension, and the road bed is graded about half-way, with a good prospect of the iron horse bounding into Denver before the close of the summer.

Sheridan is the farthest west of any town in Kansas except a small place near Fort Wallace called Pond City, and is only 20 miles from the Colorado line. While it was the terminus of the road a large business was done, as it was from here that most of the teams started with freight for Denver and Santa Fe, and also the Overland Mail coaches for the same places; but as the road is moving on, the Mexican and Colorado trade will go with it, and it is thought by many that Carson City will be the next place to which the principal business houses of Sheridan will remove, and to which place this trade will go.

The country around Sheridan is barren and totally unfit for cultivation. What life and activity there has been here has resulted entirely from the railroad and the Mexican trade, and not from any demand for goods or even prospect of any from the surrounding country, over which the buffalo range and the Indians hold almost undisputed sway. Sheridan is 405 miles from State Line. . . .

FORT WALLACE. A military post of considerable importance, 419 miles from State Line. . . . It is situated about 2 miles from the K.P.R.W., and near the western boundary line of Kansas.

POND CITY. This is a small place of perhaps 100 inhabitants, and is dependent entirely upon the soldiers of Fort Wallace for support, it is about two miles from the Fort.

There are no business houses here, and the town is composed almost entirely of saloons. It is the farthest west of any town in Kansas. Distance from State Line 421 miles. . . .

Bypaths of Kansas History

ATTORNEY AT LAW AND MAKER OF AXE HANDLES

James A. Troutman, who wrote the preface to *Radges' 1905 Directory of Topeka*, had the following about Topeka's first lawyer:

The first lawyer who "flung his shingle to the breeze," according to tradition, displayed this unique sign: "———, Attorney and Counselor at Law, Solicitor in Chancery, and Land Agent. Axe-Handles made to Order."

There are some members of the bar here now, who might pursue a side line, such as making axe-handles, without destroying the efficiency or marring the harmony of our jurisprudence.

A LONELY HEART

From the *Kansas National Democrat*, Lecompton, January 19, 1860.

WANTED.—A WIFE, a domestic, loving one—one who would not "cry her eyes out" should I chance to stay away ten minutes longer than I promised to return. I don't want a "Butterfly," but a real *wife*—one with ordinary economy. I do not care for an authoress; neither do I wish for one who is too "soft," but one who has an ordinary amount of intelligence; one who can manage household affairs while I attend to business outside. I want one who is affectionate, and not too fond of scolding; but still I would wish her to have sufficient independence to stand up for what is right, nor yet a strong-minded woman. Riches I do not seek, but wish one with most of the attributes pertaining to a *real woman*. I do not ask for a perfect beauty, nor must she be a "fright."

With such an one, I fancy I could live a happy life, and afford her a comfortable competency, as well as a tolerable good husband, whose morals are pretty fair, and also a husband who would stay at home with his wife, and not indulge too freely in the "intoxicating bowl."

Address communications, through the Post-office, Lecompton, to X. Y. Z.

LAYING BRICK IN 1872

From *The Weekly Kansas Chief*, Troy, July 11, 1872.

Troy has the champion brick-layer. The other day, B. F. Calloway, in one day, on Border's new building, laid nine thousand brick, wall measurement, or eight thousand kiln count. It was a favorable piece of wall to lay brick on; yet we do not believe it can be beaten by any other man, and let him pick his wall.

BEFORE MACK SENNETT

From *The Kansas Daily Commonwealth*, Topeka, July 18, 1873.

A DISASTROUS RUNAWAY.—Yesterday morning a team of horses attached to a lumber wagon took their bits in their mouths and started to run away down Tenth avenue. The driver, jerking them up too suddenly, lost his hat. Grabbing after his hat he fell off of the seat and out of the wagon, alighting on a nomadic pig; the pig, dreadfully frightened, struck for the sidewalk, running between a book-peddler's legs, throwing him against and through the show window of a tailor shop. The crash startled the tailor so that he dropped the hot goose on his foot, broke a kerosene lamp with his elbow, fell down on an apprentice, who rammed a two-inch needle through his own thumb and into his master's spinal column, and upset the stove on a customer with his feet in agonized contortions. What other damage was done at the tailor shop we are not prepared to state, as in our eagerness to get hold of all the consequences we hastened after the runaway team, which by this time had dashed through Mr. Maxwell's fence, converting the boards into kindling-wood, and scattering the splinters to the four winds; the next depredation was committed upon the property of Mr. Clark, where an elaborate chicken-coop was entirely demolished, and the inmates as completely stripped of their feathers as if a tornado has just passed over that particular section. Passing on down the aristocratic thoroughfare the team encountered a lime cart and upset it with very little ceremony, burying the driver beneath the lime. About a block below there another catastrophe occurred. A sweet, laughing boy of fourteen summers, the idol of his mother's heart and frequently of her (slipper) sole's devotion, had tied a clothes line across the street, in order to have a joke on the teamsters who pass that way. While the boy was aloft in the cross-trees of a tree box, tying the last end of the rope, the runaway team heretofore alluded to careened down that way like a lost comet, and two hours after he woke up that boy had no more idea how he had got into that back yard on the other side of the street than he had of how he would manage to get into old John Robinson's circus. It is seldom indeed that a runaway is attended with so many touching incidents, and the reader must pardon us for making so much of this one.

PLOWING ALONG THE SANTA FE

From the *Wabaunsee County News*, Alma, August 13, 1873.

The A. T. & S. F. railroad is now plowing a forty-inch furrow one hundred and twenty-five feet from the center of its track on each side, between Newton and Sargent [on the Kansas-Colorado border], and which will be burned out as a fire guard. The teams are now at work, going west at the rate of ten miles per day.

DRAMA ON THE BORDER

From *The Kansas Daily Commonwealth*, Topeka, September 14, 1873.

It is not necessary to name the place. Border-towns are all very much alike after the temporary railway-terminus has gone westward and they are left with only their natural resources, pervaded still by the ghost of ruffianism, possessed yet by a mania for rows, and a talent for wickedness.

But there was a theatre there. The curtain rose every night at half-past seven, and displayed a stage about seven feet by nine, bordered by the most wonderful green cotton walls, perforated by the reddest and most gigantic of doors and windows, and altogether overrun by morning-glories as big as your hat. Sometimes they would shift a scene, and stupefy the audience with the display of a dizzy battlement as much as four feet high, or run out and prop up a tree which was phenomenal in the respect of being obviously perfectly flat, any one of whose half-dozen leaves might have been economically used as a blind-board for a town cow addicted to lifting gates. They had a cabin or two, the doors of which occupied an entire end of the tenement, and beside which the swelling proportions of a tragedian were truly gigantic. They had a strip of the briny deep as much as a foot and a half wide, which washed the back of the stage with the wildest of green-and-white waves, regardless of the state of the weather. There were "exits and entrances" too numerous to mention, and wherever any sort of drapery was required about which it is unbecoming in an audience to be too particular, it was there in the shape of red calico.

I was entirely unencumbered as to engagements, and said I would go. It was offered as an inducement by my frontier friend that it should not cost a cent. "If not," said he, "there'll be trouble with that doorkeeper." When we reached the principal entrance to the long, low house which did duty as the temple of the drama, my friend administered a rousing kick to the door. "Open this yar," he remarked; "I'm a goin' in,—so's this feller," and accordingly, in we went.

It was not intended for the amusement of a very large audience. One-half the available space was taken up by a bar and a big stove. There were some wooden benches and boxes to sit upon, and as the curtain had not risen, the crowd amused themselves by stealing each other's hats, putting quids of tobacco in each other's pockets, irrigating themselves at the bar and trying to kick over the stove. The playful and innocent badinage which went on the while; the delicate pleasantries would have made a Piute's hair curl.

But presently, with many a hitch and wrinkle, the curtain rose. I don't remember the name of the play, but it depicted the evils and sorrows of a drunkard's life to an appreciative audience of drunkards. About the third act a "supe" came on with a huge armful of prairie hay and strewed the platform therewith, and thereupon the leading actor proceeded to illustrate the characteristic symptoms of *mania a potu*. He rolled and tumbled and frothed. It was the hardest work I have ever seen done on any stage. It was worse than the rail pen at an Indiana camp-meeting, where the hardest cases retire to fight it out with the devil. It was done before an audience entirely *au fait* in such matters, and they were critical, therefore, and very exacting. They cheered him sometimes when he was seized with an unusual fit of trembling,

but finally, while he lay completely exhausted, having torn off both sleeves and ruptured his pantaloons, a young man in the audience shied half a squeezed lemon which he had taken from a tumbler, with such nicety that it took the exhausted tragedian squarely in the left eye. He got up and walked to the front of the stage, as sober a man as one could wish to see, but awfully mad. "If I knowed who throwed that," he remarked, "I'll be blanked * if I wouldn't come out there and lick him so blanked bad that snakes wouldn't be nowhar, and I'll do it yet; blank *me* if I can't clean out the whole audience." But after all, such is professional discipline, he went back and lay down in the broken hay and finished the part, while the imprudent young man was raked down from behind and passed, with many a cuff, over the heads of the audience to the door.

Just then my *chaperon* sidled up to the stove and pretended to warm his hands. Then he came back and plucked me by the sleeve; "let's git," he remarked. We went out and stood across the street. We began to hear the beginning of a coughing epidemic, coupled with considerable profanity. The doors were flung open and the crowd rushed out, the principal tragedian at the head, the talented leader of the largest barking-chorus ever organized in the west. "They never do play the thing out," remarked my friend; "they allers gets to coughin'—rec'n the air is too close." I noticed that he was very much concerned in enquiring what was the matter, and expressed himself very bitterly with regard to the sneaking trick of peppering the hot stove.

That was the end of my first and last sitting in front of the foot-lights on the border. I passed the place an hour after, and the calico drop curtain was down, the benches and boxes were deserted, the temple of the drama again transformed into a "saloon," and the leading actor, leaning against the bar, was fast preparing himself for a delineation of the drunkard's woes not down in the bills.

JAMES W. STEELE.

* This convenient and expressive word has an illustrious ancestry. I stole it from Mr. Brett Harte; he negotiated for it with Mr. Charles Reade, while the latter confesses to have got it from one Mr. Boyle.

FORERUNNER OF THE AUTOMOBILE TRAILER

From the *Netawaka Chief*, March 12, 1874.

We noticed a novel mode of traveling, this morning. A shanty built on wheels, with stove, windows, and all the equipments common to a Pullman's Palace Car.

PRACTICING FOR THE LIAR'S CLUB

From the *Lakin Eagle*, May 20, 1879.

DOES IT BLOW IN KANSAS?—As a truth and no fabrication, Kansas is not a windy country.

We have here during twelve months of the year an imperceptible circulation of air from the south, west, north and east, (varied to suit ones taste and inconvenience) that in other states as in Colorado, Illinois and Nebraska, might be called high wind, but here it is considered nothing but a gentle zephyr. In some states they have high winds but NEVER in Kansas.

A two gallon funnel turned flaring end windward and gimblet end downward will collect enough of Kansas zephyrs in seven hours to drill a hole in solid sand rock one hundred and eight feet deep. We never dig wells in Kansas. Condensed air does the work most successfully.

It is terrible windy just across the line in Colorado but it never or we might say seldom ever blows in Kansas.

The men here are all pigeon-toed and bow-legged. This is caused from an unceasing effort to stick the toes into the earth and trying to keep a strong foothold on terra firma. The gentlemen carry a pound of shot in each breeches leg to keep them (the gentlemen) right side out.

Why they are afraid of turning wrong side out we never knew, but the wind has nothing to do with it. We are often compelled to stay down town late of nights, and when we arrive home it generally strikes up a lively breeze, especially if our breath smells a little of cloves or coffee, yet strictly speaking Kansas is not a breezy country.

The fish are very tough in this country because when they walk out to eat grass the wind blows all of their scales off and makes the meat hard and sunburnt.

To see a young man out in the moon-light walking with his arm around his "dulcena del debos" or in a dark corner seated closely by her side means nothing more or less than that he loves her tenderly, affectionately and devotedly, and that he intends to woo, win and wed her; not that he is alarmed as to the wind.

Our eastern friends will do well by taking our word for it that Kansas is not a windy country, and take a claim and make for yourselves homes.

From the Garden City *Paper*, July 24, 1879.

An eastern man writes to know if we have "quick soil" here in Kansas. Quick! Well—rather. A Harrison township man was foolish enough to fertilize his garden recently, and when he went out to plant some water-melon seeds the other day, he had to run for his life to keep from being choked by the vines. Before he got over the fence he found half grown melons in his pockets.

From the Hill City *New Era*, June 18, 1908.

STORM STORIES.—Some pretty big hail fell during the recent storm. At Pete Prevaricators, on Bow Creek the hail stones were unusually large and one chunk of ice fell which Pete covered with straw, using twenty-eight two horse loads of straw for the purpose, and will furnish ice to the Lenora meat-shops for the next 90 days at \$7.85 per ton.

At Jimmie Jinkles, on Coon Creek, a large hail stone fell with such force that it imbedded itself in the ground and is slowly melting. Jimmie thinks the lake made by the melting of the hail stone will afford water for his stock all summer and also make a fine boating pond.

At Thos. Tunks place, near Morland, large hail fell and were heard to explode with a loud report almost as soon as they fell. It seems that the rain fell from clouds very high in the atmosphere and fell so rapidly that the water, by friction, was made boiling hot, as it passed through the cold streak

in the air a thick coating of ice was formed around the heated water and this formed a sort of a bomb which was exploded by the confined steam. Only the fact that the ice was shattered into minute fragments by the force of the explosion prevented great damage being done by the flying of ice shells.

Frank Foolix says that with the hail at his place came also a small cyclone and that the twisting motion of the wind drew all the milk from his large herd of cows and sprayed it into the air where it became mixed with the small pellets of hail and made a veritable downfall of ice cream. After the storm was over he and his wife scooped up a large tub full of this ice cream and sold it to the confectioner at Togo who retailed it to his customers. If any one doubts the truth of his story he will gladly show the tub in which the stuff was gathered.

THIS RECKLESS DRIVING MUST STOP

From *The Daily Capital*, Topeka, June 24, 1880.

Will people ever learn to "go slow" after a game of base ball? Will they ever learn to not turn their vehicles about and make a break for the exit? Yesterday a horse in the line of wagons and carriages became unmanageable and backed into the horses behind him, causing general confusion and resulting in damage to the boxes of several buggies, driven by high-toned young drivers.

AN OLD CURE FOR A KICKING HORSE

From *The Globe Live Stock Journal*, Dodge City, June 23, 1885.

At McFarland's stables on Monday we saw a contrivance to cure a horse from kicking. It was nothing but an old wheat sack filled with hay, and suspended by a rope from the ceiling, so that the sack hung just at the heels of a vicious horse as he stood in his stall. When the sack was first placed in position the kicking equine let fly both feet at it as soon as it touched him, but after ten or twenty minutes of that kind of work he came to the conclusion that the sack would return as often as he struck it, and he finally gave up trying to "knock it out." This same horse, which has a reputation as a kicker, can now be hitched to any vehicle, and he will not kick at anything that happens to strike his heels. John McEnerny, who prescribed the treatment, says that any horse can be cured by it. One good feature about it is its cheapness.—Ex.

Kansas History as Published in the Press

A brief history of the Natoma Methodist Church was printed in the *Natoma Independent*, October 26, 1950. The church was organized in 1879, and a sod schoolhouse four miles north of Natoma was the first meeting place. A homecoming day was observed October 22, 1950, when several former pastors and members returned for a dinner and a special service.

The part played by Arkansas in the fight between the Proslavery and Free-State elements over Kansas in the middle 1850's was discussed by Granville D. Davis in an article entitled "Arkansas and the Blood of Kansas," printed in the November, 1950, issue of *The Journal of Southern History*, Baton Rouge, La.

Maj. S. H. Long's exploration of the country between the Mississippi river and the Rocky Mountains in 1819 was the subject of Dr. Robert Taft's editorial in the *Transactions of the Kansas Academy of Science*, Lawrence, December, 1950. Also in the December number was a list of the enrollment figures of the 22 senior colleges and the 21 junior colleges of Kansas for the autumns of 1949 and 1950. A total of 32,189 students were enrolled in 1950 in the two groups of institutions, 3,980 less than the year before.

A short biographical sketch of the Michael Sutton family was printed in the *Dodge City Daily Globe*, December 2, 1950. Sutton was a pioneer Dodge City lawyer. On December 8 and 22 the *Globe* published pictures and information about the Beeson Museum of Dodge City which was recently moved to new quarters. The Boot Hill Museum, where an expansion program is now being completed, was featured in the *Globe*, January 18, 1951.

Recent articles in Heinie Schmidt's column, "It's Worth Repeating," in the *High Plains Journal*, Dodge City, included: "The Little German Band," December 7, 1950; "The Barton [Jones-Plummer] Trail," December 14; "The Cowboys and Their Songs," December 21; "Our Fighting Mayor Webster," January 4, 1951; "Mayor Kelley's Gratitude," January 11; "Osage Indian Reservation," January 18; "They Sang of Kansas," January 25, and "A Gruesome Case of Pioneer Justice," February 1.

Among articles of historical interest to Kansans published recently in the *Kansas City (Mo.) Star* were: "John Cameron Swayze Rises on the Flood Tide in Television," by E. B. Garnett, December

10, 1950; "Wild Horse Herds of the West Are Near Extinction by Unrestrained Slaughter," by Robert M. Hyatt, December 26; "Boss Builder [Julius Earl Schaefer of Wichita] of Jet Bombers," by John Alexander, December 31, and "Successful Oneida [New York] Community Led to Communal Living Venture in Kansas," by Charles Arthur Hawley, January 29, 1951. Articles in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Times* included: "American Express Had the Government as Business Competitor a Century Ago," a review of Alden Hatch's *American Express: A Century of Service*, by James F. King, December 15, and "Wife of William Allen White Looked Back on a 'Full and Complete Life,'" by Ruby Holland Rosenberg, January 10, 1951.

"Legends of the Wheat Country," by Ernest Dewey, appearing recently in the *Hutchinson News-Herald*, included: "[Buffalo] Bones Were Big Business Then [1868-1881]," December 10, 1950; "Dave Mathers Stayed a Sinner," December 17; "'Merry Christmas' Said Lo [an Indian], and It Was Indeed," December 24; "Aristocrats Had Happy Hunting in Early Kansas," January 7, 1951; "Curley [Marshall] Never Got Over Shock [Stove-Pipe Hat]," January 14; "You Might Find Money Anyplace at His [John O'Loughlin's] Bank," January 21; "Wherever Bat [Masterson] Went, the Bullets Always Followed," January 28, and "Sound and Fury Often Ripped Blindfold From Justice's Eyes," February 4.

A history of the Quinter library by Mrs. Max A. Campbell was published in *The Gove County Advocate*, Quinter, December 14, 1950. The library was organized in 1932 by representatives of several women's organizations of Quinter. A library building was completed and opened in 1950.

A short biographical sketch of J. B. Edwards who died recently at 106 years of age, was published in the Hays *Daily News*, December 21, 1950. Mr. Edwards came to Abilene before 1869. He was one of the group that hired James B. "Wild Bill" Hickok to rid the town of outlaws.

In observance of the 90th anniversary of the admission of Kansas to the Union, *To the Stars*, published by the Kansas Industrial Development Commission, January, 1951, printed biographical sketches of ten "colorful Kansans." The ten were: John Brown, Clarinda Irene Nichols, Cyrus K. Holliday, John James Ingalls, Eugene Fitch Ware, Wyatt Earp, Gen. Frederick Funston, Charles

Curtis, Charles M. Sheldon and William Allen White. The sketches were reprinted, one each day, in the Coffeyville *Daily Journal*, beginning February 1, 1951.

An article by Dr. Emory Lindquist, president of Bethany College of Lindsborg, entitled "The Swedes of Linn County, Missouri," was published in the *Missouri Historical Review*, Jefferson City, Mo., January, 1951.

A biographical sketch of Mrs. Florence Baker Woody, Salina, by Dorethea Smith, appeared in the *Salina Journal*, January 7, 1951. Mrs. Woody came to Kansas with her parents in 1878, and soon after arriving, when she was 17, began teaching school in a dugout near Lincoln.

The history of the community of Dispatch was briefly sketched by Mrs. James Deters, Cawker City, in the *Beloit Daily Call*, January 23, 1951.

A short history of the *Scandia Journal* was published in the issue of January 25, 1951. The *Journal* was founded in the early 1870's as the *Belleville Republic* by A. B. Wilder.

The *Phillips County Review*, Phillipsburg, published an eight-page historical and progress section January 25, 1951. Among articles on Phillips county history featured in the section were: "Early History of Phillips County Starting in 1872," "Organization of Local Townships," "Stage Battle for County Courthouse," "Irv McDowell Tells of Many Pioneer Events," "Here the County Records Were Kept" and "Organization of School System." Additional historical and progress editions are to be printed in the future.

Some of the history of an old burial plot in the Crawford County State Park is told in the *Pittsburg Headlight*, January 26 and 31, 1951. The cemetery is said to have begun in the early days when a group of travelers camped in the area and one of their number, a child, died and was buried there. Until recently the cemetery had been forgotten and had become overgrown with brush.

A brief history of the Indian raids in the Solomon and Republican valleys in 1868, by Leo F. Clark, Westfall, was published in the *Salina Journal*, January 28, 1951. During these raids Mrs. James Morgan and a Miss White were taken prisoner by the Indians. They were freed early in 1869 by Gen. George A. Custer.

A 46-page "get acquainted" edition was published by the Concordia *Blade-Empire*, January 29, 1951. Included were articles on the history of the Concordia schools, churches and other institutions and organizations.

The part played by Capt. D. S. Elliott, then editor of the Coffeyville *Journal*, in stopping the Dalton raid on the Coffeyville banks October 5, 1892, was the subject of an article in the *Journal*, February 11, 1951. This is the first in a series of historical articles to be published in the *Journal*.

Kansas Historical Notes

The old school at Council Grove, erected in 1850 by the federal government for the education of the Kaw or Kansas Indians, is the most recent historic site acquired by the state. Sen. W. H. White introduced a bill in the 1951 Kansas legislature which provided for the purchase of the building and one-half block of ground. The Kansas State Historical Society will manage the building as a museum and as a memorial to the Indians for whom the state was named.

Frank Haucke, president of the State Historical Society, presided, and Kirke Mechem, secretary, was the featured speaker at a dinner meeting held in Council Grove on April 19 at which plans for the new museum were discussed.

Trustees elected for three-year terms at the annual meeting of the Shawnee County Historical Society at Topeka, December 12, 1950, were: Paul Adams, Paul A. Lovewell, Mrs. Henry S. Blake, Dwight Ream, Dr. J. D. Bright, Marco Morrow, Fred Derby, Mildred Quail, Frank Durein and Earl Ives. J. Clyde Fink was named to fill a trusteeship vacancy. Euphemia Page gave a paper on the history of Topeka, and Dr. Bryan S. Stoffer spoke on the future of Washburn Municipal University. At a meeting of the trustees on January 23, 1951, Tom Lillard was elected president of the society. Other officers chosen were: Paul Lovewell, vice-president; Paul Adams, secretary, and Paul Sweet, treasurer.

The house in Medicine Lodge where Carry Nation lived during her saloon-smashing days was formally opened to the public as a memorial and a museum on January 1, 1951. Built in 1882, it was recently purchased by D. S. Grigsby, Medicine Lodge, for the local W. C. T. U. Among Mrs. Nation's possessions now on display at the house, is the hatchet used in her first antisaloon crusades.

The role played by Kansas Negroes in the Civil War was discussed by Dr. Dudley Cornish, Kansas State Teachers College, Pittsburg, at a meeting of the Crawford County Historical Society in Pittsburg, January 26, 1951. According to Dr. Cornish, two all-Negro Kansas regiments took part in the fighting. Ralph Shideler, Girard, president of the society, presided at the meeting.

Kingsley W. Given of Kansas State College was the principal speaker at the Kansas Day dinner of the Riley County Historical Association held January 26, 1951. The life of Col. George S. Park, one of the founders of Bluemont Central College, forerunner of Kansas State College, was the subject of Mr. Given's talk. An article by Jim Swetnam on Frank I. Burt, manager of the association's museum for the past ten years, was published in the *Manhattan Tribune-News*, January 18, 1951.

Dr. Gerald O. McCulloh, Northwestern University, was the principal speaker at the annual meeting of the Native Sons and Daughters of Kansas at Topeka, January 28, 1951. Albert Kaine, Wamego, won the high school essay contest; Lee Banks, Kansas Wesleyan University student, was the winner of the speech contest, and the factual story contest was won by Mrs. Benjamin O. Weaver of Mullinsville. Edwin R. Jones, Topeka, became the new president of the Native Sons, and Mrs. Thomas H. Norton, Topeka, of the Native Daughters. Other officers of the Native Sons are: C. W. Porterfield, Holton, vice-president; Maurice Fager, Topeka, secretary, and Rolla Clymer, El Dorado, treasurer. Other officers of the Native Daughters are: Mrs. Ray S. Pierson, Burlington, vice-president; Mrs. David McCreath, secretary, and Mrs. Ethel Godin, Topeka, treasurer. Mrs. Frank W. Boyd, Mankato, was re-elected contest chairman. Retiring presidents were Guy D. Josserand, Dodge City, and Mrs. P. A. Petitt, Paola.

The Woman's Kansas Day Club held its 44th annual meeting January 29, 1951, with Mrs. Eric Tebow of Manhattan, president, presiding. Mrs. Ira Burkholder, Topeka, was elected president of the club at the morning session. Other officers elected were: Mrs. McDill Boyd, Phillipsburg, first vice-president; Mrs. Tillie Karns-Newman, Coffeyville, second vice-president; Mrs. Herb Barr, Leoti, recording secretary; Mrs. Walter Stadel, Topeka, treasurer; Mrs. Earl Moses, Great Bend, historian; Mrs. Douglas I. McCrum, Fort Scott, auditor, and Mrs. W. M. Ehram, Wichita, registrar. Directors were chosen as follows: Mrs. George Reinhard, Atchison, first district; Mrs. R. A. Dunmire, Spring Hill, second district; Mrs. Howard Killian, Independence, third district; Mrs. W. A. Smiley, Junction City, fourth district; Mrs. Phyllis Obie, Hutchinson, fifth district, and Mrs. C. E. Toothaker, Hoxie, sixth district. "The Human Tapestry of Kansas," a study of the many nationalities which have contributed to the state's history, was the theme of the

meeting. District directors and historians made historical reports in keeping with the "tapestry" theme. One of the most interesting reports was presented by Mrs. Anna Laura Bitts Fritts, Williamsburg, who gave personal recollections of Silkville, early French colony in Franklin county. These reports, a number of museum articles, some 150 pictures, manuscripts and printed material were presented to the Kansas State Historical Society.

Eleven directors of the Finney County Historical Society were re-elected for two-year terms at the society's third annual banquet, February 13, 1951. They were: Gus Norton, East Garfield township; J. E. Greathouse, Pleasant Valley township; William Fant, Garden City township; Albert Drussell, Ivanhoe township; Mrs. Charles Brown, Sherlock township, and Mrs. Kate Hatcher Smith, Mrs. Ella Condra, Mrs. R. E. Stotts, Mrs. Jean N. Kampschroeder, Frederick Finnup and William E. Hutchison, Garden City. Logan N. Green, Garden City attorney, was the principal speaker. Mrs. Kate Hatcher Smith, vice-president of the society, presided at the meeting.

The Fort Harker museum at Kanopolis has been opened to the public on Sunday afternoons and holidays by the American Legion Post No. 329 of Kanopolis. The museum is housed in the old guard-house.

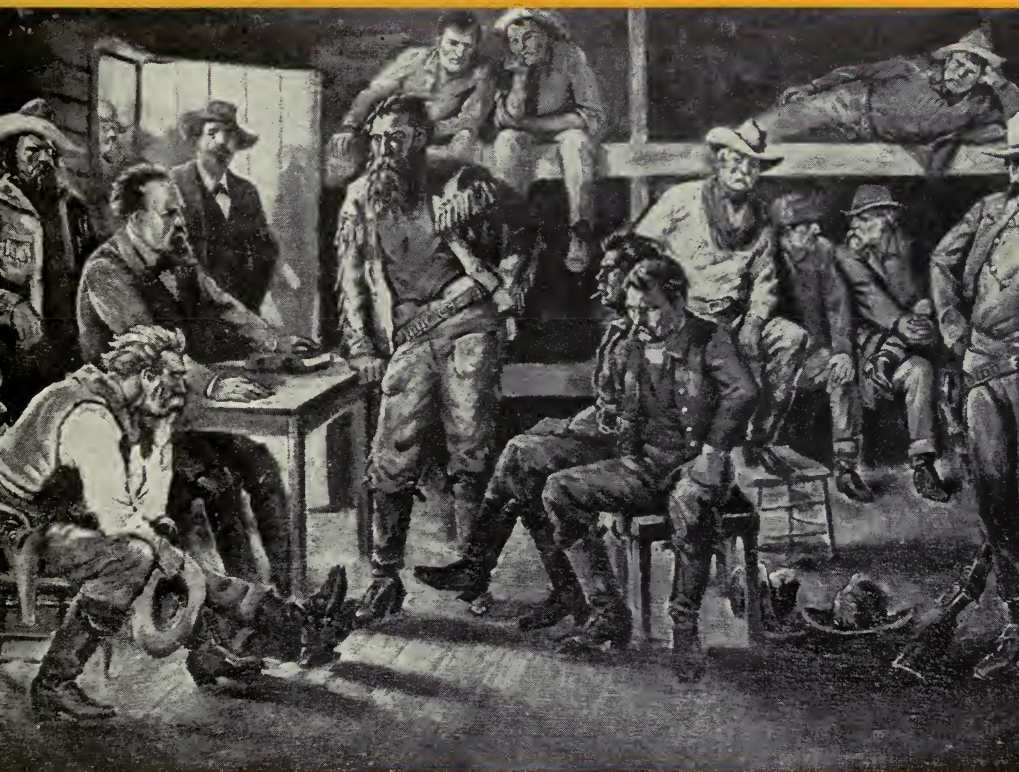
Interesting Facts and Places in Kansas is the title of a recently published 112-page "fact calendar" by Viola Coyle Bettis. Besides a calendar with space for notes each day of 1951, the pamphlet contains brief historical notes and present-day information on Kansas.

History of Grant County, Kansas, is the title of a new 278-page book by R. R. Wilson and Ethel M. Sears. The book, attractively printed and illustrated, covers many phases and periods of Grant county history.

The first volume of *History of Finney County, Kansas*, consisting of 262 pages of printed matter and pictures, was recently published by the Finney County Historical Society. Included in the volume were: The history of the historical society, history of Finney county, portraits of founders and early citizens, history of Garden City, biographical sketches, military organizations and churches. Ralph T. Kersey, society historian, was largely responsible for the preparation of the material.

THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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THE COVER

J. H. Smith's "The Frontier Trial." Courtesy Fred T. Darvill, of Bellingham, Wash., who owns the copy-right (1933).

THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Volume XIX

August, 1951

Number 3

The Pictorial Record of the Old West

XIII. THE END OF A CENTURY

ROBERT TAFT

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BY 1899 the Trans-Mississippi West had established its boundaries pretty largely as we know them today. Only Oklahoma, Arizona and New Mexico remained as territories and in the course of a dozen years or so all these became states. The century had thus seen the transformation of a huge realm, virtually unexplored and unknown, into an organized and populous section of the Union.¹

During the last two decades of the century the volume of literature on the West, with accompanying illustrations, became greater and greater. Indeed, the number of illustrators increased so rapidly that it is difficult, if not impossible, to note them all. This period saw the rise of the best-known names in Western illustration, those of Remington, Russell and Schreyvogel. Remington achieved a great popularity as an illustrator between 1885 and

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 issues of *The Kansas Historical Quarterly* for February, May, August and November, 1946, May and August, 1948, May, August and November, 1949, and February, May and August, 1950. The general introduction was in the February, 1946, number.

1. In round numbers the population of the Trans-Mississippi West is given in the brief table which follows:

1850—	2,000,000
1860—	4,500,000
1870—	7,400,000
1880—	11,300,000
1890—	16,500,000
1900—	20,600,000

These figures have been obtained from *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1900* (Washington, 1901), pp. 6-9, by adding the figures for the 22 Western states or territories for each of the decades shown above. Strictly speaking, not all these 22 states are in the Trans-Mississippi West, as there are small portions of Minnesota and Louisiana that lie east of the Mississippi river. These deviations, however, cannot greatly affect the above figures. More detailed analysis of the tabulated figures shows that the rate of growth became progressively greater from 1850 to 1890, with the greatest numerical growth occurring in the decade 1880-1890.

1900, but probably his greatest fame rests on his work done from 1900 until his death in 1909.²

CHARLES SCHREYVOGEL

Charles Schreyvogel began his career as an artist of the Western scene in the 1890's, but his greatest fame, too, was achieved after the turn of the century. However, since there is no single source of information about him, as there is for both Remington and Russell, we shall here give a brief review of his work.

It should be pointed out that all three, Remington, Russell and Schreyvogel, were artists and sculptors. In addition, Remington was a most prolific illustrator and writer. Remington and Russell, although seldom depicting a specific scene, were imaginative artists portraying the life of the West as they knew it, or as they had known it. Both made occasional sorties into historical painting. On the other hand, Schreyvogel was primarily an historical artist, depicting events of an earlier day but depending upon study of the written record and of costume. However, he got his background and atmosphere by actual visits to the West. Many, probably most, of Schreyvogel's canvases deal with various aspects of the United States' soldier on the Western frontier, although occasional paintings have solely Indian themes.

Schreyvogel was born on the east side of New York City in January, 1861. As a boy, he showed a talent for drawing and was apprenticed to an engraver. As a boy, too, he dreamed of the West, dreamed of cowboys, Indians and hard riding soldiers, though his actual experience was delayed until relatively late in life. In 1887 he went abroad for training at Munich, where for three years he was a student of Marr and of Kirschbach. He returned in 1890 and for another three years made a precarious living supplying art work for advertising lithographers. He finally realized his ambition—a trip to the West—in 1893 and spent the summer of that year on the Ute reservation with its post office at Ignacio, in southwestern Colorado, making side excursions to other localities in Colorado and to Arizona. His summer was spent in sketching,

2. Remington's year of life on the Kansas plains has been described in a previous number of this series (*The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 16 [1948], May, pp. 113-135); the only attempt at biography is *Frederic Remington, Artist of the Old West* (Philadelphia and New York, 1947), Harold McCracken. This book has its greatest value in the extensive, although not complete bibliographic list of Remington illustrations from 1882 on. My opinion of this book I have expressed at some length in *Nebraska History*, Lincoln, v. 29 (1948), September, pp. 278-282.

For collectors of Western prints, colored reproductions of some of Remington's paintings are still available from the Museum of Fine Arts of Houston, Houston 5, Tex., and from Artext Prints, Inc., Westport, Conn.

making models and photographs and in collecting Western firearms, Indian costumes and equipment, all of which he took back to his studio in Hoboken, N. J. He does not appear to have made another Western trip until 1900 when he spent the summer in the Dakotas.³ His career between 1893 and 1900 seems to have been a continuation of his early work, but Western scenes were now his main interest.⁴

Schreyvogel's greatest fame was achieved with his painting "My Bunkie" (reproduced in the picture supplement). Apparently after his return from Colorado in 1893 he still made his living furnishing art work for lithographers; that is, in producing copy for calendar pictures and other advertising. "My Bunkie," painted in 1899, was made for this purpose. Schreyvogel tried to dispose of the painting and was offered a small sum for it. The lithographer who made the offer, however, upon trying to reduce it to calendar size, found that the proportions weren't satisfactory. Schreyvogel then secured permission to hang the picture in an east-side restaurant in the hope that it would attract the eye of a prospective purchaser. Some of his friends urged him to send it to the annual exhibition of the National Academy of Design. He had already sent at least one such painting to a previous academy exhibit and as it had won no special distinction he feared that any new effort was a waste of time.⁵ It was finally sent and accepted, and Schreyvogel was astounded when it received the Thomas B. Clarke prize of three hun-

3. The information given above on Schreyvogel's career is based largely on two contemporary accounts, both apparently the result of direct interviews with Schreyvogel in 1900 and 1901: "A Painter of Western Realism," by Gustav Boehm, *The Junior Munsey*, New York, v. 8 (1900), June, pp. 432-438, which contains reproductions of five Schreyvogel paintings; and "A Painter of the Western Frontier," by Gustav Kobbé, *The Cosmopolitan*, Irvington, N. Y., v. 31 (1901), October, pp. 563-573, which contains 12 reproductions of Schreyvogel's work. Kobbé also had an earlier and briefer account of Schreyvogel, "A Painter of Life on the Frontier," in the *New York Herald*, December 23, 1900, Sec. 5, p. 8 (six illustrations).

Some additional biographical data with reproductions of many of Schreyvogel's earlier paintings will be found in *Souvenir Album of Paintings of Charles Schreyvogel*, published by Charles F. Kaegebehn, Hoboken, N. J., in 1907. This booklet contains reproductions of 28 Schreyvogel paintings copyrighted between 1899 and 1906.

4. In a brief account of Schreyvogel given in the *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (New York, 1906), v. 13, p. 411, there are listed the following Western paintings (with dates) made before 1900: "Ration Day" (1893), "Standing Them Off" (1894), "On Enemies' Grounds" (1895), "The Stage Coach" (1896), "The Despatch Bearer" (1898), "Defending the Stockade" (1898), "The Skirmish Line" (1899), "My Bunkie" (1899).

5. *Harper's Weekly*, New York, v. 41 (1897), April 17, p. 380, reproduced one of Schreyvogel's paintings, "Over a Dangerous Pass," from the academy exhibit of 1897. It received no prize and the art critic of the *New York Tribune* (April 4, 1897, p. 7) made no mention of it. It was simply one of over 400 paintings on exhibit and the only attention it drew apparently was its selection for inclusion in a number of paintings reproduced in the above cited issue of *Harper's Weekly*. Schreyvogel also exhibited at the National Academy of Design subsequent to 1900. Reproductions of three of his paintings appear in the exhibition catalogues of the academy for the 77th, the 79th and the 80th annual exhibits: "Going for Reinforcements" (1902), "Dead Sure" (1904), "Attack at Dawn" (1905); see *Index to Reproductions of American Paintings* (New York, 1948), Isabel S. Monro and Kate M. Monro, p. 563. Schreyvogel may, of course, have appeared in other annual exhibitions of the academy without reproduction of his exhibits.

dred dollars, one of the principal awards of the exhibit of 1900.⁶ Schreyvogel, the unknown, had become famous overnight, and his days of comparative poverty were over.

"My Bunkie," according to Schreyvogel, depicted an incident that had been related to him by a trooper on his Western trip of 1893. A mounted soldier whose horse is in full gallop is shown swinging another soldier up into the saddle beside him, while other troopers hold the Indians at bay.⁷ The painting is now owned by the Metropolitan Museum of Art. It undoubtedly was a principal factor in Schreyvogel's election as an associate of the National Academy of Design in 1901.⁸

Schreyvogel, as has been said, was primarily interested in the life of a West prior to his day. The difficulties and problems that beset the historical painter and his critics are well illustrated in the events following the first exhibition of another of Schreyvogel's paintings, "Custer's Demand," in 1902. Here Schreyvogel attempted to depict a parley of Custer and his staff with Plains Indians under Lone Wolf, Satanta and Kicking Bird in Southwest Kansas during Custer's campaign in the fall and winter of 1869.⁹

6. I have followed Gustav Kobbé, a writer for the New York *Herald*, in describing the circumstances of the award; see *The Cosmopolitan* article listed in Footnote 3. Kobbé's account is supported by mention of the Clarke award in *Brush and Pencil*, Chicago, v. 5 (1900), February, p. 218. "The winner of the Clarke prize this year," it reported, "which is given for the best figure picture by an American, was won by a man utterly unknown. When the name was announced, all the exhibitors were asking each other where he came from, with whom he had studied, and what he had shown before. There were no answers to these queries. It was finally learned that he was Charles Schreyvogel, of Hoboken, N. J., that he had studied in Munich, and that he had made a trip out West, where he obtained the material for this composition, which he called 'My Bunkie,' and which represents some United States soldiers dashing across the plains, while one of them has caught up a wounded comrade and draws him on his horse. The work recalls that of Frederic Remington, as all such themes must; but it is drawn better, painted better, and has some notion of color, a quality not often claimed for the better known illustrator. It furthermore seems that Mr. Schreyvogel had been doubtful of sending his picture until the last moment."

7. Not all critics were in agreement with the award committee of the academy, and with the *Brush and Pencil* account cited in Footnote 6.

C. H. Caffin writing in *Harper's Weekly*, v. 44 (1900), January 13, p. 31, stated: "The Thomas B. Clarke prize has been awarded to 'My Bunkie' by Charles Schreyvogel. Exactly why, it is a little hard to conjecture. The coloring is bright and attractive, and fairly permeated with light, and the conception of the subject is stirring, but not very convincing. This kind of subject has been better treated before by others; for, when you examine this picture carefully, you will find many defects of drawing and a considerable flabbiness in details."

8. *American Art Annual*, New York, v. 10 (1913), p. 80. This account, an obituary, states that Schreyvogel was awarded a bronze medal at the Paris exhibition of 1900, a bronze medal at the Pan-American exposition of 1901 and a bronze medal at the St. Louis exposition of 1904. The Metropolitan Museum of Art wrote me under date of November 9, 1950, that "My Bunkie" was given to the museum in 1912 by a group of friends of the artist. The picture, dated "1899," is painted in oil on canvas and is 25" x 34" in size. At the time the letter was written the museum had the painting on loan to the Bronx Veterans' Hospital, Kingsbridge Road, New York City.

I have a reproduction in full color of "My Bunkie" which measures 19½ inches (width) by 14½ inches. The only identification of the publisher on the print is the copyright notice "c 1914 LWS."

9. Information of this painting will be found in the *Souvenir Album of Paintings of Charles Schreyvogel*; see Footnote 3. As this booklet was doubtlessly published under the direction or with the knowledge of Schreyvogel, it seems reasonable to assume that his intent is correctly given, as is the information concerning the painting. According to this account the painting was first exhibited at the Corcoran Art Gallery in Washington for several months where it attracted the attention of President Theodore Roosevelt. Later it was exhibited at the St. Louis exposition and was finally purchased and presented to the Pittsfield (Mass.) museum by Fred Love. The date of the incident depicted is December 17, 1869, and the reproduction of the painting in the booklet identifies Custer, Col. Tom Custer, General Sheridan, Col. J. S. Crosby, Scout Grover, Satanta, Kicking Bird, Lone Wolf and Little Heart.

The painting is dated 1902 and after its first exhibition at the Corcoran Art Gallery in Washington it was widely reproduced in newspapers and magazines. One reproduction was published in the New York *Sunday Herald* of April 19, 1903, and drew the attention of no less a person than Frederic Remington. Remington by 1903 was rapidly becoming "the most famous of all illustrators in this country" and regarded himself with some right as *the* illustrator of the West.¹⁰ Whether he was jealous of the attention bestowed on Schreyvogel or whether egotism destroyed his sense of values, he took it upon himself to criticize gratuitously and at some length the Schreyvogel painting.¹¹

After making the comment that he had studied and ridden "in the waste places and had made many notes from older men's observations for twenty-three years" he went out on the limb and called Schreyvogel's effort "half baked stuff" on the following grounds:

1. The Indian on the left has a form of pistol holster which was evolved in Texas in the late 70's and was not generally worn until the 80's. (And his picture is in 1869.) The cartridge belt was invented by buffalo hunters and soldiers about that time, and was hand made of canvas and not at all in general use for ten years afterward.

2. The Sioux war bonnet was almost unknown in the southern plains—though one might have been there through trade. The white campaign hat was not worn at that period, and not until many years after. The hat was black. The boot Custer wears was adopted by the United States cavalry, March 14, 1887, and the officer's boot of 1867 [9] was quite another affair. The Tapadero stirrup cover was oblong and not triangular as he paints it. The saddle bags in this picture were not known for years after 1869. . . .

Crosby wears leggings, which were not in general use until after 1890. The color of Colonel Crosby's pantaloons was not known until adopted in 1875. . . .

The officer's saddle cloth in wrong as to the yellow stripe. Now, the picture as a whole is very good for a man to do who knows only what Schreyvogel does know about such matters, but as for history—my comments will speak for themselves.

Two days later the *Herald* published a letter from Mrs. Elizabeth B. Custer defending Schreyvogel.¹² Mrs. Custer, in a letter to Schreyvogel, stated, "I think the likeness excellent, the composition of the picture and harmony of color admirable." She also pointed out that on campaigns on the plains of the West great freedom in selection of uniform was allowed and that the "red necktie, buck-

10. *Cosmopolitan Magazine*, v. 40 (1905), December, p. 244.

11. New York *Herald*, April 28, 1903, p. 3. Remington's contempt of Schreyvogel is in marked contrast with Schreyvogel's comment on Remington, "I think he [Remington] is the greatest of us all."—Boehm, *loc. cit.*

12. New York *Herald*, April 30, 1903, p. 17.

skins and wide felt hat were the unvarying outfit of my husband on a campaign." The boots, she further stated, were made by a Philadelphia boot maker "who shod so many distinguished feet in our service." She concluded by stating:

I was impressed with the fidelity of the likeness and the costume of the Indians, with whom I was familiar especially with war bonnet and shield, for my husband had both presented to him by chiefs at that time. The whole picture is so free from sensationalism and yet so spirited, that I want to commend your skill.

Mrs. Custer's letter drew a response from Remington in the *Herald* that Schreyvogel's picture and the criticisms "lend themselves to interminable controversy" and accused Schreyvogel of hiding behind Mrs. Custer's skirts. Remington then went on to say that he was enclosing a check for \$100 payable to any charity the *Herald* might select if Col. Schuyler Crosby (depicted in the painting and still living in 1903) would admit "that he ever saw a pair of trousers of the color depicted in Mr. Schreyvogel's picture in the year of 1869 in any connection with the regular United States army."

It was unfortunate for Remington that he drew Colonel Crosby into the argument for in a letter to the *Herald* printed a few days later, Crosby supported Schreyvogel with considerable vigor although he did admit his trousers "were not the shade of blue depicted in the picture; they were blue but not that shade of blue. Neither Mr. Schreyvogel nor Mr. Remington can enlighten me as to the exact shade, because they were not there and I have forgotten, but Mr. Remington is right."¹³

Crosby made additional comments on Remington's criticisms, pointing out that the leggings worn by Crosby were correct as shown by Schreyvogel and that he (Crosby) had worn them as early as 1863; that he saw many Indian war bonnets on the day depicted by Schreyvogel; that the hats worn by Col. Tom Custer and Crosby were grey or tan color and were purchased in Leavenworth, Kan., "a few days before we started on the campaign"; that the size and shape of stirrup leathers were often changed by the troop saddler to conform to the size of the officer's foot." He did admit, however, that Custer's boots as depicted by Schreyvogel were probably in error.

Of course it must be very annoying to a conscientious artist [he further wrote] that we were not dressed as we should have been, but in those days

13. *Ibid.*, May 2, 1903, p. 7. The letter is signed "John Schuyler Crosby, Charleston, W. Va., May 1, 1903."

our uniforms in the field were not according to regulations and were of the "catch as catch can" order, and were not changed regularly as Master Frederic Remington's probably were at that date. . . . Doubtless Mr. Remington could have made a better picture, but doubtless he never did.

The truth of the matter therefore appears to be that some of Remington's criticisms were justified but the major share of them were not, although it must be remembered that both Mrs. Custer and Colonel Crosby were testifying to events that had taken place over a third of a century before the discussions of 1903 arose.

All of Schreyvogel's paintings are of interest—they all tell a stirring story—but possibly those with greatest appeal show men, troopers usually, in violent action: the height of combat, the fierce charge, the strain of intense and deadly effort, are realistically portrayed. To get these effects, Schreyvogel made careful and extensive preparations. His Western trips were made to secure atmosphere and detail and on these trips he made many sketches and photographs, collected firearms and Indian dress and equipment.¹⁴ All of this material was brought back to his studio in Hoboken, N. J. Here after his preliminary composition was thought out, he modeled his characters in clay. Painting was then done on the roof of his studio with the Palisades as a background. "Their ruggedness," he is reported to have said, "is not unlike that of the Western mountains," and portions of these rocky cliffs appear in his paintings.¹⁵

Some of Schreyvogel's clay models were later cast in bronze; Tiffany's, for example, carried two of them, "The Last Drop" and "White Eagle," the bust of an Indian chief, as part of their luxurious wares for a number of years.¹⁶

Although Schreyvogel did little or no illustrating, reproductions of his paintings are quite numerous. His work became fairly well known in the first decade of the century through the medium of large photographs of his paintings. These photographs, platinum prints, can still be occasionally found, although a complete set of 48 is now very rare.¹⁷

14. In 1940, I had correspondence with Mrs. Louise F. Feldmann, widow of Charles Schreyvogel, who subsequently remarried. I am indebted to Mrs. Feldmann for much information and illustrative material concerning Schreyvogel. Mrs. Feldmann wrote me that in addition to the trips to southwestern Colorado and Dakota already mentioned in the text, other summers were spent at Fort Robinson in Nebraska and on a Blackfoot reservation in Montana.

15. Information from Kobbé, *loc. cit.*; Boehm, *loc. cit.*, and in *Harper's Weekly*, v. 46 (1902), November 15, pp. 1668, 1669.

16. Information from Mrs. Feldmann; see Footnote 14.

17. These platinum prints are mentioned in *The Mentor*, New York, v. 3 (1915), No. 9, Ser. No. 85, in connection with Arthur Hoeber's review, "Painters of Western Life." Mrs. Feldmann wrote me that there were 48 photographs in the set. I have seen a dozen or so of these prints and although they vary in size, they average about 20" by 14".

Probably more important, however, in making Schreyvogel known to his day were the half-tone reproductions in black and white of 36 of his paintings published in book form in 1909. The collection appeared under the title *My Bunkie and Others*, the individual illustrations being of generous dimensions (about 9 x 13 inches) and the reproductions being excellently executed.¹⁸

If one may judge from the copyright dates of the paintings reproduced in this book, 1900 and 1901 were Schreyvogel's most productive years, as 13 of the 36 paintings were made in those two years.

After Remington's death in 1909, Schreyvogel came to be regarded, in the East at least, as the leading exponent of the West in picture. Russell's reputation was growing but his fame was later achieved. In fact, shortly after Remington's death one of the country's leading magazines referred to Schreyvogel as "America's greatest living interpreter of the Old West."¹⁹ Schreyvogel, however, was not destined to retain for long the mantle of Remington. An accident led to blood poisoning which cost him his life, and he died in Hoboken, on January 27, 1912.²⁰

J. H. SMITH

Charles Russell, the third member of the triumvirate of Remington, Russell and Schreyvogel, also belongs to the Western story after 1900, rather than before, although his earliest illustrations in *Harper's Weekly* and *Frank Leslie's Weekly Newspaper* appeared in 1889. Russell, however, was not as prolific as Remington and his fame rests largely on his many canvases done after 1900. They are still reproduced in color at present.²¹

Russell's first illustrations in *Leslie's*, however, bring us directly to one of the little-known Western artists about whom we can now furnish more information than has been previously available.

18. *My Bunkie and Others* (New York, 1909), by Charles Schreyvogel. The publication also contained a two-page account of Schreyvogel and his work. The individual paintings with the exception of "My Bunkie" (1899) were all copyrighted between 1900 and 1909; the count of these copyright dates runs, one in 1899, six in 1900, seven in 1901, two in 1902, three in 1903, four in 1904, three in 1905, two in 1906, five in 1907, one in 1908 and one in 1909.

19. "The Romance of a Famous Painter," by Clarence R. Lidner, *Leslie's Illustrated Weekly*, New York, v. 111 (1910), August 4, pp. 111-113 (11 reproductions of Schreyvogel's paintings).

20. *Hudson Observer*, Hoboken, N. J., January 29, 1912. I am indebted to the Free Public Library of Hoboken, N. J., for a transcript of Schreyvogel's obituary which appeared in the *Observer*.

21. Biographic and bibliographic accounts of Russell will be found in *Charles M. Russell, the Cowboy Artist, a Biography* (Pasadena, 1948), Ramon F. Adams and Homer E. Britzman, and *Charles M. Russell, the Cowboy Artist, a Bibliography* (Pasadena, 1948), Karl Yost. Anyone interested in Russell prints should write the Dick Jones Co., 3127 Walnut Ave., Huntington Park, Cal., for a list and prices; these publishers have in stock some 111 colored reproductions of Russell's work as well as 19 black and white prints.

These illustrations appeared in *Leslie's* for May 18, 1889, just six days after Russell's first illustration in *Harper's Weekly* which was apparently the first appearance of Russell in print. The *Leslie* illustrations, seven in number, appear over the title "Ranch Life in the North-west—Bronco Ponies and Their Uses—How They Are Trained and Broken." Near the center of the page on which these illustrations appear are the signatures of C. M. Russell and J. H. Smith.

J. H. Smith was Jerome H. Smith, although his many illustrations usually appear under the signature, "J. H. Smith." Smith was born in Pleasant Valley, Ill., in 1861. As a boy he grew up on an Illinois farm and he there broke Western horses before he ever traveled beyond the Mississippi.²² When 18, the lure of the West called him and he found his way to Leadville, Colo., where the silver-mining boom was under way. He drifted around the West and then returned to Chicago in 1884 where he attended a Chicago art school for a time. His first published illustrations appeared in *The Rambler*, a Chicago weekly, and were cartoons, a field in which he later became very prolific. *The Rambler* lasted only for a year or so and Smith went on to New York where he eventually landed a position on the art staff of *Judge*, for many years a well-known humorous weekly. Cartoons with his signature are particularly numerous in the period 1887-1891, and many of them have a decidedly Western background, particularly those published in 1889 and 1890. In 1889, he appears to have been sent on assignment to the Northwest by *Leslie's Weekly*, which at that time was also a *Judge* publication. The assignment may have arisen from the fact that these publications had been acquired in part by Russell B. Harrison, a son of President Benjamin Harrison.²³ Harrison had been publisher of the Helena (Mont.) *Daily Journal* but in 1889 he and W. J. Arkell acquired *Judge* and *Leslie's Weekly*, and *Leslie's* soon announced that they were to have Montana pictures and

22. Much of my biographical information concerning J. H. Smith has been supplied by Fred T. Darvill of Bellingham, Wash., who knew Smith well for many years. I am greatly indebted to Mr. Darvill for his aid. A brief obituary of Smith will be found in the Vancouver (B. C.) *Daily Province*, March 10, 1941. The obituary refers to Smith as "Josiah Howard Smith" but Mr. Darvill wrote me that Smith had told him that his first name was "Jerome." In all the Smith illustrations that I have seen, his name is signed as "J. Smith," "J. H. Smith," or "J. S." Mr. Darvill has a group of seven large "letters" measuring about 18" X 24" which were written by Smith, probably in the 1930's, and were illustrated with water colors by Smith. These letters are essentially recollections of Smith's early life—much of it, dealing with his Western experiences. In one of these letters he recalled breaking Western horses on the Illinois farm, a fact which greatly interested me, as on a trip to northern New York in 1943 I encountered similar references. Several of the old-timers that I interviewed in Canton, N. Y., the boyhood home of Frederic Remington, told me that Western ponies in considerable number were imported into northern New York in the 1880's. Remington during his summer stays in Canton in the late 1880's used such ponies as models for some of his paintings.

23. For a biographical sketch of Harrison see *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, v. 27, p. 365.

a Montana issue.²⁴ The Montana issue never appeared but a series of important Western illustrations, many with a Montana locale, begin at practically this same time and were the work of J. H. Smith. The group of illustrations already noted, the joint effort of Smith and Russell, was the first in the series. There then followed the illustrations signed only by Smith, listed below:

1. "Phases of Ranch-Life on the Plains—Capture of Horse-Thieves by a Sheriff's Posse" (full page).
2. "Phases of Chinese Camp-Life in Montana, A Quiet Game [Cards]" (full page).
3. "On the Western Plains—Friend or Foe?" (full page).
4. "Montana—Cattlemen Compelling Their Herd to Cross a River" (full page).
5. "An Indian Trader's Store on the Western Plains" (full page).
6. "The Highwaymen of the Plains—Perils of Stage-Coach Travel in the Far West" (five illustrations on one page).
7. "A Herd of Cattle Threatened by a Blizzard [Montana]" (one-third page).
8. "A Race-Day in a Frontier Town" (eight illustrations on one page).
9. "The Recent Indian Excitement in the Northwest" (four illustrations on one page).²⁵

Many of these sketches are excellently drawn and, strangely enough, well reproduced. But more important for our purpose is that they are pictorial history of real worth. Possibly of the entire series, the last two, "A Race-Day in a Frontier Town" and "The Recent Indian Excitement in the Northwest" (reproduced in the picture supplement), are the most important, because both sets are obviously on-the-spot records, the first depicting life in Montana 60 years ago and the second including a sketch of the celebrated "Ghost Dance," of which there are few pictorial records.

After 1890, Smith's name gradually disappeared from the pages of both *Judge* and *Leslie's Weekly*. He was one of those individuals who had an itching foot, and the life of the West led him from Texas to British Columbia, from California to the Dakotas. He was a jack of all trades, for he tried mining, herding cattle, freighting and stage-coach driving. He sketched from time to time and even made serious attempts to improve his art, for sometime after 1890 he spent two years in Paris. The wanderlust was ever too

24. The announcement of the ownership of *Leslie's* by Arkell and Harrison appeared in *Leslie's Weekly*, May 11, 1889, p. 222; the statement concerning the Montana issue on June 8, 1889, p. 304.

25. These illustrations will be found in *ibid.*, in the order listed above as follows: October 5, 1889, p. 148; October 19, p. 193; November 2, p. 225; November 16, p. 260; January 18, 1890, p. 429; January 25, p. 444; February 8, p. 12; June 28, p. 444; December 13, p. 354. In addition to these Smith illustrations, another group, "Sketches in the Chinese Quarter, San Francisco," eight illustrations on one page, were published in *ibid.*, July 5, 1890, p. 470.

strong and too many years had passed by for him to profit by his training and to achieve the reputation he might have made. "You can't teach an old dog new tricks," he told a friend as a summary of his art training in Paris. He finally settled down in British Columbia, after he married a girl who was part Indian. He began painting in oils. His subjects were for the most part recollections of his earlier days in the West, although a few non-Western paintings appeared among his work. Occasionally he sold a painting or illustration, but his work attracted little attention. As late as 1934 an earlier illustration of his was reproduced in the *Saturday Evening Post*.²⁶

In 1935, Fred T. Darvill reproduced 12 of Smith's paintings in color, including the Western, "The Frontier Trial" (see cover of this magazine), the remaining 11 being other aspects of legal life. Smith continued to paint a considerable number of oils for Darvill, most of which are still in his possession. These oils all depict various aspects of early Western life and vary in size from eight by ten inches to three by four feet.²⁷

Smith lived until his 81st year, re-creating until the end the life he recalled in the West of an earlier day.²⁸

DAN SMITH

An illustrator who was sometimes confused with J. H. Smith was Dan Smith, although the two, as far as I have been able to determine, were not related. Dan Smith, of Danish parentage, was born in Greenland in 1865, but came as a boy to this country. When 14 he went to Copenhagen and studied at the Public Arts Institute. Upon returning to this country he received further training at the Philadelphia Academy of Fine Arts and joined the art staff of *Leslie's Weekly* about 1890.²⁹

Dan Smith later in life "was known to millions of readers in the United States," as for over 20 years he drew the covers of the Sunday magazine section of the *New York World*. At the time of his death on December 10, 1934, he was an artist for King Features.³⁰

26. *Saturday Evening Post*, Philadelphia, February 17, 1934, p. 15. The illustration was reproduced from *Leslie's Weekly*, January 25, 1890.

27. Information from Mr. Darvill who sent me a list of Smith paintings owned in 1950. Some 140 titles appear in the list of the Darvill collection. For any one interested in reproductions of "The Frontier Trial" by Smith, address Darvill's Picture and Gift Shop, 1305 Pacific Highway, Bellingham, Wash.

28. A death notice of Smith will be found in the Vancouver (B. C.) *Daily Province*, March 8, 1941, where the date of his death is given as March 7, 1941 (in Vancouver).

29. *New York Times*, December 12, 1934, p. 23 (an obituary). He is listed as a member of *Leslie's* art staff in *Leslie's Weekly*, February 22, 1894, pp. 129-136. As will appear in the text, Dan Smith's illustrations began appearing in *Leslie's Weekly* by early 1891.

30. *New York Times*, December 12, 1934.

His place in this series of articles, however, arises from a number of Western illustrations appearing in *Leslie's Weekly* from 1891 to 1897. These illustrations are bold and interesting drawings of Western scenes that were based on at least one and probably several Western trips.³¹

His first Western illustrations appeared in *Leslie's Weekly* in the early part of 1891 and are pictorial records of the Indian troubles at the Pine Ridge agency (South Dakota) that resulted in the tragedy of the Wounded Knee "battle." Since one of this group of illustrations bears the legend, "From Sketches Made on the Spot," one would infer that Smith was an observer of the incidents depicted, although another illustration of the same group bears the credit line "after photo."³²

The next group of Dan Smith illustrations were apparently based on a trip to New Mexico and the Southwest in 1891, or possibly they resulted from a continuation of his Western trip begun at the Pine Ridge agency. Most of them deal with various aspects of the cattle industry and that never-failing topic of interest "cow-boys." Included in the group are: "An Impromptu Affair—A Bull Fight on the Plains," "Freighting Salt in New Mexico" (reproduced in the picture supplement), "Christmas in the Cow Boys' Cabin," "Giving the Mess Wagon a Lift," "Cattle Herding in New Mexico" and "Perilous Wagoning in New Mexico."³³

31. In 1940, I had correspondence with William Smith of New York City, a brother of Dan Smith. Mr. Smith wrote me that Dan Smith's Western illustrations were based on real life sketches made at the ranch of "Mr. Stevens of Albuquerque." Whether there were one or a number of such visits to the Stevens ranch, William Smith could not recall.

32. This series of illustrations in *Leslie's Weekly* in 1891 included: "The Sioux Ghost Dance," January 10, p. 437 (full page); "The Indian Troubles—A Body of Nineteen Teamsters Repel an Attack on a Wagon-Train Near Wounded Knee Creek, South Dakota," January 17, p. 461 (full page); "The Relief Corps Searching for the Dead and Wounded After the Fight With the Hostile Sioux at Wounded Knee—Discovery of a Live Papoose," January 31, p. 493 (title page); "The Recent Indian Troubles—The Military Guard, Searching the Field After the Fight at Wounded Knee, Discover the Body of Big Foot's Chief Medicine-Man," February 7, p. 13 (full page and "after photo"); "Running Down a Sioux Horse-Thief," March 21, p. 117 (full page). The second of the above illustrations is credited in the legend to J. H. Smith but is signed "D. Smith 90" which suggests the possibility that these illustrations were made originally by J. H. Smith, who was in the West at this time, and then were redrawn by Dan Smith. None of the remaining illustrations in this group, however, make any reference to J. H. Smith. As J. H. Smith's illustrations with credit were appearing in *Leslie's Weekly* at this time, I think that the more likely explanation of the matter is a confusion of names.

There were many newspaper correspondents and illustrators present for the Indian troubles of 1890-1891, including Frederic Remington (see *Harper's Weekly*, v. 34 [1891], January 24, 31, and February 7). Elmo Scott Watson of the department of journalism, University of Denver, made the reporting of the Wounded Knee troubles a matter of considerable study and he wrote me that he had found the names of neither J. H. Smith nor Dan Smith listed in any of the contemporary newspaper accounts with which he was familiar.

33. These and other Smith illustrations appeared in *Leslie's Weekly* as follows: "An Impromptu Affair—A Bull Fight on the Plains," April 4, 1891, p. 153 (full page); "The Cattle Industry on the Western Plains," July 4, 1891, p. 379 (three drawings on one page); "Devastating Prairie Fires in Dakota," September 19, 1891, p. 101 (three illustrations on one page); "Arrest and Trial of Horse Thieves [on Mexican Border]," November 7, 1891, p. 223 (full page); "Freighting Salt in New Mexico," November 28, 1891, p. 269 (full page); "Christmas in the Cow Boys' Cabin," December 5, 1891 (in this issue the pages were not numbered; a half-page illustration); "Giving the Mess Wagon a Lift," January 2, 1892, p. 383; "The Race on the Plains," January 9, 1892 (title page in color); "Cowboys

Several sets of illustrations by Dan Smith picturing the opening of the Oklahoma country will also be found in *Leslie's Weekly*, but these are redrawn after photographs.³⁴ The last three Western illustrations to be mentioned are hunting illustrations drawn by Dan Smith. The first of these shows a trial between Siberian wolfhounds and Scotch deer hounds in the Rockies. It is also redrawn after a photograph. "Bear Hunting in the Rockies" and "Gen. Nelson A. Miles' Recent Bear Hunt in New Mexico" may possibly be the result of direct observation.³⁵

After 1897, Dan Smith's activities were directed into other channels. He was a pictorial reporter of the Spanish-American War and his subsequent efforts which made him so well known, have already been mentioned.³⁶

H. W. HANSEN

Literary critics make much of the fact that James Fenimore Cooper was a forceful writer on the political and social scene of his day and that he was novelist of the sea but surely his Leatherstocking tales have affected more lives than all the remainder of his work together. The breathless unrelenting chase in the forest wilderness of *The Last of the Mohicans*, the life of a frontier settlement depicted in *The Pioneers*, the sublime scenes of the raging prairie fire and of the wild and thunderous buffalo stampede in *The Prairie*, with the other volumes of the series, not only attracted a great audience in their day but moved many members of that audience to new pathways and careers. The Cooper theme of the American frontier and the continual movement of that frontier westward was a major factor in developing an attitude of mind toward the West—the West of the 1830's and 1840's—not only at home but abroad. To be sure, this attitude was one concerned with the romantic aspects of the frontier—the idealized Indian, the idealized pioneer, the idealized backwoodsman. Cooper, together with Catlin, created frontier and Indian types that were to survive in the national consciousness for long, long years. They served as

Struggling With a Horse Maddened by the Plant [Mexican Crazy Weed]," January 23, 1892 (title page); "Sheep Herding in New Mexico," March 17, 1892, p. 117 (three illustrations on one page); "Cattle Herding in New Mexico," September 28, 1893, pp. 204, 205 (double page); "The Cowboy's Vision," December 14, 1893, p. 23 (one-half page); "Perilous Wagoning in New Mexico," April 12, 1894, p. 245; "On the Range" (roping), March 22, 1894, p. 191 (one-third page); "A Bull Fight on the Western Plains," November 26, 1896, p. 352.

34. *Ibid.*, May 19, 1892, p. 263 (four illustrations on one page); September 28, 1893, p. 208.

35. *Ibid.*, September 29, 1892, p. 229; January 18, 1894, p. 44; December 20, 1894, p. 413.

36. Smith had several Indian illustrations for a fictional article in *ibid.*, December 12, 1895, p. 6, and in the issue of August 12, 1897, pp. 104, 105, he was credited with a number of Alaskan pictures. There is no evidence, however, that these illustrations were the result of his direct observation.

models for other writers (a whole German school of writers followed Cooper), stirred the imagination and spurred the activities of many individuals.³⁷

One of this last group was H. W. Hansen. Born in Dithmarschen, Germany, on June 22, 1854, he was a reader of Cooper from early boyhood and to Cooper's influence may be attributed the impulse to wander and to see for himself wild Western scenes. He came to this country in 1877. His bent toward an artistic career had led to a thorough training at Hamburg under Simonsen, a well-known painter of battle scenes. This training was supplemented in 1876 by a year's study in London. Upon arrival in the United States, Hansen supported himself by commercial art work, first in New York and later in Chicago. It was in Chicago that a commission for three paintings led directly to his career as a painter of Western scenes. Hansen himself, in 1908, recalled his first Western experience:

I painted three pictures for the Chicago and Northwestern railroad in 1879; I think they used them for advertising purposes, showing the progress of transportation; one showed a canal boat towed by mules, the next a stage coach, and the last a train. Now the railroad had just penetrated the Dakotas, and had a fine locomotive, all decked out with silver, at the extreme end of the line, and the company commissioned me to paint a picture of it.

They asked me if it wouldn't be best for me to go to Dakota to paint the engine, and I at once said "yes," although the proposition was absurd as they had plenty of good photographs, but I was young and anxious to see the western country. Once I got there, I stayed until I had made all the studies of Indians and buffalo I wanted at the time.³⁸

Several years were spent in Chicago, where Hansen attended the

37. For Cooper's contributions as the main originator of the frontier hero and the place of the American West in literature see Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land* (Cambridge, 1950), chs. 6 and 7; for the school of German writers following Cooper, see P. A. Barba, "Cooper in Germany," *German American Annals*, N. S. v. 12 (1914), pp. 3-6, and the chapter "America in German Fiction" in Barba's book, *Baldwin Möllhausen, the German Cooper* (Philadelphia, 1914); further information bearing on the general subject can be found in Barba's "The American Indian in German Fiction," *German American Annals*, N. S. v. 11 (1913), pp. 143-174.

38. Santa Barbara *Morning Press*, June 30, 1908, p. 5. It seems probable that Hansen's memory was defective in regard to the railroad that employed him in 1879. The chief railroad in Dakota in 1879 was the Northern Pacific. The Chicago and Northwestern had two subsidiary lines in the Dakotas, the Dakota Central of 24.6 miles length and the Winona and St. Peter R. R., 38.4 miles long. See Henry V. Poor's *Manual of the Railroads of the United States for 1880* (New York, 1880), p. 838. The biographic material upon which the above discussion is based comes from manuscript notes furnished me by Mrs. H. W. Hansen in 1939. Mrs. Hansen not only sent me these notes, but also furnished me a number of newspaper clippings concerning her husband's work and several photographs of Mr. Hansen and of his paintings. After Mrs. Hansen's death in 1940, further biographic material concerning Mr. Hansen was sent me by his daughter, Miss Beatrice Hansen of San Francisco. I wish to express my sincere thanks to both Mrs. Hansen and Miss Beatrice Hansen for their very kind co-operation.

Additional biographic sources of information on Mr. Hansen will be found in *California Art Research*, San Francisco, First Series, v. 9 (1937), pp. 89-104 (mimeograph). I am indebted to Miss Caroline Wenzel of the California State Library, Sacramento, for making a copy of this work available to me. Obituaries of Hansen will be found in the *San Francisco Chronicle*, Sunday, April 13, 1924, and in the *Oakland (Cal.) Tribune* of the same date. Mr. Hansen's death occurred on April 2, 1924. A biographical sketch of Hansen also appeared under the title of "Etching in California," by Harry Noyes Pratt, in the *Overland Monthly*, San Francisco, v. 82 (1924), May, pp. 220, 237.

Chicago Art Institute but many other side excursions were made. On one of these trips, with a companion, he made an extensive walking tour and sketching trip through the length of the Blue Ridge mountains. In February, 1882, Hansen went to California to settle the estate of an older brother. He soon made the state his permanent home, married and with brief absences, lived in and around San Francisco for the remainder of his life. Hansen was not an illustrator and doubtless for that reason his work was not widely known for many years. He achieved some local reputation with the paintings "A Critical Moment" (1894), "The Round-Up" (1895), "Indian Gratitude" (1895), "A Surprise Party" (1898), "Mexican Vaqueros" (1899), but his larger reputation, like Schreyvogel's, was achieved after 1900 and he therefore more properly belongs to a later story than ours. But, like Schreyvogel again, no account of his work is readily available and we have therefore included him here.

It was Hansen's habit to make frequent and extended sketching tours. These were at first confined to the Southwest, Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and to Mexico. He sought not only subjects, but incidents, stories, equipment of the Western horse and his riders, for Hansen early devoted many of his canvases to the horse. In fact, one authority on Hansen's work wrote in 1924:

It was the horse which formed the prime motif of his work. It may be that he some time painted a canvas which did not hold a horse; if he did I have not seen the picture. It was the horse that afforded him the real means of telling his story—what a short-coming that is in the minds of today's generation of painters, to tell a story—and it was usually his pleasure to tell a tale of some sort, dramatic, tragic or of the every day. . . .³⁹

Hansen's first exhibition was held in San Francisco in 1901, and this exhibition together with the painting, "The Pony Express," completed in 1900, were Hansen's introduction to a wider audience. "The Pony Express" especially brought him considerable notice, since it was bought by a Chicago paper and reproduced in the pages of the newspaper in three colors. That this picture was widely distributed is shown by a comment of Frank Mayer, editor of the *Western Field*. Mayer while riding the cow ranges with a companion in northern Colorado found the print nailed on the wall of a dugout. Mayer's companion, a professional cowboy, surveyed the print and was moved to comment, "The feller who drawed that savvey's his business."⁴⁰

39. *Ibid.*

40. *Western Field*, San Francisco, v. 6 (1905), June. Hansen's first exhibition is described in the *San Francisco Call*, October 27, 1901. Mrs. Hansen wrote me that "The Pony Express" was reproduced in the *Chicago Tribune* sometime during 1900 but I have not found it.

A careful student, an excellent draughtsman, an exacting taskmaster for correct detail, Hansen won his Western audience. He continued his field work, ranging over an ever-increasing area of the West. In 1903, he made his first visit to Montana, spending part of the summer at the Crow agency in the southeastern part of the state, where he was a guest of S. G. Reynolds, the Indian agent on the reservation. Reynolds, popular with the Indians, was able to secure many favors for Hansen, among them an invitation to a series of Indian dances held to celebrate the Fourth of July. The Crows were so patriotic that the celebration was held for three days rather than one. In describing his attendance at some of the dances, Hansen wrote:

We were given a most hearty reception and conducted to the center of the teepee where we were requested to be seated. Then some special dances were performed by the participants, of which there were hundreds, whose nude bodies were painted in the most varied and original designs of brilliant red, blue, green and yellow, immense war bonnets on their heads, and otherwise decorated and ornamented with heavily beaded trimmings and feathers. This grotesque and weird-in-the-extreme looking lot of beings, bucks and squaws alike, danced to the accompaniment of the dismal tones of their tom-toms, until they fairly reeled and were completely exhausted.⁴¹

And then in the intermissions—shades of Fenimore Cooper and George Catlin—the guests were served lemonade! Such incongruity, the contrast between the barbaric dances and the hospitable gesture of a church sociable, did not go unnoted among the guests; the lemonade, Hansen noted, savored “too much of civilization.”

The fine bead and leather work of the Crows also impressed Hansen, “their designs being so artistic, and their combinations of colors so harmonious,” he wrote, “that it seems almost incredible that it is the work of beings still on the lowest rung of the ladder of civilization.”

The continued practice of making these summer field trips with the wealth of incident and atmosphere gathered and eventually transformed into pictured reality, finally brought Hansen well deserved recognition and a competence. Exhibitions of his work appeared in the East and he began to make sales in considerable number. Adolphus Busch of St. Louis bought six of Hansen’s paintings in 1906 for \$10,000 and European buyers in England, Germany and Russia left little of Hansen’s work available for sale in California. The great earthquake of 1906 was a severe blow to Hansen, as a number of his paintings in his studio were destroyed.

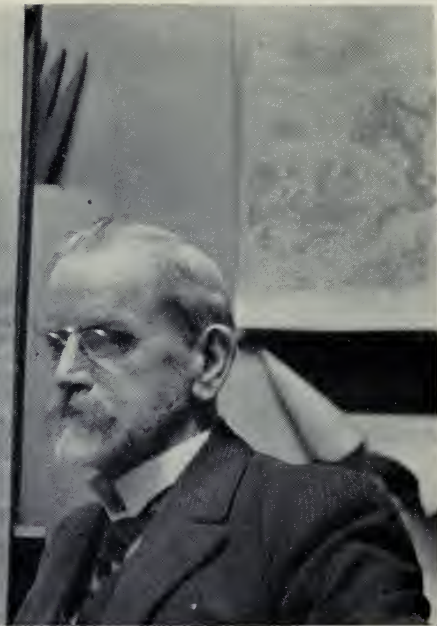
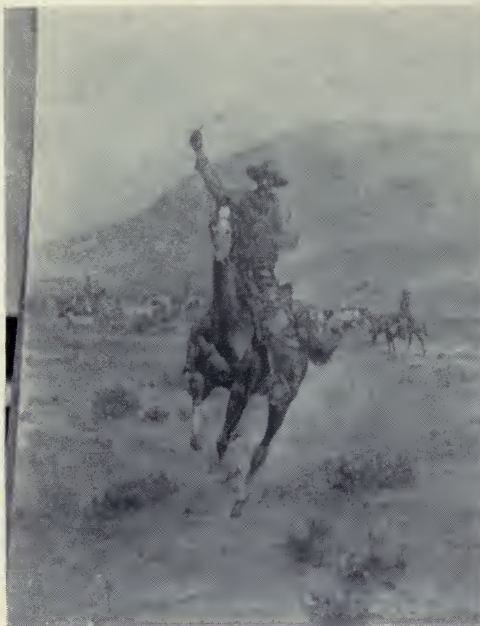
41. Hansen described his Montana visit at some length in a letter to the Alameda (Cal.) *Daily Argus*, Saturday supplement, September 5, 1903. The quotation above is from this source as well as the information in the text.



FERNAND H. LUNGREN
with his painting "In the Abyss"
Courtesy John A. Berger, Santa Barbara, Cal.



MAYNARD DIXON
Chuck Abbott Photo, Tucson, Ariz.



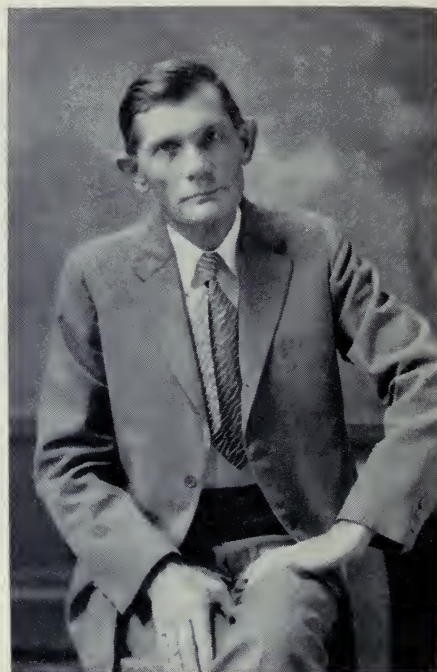
H. W. HANSEN

Courtesy Miss Beatrice Hansen, San Francisco, Cal.



J. H. SMITH

Courtesy Fred T. Darvill,
Bellingham, Wash.



H. W. CAYLOR

Courtesy Mrs. H. W. Caylor,
Big Spring, Tex.

Scene at the Point, showing the race.



"Yes, sir? I ain't got no no prize,
My pardners is so."

Selling Dicks.

"Here's the circus' horse, gentlemen. We can catch anything
that kills the ground."

Branding time (always there) - They don't make no horse brandings
but can run the horse and the.

A Horse Winner Hunting the Town.

Waiting.

J. H. SMITH'S "A RACE-DAY IN A FRONTIER TOWN"
From Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, June 28, 1890



J. H. SMITH'S "THE RECENT INDIAN EXCITEMENT IN THE NORTHWEST"

1. A Chief Speaks for Peace.
 2. Cattle-Owners Bunching Their Cattle for Protection.
 3. Exodus of Half-Breeds and Squaw-Men.
 4. The Ghost Dance.
- (From *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, December 13, 1890).



H. W. CAYLOR'S "THE TRAIL HERD" HEADED FOR ABEILENE
Courtesy Mrs. H. W. Caylor

JOSEPH HENRY SHARP'S "THE EVENING CHANT"
From *Brush and Pencil*, March, 1900





CHARLES SCHREYVOGEL'S "MY BUNKIE" (1899)
Courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City

' DAN SMITH'S "FREIGHTING SALT IN NEW MEXICO"
From *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, November 28, 1891





H. W. HANSEN'S "BEEF ISSUE"
Courtesy Miss Beatrice Hansen



The greatest loss was the collection of Indian and Western arms, dress and equipment, as well as field notes and sketches.⁴²

Hansen's work at present is chiefly in the hands of private owners. The notable exception is found in the Art Museum of the Eastman Memorial Foundation of Laurel, Miss., which owns six paintings. As Hansen was primarily a worker in water color, though to some extent in oil, reproduction of his work never had the wide distribution achieved by Remington, with whom his work has been frequently compared. A critic writing in 1910 pointed out that the subject matter of Hansen and Remington paintings were many times identical, but he added the pertinent comment that Hansen's work "lacks some of the crispness of out-line and the vividness of coloring seen in Remington's [but] he makes up for it in greater softness and finish." Neuhaus also comments on his work with the criticism:

His [Hansen's] concern was more with realistic photographic records of frontier life than with the beauties of design and color. His medium was water-color, which he used rather thinly. The artistic value of his work is limited, and it will be remembered largely for its historical significance, in that it presents a phase of American life rapidly passing.⁴³

Remington, Russell and Schreyvogel, all contemporaries of Han-

42. An extensive exhibit of the work of California artists, most of which was Hansen's work, was held in Denver in the fall of 1905. A newspaper account of the exhibit stated that Hansen's " . . . Western pictures . . . are just now something of a sensation in the East."—*Denver Republican*, September 24, 1905, p. 24. The exhibit before its departure for the East was described in the *San Francisco Call*, September 10, 1905. The sale of the Hansen paintings to Busch was reported in an unidentified newspaper clipping supplied by Mrs. Hansen and dated (in pencil) "1906." Mrs. Hansen in 1939 sent me a list of purchasers of some of Hansen's paintings. Included among these buyers were three Russians, two Britons and a German.

43. The first quotation above is from an unidentified clipping sent me by Mrs. Hansen in 1939; the comment of Neuhaus is from his book *The History and Ideals of American Art* (Stanford Univ., 1931), p. 324. A brief comparison of Hansen's work with that of Russell and of Maynard Dixon, by H. N. Pratt, will be found in the *San Francisco Chronicle*, Sunday, August 26, 1923.

In 1939, Mrs. Hansen furnished me a list of the 31 paintings that she considered to be Hansen's most important canvases. The titles of these paintings follow:

- | | |
|--|-------------------------------------|
| 1. "Geronimo Returning From a Raid." | 16. "A Risky Catch." |
| 2. "Pony Express." | 17. "Waiting for the Rush." |
| 3. "A Dash for the Relay Station." | 18. "Calling His Bluff." |
| 4. "Renegade Apaches." | 19. "A Surprise Party." |
| 5. "Custer's Battle Field on the Little Big Horn." | 20. "Indian Gratitude." |
| 6. "Stampede." | 21. "A Dangerous Party." |
| 7. "Pony Express Relay." | 22. "Apache Scouts." |
| 8. "At the Water Hole." | 23. "In a Tight Place." |
| 9. "Out for a Lark." | 24. "The Return of the Vigilantes." |
| 10. "Before the Railroad Came." | 25. "A Rocky Trail." |
| 11. "Winter." | 26. "A Narrow Escape." |
| 12. "Lonesome." | 27. "The Outlaw." |
| 13. "The Scalp." | 28. "A Critical Moment." |
| 14. "His Postoffice." | 29. "A Race for Dinner." |
| 15. "Breaking an Outlaw." | 30. "Scenting Danger." |
| | 31. "Mexican Horse Thieves." |

Even as late as fifteen years ago, the *Chicago Tribune* (March 8, 1936) reproduced in color two of Hansen's paintings, "Apache Scouts Trailing" and "Outcasts" (Dog Soldiers).

←WILLIAM R. LEIGH'S "THE LOOKOUT"

Courtesy Woolaroc Museum, Bartlesville, Okla.

sen, have left interesting records of their work in bronze. Hansen never attempted the art of sculpturing but unlike his contemporaries, he did enter the field of etching. In 1924, the year of his death, he took up this new art and several successful works followed.⁴⁴

CONNECTING LINKS

As the century drew to a close, many artists and illustrators—other than those belonging to the Taos group whom we shall consider shortly—were beginning the practice of their profession. Most of this group achieved their greatest reputation after the turn of the century but as they serve as a link between the older and the modern “schools”—as do the Taos group—the early careers of four of their number have been selected as illustrative of all. They are Fernand H. Lungren, Maynard Dixon, W. R. Leigh and H. W. Caylor.

Lungren, born in 1857, grew to young manhood in the Middle West. When he was 19 he met Kenyon Cox, only a year older than Lungren. Cox had already entered on an artistic career and his example influenced Lungren toward the same profession. After some art training in Cincinnati, Lungren went to Philadelphia where he studied with Thomas Eakins. He began a professional career in New York as an illustrator for *Scribner's Magazine* in 1879. After several years in New York he went abroad for some years but returned to make his home in Cincinnati in 1892. Cincinnati at this time was an active art center, including among its artistic personnel Frank Duveneck, J. H. Sharp and Henry F. Farny. Farny by this time had begun painting imaginative Western scenes and Sharp was already interested in Indian portraiture; Lungren soon became intimate with both men. When an opportunity was offered by the Santa Fe railroad to spend the summer of 1892 sketching in New Mexico for an advertising campaign, Lungren was eager to make the trip. The following summer he was in Arizona. From these two visits to the Southwest there soon appeared a number of magazine illustrations and paintings and eventually a career as a painter of Western desert scenes.⁴⁵

44. See Pratt, *loc. cit.*, for a reproduction of one of Hansen's etchings.

45. My information on Lungren comes from the comprehensive biography, *Fernand Lungren* (Santa Barbara, 1936), by John A. Berger; and from correspondence with Mr. Berger. All information concerning Lungren given in the text is from Mr. Berger's biography unless other citations are made. I should like to take this opportunity to thank Mr. Berger for his kind co-operation and aid in supplying information. Apparently resulting from Lungren's Western trip of 1892 were 38 paintings under the general title "Among the Pueblos" (Nos. 292-329 inclusive) listed in the *Catalogue of the Art Collection of the St. Louis Exposition, 1893*. This same catalogue lists two paintings (Nos. 276 and 277) by Charles Craig, "A Cold Day for the Indian" and "Indian Lookouts," and three by the Texas artist, Frank Reaugh (Nos. 338-340 inclusive). For a brief sketch of Reaugh and his work (1861-1945), see his autobiography *Biographical* (December, 1936), 6pp., and

Several illustrations in *St. Nicholas Magazine* in 1895, and January, 1896, mark Lungren's first appearance as a Western illustrator, but a painting reproduced shortly thereafter in *Harper's Weekly* created a sensation.⁴⁶ The painting was "Thirst" and is said to be based on a personal experience of Lungren on a desert trip. It depicts a dead horse on a desert waste with a man in desperate condition in the foreground, his eyes staring and extended. It was on display first at the 29th annual exhibition of the American Water-Color Society and was soon reproduced in *Harper's Weekly*. Owen Wister wrote that the painting was "appallingly natural to anyone who has ridden over that country" and that it was "too true for one's sitting room." John Berger, Lungren's biographer and Stewart Edward White, an intimate friend of Lungren, confirmed Wister's comment many years later. Mr. Berger wrote me that "so many people were so horror-stricken with the painting that Lungren finally quit showing it."⁴⁷ The present location of the picture is unknown.

Other illustrations in *Harper's Weekly*, *Harper's Magazine* and the *Century Magazine* followed in considerable number. These for the most part were concerned with life on the mesa and desert of the Southwest.⁴⁸ In fact, it was not long until Lungren decided to devote his entire time to painting the Southwest desert and his later reputation is based primarily on his desert pictures. He became a Californian in 1903 and settled permanently at Santa Bar-

Paintings of the Southwest by Frank Reaugh, n. d., 45pp. A number of paintings are reproduced in this booklet in black and white and Reaugh has made many notes on the original paintings. The Reaugh collection is now housed in the Barker Texas History Center, University of Texas, Austin.

46. The illustrations in *St. Nicholas*, New York, will be found as follows: "The Bronco's Best Race," by Cromwell Galpin, three illustrations by Lungren, Apache and Southwest locale, v. 22 (1895), August, pp. 795-803; "The Magic Turquoise," by Lungren himself, two full-page illustrations, one dated 1894, v. 23 (1896), January, pp. 216-222, and "Hemmed in With the Chief," by Frank W. Calkins, one full-page illustration by Lungren (Indian and buffalo), v. 23 (1896), February, pp. 290-293. "Thirst" was reproduced in *Harper's Weekly* as a full-page illustration on February 8, 1896, p. 128, with comment on p. 126 by Owen Wister.

47. Mr. Berger wrote on May 6, 1940, after talking with Stewart Edward White, who "studied" with Lungren in Santa Barbara in 1906.

48. *Harper's Weekly*, v. 40 (1896), August 15, has four Lungren illustrations of the Moki (Moqui) Indians on pp. 801, 803, 806 and 807, and on pp. 804, 805, a double-page illustration "Among the Moki Indians—The Snake Dance," which is dated 1895; *ibid.*, October 3, 1896, p. 977, "Stalking Antelope [in the desert Southwest]," full page and credited to a painting; *ibid.*, v. 43 (1899), April 15, p. 359, "An Incident in Rocky Mountain Sheep-Hunting," full page and title page, credited to a drawing. In *Harper's Magazine*, New York, Lungren illustrated "An Elder Brother to the Cliff-Dweller's," by T. M. Prudden, v. 95 (1897), June, pp. 55-67, the most important of the illustrations being the full-page "A Sand-Storm on the Mojave Desert"; and Prudden's article "Under the Spell of the Grand Canyon," v. 97 (1898), August, pp. 377-392, four illustrations by Lungren, one in color, "On the Painted Desert." In this last article Prudden described a trip of several weeks in the Grand Canyon country, but it is obvious from the context that Lungren was not a member of the party. In *The Century Magazine*, New York, Lungren illustrated F. W. Hodge's account of the famous "Ascent of the Enchanted Mesa," N. S. v. 34 (1898), May, pp. 15-25, but again Lungren may not have been a member of the party that ascended the mesa; that Lungren was a serious student of mesa life, however, is attested by an article written and illustrated by himself, "Notes on Old Mesa Life," *ibid.*, pp. 26-31. For other Lungren illustrations in this period (not Western), see *19th Century Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, 1890-99* (New York, 1944), v. 2, p. 140.

bara in 1908, where he devoted the remainder of his life to art instruction and to painting Death Valley and the Mojave Desert. At his death in 1932, many of Lungren's paintings were willed to Santa Barbara State College.⁴⁹

Maynard Dixon was California's notable contribution to Western illustration and art. Born at Fresno in 1875, he spent his boyhood on the great interior plain of California, at a time when the gold rush days were still vivid memories to many a citizen of Fresno and of California. Dixon, before his untimely death in 1946, wrote a brief paragraph for this series on the beginning of his career:

Back in the late 80's [he wrote me in 1940] when Harpers, Century and Scribners were tops, Frederic Remington and Howard Pyle were beginning their best work. I was living in a West that was real, '49ers were still our neighbors, even some "mountain men," Miller and Lux were going strong and the California vaquero was still king of the saddle. When I was 16 (1891) I quit school and sent Remington 2 sketchbooks. He wrote me a splendid letter and I have been on the job ever since. The West of Then and Now is still my subject, and at 65 I have yet another lap to go.

I did my first paid illustrating in 1895 for old *Overland Monthly* and S. F. Call, Jack London's "Men of Forty Mile," "Malemute Kid" and others. I think "Lo-To-Kah" was my first book. All these drawings were terrible. Looking back through old clippings of newspaper and magazine work it seems I did not begin to hit the ball until '98 or '99. Made my first "frontier" trip outside Calif. (Ariz. and New Mex.) in 1900. Did my last magazine illus. in 1922—and a little for *Touring Topics* (now *Westways*) 1930-31.⁵⁰

Evidently, Dixon did some "free" illustrating for *Overland Monthly* before 1895, for the record shows that his first illustration appeared in that magazine in December, 1893—when he was but 18 years old—and many others were to appear before the turn of the century.⁵¹ The first of his book illustrations appeared in Verner Reed's *Lo-To-Kah*, published in 1897, which was illustrated by both Dixon and Charles Craig. Before his career in illustration was finished, Dixon pictures were to appear in over 30 books.⁵²

49. Berger, *op. cit.*

50. Letter from Mr. Dixon to the writer, October 3, 1940. I carried on an extended correspondence with Mr. Dixon from 1939 until his death on November 13, 1946, and although I never met him personally I felt that he was a real friend. He always answered my inquiries cheerfully and at length, when I am sure he must have marveled at my ignorance of art. He even went to the trouble of drawing outline sketches on thin paper to be placed over photographs of his paintings, to illustrate some elemental principle of art.

51. For a list see *19th Century Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature*, 1890-99, p. 739. Dixon's illustrations did not appear in Eastern periodicals until 1900. Some of the earliest of this group include (all are full page): *Harper's Weekly*, v. 46 (1902), March 22 (title page), "The Trials of a 'Bronco-Buster,'" dated "Oregon 1901"; April 19 (title page), "Stay With Him! Stay With Him!" (bronco buster); May 17, p. 621, "Wild Range-Horses in the Corral," dated "P Ranch Oregon 1901"; October 11, p. 1449, "Freighting in the Desert" (California); December 6, p. 15, "Christmas in the Arizona Desert."

52. My friend J. C. Dykes of College Park, Md., has been compiling a lot of Dixon illustrations, particularly book illustrations, and in a list sent me several years ago, Dykes included 39 titles of books containing such illustrations. In *Lo-To-Kah* the earliest Dixon illustration bears the date 1894; Reed's book, *Tales of the Sun-Land*, was also published in 1897 and contained 20 full illustrations by Dixon and other drawings. Jack London's *The Son of the Wolf* (1900), is the third book on Mr. Dykes list.

As Dixon's own account infers, a gradual change in his activities occurred about 1920. Painting from that time on became the center of his life. His career thereafter belongs to the modern period of Western art.⁵³

William R. Leigh, like many another artist of the West, had cherished the desire since early boyhood to visit that fabulous country, the Far West. Born on a West Virginia farm in 1866, he early began to draw animals. At the age of 12 he was given an award of one hundred dollars by W. W. Corcoran, the great art collector of Washington, after Corcoran had seen a drawing of a dog made by the youngster. Three years of training at the Maryland Institute of Art in Baltimore was followed by extensive training abroad, especially at Munich. One impression that he brought from Munich was the appearance of horses seen in many paintings abroad. To one who had begun his career in boyhood by drawing animals on his father's farm, realistic draftsmanship was the first criterion of animal representation. But the horses seen in Munich paintings, Leigh said a few years later, were "not only unlike any horses that I ever saw, but unlike any beast I had ever seen."⁵⁴ His reaction to these paintings may have set him on an exhaustive study of the depiction of the horse and which Leigh eventually published in book form as *The Western Pony*.⁵⁵ By 1897, Leigh had achieved a considerable reputation as an illustrator of national magazines and in the summer of that year he was sent by *Scribner's Magazine* to North Dakota to make sketches of wheat farming. Sixteen illustrations resulting from this assignment were used that fall by *Scribner's* in an article by William Allen White, "The Business of a Wheat Farm."⁵⁶ Particularly notable among the illustrations were "Steam Threshers at Work" and "A Camp," the latter showing harvest hands about an evening campfire. These illustrations, Mr. Leigh wrote me in 1940, "were all made from life," and he continued:

53. For biographical material on Dixon, consult *Who's Who in America* (Chicago, 1946), v. 24 (1946-1947), p. 621; U. S. W. P. A., *California Art Research*, v. 8; *Maynard Dixon* (San Francisco, 1937, mimeographed); *Arizona Highways*, Phoenix, v. 18 (1942), February, pp. 16-19—this material includes an account by Dixon himself—"Arizona in 1900"; Arthur Miller, *Maynard Dixon Painter of the West* (Tucson, 1945). This beautiful booklet contains reproductions of many Dixon paintings (a number in color), a list of his exhibitions, a list of his mural decorations and a list of his works in collections, 1915-1945.

54. James B. Carrington, "W. R. Leigh," *Book Buyer*, New York, v. 17 (1898), pp. 596-599; and "William R. Leigh," *The Mentor*, New York, v. 3 (1915), No. 9, Serial No. 85.

55. *The Western Pony* (New York, 1933), 116pp., with illustrations in black and white by Leigh. Leigh discusses at some length in this book his feeling toward the West, his judgment of Remington and of Russell as depicors of horses, and his philosophy of art, as well as a discussion of the methods employed by the artist in showing movement in animals.

56. *Scribner's Magazine*, New York, v. 22 (1897), November, pp. 531-548. For an index to Leigh's illustrations of the 1890's, see *19th Century Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature*, v. 2, p. 59. Leigh also illustrated a Midwest political story for William Allen White's "Victory for the People," *Scribner's Magazine*, v. 25 (1899), pp. 717-728.

I went to North Dakota in 1897 to do some illustrations for Scribner's Magazine, but while I then had my first taste of the west, and was really inspired by it, I had no opportunity to do any studies independently for my own use.

From the moment I returned from my studies in Europe, I had wanted to go to the west, which I had already determined was the really true America, and what I wanted to paint. I made many efforts to that end, but was always troubled by lack of funds and misinformation as to the cost and difficulties.⁵⁷

These illustrations of wheat farming were followed shortly by a series of remarkable pictures which undoubtedly played their part in stirring the slowly awakening social conscience of the American people around the turn of the century. The illustrations were made for a series of articles by W. A. Wyckoff, "The Workers—The West," and show the life of the drifting worker, primarily in Chicago.⁵⁸ Included, however, is one illustration belonging to the farther West, a scene depicting an Indian and two cowboys in camp on the plains.

By 1906 Leigh decided to devote all his energies to the drawing and painting of Western scenes. Probably of all artists who have entered this field exclusively, Leigh's mastery of draftsmanship is the surest and most skillful. His later career belongs again to the modern period.⁵⁹

H. W. Caylor is representative of a considerable group of men, who though known locally, never achieved a wide reputation. Born in 1867, he began as a boy to draw pictures of animals. He, like many another youngster, wanted to be a cowboy and was actually employed as such in Kansas for a few months when in his teens. Self-taught, he made most of his early living as an itinerant portrait painter. After his marriage in 1889, he acquired two sections of land near Big Spring, Tex., bought a few of the vanishing longhorn Texas cattle for models and devoted the rest of his life to depicting ranch life and cattle and cowboy scenes. He fitted up a horse-drawn outfit which carried a camping and painting outfit, and with his wife followed cattle drives and roundups. He became acquainted with a number of cattlemen who were interested in his work and who became his patrons. "The Trail Herd" (repro-

57. Letter to the writer, August 21, 1940.

58. *Scribner's Magazine*, vols. 23, 24; the articles appearing in all nine issues from March through November, 1898, except August.

59. For Leigh's later career see *Who's Who in America*, v. 26 (1950-1951), p. 1597, and *The Western Pony*, cited in Footnote 55. In 1945 Leigh published (mimeograph) "Reproductions of William R. Leigh's Paintings in Color and Black and White Appearing in the Following Publications Since 1910." The list includes some 150 titles, a number of which are duplicates and also included are a number of African illustrations resulting from his trips to Africa in 1926 and 1928. Neuhaus, *op. cit.*, p. 324, wrote concerning Leigh: "His pictures have the sophistication and finesse of the schooled painter, but they lack the freshness and vigor of Remington's or Russell's work."

A colored reproduction of Leigh's "An Argument With the Sheriff" is available from the Dick Jones Picture Co., 3127 Walnut St., Huntington Park, Cal.

duced in the picture supplement), "The Stampede," "The Passing of the Old West," "Going Up the Old Trail," "The Lucien Wells Ranch," "Prayer for Rain," "The Chuck Wagon," "Disputing the Trail," were among his better-known paintings. The titles show the nature of his work, which was done between 1891 and the time of his death in 1932.⁶⁰

THE BEGINNING OF THE TAOS SCHOOL

The 80 years of Western illustration, beginning with the work of Samuel Seymour in 1819, had its logical conclusion in the Taos art colony of the modern day. The landscape of the great open spaces and of the Shining mountains (an early and appealing name given the Rockies), the activities of the memorable but past Western scene including its Indian inhabitants, had so firm a hold on the life of America that it seems inevitable that collectively these aspects of our land and history would eventually lead to its artistic expression. That it culminated at Taos may be more or less accidental; that artists not connected with the Taos School have utilized the same themes is more or less irrelevant. The point of immediate concern is that there exists a considerable group of artists who carry on the Western tradition and spirit.

The attitude of the art historian toward this group is varied. In the recent *Art and Life in America* which purports to be written "for students of American civilization who wish to know what part the visual plastic arts have played in our society" no mention is made of Taos and modern Western painting and illustration, although the early Western landscape school is given brief comment.⁶¹ Royal Cortissoz, in his addition to Samuel Isham's *History of American Painting* at least makes recognition of the Taos group and its purpose. "In substance," he wrote, "the group has brought

60. Material for the above brief description of Caylor came from his widow, Mrs. H. W. Caylor of Big Spring, Tex., by correspondence in 1940; from an obituary in the *Big Spring Daily Herald*, December 25, 1932, p. 1, kindly supplied by N. A. Cleveland, Jr., librarian, newspaper collection, University of Texas; and from an article by J. Frank Dobie, "Texas Art and a Wagon Sheet," in the *Dallas Morning News*, March 11, 1940, p. 9. More recently H. C. Duff, Box 292, Bremerton, Wash., has reproduced for sale the Caylor painting "The Passing of the Old West," the original sketches for which were made by Caylor in 1891 or 1892.

In addition to Caylor, Reaugh (see Footnote 45) has depicted Texas cattle and ranch scenes. Still another artist made at least one excellent Texas cattle scene, "A Stampede," reproduced in color as the frontispiece in *Historical and Biographical Record of the Cattle Industry and the Cattlemen of Texas* . . . (St. Louis, 1895). The artist of this illustration is identified as Gean Smith of New York City. In addition to this illustration, there will be found the reproduction in black and white of a number of Smith paintings of famous race horses in *Outing*, New York, v. 22 (1893), pp. 82, 83, 162, 193, 195, 269, 270, 271, 377-379; v. 26 (1895), pp. 182, 184, 185, 188.

Gean Smith (1851-1928) had a national reputation as a painter of horses, spending most of his active career in New York City. He retired in 1923 and made his home with relatives in Galveston, Tex., for the last five years of his life. An obituary will be found in the *Galveston Tribune*, December 8, 1928. I am indebted to Miss Llerena Friend of the Barker Texas History Center for locating the obituary for me.

61. Oliver W. Larkin, *Art and Life in America* (New York, 1949), p. vii.

into American painting romantic motives studied against a notably vivid background.”⁶² Other art historians have in general ignored the Taos artists; the most notable exception to this group, as might be expected from the fact that he himself is a Westerner, has been Eugen Neuhaus. Neuhaus, writing with commendable understanding and judgment stated

“ . . . the name of Taos has come to mean a definite achievement in American art, which promises to have a long and honorable career before its artistic possibilities are exhausted. A peculiar combination of the great open country relatively easy of access and a long season of painting weather and clear sunlight, under which the landscape as well as human beings assume definite contrast of light and shadow, has made Taos a focal point in American art life. The Indian at Taos, furthermore, has survived without much loss of his original characteristics, and his genuine qualities are not the least element in attracting artists to the Southwest.”⁶³

If the later history of Taos artists is primarily part of another story than ours, its development as a logical extension of the field which we are here considering warrants the few words which we have devoted to its present significance.

The origin of Taos as an art colony in 1898, however, does manage to come within the more or less arbitrary time limits we have set for ourselves. A number of artists had visited Taos before 1898. Blanche C. Grant in her history of Taos, *When Old Trails Were New*, has listed a number of them, including Henry R. Poore, whose painting, “Pack Train Leaving Pueblo of Taos, New Mexico,” has already been mentioned in this series.⁶⁴ This illustration is probably the first bearing the name of Taos to be reproduced. Poore was in Taos in 1890 but he had been preceded by one well-known Western artist in 1881. Charles Craig sketched and painted

62. Samuel Isham, *The History of American Painting*, new edition (New York, 1927), p. 575.

63. Neuhaus, *op. cit.*, pp. 322 and 323. The attraction of light and color and of Indian and Mexican life for the artist, is attested by one member of the Taos group himself; see W. Herbert Dunton “Painters of Taos,” *American Magazine of Art*, v. 13 (1922), August, p. 247. Rilla C. Jackson in *American Arts* (Chicago, 1928), is another art historian who, like Neuhaus, makes some consideration of Taos. In her discussion, “The Taos Artists” (pp. 266-274), she included not only the Taos group as such but Western artists in general, including Remington and his contemporaries. Art historians who make no mention of the Taos artists are Homer Saint-Gaudens, *The American Artist and His Times* (New York, 1941), and Suzanne La Follette, *Art in America* (New York, 1929). Miss La Follette has so little understanding of American history that she makes (p. 110) the well-nigh incredible statement “on the contrary, it [westward expansion] is one of the most depressing chapters in American life . . . it promoted deterioration in the quality of life.” Miss La Follette is not alone in expressing such an attitude, but such critics have seized on fraud, land exploitation, corruption in public office and other ills that accompanied the development of the West, while totally overlooking the facts of similar irregularities of Eastern life and the more favorable aspects of Western life. Bernard De Voto in *Mark Twain's America* (Boston, 1932), is in part an answer to such critics.

64. Blanche C. Grant, *When Old Trails Were New* (New York, 1934), p. 254. For the previous mention of Poore in this series, see *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 18 (1950), February, p. 6. Poore visited Taos in the summer of 1890; see *Report on Indians Taxed and Indians Not Taxed* . . . *Eleventh Census: 1890* (Washington, 1894), p. 424.



BERT G. PHILLIPS

Courtesy Mr. Phillips, Taos, N. M.



ERNEST L. BLUMENSCHN

Courtesy Mr. Blumenschein, Taos, N. M.



CHARLES SCHREYVOGEL

Courtesy Mrs. Louise F. Feldmann,
New York City



WILLIAM R. LEIGH

Courtesy Mr. Leigh, New York City



BLUMENSCHNEIN'S "THE ADVANCE OF CIVILIZATION IN NEW MEXICO—THE MERRY-GO-ROUND COMES TO TAOS"

From *Harper's Weekly*, June 17, 1899 (Courtesy Harper & Brothers)

at Taos in the summer of that year, but later in the same year settled in Colorado Springs where he spent the next 50 years of his life. With Harvey S. Young, he was the first resident artist of the Springs and his depiction of Western scenes won him not only a local but an international clientele.⁶⁵

For many years Craig had virtually a continuous one-man exhibit in the lobby of the famous Antler's Hotel of Colorado Springs and many of his buyers were visitors at the hotel. When the Antler's was destroyed by fire in 1898, many of Craig's canvases were lost.

Although neither Craig nor Poore were in any way responsible for the present art colony of Taos, Joseph H. Sharp who visited Taos in 1893, can be more directly related to its origin.

Sharp, born in Ohio in 1859, began the study of art in Cincinnati when he was but 14 years of age, and for many years was associated with the art life of Cincinnati. He had a studio in the same building as Henry F. Farny, at the time Farny began his career as a Western artist, and it was Farny's example that played an important part in determining Sharp's career. Sharp, in a letter written in 1939, pointed out that he was fascinated with the American Indian long before he met Farny. He wrote:

65. Craig (1846-1931) is another artist who really deserves fuller notice in this chronicle than we have given him. Examples of his work are so widely scattered that it is difficult if not impossible to secure photographs of them, as I have been trying to do for the last ten or dozen years. Craig was one of the illustrators for Verner L. Reed's *Lo-To-Kah* (New York, 1897) and others of Reed's publications. Born in Ohio in 1846, he made his first Western trip in 1865—up the Missouri river. He was a student in the Philadelphia Academy of Fine Arts in 1872 and 1873 and after he settled in Colorado Springs he took an active part in the art life of Colorado, both as a productive artist, a teacher of art, and as manager of a number of early art exhibitions in Denver and Pueblo, as well as Colorado Springs. Biographic material will be found in obituaries in the *Colorado Springs Telegraph*, October 20, 1931, p. 1, and the *Denver Post*, October 20, 1931. Other materials bearing on his work include accounts in the *Colorado Springs Evening Telegraph*, February 4, 1920, p. 9; the *Colorado Springs Sunday Gazette and Telegraph*, November 11, 1923, Sec. 1, p. 4; in *Brush and Pencil in Early Colorado Springs* by Gilbert McClurg, also in *Colorado Springs Gazette and Telegraph*, November 30, 1924, Sec. 2, and in *Who's Who in America*, v. 13 (1924), p. 832.

Harvey B. Young (1841-1901), a landscape artist, had his first Western experiences in California in 1859. He received art training abroad and made his home in Manitou, Colo., in 1879, and later in Aspen and Denver. He deserted art for a time in the 1880's when he made and lost a fortune in mining. His reputation as an artist was based on landscape paintings of the Rockies and of Brittany and Fontainebleau. For biographical information see Gilbert McClurg, *op. cit.*, *Colorado Springs Gazette and Telegraph*, November 23, 1924, Sec. 2, pp. 1, 3, and an obituary in the *Denver Republican*, May 14, 1901.

Another friend of Craig's was Frank P. Sauerwen, who was also a visitor to Taos in 1898, but who was claimed as a Denver artist. Sauerwen was born in 1871 in New Jersey, and moved to Denver about 1891. He moved to California in 1905 and died in Stamford, Conn., on June 13, 1910. He had a large local reputation as an artist but was scarcely known outside of the mountain West. Fred Harvey was one of his patrons as was Judge J. D. Hamlin of Farewell, Tex. Judge Hamlin wrote me in 1940 that he owned some 40 canvases done by Sauerwen. I have seen but two reproductions of Sauerwen's work, "First Santa Fe Train," reproduced in color by the Fred Harvey System in post-card form and "The Arrow," probably his best-known picture, which was reproduced in black and white in *Brush and Pencil*, Chicago, v. 4 (1899), May, p. 83.

I am indebted to Judge Hamlin, to the Denver Public Library, and especially to Alfred W. Scott, art dealer of Denver, for biographic information concerning Sauerwen. Newspaper material on Sauerwen will be found in the *Denver Republican*, November 22, 1898; *Rocky Mountain News*, Denver, November 22, 1898; *Denver Weekly Church Press*, December 10, 1898; *Denver Republican*, April 9, 1899; *Rocky Mountain News*, April 9, 1899; *Denver Republican*, April 15, 1900, and April 13, 1903.

I was first interested in Indians before becoming an artist—the first group I ever saw was at the B. & O. depot near Wheeling, W. Va. They would shoot at dimes and quarters placed in upright forked stick with bow and arrow—even the kids were expert. I was about six years old [then]. Later, living at Ironton, O., near Cincinnati, the town used to have summer parades and fiesta—simple floats, etc. Once, when I was 12-13 yrs. old, 4 other boys & myself were Indians on ponies, stripped to G-string & all painted up by local druggist with ochre. . . . we got tired of the slowness [of forming the parade] and with yells & war whoops we broke loose, stole the show and went galloping & mauling all over town. When I went to Cincinnati Art Academy & learned to draw and paint, I wanted to paint Indians—Farny was doing it then, & dissuaded me by telling of hardships, dangers and made me feel I didn't exactly have a right to paint Indians—after a couple of years or so when he saw I was determined to go west, he gave me books on Pueblo Indians & particularly the Penitentes of New Mexico & wanted me to take that up!

It was to the Southwest that Sharp finally went—first in Santa Fe in 1883, and later to Taos in 1893, and to other pueblos of New Mexico and Arizona in the following years. He retained a position on the Cincinnati Art Academy in the winter months, from 1892 until 1902, and then resigned to devote all his time to painting Indian themes in the Indian country. For a number of years, beginning in 1901, he had a summer studio on the Crow agency of Montana which was located at the foot of the Custer battlefield. He became a permanent resident of Taos in 1912, where he lives across from the home of the celebrated frontiersman, Kit Carson.⁶⁶

After Sharp's sketching trip to Taos in the summer of 1893 he went abroad. There he met Bert G. Phillips and Ernest L. Blumenschein, both interested in painting the American Indian. They were students at the Academy Julien in Paris, and were particularly receptive to Sharp's glowing account of the Southwest and of the village of Taos in particular. Upon their return to this country in 1895, they set up a studio together and then in the winter of 1897 and 1898, Blumenschein, who was also a one-time student of Lungen, spent some time in Colorado and New Mexico. A number

66. I have carried on a correspondence with Mr. Sharp since 1939, the material quoted above being from a letter dated "April, 1939." For published information on Sharp's career, see *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, v. 18, p. 188; *Who's Who in America 1950-1951*, v. 26 (1950), p. 2483. Sharp illustrations resulting from his visit to New Mexico in 1893 may be found in *Harper's Weekly*, v. 37 (1893), October 14, p. 981, "The Harvest Dance of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico" (full page), dated "93" with a description by Sharp himself on pp. 982 and 983; *ibid.*, v. 38 (1894), June 9, p. 549, "The Pueblo Turquoise Driller" (small), with brief description by Sharp on the same page; *Brush and Pencil*, v. 4 (1899), April, pp. 1-7, "An Artist Among the Indians," by Sharp, with reproductions of 11 of his paintings, one (full page) in color, "The Mesa, From Kit Carson's Tomb, Taos, New Mexico." Several others of these reproductions indicate Taos as the locale. A full-page reproduction in color of Sharp's "The Evening Chant" (Pueblo Indians), appeared in *ibid.*, v. 5 (1900), March, facing p. 241, with a brief comment by Sharp on p. 284 (reproduced in black and white with this article); in the same periodical, v. 7 (1901), April, p. 61, is a full-page black and white reproduction of his painting, "Mourning Her Brave," which on p. 64 is credited "from life." *An Exhibition of Oil Paintings by Joseph Henry Sharp* (Tulsa, 1949), lists 204 of his paintings, many of which are dated; one, "Zuni Pueblo," bears the legend, "Painted 1898"; altogether some 16 were painted before 1900. The Sharp exhibition at Tulsa was opened on his 90th birthday!

of illustrations appeared in *McClure's Magazine* as the result of this trip. In the fall of 1898, Blumenschein, with Phillips as his companion, was back in New Mexico.

On September 4, 1898, they arrived in Taos, and Phillips has remained there ever since. Blumenschein stayed for a time with Phillips but he did not make Taos his permanent home until 1919, so that Phillips is to be regarded as the founder of this modern art colony in the Southwest.⁶⁷ The first of the pictures to be reproduced belonging to the modern Taos group, however, is to be credited to Blumenschein, for there appeared late in 1898, the illustration, "A Strange Mixture of Barbarism and Christianity—The Celebration of San Geronimo's Day Among the Pueblo Indians," and signed by Blumenschein, "Taos N. M. 1898." The next year there appeared two further illustrations, "The Advance of Civilization in New Mexico—the Merry-Go-Round Comes To Taos," and "Wards of the Nation—Their First Vacation From School [Navajo]." ⁶⁸ The original drawing of "The Merry-Go-Round" illustration, according to Mr. Blumenschein, was done in black and

67. In this statement of the founding of the art colony at Taos, I am following the account of E. L. Blumenschein which appeared in the Santa Fe *New Mexican*, June 26, 1940, "Artists and Writers Edition," and the biographic sketch of J. H. Sharp which also appeared in the same issue of the *New Mexican*. Blanche C. Grant, *op. cit.*, ch. 35, was another who described the founding of the art colony at Taos and gave biographic sketches of a number of the artists in the colony at the time of writing (1934). Miss Grant also included an interesting group photograph of ten of the Taos artists. According to the Blumenschein account, some 50 artists were making Taos their permanent home in 1940. Blumenschein's illustrations appeared in *McClure's Magazine*, New York, as follows: v. 10 (1898), January, p. 252; v. 12 (1899), January, p. 241, February, pp. 298-304; v. 14 (1899), November, pp. 88, 90-93, 95. For Bert G. Phillips (born 1868), see *Who's Who in America*, v. 26 (1950-1951), p. 2163.

The story of the actual arrival of Phillips and Blumenschein at Taos in 1898 has been told by both men; by Blumenschein in the account cited above, and by Phillips in "The Broken Wagon Wheel or How Art Came To New Mexico," an address made by Phillips in 1948 on the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Taos Art Colony.

The two young artists of 1898 started out from Denver for Mexico after buying a team and a light wagon for their artistic exploration of the Southwest. Neither of the two had handled horses before and their training in harnessing and driving was gained the hard way by the method of trial and error. After a series of vicissitudes, one of the rear wagon wheels collapsed when they were on a mountain road about thirty miles north of Taos. By drawing lots, it was decided that Blumenschein should take the wheel to Taos for repairs, Phillips remaining behind to guard their belongings. After three days, Blumenschein was able to return with the repaired wheel, and the two traveled on to Taos. So entranced were both with Taos and its surroundings that they went no farther, both resolving to make the wealth of beauty and picturesque life around them known to a far wider audience; "a wealth," as Mr. Phillips remarked, "that will continue to exist as long as this old world shall endure." It is not surprising with this account before us, that the symbol of the present Taos Colony is a broken wagon wheel.

Santa Fe itself, as well as Taos, is now a very considerable center of art and has been for many years. Although no attempt will be made to outline the history of Santa Fe as a center of art it can be pointed out that the Santa Fe *New Mexican* has many items bearing on such a history previous to 1900. For example, the *New Mexican* for September 9, 1886, p. 4, described the work of a Mr. and Mrs. Elderkin, art teachers, who were established in Santa Fe.

The modern art colony in Santa Fe had a much later beginning. Dr. Reginald Fisher of the Museum of New Mexico wrote me recently as follows concerning the modern period: "Roughly speaking, the years 1918 and 1919 might be given for the founding of the Santa Fe art colony. It was during this time that the original group of artists established permanent homes here. Among these were Gustave Baumann, Randall Davey, Fremont Ellis, John Sloan, and within a year or two following were Will Sluster, Jozef Bakos, Theodore Van Soelen (who settled first at Albuquerque in 1916 then at Santa Fe in 1922) and Albert Schmidt. These are all leading names today among Santa Fe artists."

68. These illustrations appeared in *Harper's Weekly*, v. 42 (1898), December 10, pp. 1204, 1205; v. 43 (1899), June 17, p. 587, October 28, p. 1100. J. H. Sharp's painting reproduced in *Brush and Pencil*, "The Mesa, From Kit Carson's Tomb, Taos, New Mexico," cited in Footnote 66, should not be overlooked in considering the early illustrations from Taos.

white gouache, and its present whereabouts is unknown.⁶⁹ These illustrations were "very early work in my career," continued Mr. Blumenschein. "I afterward and until about 1912 was a successful illustrator at a period when illustration of magazines was in a much higher plane than today." The long and imposing list of awards made Blumenschein since that day and his election to the National Academy in 1927, are sufficient achievements for his inclusion in any consideration of American art.⁷⁰

For many of these artists and illustrators, as has been said, the Indian and the cowboy of the West were the boyhood magnets that drew them to their careers. Even mature men, with no previous acquaintance with the West, were not immune to the power of this attraction. One artist wrote on his initial trip to the West in 1893:

We Easterners were worked up to a pitch of nervous excitement, until, at the close of the third day, we could descry from the car window signs of approaching desolation. Even the seemingly endless plains with bunches of cattle here and there were interesting to us. . . . Our ears tingled with new names and new expressions."⁷¹

The marvelous range of color, the brilliant sunlight, the early inhabitants—both red and white—the contrasts of plain and desert and mountain, captivated many artists as it has captivated a countless number of souls outside the profession. "It is a striking scene of gorgeous color," wrote one artist in viewing an Indian dance, "The brilliant sunlight illumines the gaudy trappings of the dancers." Another artist wrote after a trip across the San Juan valley:

Sand, sage, and cactus, a true picture of the Southwest. The mountains in the distance, with their snowy tops, were beautiful in their softness of tone and grand proportions. . . . During the ages of erosion, towers of rock have been left standing in the plain, giving to the scene a weird and wondrous effect. The color in all is beautiful, the snuff-brown hue of the nearer towers and slopes losing itself in the blue and misty ones far away.

And still another artist, an ardent lover of solitude and remote mountain recesses, was to write of New Mexico and the beauty of

. . . the skies of marvelous blue through which pass, in summer, regiments of stately clouds; the majesty of the mountains, those serrated, rugged peaks to the East and North, and the gentler tone of the remoter ranges low lying in the west. . . . Every turn unfolds a new wonderland of beauty. [And

69. Letter of E. L. Blumenschein to the writer, March 16, 1940.

70. For Mr. Blumenschein's career see *Who's Who in America*, v. 26 (1950-1951), p. 253. Mr. Blumenschein is still active at the age of 76.

71. Remington W. Lane, "An Artist in the San Juan Country," *Harper's Weekly*, v. 37 (1893), December 9, p. 1174. Seven of Lane's pictures of southwestern Colorado and Utah will be found on p. 1168. Lane was a member of Warren K. Moorehead's archaeological party that traveled overland from Durango, Colo., to Bluff City, Utah. I have found no other data concerning Lane.

in fall] The timbered sides of the mountains capped in snow are now carpeted in the delicate pattern of the changes, aspens, gold and russet against the green of the pine. The heat of summer is gone. . . . Everywhere the sage, the adobes and the cottonwoods melt together in one harmonious symphony of greys and browns and violets of the choicest quality.⁷²

All these marvels of Western land and color remain to us today. All who will may look and see. But the life of an earlier day, portrayed against this colorful background of tremendous breadth and scope, has gone. To that group of artists who recorded the early life of our West we owe much, for they have left us the nearest approach to the past that we will ever know.

The passing of the old West was mourned by many, including the pictorial recorders who lived through its closing hours. One artist wrote:

When I was last in Tucson there were four gambling houses running full blast night and day to every block. They were patronized by Indians, cowboys, sheepherders, niggers and Chinamen. Every man, whatever his color, wore a gun in sight, and I could walk up and down the main street of Tucson all day and every day of the week getting material for pictures, local color and new types. Now the town is killed from my point of view. I met a man here who had just come up from Arizona and he tells me they have shut down all the gambling houses tight, and not a gun in sight! Why the place hasn't the pictorial value of a copper cent any longer.⁷³

Even the best-known of all the recorders of the life of the West that was, lamented its passing. Frederic Remington wrote:

I knew the derby hat, the smoking chimneys, the cord-binder, and the thirty-day note were upon us in a resistless surge. I knew the wild riders and the vacant land were about to vanish forever, and the more I considered the subject the bigger the Forever loomed. . . . I saw the living, breathing end of three American centuries of smoke and dust and sweat, and I now see quite another thing where it all took place, but it does not appeal to me.⁷⁴

The wheels of change and progress wait for no man, not even artists. Doubtless in the comments above, at least two were carried away by their own words. The fact remains that the years around the turn of the century mark with some finality the end of an important era in the life of the West and of the nation. What better recognition could be made of that fact, from the standpoint of this series at least, than a pictorial one? So we shall let Blumen-schein's "The Advance of Civilization in New Mexico—The Merry-Go-Round Comes To Taos" (reproduced *facing* p. 249) be our pictorial conclusion.

72. The first quotation given above was written by J. H. Sharp, *Harper's Weekly*, v. 37 (1893), October 14, p. 982; the second was Remington W. Lane, in *ibid.*, December 9, p. 1174; the third by W. Herbert Dunton, in *American Magazine of Art*, v. 13 (1922), August, p. 247.

73. H. W. Hansen in the *Santa Barbara Morning Press*, June 30, 1908, p. 5.

74. *Collier's Weekly*, New York, v. 34 (1905), March 18, p. 16.

The Swedes in Kansas Before the Civil War

EMORY LINDQUIST

THE census report of 1860 accounts for only 122 Swedes in Kansas. Thirty years later, in 1890, when 17,096 Swedes were residents, the highest point in the Swedish-born population was reached. Kansas then ranked tenth in the nation as to the number of Swedes, who constituted the third largest national group in the state. In 1880, the 11,207 Swedes placed Kansas fourth in the nation as to Swedish-born population, with only Illinois, Minnesota and Iowa showing greater numbers, and ahead of New York by forty-three. In 1940, fifty years following the highest point in Swedish population, there were only 4,540 Swedish-born residents in Kansas.¹

The exact date of the arrival of the first Swede in Kansas is unknown. There is considerable evidence to indicate that Lars Anderson from Västergötland, C. Johnson-Lindahl from Småland and Henrik Olander from Skåne settled in Osage county in 1848.² George J. Johnson, Peter Paulson and John and Peter Peterson arrived in the same county in 1854 or 1855.³ L. A. Lagerquest came to the future site of Big Springs in Douglas county on July 4, 1854.⁴ Considerably more is known about John Rosenquist who came to Kansas from Knoxville, Ill., with the Rev. Thomas J. Addis of Addington. The journey was made by covered wagon in March, 1855. Upon arrival at Lawrence, Rosenquist was directed to the "Upper Neosho" settlement. He selected a claim below the junction on the Neosho and began building a cabin.⁵ In May, 1855, Charles Johnson located on the Cottonwood river in Lyon county and during the same year L. H. Johnson settled on the Neosho river, above the present city.⁶ Kansas must have been quite well known to the Swedes, as is indicated by a statement

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1. *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Population, Vol. II, Characteristics of the Population, Part III* (Washington, 1943), p. 31; Carroll D. Clark and Roy L. Roberts, *People of Kansas—A Demographic and Sociological Study* (Topeka, 1936), p. 51.

2. Bethany College collection, "Misc. SK 26"; A. W. Lindquist, *Minnen af Kansas-Konferensens Femtio-Ars Fest*, p. 7.

3. A. T. Andreas and W. G. Cutler, *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago, 1883), p. 1531.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 308.

5. Flora Rosenquist Godsey, "The Early Settlement and Raid on the 'Upper Neosho,'" *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society*, Topeka, v. 16 (1923-1925), pp. 451-453; letter of Mrs. Godsey, daughter of John Rosenquist, dated November 2, 1944, to Kirke Mechem, in the library of Kansas State Historical Society.

6. Andreas-Cutler, *op. cit.*, p. 845.

in the recently founded Swedish newspaper, *Hemlandet, det Gamla och det Nya*, on March 31, 1855, when Kansas was described as "an excellent country."⁷

The most important development in the coming of the Swedes to Kansas before the Civil War occurred when John A. Johnson came to the Blue valley near Cleburne on June 20, 1855. In May, 1852, two brothers, John A. and N. P. Johnson, together with the latter's wife Mary, started the long trip to America. The voyage from Gothenberg to New York on the sailing boat *Virginia* took approximately six weeks. The journey westward brought them to the well-known Swedish settlement, Andover, Ill., on July 30, 1852. John Johnson found employment with Wm. Shannon, a farmer, near Galesburg. In 1855, the prospectus issued by Gov. Andrew H. Reeder of Kansas territory, outlining the advantages of the area, became known to Shannon and Johnson. They decided to go to Kansas and arrived in the Blue valley on June 20. Johnson was favorably impressed with the land and its possibilities and he decided to stay there. He built a simple log cabin which became the first dwelling place in the fine Mariadahl community.⁸

John A. Johnson's brother Peter and his wife stayed in Illinois where they worked for a farmer near Ontario for a short time until the husband found employment at Galesburg. On April 22, 1856, the Johnsons and their infant daughter started the arduous trip to Kansas in a covered wagon drawn by oxen. They approached Kansas via St. Joseph rather than by Lexington, thereby avoiding the great danger from Proslavery partisans. In the company of four "American" families they traveled to the Vermillion river. At that point they went on alone in search of brother John. Toward dusk one day, Peter, realizing that they were lost in a strange country, reluctantly left his wife and daughter in a frantic search on foot for his brother. When in despair and ready to return to the temporary camp, he saw a small cabin and a man coming out of it. To his great joy he discovered that the man was his brother. They hastened to join Mrs. Johnson and the in-

7. *Hemlandet, det Gamla och det Nya*, March 31, 1855, hereafter referred to as *Hemlandet*. It first appeared on January 3, 1855. The editor and publisher was Dr. T. N. Hasselquist, pastor of the Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Church, Galesburg, Ill., famous and influential pastor, editor and educator and the first president of the Augustana Lutheran Synod. *Hemlandet* was an influential newspaper and was read widely in America and also in Sweden. Complete files are available in the Denkman Memorial Library, Augustana College, Rock Island, Ill. A representative collection of letters to the editor of *Hemlandet*, including some from Kansas are found in George Stephenson, "Hemlandet Letters," *Year-book of the Swedish Historical Society*, v. 8 (1922-1923).

8. A. Schön, "De förste svenskarne i Kansas," *Prairiebloman*, 1912 (Rock Island, 1911), pp. 171-173; T. W. Anderson, "Swedish Pioneers in Kansas," *Year Book of the Swedish Historical Society of America*, v. 10 (1924-1925), pp. 7-18, contains an interesting description of the early Swedish settlements in Kansas.

fant daughter. There was great rejoicing and deep gratitude to God on that day, May 22, 1856.⁹

The two brothers were anxious that their mother and brothers and sisters should come to America following the death of their father on February 27, 1858. The interchange of letters resulted in the departure of the family from Snarp, Rumsquilla, about June 7, 1859. The itinerary was via Hamburg, which was the port from which they embarked July 11 or 12 on the sailing vessel *Doanu*, arriving in New York on August 24. They came to Kansas by rail via St. Joseph, then by wagon, pulled by horses and mules, to the Blue valley on September 30, 1859. In addition to Maria, the mother (after whom the settlement was named Mariadahl), David, Gustaf, Victor, Christina, Charlotta, Emma and Clara joined the two brothers. Upon their arrival in the Blue valley, the following Scandinavians were there, in addition to John and Peter Johnson: N. P. Axelson, S. P. Rolander, C. J. Dahlberg, Niels Christensen, Lewis Persson, Peter Carlson and John Sanderson.¹⁰

The Swedes who came to the Blue valley in the 1850's were devout and pious people. Informal religious services, which consisted of hymn singing, reading of the Bible and Martin Luther's sermons and prayer, were held regularly in the various homes. They gathered for the traditional festive early morning Christmas service, Jul Otta. Some of the members of the colony had belonged to Dr. T. N. Hasselquist's Lutheran congregation in Galesburg, Ill. Appeals were directed to him for pastoral services from the Kansas Swedes. Hasselquist was the first president of the Augustana Lutheran Church, organized in 1860, and in the autumn of 1863, the Rev. John Johnson of Princeton, Ill., was sent to minister to the Swedes in the Blue valley. He stayed for a period of six weeks, baptizing, conducting confirmation services, preaching and teaching. The Mariadahl Swedish Lutheran congregation was organized by Pastor Johnson in the home of N. P. Johnson on October 14, 1863. Thus the first congregation of the Augustana Lutheran Church was established in Kansas.¹¹

9. C. J. E. Haterius, *Minneskrift öfver Svenska Ev. Luth. Församlingen i Mariadahl, Kansas* (Rock Island, 1913), p. 9; Schön, *loc. cit.*, pp. 175, 176.

10. A. Victor Johnson's reminiscences, in J. C. Christensen, *The Johnson Family of Mariadahl, Kansas* (Privately printed, 1939), pp. 12-15. This 20-page pamphlet edited by Mr. Christensen, the historian of the Johnson family, contains the reminiscences of one of the children from their home in Sweden to early developments in Kansas. Another Swede, C. J. Dahlberg, arrived in the Blue valley in July, 1857. A fascinating account of the journey to Kansas and early pioneer life is found in a statement by his son, C. V. Dahlberg, in Bethany College collection, "Misc. SK 18."

11. Haterius, *op. cit.*, p. 12; O. O. Oleen, *Mariadahl Lutheran Church-Historical Sketch* (Randolph and Cleburne, Kan., 1938), p. 37; Schön, *loc. cit.*, p. 177.

While strife over the slavery issue was undoubtedly an important factor in keeping many Swedes from coming to Kansas in the 1850's, individuals in the territory urged their countrymen to join them. Late in the summer of 1856, an unknown Swede described in *Hemlandet* the advantages of Kansas. It was a beautiful and productive land. He realized that the calm in the state's political life might be of short duration and that the future of the state depended upon the North. He predicted that if Fremont were elected President, Kansas would be free, but if Buchanan was the victor, it would be necessary to fight for freedom.¹² The editorial policy of the influential Swedish paper *Hemlandet* encouraged Swedes to come to Kansas. It was suggested that immigrants should take the land route through Iowa and southern Nebraska in order to avoid the difficulties caused by the struggle over Kansas.¹³

Many Swedes turned toward Kansas in 1857 in spite of the uncertainty of the future. In April, *Hemlandet* observed that "immigration to Kansas is much stronger than in any other direction." A correspondent had assured the editor that four-fifths of the residents were Free-State men. He was certain that his countrymen would never regret coming to Kansas, but he urged them to do so in large groups, in order that they might maintain their identity.¹⁴

On April 19, Henry L. Kiisel sent in a rather lengthy report on developments in Kansas. He had gone there the preceding summer and was living in Grasshopper Falls (now Valley Falls). The difficulties of the previous year had been shared by him, and in order to avoid imprisonment at Lecompton with other Free-State men, he had left Kansas and visited various places in Iowa. He hoped now that the Free-State forces had been able to consolidate their position. The victory in the election of the mayor of Leavenworth was a sign of hope. He was uncertain if the decision of the Free-State men to refrain from voting following the Topeka convention was a wise one. The future seemed to depend now upon the action taken by the new governor. He was quite certain that Kansas would become a free state and in that event he would be delighted to build his home there, but if Kansas became

12. *Hemlandet*, August 15, 1856. Hasselquist was actively urging the election of Fremont. The slate of candidates on the Republican ticket was published in *Hemlandet* so that the readers would make no mistakes in voting.—October 10, 1856.

13. *Ibid.*, August 29, 1856.

14. *Ibid.*, April 21, 1857.

a slave state, he considered going to Galesburg, Ill., where he could be with his countrymen who were not numerous in Kansas. The immigration to Kansas was really amazing, according to Kiisel, and for good reason. Nature was kind and all who wished to share in the bright prospects of the future should plan to come to Kansas. Enthusiasm for Kansas continued to run high when it was declared by another observer that the productivity of the state could provide for one hundred and fifty million people.¹⁵

The editor of *Hemlandet* apparently realized that the few Swedes in Kansas were overly enthusiastic and pointed out that great praise for their place of settlement was a common response of pioneers everywhere.¹⁶ The official policy of *Hemlandet*, however, was to encourage immigration to Kansas. On July 14, the editor addressed "Some Words to Recently Arrived Immigrants and Others Who Are Seeking Their Luck in America." The statement pointed out that the Eastern states were already crowded and that times were hard there for newly arrived immigrants. Land in Illinois and Iowa was already too high in price for poor people and for those of modest means. The wise thing to do would be to go to some new territory like Kansas or Nebraska.¹⁷

One of the factors in the encouragement given to settlement in Kansas by *Hemlandet* was the interest which the editor, Dr. T. N. Hasselquist, showed in a colonization project proposed by Dr. C. H. Gran, a physician in Andover, Ill. In the June 3, 1857, issue of this Swedish newspaper, under the heading, "To Each and Every One Who Wishes to Improve His Circumstances," the announcement was made about the proposed Scandinavian colony in Kansas.¹⁸ The statement indicated that Gran hoped to bring the colonizers to Kansas in April, 1858, or earlier. The first intent was to settle along the route to California, since Gran was certain that some day there would be a railroad to the West coast. He was convinced that slavery never would nor could exist in Kansas. There was nothing to fear from the Indians. Gran had traveled widely in Kansas, eaten their food and smoked many pipes with them. He felt as secure in their wigwams as in his own house. These natives of Kansas had their own schools and churches. He had a grammar of their language. The chief inducement, however, for choosing

15. *Ibid.*, May 20, 1857.

16. *Ibid.*, June 3, 1857.

17. *Ibid.*, July 14, 1857.

18. *Ibid.*, June 3, 1857. Hasselquist's interest in the Gran plan was based on his desire to encourage settlement by the Swedes in a manner that would keep them identified with the Lutheran Church.—Oscar Fritiof Ander, *T. N. Hasselquist—The Career and Influence of a Swedish-American Clergyman, Journalist and Educator* (Rock Island, 1931), pp. 33, 34.

Kansas was the rich land and the suitability of the climate and soil for agriculture. Wood, stone and water were available in abundance.

This original statement on the proposed Kansas colony invited inquiries to be addressed to Gran, with the request that each applicant over 21 years of age should place one dollar in the envelope to cover preliminary expenses. Each name would be entered in a permanent record book. Gran announced that he planned to visit Kansas again in the early autumn. He would find the most suitable land and secure guarantees that it would be available for the colony. He urged the Swedes to participate in this enterprise. While Gran pointed out that he was nicely situated professionally and financially in Illinois, he was willing to spend time and money on this Kansas project which would mean so much to the Swedes. Hasselquist endorsed Gran's plan, pointing out that Kansas was south of Illinois and Iowa, thereby offering mild winters and that the Swedes already in Kansas were enthusiastic about the advantages there.

In July, 1857, Gran's plan for a Scandinavian colony in Kansas was formally announced in a four-page supplement (*Bihang*) to *Hemlandet*.¹⁹ The brochure answered the question "Why Go To Kansas?" by describing the fine soil, the mild climate, the opportunity for settlement, and the cheap land which made it possible to secure 160 acres in Kansas for the price of 20 acres in any other state. Twelve reasons were listed for undertaking settlement as a member of a colony rather than individually. Among the reasons cited were the savings in large scale purchase of supplies and equipment, the establishment of a trading post within easy access of all members of the colony, the privilege of being governed by officials chosen from among themselves, the possibility of having the comforts and conveniences of an older settlement within the least possible time, the certainty of having a church and school immediately, and a guarantee of prosperity and progress for all members of the group.

The Gran plan provided that the future Kansans should assemble at Illinoistown, Ill., opposite St. Louis, on May 1, 1858. The rules and regulations of the company should be adopted at that time and necessary equipment purchased. Upon arrival in Kansas an elected committee should pick the townsite. Land should be distributed by lot as the most equitable method. A

19. *Plan för Dr. C. H. Gran's Skandinaviska Kansas-Koloni, Juli, 1857. Bihang till Hemlandet, det Gamla och det Nya* (Galesburg, 1857), 4 pages.

vote should be taken on such questions as the following: How large should the house be on each quarter section? How much land should be plowed and fenced? Perhaps the members would vote that the house should be 18 by 12 feet and 8 feet high with a middle partition, three windows and two doors and that 20 acres should be plowed on each quarter section. The entire membership would then begin the work in common for which they were best qualified. Gran stated that he would not be able to do heavy work, but he would take care of the sick and injured without any cost from the time they met in Illinoistown and as long as the work proceeded in common.

When the townsite had been established, houses built and a certain amount of land plowed, the company was to be dissolved. Each member would then go to the closest government land office and take out title to the property allocated to him. Each individual could do as he chose with the certificate of title. If some wished to trade holdings so that friends and relatives could live in adjoining tracts, such an arrangement was possible.

Gran pointed out that \$200 would be needed if a member was to secure title to 160 acres at the initial sale price of \$1.25 per acre. Payment could be made within a year. While the building of houses and breaking of sod was to be done in common at the outset, food and other household and personal needs were not to be shared in this manner. The enthusiastic originator of this Kansas plan emphasized continuously the advantages of joining in a large company. There would be good roads and bridges, churches and schools, many conveniences, the fellowship of kindred spirits with a common language and great economic advantages.

In order to promote the plan, Gran announced again his intention of traveling to Kansas in early autumn to select the best location for the colony. He had arranged for some competent Swedes, who knew the territory well, to assist him. Several factors had to be considered before the final location was determined. Communications with other settlements, possibilities for factories and potentialities for growth were important.

A cordial invitation was extended by Gran to join in this colonization project. Interested individuals were urged to see or write him immediately. He wanted to know how much land would be required by the company before going to Kansas. Information as to age, family, trade and profession should be included with the

inquiries. Gran stated that he had spent between \$400 and \$500 of his own money and that he was ready to leave a successful medical practice in order to promote the colony. He suggested that "Kansas Clubs" be formed in various communities in order to stimulate interest in the project and to make available information as to the plans. Individuals and clubs should also send suggestions to Gran as to the best way of carrying out this plan for a Kansas colony.

Leading citizens endorsed Gran's plan and certified that he was of "the highest respectability, intelligence and moral worth" and that "His plans can be accepted with greatest trust." Endorsing the plan and the reputation of Gran were two of the greatest pioneer pastors of the Augustana Lutheran Church, the Rev. T. N. Hasselquist, pastor of the Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Church at Galesburg and Knoxville, Ill., and the Rev. L. P. Esbjörn, pastor of the Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Church at Princeton, Ill. Other well-known supporters of the projected colony in Kansas were former Sen. Ben Graham, justice of the peace, and S. Cronsioe, publisher of *Den Svenska Republiken i Norra Amerika*, at Galva, Ill.

Gran's plan was received enthusiastically in many quarters. Hasselquist discussed the proposal in a three-column front-page story in *Hemlandet*. This distinguished leader of the Swedish element in America urged the Swedes to go to the West. He expressed grave concern that if they stayed in the Eastern cities many of them would become members of "the poorer classes." While expressing enthusiasm for Gran's plan, he admonished the Andover physician to provide adequate spiritual care for the colonists. He reported that this aspect had been discussed with Gran at considerable length and that the physician had assured him that the Kansas colony would make careful provision for the spiritual needs of the members.²⁰

Inquiries about the Kansas colony came from a wide area. In September, Hasselquist reported, following a visit with Gran at Andover, that 200 individuals had already signified their interest in the plan.²¹ On Monday evening, September 14, a "Kansas Meeting" was held at the Swedish Lutheran Church at Galesburg.

20. *Hemlandet*, July 28, 1857. At this time Gran was trying to raise money for his Kansas project. He had compounded and marketed a "Fross Medicin" which was advertised widely. Great claims were made as to its curative power for the ague and other illnesses. In *Hemlandet* for August 4, 1857, Gran urged all who had acquired this medicine through Dr. Hasselquist to make payment which was due.

21. *Hemlandet*, September 9, 1857.

People were in attendance from far and near. Gran spoke to the group about the advantages of that area and answered many questions. He announced at the meeting that he was soon leaving for Kansas to seek the best location for the colony. The following were to accompany him: John P. Swenson from Richmond, Mo., Henry Kiisel who resided at Grasshopper Falls, K. T., and one other person.²²

Gran went to Kansas in September and on December 3, *Hemlandet* reported that he was back at Andover. In a review of his journey we find that he arrived at Wyandotte City, K. T., on September 27. "When one gets up on a bluff and looks over the fruitful plains and woods, these wonders of God's creation, the soul is filled with a stirring that words cannot describe," he wrote. The beauty of the Smoky Hill, Republican, Big Blue and other rivers in Kansas appealed to him greatly. There were optimistic descriptions of the products of the area, nuts, plums, potatoes, beans, wheat, oats, corn, tobacco and a new kind of molasses. The quality of the products was good and the yield was bountiful, with corn producing 60 to 70 bushels per acre, wheat 30 to 45 bushels per acre and potatoes 100 to 300 bushels per acre.²³

Support for the project came also from Henry L. Kiisel in Kansas who wrote on December 15:

Countrymen in New York and in all other Eastern states. You who work hard every day for your small daily wage, now is the chance for you to get your own home where you can live independent of Americans. You will escape working so hard, and cease to be dependent upon your daily wages. . . . If God lets me live and gives me health, I want to live among my countrymen again, who will be interested in founding a good Swedish congregation together with building its own school and church.

This lonesome Swede ended his appeal by urging his countrymen to join in Gran's project and come to Kansas.²⁴

The invitation from Kiisel to the Swedes was extended again in January of 1858, as Gran formulated plans for the journey to Kansas in the spring. The loyal Kansan reported that the past winter had been mild and comfortable. He expressed the hope that the stories in the newspapers about the strife in Kansas would not be taken too seriously. Conditions were not as bad as reported. "He who minds his own business," he wrote, "and does not interfere in politics, can go in peace. Countrymen, come next April.

22. *Ibid.*, September 18, 1857.

23. *Ibid.*, December 3, 1857.

24. *Ibid.*, December 15, 1857.

You can improve your condition in beautiful Kansas and secure a fine home for yourselves and your children.”²⁵

Meanwhile, Gran completed his plans, said farewell to his friends at Andover and with a few companions started for the appointed meeting place en route to Kansas. When he arrived at St. Louis on April 5, he experienced a great disappointment. Only a few people awaited his arrival. However, he learned from them that a large group of Swedes had left for Kansas earlier. They had become impatient following reports that good land was getting scarce. The people who were now with Gran decided nevertheless to go with him to Kansas immediately and left St. Louis on April 6.²⁶

The number in Gran's party was too few to carry out the grand design of the original plan. Only about a dozen people continued with Gran to a place on the Saline river. Here a townsite was laid out with the primitive measuring device of a piece of string and the name Granville was given to it by the Illinois dreamer. On May 25, Gran wrote a detailed letter to *Hemlandet* about his unfortunate experiences, designating the place of origin with wishful thinking as Granville, K. T. A. M. Campbell and A. C. Spillman assisted Gran in measuring off what the doctor thought was a square mile for a townsite. Campbell and Spillman were promised four lots each for their services.²⁷

Gran stayed in his newly founded colony for only a few days. He stopped briefly at Ft. Riley and then returned to Illinois. However, he still urged people to consider Kansas as a place for settlement. In a communication to *Hemlandet* he suggested that prospective residents of Kansas should go to Wyandotte City, Lawrence, Burlingame, Emporia, and then to Whitewater in Butler county or to El Dorado in Hunter county.²⁸ A colony of Swedes located in 1858 on the Upper Walnut creek and De Racken creek and others on Cole creek in Butler county.²⁹

Included in the group of people who came to Kansas with Gran was L. O. Jaderborg. He was born in Järbo, Gästrikland, Sweden,

25. *Ibid.*, February 16, 1858.

26. *Ibid.*, May 25, 1858.

27. *Ibid.*; Andreas-Cutler, *op. cit.*, p. 698. Andreas refers to Dr. Gran of Illinois but his brief description corresponds in detail with the complete account in *Hemlandet*. The statement that Dr. Gran came to Kansas in the early 1860's and that he went to the Neosho valley has no basis in fact.—*Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society*, v. 4 (1886-1888), p. 287.

28. *Hemlandet*, May 25, 1858. Dr. C. H. Gran was burned to death in his bed at the Invalid's Hotel, Alpha, Ill., of which he was proprietor, on March 15, 1883. The bed apparently took fire from the lamp by which he had been reading.—*The Henry County News* quoted in Henry L. Kener, *History of Henry County, Illinois* (Chicago, 1910), v. 1, p. 763.

29. V. P. Mooney, *History of Butler County, Kansas* (Lawrence, 1916), p. 301.

January 28, 1829. Influenced by "Amerika feber" (America fever), he left his native country on the sailing ship *Maria*, July 22, 1855, and after a brief stay in England, came to the United States on October 16. He worked at Andover, Ill., where he joined Gran and the Kansas colonizers.³⁰ Information is made available by Jaderborg about the fate of the Gran colony. The leader stayed only a few days in Kansas, leaving his associates there with food and provisions for two weeks. Near the end of that time the few Swedes remaining at Granville became alarmed at their desperate condition and started for Ft. Riley. Heavy rains and floods caused great hardship. They were without food for two days before reaching Ft. Riley. Only Jaderborg stayed there. The rest of the party hurried on to Illinois.

Jaderborg secured employment as a blacksmith with L. B. Perry who ran the ferry at Ft. Riley. He learned that a Swede, John Swenson, had settled in Center township in Dickinson county. At Christmas time and lonesome for contact with a fellow Swede, he sought the Swenson home. He arrived there on Christmas eve. The Swensons and their small daughter lived in a small eight by eight foot cabin but there were no limitations to their hospitality. The visitor stayed there until the day after Christmas. Jaderborg was impressed with the land and made arrangements to take out a pre-emption claim. He returned in the spring of 1859 to work the land and made occasional trips there. In April, 1861, he joined the Second Kansas cavalry as the driver of a provision wagon pulled by six mules. The first action for him was at Pea Ridge and the last at Prairie Grove. He returned to Kansas and participated in the action associated with Price's raid. In the autumn of 1865 he went to his land near Enterprise. Peter Joshua Peterson, who had been there in 1859, and Isaac Broman lived with him that winter in a dugout. Jaderborg became a leading Swedish-American citizen in Kansas, identifying himself with the Bethlehem Lutheran Church near Enterprise and giving generous support to Bethany College at Lindsborg.³¹

Several other Swedes who were not associated directly with Gran's "colony" came to Kansas in 1858. The first Swedish settler in Marshall county was Peter Froom. He came to the United States in 1855 and arrived in Kansas from Knox county, Ill., in 1858, when

30. Lindsborg *Posten*, January 12, 1916.

31. Schön, *loc. cit.*, pp. 182-185; Lindsborg *Posten*, January 12, 1916. Jaderborg died at Lindsborg on January 6, 1916.

he settled on a homestead in Rock township.³² P. J. Peterson, who became a contractor in Lawrence, arrived in that city in 1858 from Chicago where he had learned the carpenter's trade. He had come to America with his parents in 1855.³³ Several Swedes settled in Osage county in 1858, including Peter Peterson in Junction township, and Chris and John Peterson in Fairfax township. Pål Peterson and six sons came to the county also in 1858.³⁴

While Dr. C. H. Gran had great plans for Kansas in 1858 and lived to see them fail, another Swede, Andrew Palm, came to Kansas that year with dreams and hopes that became a reality to a considerable extent. He was born in Killeröd, Bellinge Socken, April 30, 1835. His name until he became a naturalized American citizen was Andrus Person Palmquist. Graduating from the University of Lund in 1855, he arrived at Bloomington, Kan., four miles from Lawrence, three years later. He was associated with Hyde, Swain and Palm in the saw and grist mill business. However, the Missouri bushwhackers burned the mill and Palm's house was destroyed by fire. He thereupon moved to Lawrence.³⁵

Andrew Palm possessed an imaginative mind that produced practical ideas leading to several inventions. In the spring of 1862, together with John Wilder, the decision was made to construct a huge windmill in the west part of Lawrence. Palm returned to Sweden in November and purchased all the equipment for the project. Accompanied by 12 mechanics, he sailed for America. En route the ship was stopped and searched by the crew of the famous Confederate raider, the *Alabama*, but since Palm's vessel was of German registry, it was permitted to continue the voyage. On June 15, 1863, Palm and his associates arrived in Lawrence. They started work on their unusual project and all was going well until that morning of August 21 when Quantrill and his band rode into town. L. Johnson, one of the workers on the windmill pro-

32. Emma E. Forter, *History of Marshall County, Kansas* (Indianapolis, 1917), p. 228; Schön, *loc. cit.*, pp. 187, 188. Peter Froom was born in Ockelbo, Sweden, March 21, 1825, and died in Marshall county, July 9, 1894. He was active in the Salem Lutheran Church in the Swedish settlement near Axtell. It has been stated that two Swedes lived on a farm near Marysville in Marshall county in 1855 but nothing definite is known about them.

33. Lindsborg *Posten*, April 4, 1906. Peterson was born at Rodja, Smaland, Sweden, February 8, 1838. He died in Lawrence in 1906. He was president of the Scandinavian society in Lawrence and a stockholder in the Lawrence Plow Company.

34. C. R. Greene, *Early Days in Kansas—Annals of Lyndon*, v. 4 of Greene's Historical Series (Olathe, 1913), p. 223; Andreas-Cutler, *op. cit.*, pp. 1554, 1555; Bethany College collection, "Misc. SK 26."

35. Bethany College collection, "Misc. SK 24"; Schön, *loc. cit.*, pp. 193-199; biographical sketch of Andrew Palm, by Mrs. Blenda (Palm) Greenwood, in manuscripts division, Kansas State Historical Society. Palm came to America on the sailing boat *Unonia*. He lived for a while in Boston where antislavery agitation was high and this fact influenced his decision to come to Kansas. He died at Lawrence, November 5, 1906.

ject was shot and made a cripple for life. His son, Gus, was slightly wounded. The workmen hurried to Wilder's stone residence in the 700 block on Kentucky street. Quantrill's men assumed that the place was well fortified and hence did not attack it. Eighteen men, including Palm, were unharmed.³⁶

Work on the mill continued until the early autumn of 1864, when it was completed at a cost of \$9,700. The structure was octagonal, five stories in height, the basement constructed of stone with four foot walls. The structure above ground was of native oak. The huge wheel was 80 feet in diameter, with canvas sails 10 feet in width, making 13 revolutions a minute. The result was a force equal to an 80 horsepower engine. It was used for grinding wheat and corn until 1885. It burned in 1905. Palm and Wilder also established the Wind Mill Agricultural Works which manufactured plows to break the virgin soil, cultivators, other farm equipment and household goods. Palm is said to have cast the first plow in Kansas. He took out several United States patents. Included in Palm's inventions were a riding cultivator, a barbwire lifter and grading scrapers.³⁷

The few Swedes in Kansas at the time of the gold rush in the Pikes Peak region became enthusiastic about the possibilities of achieving great wealth, and others in Illinois and elsewhere contacted their countrymen in the state about the prospects. An unknown Swede, who apparently represented some of his friends, reported on the prospects when writing from Leavenworth in May, 1859. His letter stated that on the previous Saturday the first express arrived from the Pikes Peak region with \$5,000 worth of gold dust. Some of the precious mineral could be seen in small bottles at Russell's bank. Rumors were circulating that additional gold to the value of \$10,000 was en route, although some skeptics doubted the authenticity of reports of the discoveries. Since there was so much uncertainty, this Swede stated that he and his friends would delay their journey to the gold fields.³⁸ The interest among the Swedes in the gold strike was so great that *Hemlandet* warned its readers not to be misled by the glowing reports.³⁹ In the spring of 1860, interest in Kansas as a gathering point for the journey to Colorado is shown by a feature article and a large map on the

36. Schön, *loc. cit.*, pp. 197, 198; Lawrence *Journal-World*, June 28, 1941. G. Rodell, a Swede who was in Lawrence during Quantrill's raid, described the event for Swedish readers and reported that among the Swedes only Carl Anderson was killed.—*Hemlandet*, September 30, 1863.

37. Andreas-Cutler, *op. cit.*, p. 330; Greenwood, *loc. cit.*

38. *Hemlandet*, June 8, 1859.

39. *Ibid.*, March 15, 1859.

front page of *Hemlandet* indicating the routes to "guldlandet," the gold country.⁴⁰ Gust Johnson, S. P. Rolander and Jonas Magnus Johnson of the Mariadahl colony were among the Kansas Swedes who went to the Pikes Peak region in the spring of 1860, returning that autumn.⁴¹ There is no record of Swedes sharing extensively in the riches which seemed so promising at a distance.

While the prospects in Kansas had been favorably portrayed to Swedish people through the influential newspaper *Hemlandet*, the strife over Kansas and a series of criticisms of the state were factors in discouraging immigration. A. Thorson, writing in July, 1858, pointed out that

Kansas is the battle ground and the source of discord between two powerful political parties, and the end of the struggle is far off. For this reason at present Kansas can only with difficulty be settled and occupied by peaceable people who must earn their bread by the sweat of their brows.⁴²

Hemlandet described a meeting of Swedes in Galesburg on February 28, 1859, at which a letter from a Swede in Kansas advising his countrymen not to come to that area was read. Louis Lybreeker, who had spent several months in Kansas in 1857 with a surveying party wrote to his countrymen:

My knowledge about Kansas is of such a character that from the bottom of my heart I never want to think of it. What is home for us people from the Northern Countries without woods and water? Are we accustomed to an endless prairie with its eternal monotony? No, we feel at home when we are surrounded by beautiful nature, by evergreen forests along a lake or river. That the climate is healthful I deny absolutely. Ague is so prevalent throughout the entire state that scarcely a person can be found who has not suffered from it. . . . Let us rather found a colony in Southwestern Minnesota, or near our countrymen in that state. I have never been in Minnesota, but it seems to me to be the right place for Swedes.⁴³

Additional criticism of Kansas appeared in *Hemlandet* in October, 1860, when an article was reprinted from the *Chicago Tribune* describing terrible conditions of conflict, poverty, starvation and distress.⁴⁴

The pattern of settlement, at least temporarily, followed the advice of Lybreeker. Minnesota, unlike Kansas, was not in the center of the conflict that split the nation into two armed camps. It was easier to go to Minnesota than to Kansas, many Swedes were already there, several Swedish churches had been organized,

40. *Ibid.*, April 15, 1860.

41. Christensen, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

42. *Hemlandet*, July 6, 1858.

43. *Ibid.*, March 15, 1859.

44. *Ibid.*, October 19, 1860.

and the natural surroundings there seemed closer to those of the homeland than did the wide prairies of Kansas. Moreover, the failure of the Gran colony plan undoubtedly discouraged many Swedes. While *Hemlandet* published letters for and against Kansas, the former enthusiasm for the state had disappeared.⁴⁵

However, there was a change in the situation within a decade. The end of the Civil War aroused new interest. In 1869, several hundred Swedes, under the leadership of two Lutheran pastors, the Rev. Olof Olsson from Värmland in Sweden and the Rev. A. W. Dahlsten from Galesburg, Ill., settled in the Smoky valley in central Kansas. While Gran and his Kansas "colony" became almost a legend, the idea of the Andover physician that the Swedes should settle in large groups was kept alive. In the Smoky valley, the First Swedish Agricultural Company of McPherson county in the Lindsborg area and the Galesburg Company in the Freemount community acquired thousands of acres of land upon which hundreds of Swedes settled. Similarly along the Republican river at approximately the same time, the Scandinavian Land Company promoted colonization in the Scandia area. Out of the settlements in the Smoky valley came Bethany College and the "Messiah" chorus tradition at Lindsborg. From these and other groups, came the religious and cultural values which have made it possible for the Swedes of Kansas to make their contribution to the great symphony of American life.

45. *Ibid.*, March 15, 1859, published a favorable report on Kansas by A. Lars Person from Riley county and the severe criticism by Louis Lybecker.

A British Bride in Manhattan, 1890-1891: The Journal of Mrs. Stuart James Hogg

Edited by LOUISE BARRY

I. INTRODUCTION

IN THE summer of 1883, Sir Stuart James Hogg of London, accompanied by his teen age son, Stuart James Hogg, spent a month in Kansas looking after the interests of the newly-organized British Land and Mortgage Company of America, Ltd., of which he was president. The Hoggs arrived in Atchison on July 24, where they were met by the company's American agent, James S. Warden, of Frankfort.

Making Atchison his headquarters, Sir Stuart set out to look over prospective land investments. Among the towns he visited was Manhattan, and when he was there on August 7 a local newspaper reported:

On Tuesday, Sir Stuart Hogg, (pronounced Hoge) and his son, a young man of eighteen years, Chief Justice Horton, and Rev. Philip Krohn, of Atchison, arrived on the U. P. train from the east. They were met at the depot by Mr. E. B. Purcell, and were his guests until the next day. Sir Stewart [*sic!*] Hogg is the head of an English syndicate that has already made large investments in Kansas, and expects to continue doing so—and we understand that he was so much pleased with Manhattan, that he will visit it again soon. While here, he arranged for his son to take a course at the Agricultural college, as he says he wants him to learn American ways. Both father and son have sensible and manly countenances. . . .¹

On August 15, several other officials of the English syndicate arrived in Atchison, and a few days later there was some consternation in local financial circles when an announcement was made by Sir Stuart, in Atchison newspapers, that James S. Warden's connection with the company had been "fully revoked and annulled." (This abrupt severance of relations resulted in litigation with Warden which was not settled until April, 1885.)

The next development was reported in an Associated Press dispatch from Atchison on August 20:

Sir Stuart Hogg, of London, president of the British Land and Mortgage Company of America, representing about \$5,000,000 has been in this city for several weeks and just returned to England. He has appointed Hon. E. B.

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1. *The Nationalist*, Manhattan, August 10, 1883.

Purcell, of Manhattan, Kan., as agent and general manager for the company; Messrs. Everest and Waggoner, of this city, as general solicitors; and the Exchange National bank, of Atchison, as bankers for the company.²

Thus, in the late summer of 1883, the headquarters of the British Land and Mortgage Company of America was removed to Manhattan, to the office of the widely-known Kansas financier E. B. Purcell. There it was to remain until January, 1890.

When Sir Stuart departed from Kansas—not to return for seven years—he left his son, Stuart James Hogg, in Manhattan to acquaint himself with American life and to take an increasingly active role in the administration of the British company's affairs.

From late August, 1883, till early June, 1892, young Hogg was a Manhattan resident. He lived for some time at "Squire" Lee's home. On September 12, 1883, he was enrolled as a special student at the Kansas State Agricultural College. He completed the three terms of 1883-1884 and re-enrolled in the fall of 1884, but was called to London and excused from classes on December 2.

After he returned from England in February, 1885, he began to assume some responsibilities in the British Land and Mortgage Company office. Manhattan newspapers occasionally noted Hogg's business activities in such items as the following: (June, 1885) "Gen. McDowell, Maj. Adams and Stuart Hogg are in New Mexico, buying cattle"; (August, 1885) "E. B. Purcell, accompanied by Mr. Cattell and Stuart Hogg, left Tuesday for a week's inspecting in Cloud and adjoining counties"; (February, 1887) "Stuart Hogg, of the British Land and Mortgage Co., spent the most of last week at Irving on business"; (April, 1887) "*Pasturage* for 400 head of cattle on British Land and Mortgage Co.'s ranch, 10 miles southeast of Manhattan. For particulars inquire of Stuart Hogg at the office of E. B. Purcell."

In November, 1885, he again went to England—this time for the Christmas holidays. On the return voyage, in January, 1886, he met his future wife, Margaret Alice Muir. The Muirs—Andrew and daughters Margaret and Eva—were en route to Florida on a business-and-pleasure trip.³

Of his social life in the Manhattan community the local newspapers give little clue. One item, published in the Manhattan *Mer-*

2. *Ibid.*, August 24, 1883.

3. Miss Eva Muir, who kept a diary of this journey, made the following entry under date of "Tues 19th Jan 1886 SS *Servia*": "In the morning at breakfast spoke to a youth who sits opposite to us. He is a nice gentlemanly boy about 23-24 years of age, I should think: a ranch man in Kansas. His name is Stuart Hogg. He is rather quiet and shy but has constituted himself our cavalier and wraps rugs round our feet etc. etc. We like him very much. He is tall and very thin—good features—dark hair, brown eyes, very short sighted and wears spectacles."—This quotation courtesy of Mrs. J. H. Brett of St. Albans, Herts, England.

cury early in January, 1890, noted a party given by Hogg and a friend: "A merry group of young people had supper at the rooms of Jas. Taylor and Stuart J. Hogg New Years eve. In addition to the hosts there were present Misses Minnie Whitford, Anna Green, Minnie Dow, Allie Long and Walter Taylor and wife."

When he had an accident in late June, 1889, the *Nationalist* somewhat ambiguously reported: "Stuart Hogg . . . was riding his horse rapidly [on Sunday, June 30] and in turning the corner near Stingley & Huntress' store the horse fell, dislocating his ankle and breaking the small bone of the leg. Dr. Lyman is attending him."

In January, 1890, Stuart J. Hogg took over the agency and managership of the British Land and Mortgage Company of America, and at once moved its headquarters from Purcell's office at 305 Poyntz avenue to rooms in a building at 110 North Second street. It was announced that Purcell had retired from active management to a position on the board of directors. In an advertisement Hogg stated that the company would continue lending money on real and personal property "in the same conservative manner as before," and that H. F. Christy, a lawyer, and P. C. Helder would retain their positions.

On April 8, 1890, the Manhattan Bank—a 20-year-old institution, founded, owned and managed by E. B. Purcell—closed its doors with over \$500,000 in liabilities. The news of this financial crash "almost paralyzed the people of Manhattan," though the *Mercury* stated that "It had been whispered for months that the depreciation in values and a hard money market had so embarrassed E. B. Purcell . . . that he was in close circumstances. . . ." Unfortunately, the actual closing of the bank was precipitated by the British Land and Mortgage Company. As explained in the *Manhattan Nationalist*, the story was this:

. . . In December last [i. e., 1889], Mr. Purcell had borrowed from the British Land & Mortgage Company, Limited, \$20,000, which was due on Monday last [April 7, 1890]. He gave as security 5200 shares of stock in the British Company, upon which \$30,000 had been paid. The Company, through its agent, Stuart J. Hogg, demanded payment.

Mr. Purcell offered to pay the obligation in the British stock dollar for dollar, or, if that was not enough, as much more as was wanted. The company refused to take its own collateral in payment. When Mr. Purcell was informed that the 5200 shares he had deposited as collateral were to be advertised for sale, his attorney notified Mr. Hogg that a suit for damages would result. The advertisement was made, and the result was that the bank, in order to protect itself from a run, was forced to close doors.

. . . The sympathy of almost everybody is with Mr. Purcell in this matter and the British Company is much blamed, whether justly or not. . . .

The bank was only one of Purcell's many business interests, which in Manhattan included a mill, a mercantile store and a lumber-and-coal establishment. Over the state he was widely known as a landowner, and as a large stockholder and member of the board of directors of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe railroad. Only the bank was involved in the crash, and as it turned out, no one lost money. A few months later, the appraisers reported that the bank assets were \$830,877, as against liabilities of \$562,209.

However, the forced closing of the bank was both financially and personally embarrassing to Purcell and he immediately brought a \$100,000 damage suit against the British Land and Mortgage Company. This legal action caused Sir Stuart Hogg to make a hurried trip to Kansas. He arrived on April 28, and next day the *Manhattan Daily Republic* had this to say:

A very pleasant gentleman is Sir Stuart Hogg, Bart., of London, England. . . . With a tall, well-knit frame, clad in a tasteful suit of grey tweed, with shoulders slightly stooping, a benevolent face and kindly eyes, he is a handsome and striking representative of the aristocracy which is at once the pride of England and the world. . . . Affable, courtly, knightly, he is an ideal person for an interview.

The *Republic* quoted Sir Stuart on the Purcell bank failure at some length:

About the Purcell matter? Well, that is the principal reason for my coming to America. . . . I was truly sorry when the news was first received of Mr. Purcell's suspension. For him I have naught but the kindest feeling, and have always thought of him as one of my friends. During my previous visit to Manhattan Mr. Purcell was my host, and he extended to me every courtesy which friendship and a hospitable heart could prompt. Aside from this, he is a man of large business qualifications, and although had not things transpired in the manner they did, the crisis would probably only have been delayed for a week, a fortnight or a month, I am pained that the end should have been precipitated by a company with which I am connected. It gratifies me to hear such a general expression of good will toward Mr. Purcell, and I hope that it will not be long ere he will be positioned as he was before the trouble.

Sir Stuart remained in Kansas only briefly. The furore over the Purcell matter subsided, and Manhattan settled back to its ordinary business calm. (The damage suit of E. B. Purcell vs. the British Land and Mortgage Company of America, Ltd., was dismissed at plaintiff's cost in the U. S. court at Topeka in December, 1890.⁴)

In the latter part of June, 1890, young Stuart Hogg went again to England. He returned on October 9, bringing with him his bride-of-a-month, the former Margaret Alice Muir. For the next 20

4. *Manhattan Daily Republic*, December 27, 1890.

months the couple lived in Manhattan. Mrs. Stuart James Hogg's journal, published here, begins on her wedding day.

By February, 1891, as Mrs. Hogg recorded in her journal, Sir Stuart had retired from the London management of the British Land and Mortgage Company of America. It was anticipated that the headquarters might soon be moved from Manhattan to Kansas City or Denver, or to England, but the expected change was slow in developing. Mrs. Hogg's journal ended abruptly in November, 1891.

In March, 1892, Stuart Hogg advertised a "Great Stock Sale!" at the ranch on Deep creek near Blasing's springs. On March 6, 1892, the *Nationalist* stated: "Mrs. Stuart Hogg started on her return trip to England yesterday." And on June 9, 1892, the *Republic* announced: "Stuart Hogg has gone to London going by way of Florida, where he will rest a few weeks."

Details of the Hogs' later life are meager. It is known that two girls were born to the couple, one of whom is now Mrs. J. H. Brett of St. Albans, Herts, England. Mrs. Hogg died in England in 1943 and Stuart Hogg died in 1947.

The above may seem a little heavily businesslike as an introduction to the brief notes of a young bride, written without thought of publication. But it was felt that a glimpse of the representatives of a British syndicate operating in Kansas would be of interest, in addition to providing a background for the activities of the diarist and her husband.

II. THE JOURNAL

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 9TH, 1890.

We were married at St. George's, Campden Hill by the Rev. Canon Daniel. The Church was beautifully decorated with palms and white lilies and the sun shone down upon us. They sang the new marriage hymn, "He shall give his Angels," ending with "O God our help in Ages past." It was all very beautiful and solemn. The church was full of smiling friends as we went out. My bridesmaids were Eva, Molly, Katie McLaren and Sally Norton, and Terence and Evelyn Barclay were pages and held my train. There was a large party at Holland Park afterwards and everybody was most friendly and sympathetic. Stuart and I went off under showers of rice and took the 5.45 train to St. Albans.⁵ Our driver advised us to go the Peahen Hotel as it was superior to the George. However it was not up to much. We spent the evening writing letters home.

5. St. Albans is in Hertford county, England, some 20 miles northwest of London.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 10TH, 1890.

We went to Morning Service at the Abbey and were rather disappointed to find it was not choral. It is a large building, some parts old and interesting but not beautiful. The day was lovely so we walked by a pleasant shady path along some fields and through a wood. We passed bits of ancient Roman wall.

In the afternoon we drove to the old Church of St. Michael, dating from Saxon times and climbed the tower to get a view of St. Albans. Then we went on to Gorhambury and saw the ruins of Lord Bacon's house. It has a large park surrounding it with beautiful old trees, many of which must have been there in Bacon's time. We trundled softly over the turf. Coming home Stuart got out and walked.

In the evening we joined the night express at Bedford.⁶ We managed to get a private compartment in the Pullman so the journey was luxurious.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 11TH, 1890.

We reached Kilmarnock, dismallest of towns, in the early morning and had to change. All the way from there to Ardrossan⁷ Stuart made fun of the dull flat country. "What a fine country Scotland is—what magnificent mountains? How wild!" When we got in sight of the sea not a vestige of Arran was to be seen—it was all covered by clouds and my heart sank.⁸ I was afraid Stuart would think it a most over-rated place. On the steamer we got into a sheltered place with our backs to the wind. When we were half way across I saw the sky was clearing so we jumped up and ran forward and there was Arran in its glory, the clouds rising from all the mountains. Stuart was enthusiastic in admiration of it and we ran forward to the prow and stood there in the teeth of the wind, holding on so as not to be blown away. It was very exhilarating—the strong fresh wind, sparkling sea with dashes of spray every now and then and the sight of Arran coming nearer and nearer.

We put up at the Brodick Hotel and had time before lunch to stroll along the Strathwhillan road. The sea was the loveliest blue and all the colours on land very strong in the north-west wind. It was very strange walking in this familiar place with Stuart. He was enchanted, and what joy it was to me! We stayed in Arran till Monday, September 15th and had lovely weather all the time.

6. Bedford is about 30 miles northwest of St. Albans.

7. Kilmarnock is an inland town in southern Scotland; Ardrossan is a west coastal town, on the Firth of Clyde.

8. Arran is an island, 20 miles long and 10 miles wide, in the Firth of Clyde. The Hogs stayed in the town of Brodick while in Arran.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 25, 1890.

Stuart and I left home and sailed from Southampton on the "Allen." Father and Eva said goodbye to us on board.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 4TH, 1890.

We arrived at New York and on Tuesday started for Manhattan which we reached on Thursday, October 9th.

It was exciting to me to be arriving at Manhattan—the place that was to be our first home. There were still a good many leaves on the trees and the country looked green as we drew near and was not bad to look at, though I laughed at the low brown mounds that Stuart called "hills." At Manhattan we jumped out with all our array of small parcels. Stuart's buggy was there, a serious looking man in shabby clothes holding the horses. This was James Taylor, Stuart's chum. We drove straight to Stuart's rooms over his office. How interesting it was to see the place he had described to me so often and from which he had written to "Miss Muir" that was. He had made it very comfortable and nice and there was even some attempt at artistic decoration of the walls. I was very happy and excited and didn't feel in the least tired. Mills was there having accomplished the journey across America by herself, she had already formed rather a poor opinion of the place and I think if it had not been for the buggy and pair would have felt that I had come down in the world.

Stuart had been hearing about houses from Christie—one of his clerks—and was so anxious to be off to see them that he could hardly wait for me to have a cup of tea. Off we started again, the ponies trotting briskly and the buggy trundling lightly over the dusty ground. Manhattan looked quite pretty—all the streets, except the main street, were avenues of green with houses peeping out of the trees and bushes on either side. Suddenly as we turned a corner I saw one of the wheels roll off and the next moment we were down in the dust. It was just like Stuart's luck. We weren't in the least hurt however as the horses stood still. There was no mending it so after a good laugh we started walking to the stables, with the horses, to get another buggy. We saw two houses and decided on one belonging to Mr. Newell in Houston Street—the fashionable street of the town.⁹ It was not quite what we wanted, the upstairs rooms had sloping ceilings and it all looked very tiny and cramped, but there was nothing better to be had. Then we trundled off again, this time outside the town, and called on Kitty,

9. E. W. Newell's house at 618 Houston street. It had been built in the spring of 1886.

the wife of Walter Taylor—a young couple whom Stuart had more or less taken under his wing and helped and in whose home he felt more at home than anywhere else in Manhattan.¹⁰ She is a good honest, simple young woman, very cheery and kind hearted and hard-working—but with a terribly strong American accent. Then we came home again. There was a soft evening glow and as we drove along together I felt full to overflowing of joy and contentment.

While in Stuart's rooms we had to take meals at the hotel—very unsavoury messes—and I was sorry to think what poor Stuart had had to endure for all those years. It made us all the more eager to get into our own house.

On Friday I made a round of the shops, laid in my stores and got furniture for the servant's room, so that Mills might go in at once. It was amusing going round, for Stuart had to introduce me to everyone or great offence would have been taken and they all wrung me by the hand and told me they were old friends of "Stooard's." We sent over all the sitting-room furniture on Friday and Mills took up her abode in the house. Stuart's room horribly bare and devastated that night.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 11TH, 1890.

We moved from Stuart's rooms to our new house.

Saturday I had a hard day of it at the house, receiving furniture cases and heaps of clothes. By the evening the carpets were laid so that we could get our bedroom into some sort of order. Oh how glad I was to get to bed that night and rest my tired feet!

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 12TH, 1890.

Of course we had to work very hard putting things in order, unpacking cases, etc. It was very exciting getting out all our wedding presents, and the nice silver and china.

The first meals at home were very funny for there was nothing but fine silver and the roughest kitchen ware, our crockery not having arrived from Chicago. Mills cooked wonderfully well and it was a pleasure, after the hideous hotel, to be dining at a nice English table. Stuart simply sat and beamed opposite me—he could not get over the oddness of all this happening in Manhattan.

NOVEMBER, 1890.

We had to live in rather a makeshift manner till our things from Chicago and Kansas City arrived. After that the house got into

10. "Walter Taylor occupies a position in the drug store of T. E. Williams & Co. He learned this business in London."—*The Nationalist*, Manhattan, April 8, 1887.

some shape and looked very cosy and nice. I worked hard making short muslin curtains for the bedrooms, hemming dusters, etc. We left the drawing room unfurnished for a time.

One day Stuart came back from the office early in the forenoon and said, "I must be off to Denver this afternoon, will you come too?" I wasn't long in making up my mind, it was such fun to think of starting off at a minute's notice and not having to ask anyone's leave.¹¹ I called for my trunk and packed up Stuart's and my things and Riley took them down to the Station, leaving us nothing to do but saunter down leisurely after lunch. We got to Denver next day and stayed four or five days. Stuart investigating mines, etc., I buying things for the drawing-room and helping him to look through mine reports, etc. For Sunday we took the train for Manitou Springs to look up Hubert Paton. We had a fine view of the Rocky Mountains springing straight up from the plain. A magnificent range. Hubert appeared at the Hotel and we all squeezed into a buggy and drove up some of the canons and saw the famous garden of the gods which did not impress us much. Hubert was shy and silent at first, but after discovering that Stuart was not an American he woke up and they made great friends, running down the whole American people. He stayed the rest of the day with us and dined at the Hotel and evidently enjoyed a good talk. We saw his pictures but did not think highly of them. He lives in a sort of hand-to-mouth way, sometimes painting, sometimes cattle-punching, and is quite philosophic about it. We were glad to have seen him. Next morning we came back to Denver and then home again.¹²

After this I was very busy getting my little drawing-room into order. It is a bright room with windows to south, east and west. To make it as different as possible from the library I did it up with light colours, pretty Japanese blue cretonne curtains and covers and light cane chairs. We got quite nice pale yellow paper in the town, I hung Burne-Jones photos and Phil's and Fred's sketches on the walls. On the floor are some Daghestan rugs and I have a piano and a little table covered with plants. It looks like a sister to the Furze Hill drawing-room and I fancy that any of our London friends walking in would say at once, "A Muir lives here." I generally come in at about five o'clock, put on a tea gown and Mills brings tea in my pretty little rosebud teaset, but oh! it makes me

11. "Mr. and Mrs. Stuart Hogg left on the afternoon U. P. train for Denver, where Mr. Hogg will transact business and his wife view a portion of magnificent scenery. . . ."—*Manhattan Daily Republic*, October 30, 1890.

12. "Stuart J. Hogg and wife returned from their Denver trip to-day."—*Manhattan Mercury*, November 5, 1890.

long for some one to come in and share it with me, some of my own friends and not these dull Manhattanites.

A good many of the people call on me but I have not made friends with anyone yet. I think most of them come out of curiosity. Some are just like servants, sit on the edge of their chairs very conscious of their best clothes and can only say "Yes'm it is so."

Stuart often has to go on drives into the country to do business with some farmer and he generally takes me with him. I enjoy these drives *a'deux* through the quiet country. The weather is lovely all the time, clear crisp autumn weather and perpetual sunshine and there are often beautiful sunsets.

We are early people, breakfasting at 7.30 or at latest 8. I then have a busy morning dusting, cleaning silver, sewing, mending, marketing. Stuart comes to lunch at 1 and then rushes back to the office. In the afternoon I write letters, read, go for a walk, play piano, etc. Stuart comes home to dinner at 7.30 and then we enjoy ourselves, sing German duets, read poetry and so forth. I have introduced Stuart to Browning and Shelley and he is quite off his head with enthusiasm.

Mills manages to get through the housework wonderfully with a little help in boots and knives from the black boy and a char once a week. She has turned out a very fair cook. But alas she is beginning to worry about getting home already!

I write a great many letters home and receive a great many, which is a comfort. When there is an extra large English mail Stuart comes galumphing home to tea and we enjoy it together.

DECEMBER, 1890.

The days are so like each other that there is no use in writing them down separately. The fine weather went right on up to Christmas, only getting a little colder. On Christmas Eve it snowed all day and in the morning everything was glistening like a Christmas card. We went to Church but hardly anyone else did and the service was dismal and depressing, not even the good Christmas hymns. After lunch we drove over to the Taylors who had just had a little daughter born to them and took wine and guava jelly.¹³ It was lovely driving all wrapt up in furs, over the snow. There was a red sunset going on as we drove home.

A new inmate has been added to our household, a curly brown Irish spaniel called "Lon." He is a young dog full of romping spirits and also very affectionate and is a dear friend of ours already.

13. "Born: Dec. 24th, to Mr. and Mrs. Walter Taylor, of this city, a daughter."—*Manhattan Republic*, January 1, 1891.

On the 28th I went to Kansas City to stay with a young English couple the Mackenzie's who have lately set up house there. Stuart followed in time for New Year's Day and we came home on the 2nd. They are very friendly people and it is nice to be with old-country folk again but Mrs. Mackenzie is so very silent and without interests of any kind that it is most difficult to keep up conversation during long *tete a tetes*.

JANUARY, 1891.

A month of snow and slush in which nothing much happened. Stuart took to going trips of two or three days to look after his business in different parts of the state and I felt very dreary and forlorn. Once when he went away ten days I couldn't stand it and went and got an English woman to come and take pity on me. She has just come to be principal of the high-school and is very English and rather schoolteacherish. It was something having a creature to talk to in the evenings and she is pleasant enough, though cruelly plain. Her name is Miss Gerrans.¹⁴

FEBRUARY, 1891.

The weather goes on being unsettled, half the week quite warm then hard frost and snow, then thaw and slush. It is rather tiresome.

We have been busy ever since Xmas talking over plans for the future, for Sir Stuart has retired from the Company and changes are to be expected. Stuart is sick of this place and longs to get away. Some new scheme for deliverance turns up every week and then a letter comes knocking it on the head. One day we are quite settled to move to Denver, another day it is London another day Kansas City. Sir Stuart does not seem to exert himself much.

MARCH, 1891.

We still go on making plans and the Company now they have lost Sir Stuart are in a hopeless muddle and appear unable to come to any conclusions. Endless correspondence goes on and no result. It is very disheartening to Stuart.

In the house things go on as cheerfully as ever only that Mills has developed a bad temper and is still pining for home.

In the end of the month I went to Kansas City to have my teeth attended to. Dined at the Mackenzies and met a Mr. Vincent Rowe whom I liked. His brother is about to settle in K. C. with a bran[d] new wife.

Our garden is full of spring flowers and looks lovely.

14. "Miss Amy Gerrans, of Kansas City, has been tendered and accepted the position of principal in our high school and will assume her position in about two weeks. . . ."—*Manhattan Mercury*, January 7, 1891.

APRIL, 1891.

We had Willie Mackenzie and Vincent Rowe down to shoot ducks with Stuart.¹⁵ The Lotos Glee Club happened fortunately to be in town that Saturday and gave us an excellent performance.¹⁶ The Sunday was horribly wet and the poor men got drenched and had very poor sport. Next morning we spent in the garden pruning rose bushes and they went off in the afternoon. Stuart enjoyed immensely having some Britishers to talk to and I think they felt they had had a good time in spite of the rain.

Next week Stuart had work to do at the farm so we packed up some necessities and drove out over fearfully muddy and jumpy roads.¹⁷ We found the farm house full. The young woman had just had a baby and the old mother had her hands full looking after her and cooking for the men. The only thing to do was to settle down in Stuart's little hut and wait on ourselves. This consisted of only one small room containing a stove, a bed, a table, two chairs and a washstand. Here we lived for the inside of a week and a tight fit it was! I had fortunately brought out some cold meat and tinned things so there was little cooking to do and we were able to manage with two spirit lamps and the occasional use of the stove at the farmhouse. It was hot weather and we couldn't have borne the heat if we had lighted the stove in our tiny room.

I enjoyed the whole thing immensely. The first thing in the morning I jumped up and opened the door and there was our quiet little valley, the trees in all the nooks of the hills a very delicate green and a lovely group of peach trees in blossom in the foreground; golden morning light over it all. It was as fresh and sweet as at the beginning of the world. Then I had to bustle round and make porridge and boil water for the coffee. I generally went up to the house to do this so as to leave Stuart a little room to dress in. Our meals were very rough and simple and in the mornings Stuart was always off to his work at once and I had the minute house to myself to work around in—sweep, dust, make beds and wash up. After the other meals he stayed to smoke his pipe and then it was a great business getting the things washed and put away as wherever he sat his long legs stretched across the room and

15. "Messrs. Vincent Rowe and William MacKenzie, of Kansas City, are the guests of Stuart Hogg."—*Manhattan Republic*, April 23, 1891.

16. The Lotus Glee Club Concert Co. appeared on Saturday night, April 18, 1891, at Moore's Opera House (Geo. F. Dewey & Co., managers). This male quartet was advertised as "all artists," "fresh from their successes in London."—*Manhattan Daily Republic*, April 18, 1891; *Manhattan Mercury*, April 8, 1891.

17. This farm was evidently the one later described in an advertisement listing stock for sale by Stuart J. Hogg. It was "On Deep Creek, near Blasing's Springs, 10 miles south-east of Manhattan and in Riley county."—*Manhattan Nationalist*, March 4, 1892.

tripped me up. One window sill served for a pantry and the other for a dressing table and bookshelf and we had two nails on the door on which to hang all our things.

After I had cleaned up in the morning the little room looked quite pretty. I put books and papers and my writing materials on the table, also a pot of peach blossom and a photograph or two and sat down to do sewing or writing. Now and then I went up to the house and had a talk in German with the old woman and the young mother and in the afternoons I wandered about in the wooded parts along the brook.

One day I went up with Stuart on horseback to the place where they were working and galloped about on the tops of the hills while he toiled at fencing. He was dressed just like a workman in blue jeans and a flannel shirt and large sombrero and worked harder than any of them. On the Saturday we drove home in the Spring waggon, he in this costume and I in a common print skirt and blouse and a large straw hat and all our goods behind us, saddles, bedding, boxes, and baskets and a dog poised on the top. We were immensely amused at ourselves in the disguise of farmer and farmeress and pictured the surprise of our friends supposing we were to meet them bowling along that road in their neat dog carts or victorias.

It was a hot drive though and by the time we got to Manhattan it was a relief to get indoors in a cool house where there was room to spread about. We also enjoyed the luxury of baths and nice clothes and dining off shining white linen and pretty glass and silver. Manhattan looked charming for in those few days the leaves had burst out and all the roads were avenues of green. Our little house was in a perfect bower and there was long bushy grass in the garden. We passed our Sunday in this civilised idleness and then off to other farms again for a few days on Sunday. And so April came to an end.

MAY, 1891.

The vegetables Stuart put in last month are all coming up bravely. My tulips and hyacinths are nearly over and I have sowed some seed under them but I don't expect them to do well in this poor soil. But the apple and peach trees are all in blossom and in many yards there are delicious lilac bushes. The neighbours are kind and send me round great bunches every now and then. The rose bushes along our fence have also begun to bloom. It is very warm and we leave all doors and windows open and a delicious breeze blowing through the house. Mills was finding the work too much

so I have got a little English girl, Effie Stewart, who waits very nicely at table and helps in the house.

About the 10th Stuart and I went with the Rows to their ranch in Texas.¹⁸ It was a long journey—a night in the train and then a whole day in ordinary car, jumping out for meals at little wayside eating houses. We had our tea basket with us and made afternoon tea in the car, much to the delight of the other passengers. One large cowboy-looking fellow came and leant over the back of the seat to examine the machine, inquire where we got it and what it cost, etc. We got to a little tiny place called Miami late at night and were put up there, rather roughly.¹⁹ Next day there was a forty mile drive to the ranch. We drove in a large three-seated vehicle with bad springs and oh how wretched I was! There was a bitter wind and I had only prepared for hot weather and got chilled to the bone. We got to the ranch at last and there was Vincent, beaming with good nature and paint pot in one hand and brush in the other. He had arrived the day before and hastily painted over the house in honour of our visit. It was a nice little place consisting of a sitting room and four bedrooms opening on to a balcony. For meals we had to go down to a neighboring cottage, where the usual cowboy fare was dealt out to us and everything was of the roughest and simplest. Here we lived for a week and enjoyed it immensely. Stuart joined in all the ranch work with tremendous energy. Branding cattle, droving horses from one enclosure to another, etc. We had some good rides and a picnic on the shores of a river. A little Irishman who had been an officer in the English army, came over from a neighbouring ranch and stayed some days. We found him very cultivated and with a good knowledge of books. He and Stuart made great friends. The ranch was situated on the side of a broad low valley at the other end of which were some large trees. It was the loveliest place I have ever seen.

Stuart and I came home before the Bernard Rows.²⁰ We found letters which finally decided Stuart to take a trip to England. In order to see people before they left town it was necessary to go as soon as possible, so we fixed upon the 9th of June. The weather was very hot at this time and I was glad to think of getting away. We were both in tremendously high spirits at the idea of going home and could hardly think of anything else.

18. "Mrs. Stuart Hogg left Tuesday for Kansas City, where she will be met by Mr. Hogg, and will go to Texas for a two weeks' stay."—*Manhattan Republic*, May 14, 1891.

19. Miami is in Roberts county, in the Texas Panhandle.

20. "Mr. and Mrs. Stuart J. Hogg are home again."—*Manhattan Republic*, June 4, 1891.

JUNE, 1891.

We had a hot week to endure and then the rain came on, cooling the air and making packing less of a trial. We set forth in a deluge of rain, but full of joy.²¹ The journey was quite comfortable for everywhere there had been rain and the dust was laid. We arrived at New York on the 20th and sailed on the same day in the *Aurania*. Vincent Row who had travelled from Kansas City with us was on board and made a cheery companion. The rest of the passengers were very dull. The weather was fine and calm but we made a slow passage only arriving on the Monday. We were burning with impatience and by a tremendous rush through the custom house just managed to catch the early train. The journey seemed interminable. At last we got into Euston, and there on the platform were the dear girls radiant and lovely in light summer dresses.

When Stuart saw them he gave a shout that resounded through the station and nearly flung himself out of the window. We had a happy drive in a fourwheeler, our two pretty girls opposite—a feast for the eyes. Then old 42 and dear Mother looking fresher and prettier than ever, and Father and Kenneth just lately arrived from Russia. It felt so queer being in the old house again, everything just the same only that now I inhabited the spare room. Stuart and Ken struck up a great friendship at once and went about buying tobacco and pipes together. Father was eager to get down to Furze Hill so our time in London was brief and hurried.

JULY, 1891.

I went down to Furze Hill with father and was amazed at the change in the field where the new house was. Father had worked hard and it was really a most successful garden. Masses of roses, sweetpeas, and all sorts of lovely flowers in bloom. We came back for Sunday the 5th and Stuart, Eva and I went a round of calls. The Croom-Robertsons Burne Joneses²² and Leslie Stephens. Stuart was delighted. They were all very kind and pleased to see us. I forgot to say that the day after our arrival we went to a Dance at the Winkworths and the next to Marianna Lehmann's wedding.

How odd and delightful it was to be among a crowd of civilized well-dressed people again!

21. "Mr. and Mrs. Stuart J. Hogg started yesterday for London, where they will spend the summer. . . ."—*Ibid.*, June 18, 1891.

22. Sir Edward Burne-Jones (1833-1898) was one of the most influential English painters of the Victorian era. His greatest achievements were in the field of decorative design (stained glass windows, tapestries, etc.), but many of his paintings had popular appeal. Reproductions of "King Cophetua," "The Golden Stairs," "The Wine of Circe," and others of his works, were in many American homes.

Stuart had to be in London pretty often so we were constantly running up or down from Furze and the time seemed to go with terrible rapidity. Stuart was too busy and harassed to enjoy the country properly, especially as the wet weather stopped most things.

AUGUST, 1891.

In the beginning of August, Kenneth went back to Russia. Stuart and I went down to Sandgate from a Saturday to Monday to stay with Lady Hogg and say good bye to Lucy, who goes to India in September, and I disgraced myself by being ill in bed most of the time. A touch of the 'grippe' I think. Stuart sailed on the 12th. The night before we dined with Sir Stuart at the naval exhibition and drank lots of champagne to keep our spirits up. On the Wednesday, Eva and I went to see Stuart off at Euston, and at the last minute decided to go to Liverpool. I was equipped in blue serge but Eva was in a delicate summer garment, so we had to get her a shawl when we reached Liverpool. It cheered Stuart to have us to the last but poor dear, he looked desperately mournful as the tender went off and leant over the railings of the Teutonic looking back at us.²³

Soon after that Father and I took a little trip to Scotland. We went up to Inverness and next day to Beauly and Invercarrick, a most lovely part of the highlands I had never seen before. To our surprise we found we had landed at the very doors of Guisadran, Lord Tweedmouth's place. We saw them in Church on Sunday, and the Quintin Hoggs were with them and introduced me. Then we went up to lunch at the house and were shown Lord T's wonderful model farm. They were all very friendly and nice. Lady T. a handsome and regal-looking Dame with rather a sharp manner. Lord T. kindly and jovial. We went on by the Caledonian Canal to Invergarry and had a wet drive thence to Glenelg. After that a lovely day on which we steamed from Glenelg to Balmacarras when we got stuck for want of horses. Drove by moonlight to Strome ferry and next day in rain again to Glencairn where we had a jolly time with the McLarens, and home again by Inverness and Edinburgh.

At Edinburgh we stayed long enough to see all the Patons who were in town. Had tea with Lora in her own little house, called on the old Macnab and dined at 33. Sir Noel was there, Vic, Fred,

23. "Stuart J. Hogg returned from his trip to England Monday."—*Manhattan Mercury*, Wednesday, August 26, 1891.

Ronald, Lora Bob and later on Madge. It did us good to see all those dear people.

SEPTEMBER.

We just had a quiet Sunday at Furze and then to London on Monday, and tremendous packing and buying of last odds and ends, etc., and Molly and I were off to Liverpool on Tuesday and sailed early on Wednesday the 9th.

I forgot to say that Laura and her children had come up from Eastbourne in the middle of August and taken the Huntingdon's house on the top of the hill. It was delightful having them so near, the children were down at Furze nearly every day and were darlings. It was hard for poor Molly to be dragged away so soon, but I was glad to get a cabin on the "Teutonic" and besides there was more chance of escaping storms.

We had a wonderfully fine voyage and made friends with several people. We sat at Table with Johnston Forbes Robertson, who was excellent company.²⁴ There was a charming Bostonian couple, Mr. Watson and his wife, with whom we made special friends. After landing at New York we all went to the Brunswick Hotel, and in the evening dined together at Delmonicos. The Watsons and their friend D. Whittredge, J. F. R., Molly and I. After that heard Seidl's orchestra perform part of the *Cavalleria Rusticana*, a beautiful thing.

We had a hot and tiring journey and were immensely cheered and refreshed by the sight of Stuart at Kansas City. At last we got here and were able to enjoy the luxury of baths and clean clothes.²⁵

Home looked tinier than ever, but very pretty and nice. It was too hot to do anything but wear the thinnest garments and lie about in hammocks, and poor Molly had toothache into the bargain and was quite wretched.

OCTOBER, 1891.

The weather got cooler and then we had good times. Stuart bought a boat and had a boat house built on the river bank and

²⁴ Johnston Forbes Robertson (1853-1937), the English actor, had not at this time reached the height of his career. His fame was established in 1895 when he began a series of Shakespearean revivals in London. His first visit to the United States was in 1885. Some of his greatest successes were in Shaw's *Caesar and Cleopatra*, Kipling's *The Light That Failed*, and Jerome's *The Passing of the Third Floor Back*. He married Gertrude Elliott, American actress, and they played together in many productions. The United States was included in Forbes Robertson's farewell tour in the season of 1913-1914. He was knighted in 1914, and retired in 1915.

²⁵ "Mrs. Stuart J. Hogg returned from England Sunday, accompanied by her sister, Miss Muir."—*Manhattan Mercury*, Wednesday, September 23, 1891.

after that we used to row a great deal—up and down the Blue river and with an occasional turn up the Kansas.²⁶ As the [leaves?] turned the river became more and more lovely. One Sunday we took our tea with us and went a long way up the Blue and made tea on the banks, rowing home at sunset—it was delicious. Molly took to rowing with great energy. She seemed very well and was delightfully happy and contented and pleased with everything that happened. A little brown pup was sent us from Fort Riley. This we gave to Molly and she christened it Banshee. It was a great pet with all of us. Molly also made great friends with Lon and Fanny and the ponies. She and I went for drives all round the country when Stuart was not able to get away from the office for a row. Once or twice we drove out to the farm in two buggies, had lunch there, and tramped about looking for quail with guns on our shoulders. It was exciting though we shot nothing.

One day as Molly and I were driving home in the dark—Stuart and Riley behind—we heard an engine whistle just before we got to the crossing. Stuart said it was the Rock Island so we went on. Riley rushed before us and wildly waved his arms for us to go on, the horses were stopping on the rails and there was a train coming steadily on, we whipped them up and tore across just in front of the engine. It was thrilling.

NOVEMBER, 1891.

This month there came a good many dull days but Molly seemed just as cheery and contented in the house as out of doors. She sat in a corner of the library which we called her corner; at the window by Stuart's writing table. She wrote endless letters and knitted little white woollen garments. At tea time went into the drawing room and then she sat down at the piano and played Chopin by the hour. These were our red letter days when Molly was with us.²⁷ When Stuart came in he and she would romp and play like children and generally combined to make fun of me.

26. "S. J. Hogg has had a boat house built on the bank of Blue river near the bridge."—*Ibid.*, October 21, 1891.

27. "Miss Muir, who has been visiting her sister, Mrs. Hogg, has returned to England."—*Ibid.*, December 2, 1891.

[END OF THE JOURNAL]

The Letters of Joseph H. Trego, 1857-1864, Linn County Pioneer

Edited by EDGAR LANGSDORF

PART TWO, 1861, 1862

INTRODUCTION

SHORTLY after the firing upon Fort Sumter, Joseph H. Trego volunteered for military service. He was chosen second lieutenant of a company commanded by Capt. Charles R. Jennison, also a physician and resident of Mound City who later became a colonel, and commander of the Seventh Kansas cavalry, known as "Jennison's Jayhawkers," and subsequently a brigadier general in command of all Kansas troops west of the Neosho. This company went to Lawrence to join the Second Kansas infantry, commanded by another Linn county pioneer, Col. Robert B. Mitchell, a veteran of the Mexican war who had been treasurer of Kansas territory and was the first adjutant general of the state. However, a disagreement between Jennison and Mitchell caused the unit to return to Mound City and disband.

In July, 1861, under authority of Gen. James H. Lane, James Montgomery began raising the Third Kansas Volunteers, a regiment, like the Fourth, of mixed arms: infantry, cavalry and artillery. Montgomery had settled near Mound City in 1854 and was widely known as leader of the local "Self-Protective Company" which he had organized in 1857 (*see* Trego's letter of January 24, 1858, *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, May, 1951, p. 128). Trego volunteered and was mustered in as first lieutenant of Company E, a cavalry unit composed almost entirely of Mound City men, with Henry C. Seaman as captain and Orlin E. Morse as second lieutenant. The Third and Fourth regiments, with the Fifth Kansas cavalry, constituted Lane's brigade, and served in the campaigns on the border in the fall of 1861, including the Battle of Dry Wood on September 2. The Third regiment joined Fremont's army at Springfield, Mo., in October, but returned to Kansas in December and camped for the winter on Mine creek, southeast of Pleasanton.

In February, 1862, Trego was placed in temporary command of Company C. On the 20th of that month an order was issued dis-

banding the Third and Fourth Kansas regiments. The infantry companies, including Company C, were consolidated to form the Tenth Kansas infantry. Company E of the Third was assigned to the Fifth Kansas cavalry with its designating letter changed to D. Trego went with Company C to Fort Riley, where he remained until he was relieved in May to rejoin his own unit at Rolla, Mo. In the months following, Company D was used extensively in scouting and Trego's health failed seriously, the dust and exposure particularly affecting his eyesight. He offered his resignation, which was accepted on October 17, and returned home to Mound City to rest and recuperate.

The following letters were written by Dr. Trego to his wife while he was serving as an officer in the Union army.

THE LETTERS OF 1861, 1862

CAMP No 1 ENROUTE TO M[OUND]. CITY

DEAR WIFE

AUG. 13TH 1861

We have been under orders to march South, for several days but were delayed from day to day by difficulty in getting what was required. Lane has reported every thing on hand and in readiness for his brigade but we did not find it so and have not been able to get a start until yesterday, after dinner⁷

I could not go home with the team but sent it down by E R Smith and H. A. It will require us to wait where we are—5 miles from Leavenworth—until the remaining can be loaded. We have 21 government wagons with us, loaded with provisions, arms, uniforms and camp equipage, and when the freighting wagons are all together—each drawn by six pairs of oxen, and numbering seventy five,—we will be ready for another move

We will not, I think, reach Mound City before the middle of next week. The 75 wagons are loaded with provisions for Lyon's forces. A company from Ill. among them Edgar Trego, Cyrus Twining, Waugh and some others from Mercer, Henry & Rock Isld counties arrived here, last Saturday. They are now in camp between Leavenworth City and the fort, awaiting the arrival of Lane.

We would be very glad indeed if they could come into our regi-

7. Colonel Montgomery, with the artillery company and the two cavalry companies of his regiment, had gone to Leavenworth to be outfitted. Their return journey was announced by the Leavenworth *Daily Conservative*, August 13, 1861: "A train with supplies for Montgomery's troops started out yesterday morning. A rather singular circumstance about it is that all the drivers were negroes! The wagon-master, even, was a negro! Nearly all were 'contraband,' having left their 'comfortable homes' within the past ten days and made for the Fort and Montgomery. Two or three a day have been coming in to him. A cavalry company escorted the train."

ment in place of Stewart's company.⁸ The weather continued very sultry until the 8th a light shower the evening before produced a change which has kept up an agreeable coolness since

We were fortunate enough to draw our tents the day before the rain commenced, a very pleasant consideration as it has been rather rainy weather since.

While we were in camp near Fort Leav. two of our horses were stolen in day time. A guard was placed over horses at night but none in day light as it had not been considered necessary. The other horse Company [Company I] also lost one horse. Yesterday as we came through the eastern suburbs of the city, one of the lost horses was discovered, hitched to a wagon. It was Bill Bairds horse and he immediately took possession of it. To-day some of the boys were off from the camp to water their horses and overhauled a gentleman in a buggy who had the other horse taken from our company, and was leading him behind his buggy, having as he said, just obtained from an Auctioneer in the City. We have all back again and 3 fine gov. horses beside. . . .

I made a picture this morning representing one of our company who had been married but a few weeks before starting out, to the school marm, Miss Kennison, and has had the blues the worst kind since stopping at the fort. He spent most of his time away from every body and nothing could begin to put any animation into him. Being utterly useless in the camp I wrote out a furlough for him to be signed by the commander of the companies, if he saw proper. It was signed and the fellow was as springy as whale bone at once. They are all ready to go so good bye—

Your affectionate H.

8. Edgar P. Trego, of Preemption, Ill., was a first cousin once removed of Joseph H. Trego. At this time he was a second lieutenant in the 14th regiment of home guards, a Missouri unit commanded by R. H. Graham which had been raised for service in New Mexico. On February 28, 1862, this organization was consolidated with the Eighth Kansas infantry, and Colonel Graham became the regimental commander. Trego became captain of Company H, serving with distinction until his death at Chicamauga on September 19, 1863. Trego county, Kansas, is named for him.—*Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Kansas, 1861-65*, reprinted by authority (Topeka, 1896) [hereafter cited *Adjutant General's Report*], v. 1, p. 284, and Pt. II, "Military History of Kansas Regiments," pp. 100, 101, 141; *Official Army Register of the Volunteer Force of the United States Army*, Pt. VII (Washington, 1867), p. 99; A. Trego Shertzer, *A Historical Account of the Trego Family* (Baltimore, 1884), pp. 56-58; *Wichita Daily Eagle*, June 1, 1886, address by Gov. John A. Martin, delivered at Wichita on Memorial day, 1886.

Washington Waugh, of Moline, Ill., also became a member of Company H, Eighth Kansas infantry. He was promoted to the grade of sergeant on January 30, 1862, and was discharged for disability on April 28, 1863, at Nashville, Tenn.—*Adjutant General's Report*, pp. 284, 287.

Cyrus Twining has not been identified.

Capt. John E. Stewart of Lawrence commanded Company I (cavalry) of the Third regiment. At the time of the reorganization he was transferred to Company C, Ninth Kansas cavalry, and served until he was mustered out at Leavenworth October 25, 1864.—*Thirteenth Biennial Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Kansas, 1901-'02* (Topeka, 1902) [hereafter cited *Thirteenth Biennial Report*], p. 159; *Adjutant General's Report*, p. 304.

FORT SCOTT, SEPT 5TH 1861

MY DEAR WIFE

Last Sunday I wrote two pages of fools cap and was going on for at least two pages more, when I was suddenly interrupted by the bugle call to arms. The wagon master of Col. Weer's regiment⁹ had put their mules, 90 in number out on the Missouri side of our camp about two miles, and had them left with a guard, more than himself and some of the teamsters might be considered as constituting a guard. In the afternoon, a body of 100 horsemen suddenly made their appearance, surrounded the mules and drove them and the wagon master off in a hurry. Several companies started in pursuit as soon as possible and gave chase until dark but to no advantage. It is generally believed that the wagon master is a secessionist.

Price has been near us for more than a week and it was believed that he would attack Fort Scott within twenty four hours at least, as his forces numbered from 7000 to 8000, and ours was less than six hundred. Such another time as they had pitching tents, and loading up company wagons. Citizens fixing up their effects preparatory to leaving, and Government wagons hustling out provisions &c has not been seen before in this country. They, the rebels, have not been yet and the houses, with all their furniture, are turned over to the use of the soldiers. Col. Montgomery, Adjt Zulasky, Chaplain Moore, Cpts Jewel & Seaman, Lieuts Trego & Morse, (I forgot to mention Capt Flint)¹⁰ with four soldiers as servants and a contraband wench for cook are occupying the house where Mr Williams was living. The parlor and one bed room are richly furnished, fine paintings & engravings on the walls, spring bottom sofa, divan, chairs &c. A good piano which Zoulasky is now amusing himself with. Preserves & jellies, magazines & book[s] and everything we want are here, so you see we are living high at present.

Last night was dull, some rainy and the road excessively muddy

9. Col. William Weer was commanding officer of the Fourth Kansas volunteer regiment. When the Third and Fourth Kansas were combined to form the Tenth Kansas infantry he was assigned as commander of that regiment.—*Adjutant General's Report*, p. 347, and Pt. II, "Military History of Kansas Regiments," pp. 178, 179.

10. Casimio B. Zulasky (or Zularsky or Zulaosky) of Boston, Mass., and Mound City, enrolled as a private in Company E, Third regiment, on July 24, 1861, and on the same day was promoted to first lieutenant and regimental adjutant. No official records of his service have been found, but he was mustered out on the date the regiments were consolidated. He was a nephew of Louis Kossuth.—*Leavenworth Daily Conservative*, July 31, 1861.

H. H. Moore was enrolled on July 24 and served as regimental chaplain until he was mustered out on February 14, 1862.

Capt. Henry C. Seaman and Lts. Trego and Orlin C. Morse, all of Mound City, were the officers of Company E.

Captains Jewel and Flint have not been identified.—*Thirteenth Biennial Report*, pp. 125, 144, 148.

and I had the pleasure, by way of contrast, of riding fifteen miles in the enemies country, reconnoitering, being up and awake the whole night and did not return to quarters until noon to-day. Done some hard riding, was plastered all over, face and all with mud and went with[out] breakfast. This morning Price pulled up stakes and started for Lexington. To-night about 300 cavalry men will stir up their camp and retake the mules if possible.

I will go back away and tell you what we have been at since we arrived here, which was at day light after marching all night, in the evening following we set out for Spring river to explore. We went as far as a little place called Medock, nine miles from Carthage. All the rebels in that village made their escape except one who was shot in the act of loading his rifle. We (*here I made a long pause to listen to Zulasky sing Annie Laurie*) were so near Carthage at this point, that we did not deem it safe to remain there with our little party of 140 men.

Capt Williams,¹¹ Stewart and myself, Capt Seaman being sick in Mound City, after cooking up a large quantity of mutton, which was all we had to eat except a scanty supply of sea-biscuit, and taking a nap of two hours we mounted and were off going ten miles out on a vacant prairie where a dog would hardly find us, and then slept until day light without even one sentinel. Our departure was accelerated by a great commotion among the dogs along the road leading toward Carthage. We have since learned that a force did come up and were in the edge of the timber within gunshot of us just after our picket was recalled for the march. If they had had the grit they could have stamped[ed] our horses and then had their own time to cut us all to pieces as there is nothing but level prairies between Medock and Fort Scott. The commander ordered the men to form into line of battle ready to make a charge, but fortunately for us the men concluded it would be safer for them to disobey orders and fall back farther into the wood than to charge upon Jay Hawkers.

This was a rough trip having no tents or wagons but laying right down in the big grass wet with dew and eating when we could find something to eat. One morning we pulled up some potatoes and roasted them for breakfast. Some of the boys had broiled chicken. I tried the hind leg of a hen that was pulled off of about twenty eggs that were nearly ready to hatch. It didn't eat very well because it wasn't warmed quite thro' We took possession of La Mar

11. James M. Williams was captain of Company B, Third regiment, and after the consolidation was transferred to Company F, Fifth Kansas cavalry.—*Ibid.*, p. 131.

but found no rebels in it. I was greatly in hopes that we would have kept up by way of the battle ground of Siegel but our trip was likely to be too hard on some who were so poorly clothed that they laid shivering in the grass one night, that was pretty cold We had all the peaches and apples we wanted—

We made another trip down the Osage to Ball's Mill, came near having a fight, the rebels, numbering three hundred to our one hundred and forty, placed themselves in attitude for fight but a few shots of shell thrown among them to burst, caused them to speedily decamp. We suffered no damage except that Capt Williams had his horse shot under him. That old stamping ground of the rebels Ball's Mill was burned together with a fine covered bridge over the Little Osage¹²

We drove out over 200 head of cattle for Uncle Sam, and between 30 and 40 horses Our enemy that has been growing so fast was camped on Dry wood 10 miles from this. We had heard a great many stories about the forces on Dry wood and on Tuesday last all the cavalry went down to see what they amounted to. The day was sultry and up to this time we had had no rain for some weeks consequently the dust was very deep— Our company was some distance from the scene of battle when it commenced as the boys had that morning, drawn their uniform[s] and were delayed in that and the fitting of their garments. Jennison had a few men who came up about half an hour after us.¹³ It was not the intention of the Col. to engage the enemy in a regular fight but having driven a squad[?] thro' the timber the companies in advance soon found themselves actively engaged with a powerful enemy who had 7 canon to play upon our side while we had nothing but the howitzer and that was of but litle use as it could not be kept near enough to do execution without greater danger of having it taken. We had but just arrived on the ground and formed in line of battle when an order came to retreat. The enemy followed us a short distance, and about the same time that we met Jennison's regiment coming to us they stopped. Our company was not on the ground more than 20 to 30 minutes before we began a backward movement, but all this time and until we got past the range of cannon balls we had them flying thick and fast overhead and occasionally

12. This second expedition into Missouri, on August 29, was led by Captain Williams, and consisted of his cavalry company, with those of Stewart and Seaman, and Captain Moonlight's artillery. Ball's Mill, sometimes called Ball Town, was a "noted secesh rendezvous" on the south side of the Little Osage, in Vernon county, Mo.—*Leavenworth Daily Conservative*, September 5, 1861.

13. Charles R. Jennison had been commissioned a colonel by Maj. Gen. John C. Fremont, commanding the Western department, and authorized to raise a regiment of cavalry to be attached to Lane's brigade. He and 500 of his men were reported to be with Lane at this time.—*Ibid.*, August 21 and September 4, 1861.

one would strike the ground near us making the dust fly. Several horses were shot all up with canon balls and two men were killed. Three wounded. The enemy did, as we learned by Esq Radfield whose residence is close by the battle field, lost in killed and wounded at least 54, and he thinks many more. Price left their camping ground today ostensibly to move toward Lexington but perhaps it is to make a break in some other direction. It is very likely that we shall have a fight soon. All the Mound City folks are in Fort Lincoln, on the Osage. the cavalry are all in Fort Scott and the Infantry and artillery are at the fort on the Osage which Lane is having built.¹⁴ They number in all over 3000 men.

I had another picture taken when in Lawrence which I will forward, as soon as I can get to go up to M[ound]. City. May be sooner as there seems to be but little chance of getting away. . . . When I sat for the picture I had on Lieut. Morse's coat mine not being finished. The only difference in them however is that the epauletts on mine have a small bar in each end of the square. . . . Capt. Allen¹⁵ and several others in our regiment had their likeness taken at the time, dressed in their uniform. Zulavsky is at the piano again getting off some of his Hungarian songs. It does me good to use the luxuries of these fellows that have always been the enemies of Anti-slavery men particularly in Mound City and vicinity. Just think of it, Montgomery is using every thing for himself and men that belonged to his persecutors, except what they cou[l]d carry away with them. Well my love I will say good bye for awhile. . . . Your affectionate Husband

Direct your letters as below and they will be sent to the Regiment wherever it may be and with additional postage

Lieut J H Trego

3rd Regiment Kansas U. S. C.

Mound City Kansas

CAMP No 3. SEPTEMBER 12TH 1861

We are on a march from Fort Lincoln to some place north in Missouri, perhaps to Lexington but I dont know, and it is quite probable that our destination is dependent upon circumstances that leaves it uncertain. This is our third day out and we are now encamped in the valley northeast of Trading Post.

14. Lane was building fortifications on the Little Osage river ten miles east of Fort Scott.—*Ibid.*, August 31, 1861. The *Conservative's* informant added that he did not know the purpose of the earthworks, for he was sure no secessionist would come near them voluntarily, unless Lane wanted his men "well practised in the use of the spade" so that they would be able to bury the enemy after they had killed him. Fort Lincoln, in north-eastern Bourbon county, was on the Little Osage just north of the town of Fulton.

15. William R. Allen, of Jefferson, Ohio, was captain of Company C. He was enrolled July 30, 1861, and mustered out February 13, 1862.—*Thirteenth Biennial Report*, p. 137.

Gen. Lane is along. There is of Cavalry not many more than six hundred, of which Col. Montgomery has charge and [sentence not completed]

I have been well every day until last Tuesday when I had one of those old spells of dizziness. It happened to be a very rainy day so that we did not move and yesterday I was straight again tho not feeling very briskly. Col Montgomery was too unwell to ride when we left Fort Lincoln but we heard this morning that he will be with us in a day or two. Col. Jennison is out with 36 men to-day. The army that has been camped on Dry-wood [creek], where we had a little brush with them, is now moving northward, and we will keep somewhere near them until Lane can get his Artillery. He would have had artillery so as to be able to meet them with some show of success, but Gov. Robi[n]son has placed every obstacle possible in his way. . . .

The excitement of Camp life has ceased to be interesting except when near an enemy; the prospect of an engagement will always be attended with feelings of the liveliest interest no matter how used a person may become to scenes of strife and it is only those who can maintain an approach to an equilibrium in the excitement of battle that are fit to lead. Col. Johnson¹⁶ was so wrought up that if he had had command at Dry-wood we would have all been killed or taken prisoners but Montgomery was sufficiently self possessed to order a retreat in time to save nearly all, tho' not quite, a few being cut off and taken prisoners

Since we are not employed as a regular guerilla force but are to move with the main army I conclude that we shall have no more fighting to do until a great blow shall be struck which will decide the fate of one side or the other, that is, of these two armies. . . . Since writing the foregoing we have received orders to be in readiness to ride to Butler to-night. The object is mainly, I suppose, to take in a few secessionists and a good many horses and cattle, if they can be found, to supply the army

Secessionists have furnished us all the sheep and cattle we have needed. It is getting so dark that I cannot see to write and I must send my letter to Mound City [by] Kelsey or I may not have a chance again soon and maybe something will transpire by another time for writing that will be interesting

With much love to yourself and our dear little girls I will say good night and pleasant dreams—
Your Husband

16. Col. Hampton P. Johnson of Leavenworth was the commanding officer of the Fifth cavalry. Five days after this letter was written, on September 17, he was killed in action at Morristown, Mo.—*Adjutant General's Report*, p. 125, and Pt. II, "Military History of Kansas Regiments," p. 66; *Leavenworth Daily Conservative*, September 20, 1861.

CAMP MONTGOMERY SEPT 25TH 1861

MY DEAR WIFE—

We are now encamped near West Point the Infantry are in the town. All who were fit for duty, five days ago, went to Osceola. They returned yesterday, having had a little brush with the enemy, scattered them, took the town, obtained all the horses, mules, wagons and niggers; loaded the wagons with valuebles from the numerous well supplied stores, and then set fire to the infernal town it was burned to the ground.

I remained in camp this time, the first that the company have moved without me being with them.

It was a tedious stay here while they were gone, because the tents, provisions, and all the wagons, except the few they took with them were left here without a sufficient guard to protect them if the rebels had known how we were situated. I remained in camp to meet Simp and Ellwood and deliver to them some contraband property taken at Morristown and which the Captain and myself drew after the appraisement. I sent up a better buggy than the one Lyman got, for which I pay Gov. \$35. I send to-day a lot of Merinos, velvet, barred muslins, calicos, shoes &c most of which is to be distributed among those who are unable to buy. There are about a dozen plaid shawls of various sizes.

Cap. made me a present of two pr of first quality white silk gloves for parade. I bought Ellwoods white horse and rode him about two weeks. our brush on Drywood cut him down very much and the subsequent trip to Butler was so hard on him that I was unwilling to use up so valueble a horse when another less costly would do as well and have sent him home. I took at Butler another of the same kind which I now ride. He is quiet and dont wear himself out fretting as Whitey did. I have to keep two horses, but they come cheap so far.

We start to-day for Kansas City or some other point on the Missouri. Affairs are looking squally there and in the S. W. part of this state. There being a large secession army on each side If Gov. would send in troops to take care of the river towns we could do the rest, but to go now to the river with only a portion of our forces and leave the other portion behind we will stand a chance of being beaten north and McCullough will probably come into S. E. Kansas and just use up the first range of counties. So it seems to us who only get the rumors. Lane may know much more about it than what we are able to learn. Cap, Lieut Morse & self have a camp stove that Simp & Ell brot down a few days ago, which is a first rate thing . . .

CAMP MITCHELL, AT KANSAS CITY,
11 O'CLOCK P. M. OCT. 2ND 1861

MY DEAR WIFE

We had been on the march for several days, until Monday last when we arrived at this place. McGee's Addition is full of soldiers. Two Regiments from Ohio, one or two from Iowa and *Col. Jen-nison's regiment* of Cavalry, numbering about 200 men. They are on foot yet. Lieut Col. Anthony, editor of Leavenworth Conservative is the support of the whole institution and is here in command.¹⁷ *He* may make it go and we all hope that he may as in our present condition we need all the assistance we can get, if not more. (Gen Sturgis and Peabody are here with their commands making in all over 5000) I am ignorant of the moves of the Generals until after they are made and therefore cannot tell what the present move is likely to effect. Most of our Brigade left camp this afternoon and I learn that the camp will all move to-morrow at 10 a. m. All of the well men in our Company have gone except the teamsters, camp keepers, Charley, who is Q. Master,¹⁸ and Lieut Morse and myself who were detailed for Jury men in a court-martial which has been in operation since we arrived here and is not yet through with the business that was brought before it. One chap is likely to be sentenced the limb of a tree or something worse, for stealing horses.

There is a matter that is to be attended to tomorrow before court that interests many of us very much just now. It is to secure the services of a Brass band for our Regiment. Other regiments are trying to get them but they prefer Montgomery's and I think we will succeed. We have heard no music since we have been out, unless the noisy drums and squeaking fifes make music, until we came here. Last night, about 10 o'clock a band came to Col. Montgomery's Markee played several pieces. They were far enough from us to make the music sound right and we lay in our tent enjoying the fullest measure of the favor. . . .

17. Daniel R. Anthony, I, of Leavenworth entered military service September 29, 1861, as a major in the First Kansas cavalry, which shortly thereafter was redesignated the Seventh cavalry. On October 29 he was promoted to lieutenant colonel. He was appointed provost marshal of Kansas City on October 7, when General Sturgis placed the city under martial law. In 1862, while in command of Brig. Gen. Robert B. Mitchell's brigade in Tennessee, Anthony issued an order prohibiting Southerners from passing through the Union lines in search of fugitive slaves. When he refused to countermand the order he was placed under arrest by General Mitchell, but after an investigation was restored to duty by Maj. Gen. H. W. Halleck. He resigned his commission September 3, 1862.—*Adjutant General's Report*, p. 214; W. E. Connelley, *Standard History of Kansas and Kansans* (Chicago, 1918), v. 5, p. 2385; *Leavenworth Daily Conservative*, October 9 and 11, 1861.

18. Charles Eaton of Mound City was quartermaster sergeant of Company E. He was transferred with the rest of the company to the Fifth cavalry and served until his death from disease, October 16, 1862, at Keokuk, Iowa. See below, letters of September 30 and October 28, 1862.—*Adjutant General's Report*, p. 135; *Thirteenth Biennial Report*, pp. 144, 146.

[Several lines missing] Cavalry hats for the company, with the yellow cords and tassels, eagles for the sides, ostrich feather &c which makes a splendid uniform. Lane is having his whole Brigade rigged out in as good style as any soldiers that I have seen since this war was begun, the Regulars at Fort Leavenworth not excepted.

Thursday 3rd I left off last night thinking I might get time this morning to write some more but I have not. Must go to attend the Band meeting which is to be over before court time. . . .

MONTEVALO, OCT 28TH 1861

MY DEAR WIFE

I have an opportunity to send a line to Fort Scott, perhaps to Mound City, to be mailed, if I can have it ready in just five minutes. This evening, since we encamped, Lane has called upon us for some men to carry a despatch to Fort Scott. I will just say enough to let you know where I am and what we are doing or what we suppose we are doing. I have been well all the time. The whole Brigade is healthy. The Missourians speak of the healthy appearance of the men every where we go. The southern army seems to be very much affected with sickness. We are now moving south west towards Springfield. Hunter Fremont, Sigel, Nugent, Lane, Sturgis and others are getting into close proximity and we are told that we are going South to meet the great army of Missouri Arkansas and Texas, said to number 50,000 & from that up to 80,000. We will have 50,000 when we get together, and if they want a fight they have a good chance now. We want to see that great army whose trail we have crossed so many times. We have been stopping in Cedar Co to get some contraband wheat ground. A few days since our whole company was out in a grub settlement hunting up wheat that had be[en] secreted we found 100 bus. in one place, entirely surrounded by thicket for miles. We had native for a guide. We send off niggers by the hundreds. Two hundred left for Kansas under the care of Capt Baine the day we left Osceola.

While we stopped in that town—what is left of it, the business part being all destroyed—the union men in the surrounding country were invited to come in and help themselves to salt and stores of which there was a great abundance. Direct we left, Sturgis came in with his command and forthwith placed a guard over the mdze to prevent any being carried away, when he came thro' on

the road we had traveled, instead of living on the rebels as we had done, he purchased all his supplies of forage, beef &c from known rebels when he could have bought of Union men just as well. Such a course is regarded as traitorous because he is giving aid to the enemy by so doing. In fact, the neutral men along the way did not hesitate to say that they would just as leave Sturgis would march thro the country as not, and neutral men are just about all of them secessionists in principle.

The two Ohio regiments under his command are desirous of getting into Lane's command. Col. Nugents regiment of Missouri home guards who are now in the U. S. service say they will not remain with Sturgis command. Lane said he meant to make the secessionists in Missouri *feel* the difference between being loyal and disloyal citizens and he is doing it. We have camped where there was secession farms on one side and Union farms on the other, when we would leave the secession farms were stripped of every thing like crops & fencing while the others remained untouched. We have plenty of first rate horses and so far we are getting along finely.

After we have had a fight we may not feel so crank. There are a great many little incidents in Camp life that I might relate but must stop now. Will begin to-morrow to write a long letter— I have received but the one letter from you yet. Cant think you have not written. We want to have a *big fight* and then, if I am spared I expect to leave the army for sometime. . . . Do write to me and tell me all about your self and of the children. What disposition you are going to make of yourselves this winter

Yours affectionately

Husband

LAMAR, BARTON CO. MO. NOV. 12TH [1861]

MY DEAR LITTLE WIFE,

This evening, Page came in from Kansas, bringing with him about a hundred letters, one for me which you sent from Atkinson [Ill.] the 21st ult. I received three letters while at Springfield from you.

Nov. 18th I had written so much and was interrupted, and soon after we started out towards Fort Scott, where we landed on the evening of the 14th I came up home on Saturday to see how the folks were getting along and also my horses. . . .

It would be very agreeable to have you here if we remain somewhere in this vicinity which is probable since the new division has

been created We may take up winter quarters at Fort Scott. . . . If you have a good chance to come and think it best to do so I shall be very glad to see you, and if the forces now under Lane are to remain here to protect the Union people in Western Missouri and at the same time Kansas, as it was at first intended we think there will be no further trouble here. . . .

We had 250 slaves ready to follow us out of Springfield. Some of them were white girls. Kansas is about full of niggers now. All our servants are niggers. The Missourians have been into Kansas at several points retaking some of the property that was taken from them by those fellows who would not join the army because they could do better at Jayhawking on their own hook Several of them were killed. Three on Mine Cr. one of them was in our company last summer.

Quite recently a company of 75 went into Missouri and gathered up a lot of stock and several wagonloads of plunder, a load or two of salt, and were attacked by 300 men as they said. All ran away and left the wagons but 15. Among them was Baine Corbins Jim Manor and some others in this vicinity. Jim has not been seen since. 5, I think they say, are missing. All that remained with the wagons had to fight their way through. By Hildreth had a wagon load of salt which he tossed out on the road to enable him to make better time. They wont want to go out again in that shape while there are so many sesesh in the country. Many are getting back from the Southern army because they cant live down where Price retreated to. They must come up north to live and they slip along at night in small squads. When at Lamar our pickets brot in such squads at several different times during the night. Some of them had deserted from the Southern Army and had no arms. All such represented that they were sick of secession and couldn't stand it any longer.

There is a large force yet in Pineville Ark. which is made up of Missourians, Arkansans, Texxans, and also from Tennessee, Louisiana Cherokee Country &c. Dont know whether we will yet have a chance to fight them or not.

Miss McDow, and Miss Baird have lately returned home. Metz married Emma McDow. Frank Barnes married Liz Allen and there has been a general time of marrying amongst the lads and lasses. Squint-eye Veatch has run away with Col. Montgomery's daughter and the Col. is just boiling about it. . . .

WEDNESDAY 20TH I go back to the army this morning. . . . I shall be very busy this morning before starting and can only write

a few lines. If you can get me 2 knit under shirts, and two prs of drawers, and enough good flannel of slate color, or something neat if of a fancy color, to make three shirts, it will probably save considerable in expense. I dont wear white shirts at all now. French flannel is generally worn but I dont know the expense of it. I have material for you and Maria each a white dress. Several yards of nice velvet for sacks, plenty of black silk thread, over 100 skeins—and you may *perforate your ears ready for some cheap ear bobs*.

They done all right in advising you to remain on account of the children but there is no doubt but that the Kansas Brigade will remain where it can protect Kansas, now that the new division has been created, so you can be quite safe here.

My best respects to friends and hoping to see you within a month at least I am

Your ever loving Husband

MOUND CITY DEC. 18TH 1861

MY DEAR WIFE

I wrote to you, when I was here before, that I would be in Leavenworth on the 13th. At that time I knew of nothing in the way of my being there at that time.

The withdrawal of the federal troops from Missouri has given Price's army full possession of southwestern Missouri and at the same time the Kansas brigade was divided up until at this time there is more danger of invasion than ever has been before. On last Thursday night a party was sent up on Mine Creek who pillaged Potosi and several neighboring houses, getting all they could carry away. They killed one man and took two prisoners. We were escorting a train from Leavenworth, having gone up towards Pottawattomie to meet it. Since returning we have been on the go constantly. The Infantry had gone to Papinsville and Butler to burn those towns, also to burn every sesesh house, on the way. It was but a small party and they were away so long, a day over their time, and no word from them, Montgomery became uneasy and had the Cavalry go over to meet them and ascertain if Price had cut off their retreat. We rode 40 miles and found them all right and on their way home, having done the work they were sent to do. It was a hard case as families had to be set out of doors, not however without every thing that belonged to them except their buildings.

This was done to stop, if possible, the purseucution of Union men

in Missouri, who have since the federal troops left, been robbed and driven from their homes, more than at any former time. Just at this time it is impossible to know what shape affairs will take here, but if the *new* Generals will return to the border the forces that have been ordered away, and add to them enough to be able to make anything of a show of defence for the country and the Gov. stores that are now here then there will be no danger of invasion. At this time there is 14 to one against us if Price should undertake the job.

A few days will develop something that will enable us to decide how it is going to be here, and if the agents of the government do as we think they should I will go to Leavenworth, send for you to come there and await your coming. . . . I am hoping that we may be left to rest here a few days. We are encamped in the woods below the mill. It is a nice cosy place and with such splendid weather as we are having it is very comfortable being in camp.

I will write again this week

Goodbye your loving Husband

CAMP DEFIANCE DEC. 28TH 1861

MY DEAR LITTLE WIFE

It is impossible for me to express the disappointment I have felt in not being able to meet you at Leavenworth at the time I designated. Just about at that time we were very apprehensive that the Southern army would invade Kansas, which they could have done if they had attempted it at the right time. Of course I did not wish to have you coming here while that danger existed and it was expected that this condition of things would be of short duration, which was the case, and after matters were put into better shape I began to make preparations for going to Leavenworth. We had never received any pay, but were assured that the pay would be forth coming as soon after the 6th of this month—the time when muster rolls was made out and sent off—as the Pay master could make it convenient to come down. I had obtained some money of Col. Blunt¹⁹ for present convenience and would have had no difficulty in getting more in case we were not paid in time, but for a new view that the gov. agents took of the matter which precluded the possibility of getting any pay until the first of next month. I

19. James G. Blunt was lieutenant colonel of the Third regiment. On April 8, 1862, he was commissioned a brigadier general, and on the following November 29 was promoted to major general, the only Kansan to win two-star rank during the Civil War.—*Adjutant General's Report*, p. 6; *Thirteenth Biennial Report*, p. 125.

cannot leave now until after next mustering day which will be on the 31st. as soon as possible after that I will hasten to Leavenworth to meet you. You will understand by the above, though I have not expressed it, that without more "dust" than I was in possession of, I could not make the trip right, or as would *comport with the dignity of an officer in the U. S. Army*. We are now located, for the winter probably, at the old military crossing, on Mine Creek, eight miles from Mound City. We have had splendid weather nearly all the fall. Have had two cold snaps and a few days since, we had 4 inches of snow, but with stoves in our tents we live comfortably. It is a great contrast to our constant, and often very hard marches all the summer and early fall. . . .

29TH Last evening, while I was writing and had progressed so far, our company returned from a trip, twenty miles into Missouri whither they had gone to *attend* a secesh ball. They missed the road on their way down last night, which made them too late for the dance, the company having dispersed. They however scoured the neighborhood and took in some prisoners one of whom is an officer in the Southern army who had come home to remain awhile. They brought in several teams loaded with bacon, dried fruit, apples, lard, butter, honey &c but had no fight. The stir attendant upon their arrival prevented me from writing any more last evening. To-day we have been busy, all day, in moving our camp to a point nearer the stream; only a few rods. We now have our two tents set together end to end, with the stove in the "back parlor" where we have a table covered with a splendid red and black centre-table-cloth, upon which we have our books and writing materials. We also keep our clothing, arms and musical instruments in this apartment. In the "front room" we keep saddles, blankets and a large box in which we have been carrying our bedding and which now serves as a clothes press and dining table. Lieut. Morse is a good hand to help keep things in order but Capt. Seaman dont know how to do one thing toward it, dont so much as know where his clothes are or if he has any at all. The Capt. is at home so often that we are getting to *not* expect to find him in camp only semioccasionally.

Col. Montgomery has an old Sibley tent, smoky and cheerless, in which he receives all the yahoos from Missouri who are anxious to see him, and there is generally a tent full of them, who will lay around him by the hour, talking about border Ruffian times when they supposed that Montgomery was an 'awful man' but they had

gone right, far enough to vote for Lincoln, and for that they were driven from Missouri. If they had been worth as much as a good cigar they would have defended themselves at home, instead of running at the first approach of danger. Why the Col. permits such men to occupy so much of his time is known only to himself. . . .

Your impatient Husband

Have just received a letter from you in which you express disappointment in not hearing from me some where near the time that was agreed upon. I knew that you would be placed in a very unpleasant situation and I have worried a great deal about [it], but have not had it in my power to shorten the suspense. Heavens! what a miserable out the officers of this Brigade have made in the matter of pay. There are lots of men whose families are in a more destitute condition than were the poor of last winter and they cannot get a cent for them, or go home to do anything for them, except in a few cases near us. The men are getting very much discouraged but not so much as they might, and those who have been so neglectful of their duty as to cause so very much of suffering on the part of soldiers' families should, and may be they are, ashamed of themselves, to say the least.

CAMP GREENWOOD

JUNE 1ST 1862

MY DEAR WIFE

I left Fort Scott on Monday afternoon in company with Lt. Col. Jenkins, Major Hoffman, Chaplain Fisher, Lts. Hedden, and Kelly, Capt Miller and sixty men.²⁰ We came together as far as Springfield where we stopped half a day. On Friday morning the Col. and I, with fourteen men started out for this place, the regiment having moved here some days before. We were two days coming through, a distance of 88 miles.

Houston—near which we are now camped,—is the county seat of Texas County [Mo.], on the road from Rolla to Genl Curtis' Army and the regt. was ordered here to protect the provision trains that pass over this road. I did not find our Company here, they went with a train to Rolla. Hope we will all go there or some other

20. Lt. Col. Wilton A. Jenkins of Le Roy, Maj. S. E. Hoffman of Leavenworth, and Chaplain Hugo D. Fisher of Lawrence were staff officers of the Fifth Kansas cavalry. James M. Heddens of Burlington, second lieutenant of Company E, was promoted to first lieutenant of Company K on September 1, 1862. Harrison Kelly of Ottumwa, second lieutenant of Company G, was promoted to captain of Company B on October 11, 1862. Adoniram J. Miller of Ohio City was captain of Company K.—*Adjutant General's Report*, pp. 125, 129, 138, 144, 154.

civilized place soon. We are buried up here in a forest where nobody lives and where there is nothing but Mountains, covered every where with trees so thick that we can scarcely see the sun. The teams have gone out twenty five or thirty miles to a valley for corn and will not be back for three days. The hills are awful.

There are some things attractive too: the high piles of rock, fine springs of clear water running over clean white sand and gravel and the pines. I had my tent pitched this morning—fortunately for me it was left behind with Fairbanks, Minchell²¹ and half a dozen others who could not go with the company—Minchell helped me to gather a lot of pine boughs to spread over the ground for a carpet, and I am now fixed up as nice as an old maid. Yes, very like an old maid, for I would like to be married.

. . . Williams and Seaman have gone to Washington, it is said, and I think it not unlikely that a change for the better will be effected in this regiment.

Capt. Clark, a slaveholder in northern Missouri, who has been in the regt. since its organization was killed at Springfield a short time before we arrived there.²² Although on duty as officer of the day, he became intoxicated and attempted to force a guard and was shot through the heart, as he should be. A house that had been occupied by a squad of accommodating girls, changed hands and a family moved into it. Those who had been in the habit of visiting the place continued to call without knowing that the former inmates had been removed. This annoyed the present occupants and a guard was placed there to prevent intrusion. The guard did a righteous act. An old nut named Rice was in company with Clarke and fired a revolver at the guard and killed a young lady belonging to the family. Her betrothed was present and he in turn fired upon Rice, hitting him in the shoulder, inflicting a dangerous wound but the old sinner is likely to recover. I dont know when I can get this to a post office, but I will have it ready whenever an opportunity does offer. Write me on receipt of this. A letter may happen to come thro' very soon to Springfield and I shall want to hear from you as soon as I can

Your ever loving Husband

21. Elihu Fairbanks served as a private in Company E, Third regiment, and Company D, Fifth cavalry. Byron L. Minchell was mustered into Company F, Third regiment, on July 24, 1861, where he was promoted to sergeant, but was transferred on September 1 to Company E as a private. He, too, was assigned to Company D, Fifth cavalry, at the time of the consolidation. Both men continued in service until they were mustered out at Leavenworth, September 5, 1864.—*Ibid.*, pp. 136, 137; *Thirteenth Biennial Report*, pp. 146, 147, 151.

22. John R. Clark, captain of Company B, died May 21, 1862.—*Adjutant General's Report*, p. 129.

ROLLA

FRIDAY MORNING, JUNE 6TH. I did not have an opportunity to send my letter, and yesterday I came here myself. We came fifty miles through forest and are all very well pleased to be out of the wilderness. Col. [Powell] Clayton is to take command of this post and we will probably remain here for some time. We can get anything we want here, and the whistle of the locomotive sounds quite refreshing as a reminder of civilized times.

A regiment of Dutch came up from St Louis last evening. They are on their way to Springfield. It is reported that a large force is marching on Springfield and it is likely that a large additional force will be added to what is already there of our own troops. There may be a good deal of fighting yet in Mo. The Dutch that came up on the cars last evening are a part of Sigel's men.

A company of men, part from Ark. and the rest of this state, under command of one Coleman have been engaged in destroying Gov. trains for some time past. The regt. was ordered into the mountains at Houston to disperse or arrest this party but they are not to be caught in the vicinity of any considerable number of Federals.

Lt. Morse took 40 men, was gone 3 days and brought in, last night, several of the party who had returned to their homes since destroying the last train that started to Genl Curtis. Our company has been scattered about for two weeks, in five different places but this morning we are all together again except four that are in Kansas and Charley Perin²³ and one other with him who were left 30 miles west of us hunting their horses, which escaped from them night before last when they were scouting for Coleman's men. They have had small-pox in the Regt. but there is now no case of it in the camp.

We have had rainy weather since Monday night; to-day is dull but no rain.

I hunted around on the mountains for some new flower to send you but could find nothing there is not even grass there and if we had not been ordered away our horses would soon have been unable to carry us away.

Your affectionate Husband

²³. Charles H. Perrin of Mound City joined Company E of the Third regiment on July 24, 1861, was transferred to Company D, Fifth cavalry, and died at Pine Bluff, Ark., on October 25, 1863, of wounds received in action.—*Ibid.*, p. 136; *Thirteenth Biennial Report*, p. 147.

CAMP BEECH GROVE
AUG. 6TH 1862.

MY DEAR WIFE

I write you this time to send you some funds. I hope you will get it all right. I have been thinking for some days how I might send it with the most safety. Charley Varnum leaves to-day. He will carry a large amt. for the boys; quite as much as he can do with safety, travelling as he will have to do on the deck of a boat. I have finally concluded to send by Q. Master [James] Davis to Leavenworth where he will drop it in the office. If you get this take good care of it as it may be all that I shall be able to supply you with and you may need it before you will find anyone to take my place if I should be so unfortunate as to get killed.

If I should be made a prisoner with the money about me it would then all be lost; for these reasons I have concluded to risk sending it. Now dont think that the probabilities of my being killed or taken prisoner are so great that you will begin at once to look up another partner. It is not likely that I shall ever be placed in so dangerous a position as the one from which we escaped on our way down. Brother Fisher's letter did the thing up most splendidly when he represented Lts Morse and Harrington²⁴ as *pursueing* the rebels after they were put to flight as though they had nothing to do with starting them, when in fact, they did all that was done in the whole transaction. Again, when he had the old Q. M. Doct Davis, Morse and myself *cooking* supper while the train was crossing the river. Lt. Morse was where the fighting was done.

If this comes to you all right you will find enclosed six one hundred dollar bills, or U. S. treasury notes, one of fifty dols and two of twenty dollars, making in all \$690.00. We are paid now to June 30th It is costing me more to live this summer than it did last. We are boarding now at \$3.00 per week; cheaper than keeping our own table. The weather is so excessively hot every body is prostrated in strength and the number of sick is daily increasing.

There are very few bad cases however. It is not likely that we will do much before cool weather. Horses are improving very much in appearance on green corn, but they cannot endure any fatigue. If we could only get out of this dutch arrangement we

24. Stephen R. Harrington of Burlington served as regimental adjutant until he was promoted to captain and given command of Company K on July 1, 1862. He was promoted to major October 29, 1864, and mustered out of service January 10, 1865.—*Adjutant General's Report*, pp. 125, 154.

would all "rejoice exceeding much" Our company would rejoice still more if we could be reinstated in the old 3rd Regt.

Charley Varnum has started I dont know when Q. M Davis will leave but I will have this ready. . . .

Good bye love and dont forget. Will send the check by bearer of this, C Varnum

Your Husband

P. S. . . . Our Regt has been changed and may be again so direct 5th Kansas, Genl Curtis Army

AUG. 7TH The Q. M. was not willing to carry the money and I have bot a check which you can keep with more safety than the money itself. Let me know at once when you get it.

J. H. T.

HELENA SEPT. 7TH 1862

MY DEAR WIFE

We are having a very little rain this afternoon, the first we have had for about six weeks. I dont feel in good frame of mind at all. I am sick. Lt. M[orse] is sick, lots of the men are yet sick, the regiment is badly managed. Major Walker²⁵ improves backward as he goes up, showing that he is much better as a Captain than acting the part of a Col. as he has been trying to do since Lt. Col. Jenkins went home to see his family. We have always been in bad odor in this army. The Missouri Repub hates all Kansas troops and the bulk of this army read and admire the Repub Walker is likely to increase this distaste at Head Quarters. We are not now surprised that Robi[n]son should send Walker here. He was our only hope for the salvation of the Regiment. That hope is gone and we are gloomy. I cant make up my mind to leave the boys and yet I believe that to remain in this regiment and in this army so much dissatisfied, and the debilitating effects of this climate operating upon me I shall never get well. . . .

I dont regard the news we get of our army in Virginia retreating, as alarming. The rebels will likely take Washington yet. It will probably have to come to that before the men in power and the

25. Samuel Walker of Lawrence had been an active Free-State partisan since 1855, when he settled in Douglas county. In that year a local militia company called the Bloomington Guards was organized, with Walker as first sergeant. In 1856 he was elected colonel of the Fourth Kansas cavalry, participating in the siege of Lawrence and the capture of Fort Titus, and in the same year was a member of the house of representatives under the Topeka constitution. In June, 1861, he was mustered as captain of Company F, First Kansas Volunteer infantry, and received his promotion to major, Fifth Kansas cavalry, on May 24, 1862. On October 29, 1864, he was again promoted to lieutenant colonel of the Sixteenth Kansas cavalry, and was mustered out with that regiment on December 6, 1865. He was brevetted brigadier general of volunteers in the campaign against the Sioux Indians in 1866. —*Ibid.*, pp. 41, 125, 534; W. E. Connelley, *op. cit.*, v. 3, p. 1223.

pro-slavery men in the north who put them there, will understand and be willing that the war on our part must be carried on as the south is carrying on their war, and if we get whipped that we will all have to bid goodbye to freedom. The south understand that if they can effectually destroy the government they can rule us afterwards. There is no better evidence, perhaps, of the weakness of our government than the great number of northern journals that are faulting the President, and the constant changes that are being made in the Military commands or departments. England and France too seem to be very successful in their efforts to keep up the war to the end that the country may be ruined.

It is now too dark for me to write more this evening. I cannot see to write by candle light so will defer the matter until the 8th.

It is cloudy this morning and not near so sultry as it has been for some days past. Lt. Morse went this morning to see if he can get a leave of absence for a few weeks, to enable him to regain his health. When we were on our way down here he had a serious fall, horse and all, in giving chase to one of the parties of guerillas we met near Salem, the effects of which, he has felt ever since and for a month past he has been growing much worse, not able to be up but very little during the day. . . .

I shall not now see home again before frost has destroyed everything, perhaps not before another Spring opens them out again, because much fighting must necessarily be done this coming winter and we are likely to be called upon to do our full share. The probabilities are that we will have to leave this point soon or be surrounded in which case we will have to fight our way out if we can.

The gun boats have ben canonading heavy between 12 and 1 o'clock today; dont know what it was for. . . . Day before yesterday one gun boat and four transports went down, on their way to Vicksburg. the transports had on board four thousand five hundred rebel prisoners from Camp Douglass Ill.

With much love to you and children I am your H

HELEANA ARK. SEPT. 30TH 62

MY DEAR WIFE

To-day our regiment left the river bank and moved eight miles into the country. It was expected that the move would be much farther, the common talk and the preparations together would seem to indicate an extensive move.

Under the impression that a long and tedious march northward was about to be made I came here with others on the sick list to take boat for it, but the probabilities are that we will remain here-about for some weeks to come.

I shall stop in this city a few days and then go out to the regiment I expect. A week ago last Saturday I was taken with a *very* severe attack of a bilious character. Not much fever but vomiting enormous quantities of bile from 9 a. m. until after dark. Had been troubled more than a week with dizziness and that day nearly used me up. Am just able to move about again at a very slow rate.

Charley Eaton began to be sick several days before I did. He is Jaundiced terribly, looks fairly green and is so far gone that he is not likely to recover. We kept him with us until this morning when he was brought to the hospital. There are three lying in the hospital now awaiting coffins. We will all be thankful if we ever get out of this place. Lt. Morse has so far recovered his health as to report for duty again a few days since. . . .

The way they are enlisting in Kansas I think the ladies are likely to be left quite alone, not even enough old wilted men left to provide for their numerous wants. We are rejoiced to learn that Abraham has, at last, begun at the bottom of the difficulty to solve it. We now look anxiously forward to see what kind of reception it will receive and how many true union men there are in the north and especially among the higher officers in the U. S. service.

There is nothing transpiring here in this army that would be of much interest to you or any body else. . . .

Kiss the children once around for me and put an additional lump of sugar in Harrietts coffee

Your devoted Husband

*[Part Three—the Letters of 1863, 1864—Will Appear in the
November, 1951, Issue]*

Bypaths of Kansas History

MUSTERED OUT

From the *Western Volunteer*, Fort Scott, April 26, 1862.

In our last we mentioned that Geo. Misener and Ben. Huffman had enlisted in the Wisconsin 9th. We are since informed, that they have been mustered out, on a certificate of disability from the Brigade Surgeon. They stood all the tests except one; Geo. went down on the twenty-fifth and Ben. on the twenty-ninth glass of lager. The regulations require a capacity for sixty-two. They were in the service just ten days, and but for the above unfortunate failure would undoubtedly have made excellent soldiers. During their short term they patrolled the State Line to Kansas City and back twice, performing the entire march on foot.

A BUFFALO STAMPEDE

From the *Wichita Eagle*, August 7, 1873.

J. A. Grayson and brother were hunting last week in the Southwest. One night while sleeping in camp they were awakened by the dogs barking and the horses snorting. Rousing up they heard in a certain direction a thundering noise as if an avalanche was rolling toward them. Presently they discovered a tremendous herd of stampeded buffalo coming toward them. The boys were terribly frightened, but had presence of mind enough to open with their Spencers upon the approaching mass which at length they succeeded in frightening to either side of them. Grayson says he does not desire a repetition of the adventure.—*Hutchinson News*.

NO SOAP FOR THE WATER WORKS

From the *Kansas Daily Commonwealth*, Topeka, November 14, 1873.

The proposition to vote bonds for water works in Topeka meets with very little favor. There are so few of our people who use water that it is impossible to create any enthusiasm on the subject.

GRASS IN KANSAS

From the *Garden City Paper*, July 31, 1879.

C. J. Jones has in his possession a spear of grass that is sixty-eight feet long, which grew on the bottom near the river. The above story sounds incredible, but anyone doubting it can come and see for themselves, and if it is not the length stated, we will pay all expenses of the trip.

Kansas History as Published in the Press

Articles of a series, by various authors, concerning Coffeyville history and legends, have appeared weekly under the title "Coffeyville Lore" in the Coffeyville *Daily Journal* during the winter and spring months of 1951.

The history of the Missouri, Kansas, Texas railway—better known as the Katy—was sketched in the Emporia *Daily Gazette*, January 24, 1951. The railroad came into being at a meeting in Emporia on September 20, 1865, and the charter was filed with the secretary of state five days later. Construction started in 1869, from Junction City to Emporia. Some of the history surrounding Phillips Inn, near the Reading state lake, appeared in the *Gazette*, May 1. The building was constructed in 1856 or 1857 by Oliver Phillips, said to be Lyon county's second settler. A short history of Lyon county cemeteries was published in the *Gazette*, May 29. Probably the first area recognized in the county as a public burying ground was the Mount Hope cemetery near Neosho Rapids. Lucina Jones, Emporia, historian of the Lyon County Historical Society, has compiled a nine-volume manuscript on 21 of the county's 38 cemeteries. Short sketches of early-day Emporia, by O. W. Mosher, curator of the Lyon county historical museum, under the title "When Emporia Was Young," began appearing weekly in the *Gazette*, March 6, 1951, in the "Museum Notes" column.

An article on the history of Crawford county entitled "Father Came West," by the late Mrs. Oello Ingraham Martin, began appearing in installments in the Girard *Press*, February 1, 1951. Mrs. Martin came to Crawford county in 1870.

Some of the history of Merriam, Johnson county, as recalled by C. V. McLeod, appeared in an article by Mabel M. Henderson in the *Johnson County Herald*, Overland Park, February 15, 1951.

A history of Caney entitled "Caney in Retrospect," was presented at a meeting of the Sigourneyan club of Caney, February 15, 1951, by Mrs. J. F. Blackledge, a summary of which was printed in the Caney *Daily Chronicle*, February 16.

The research of Dr. Dudley Cornish, Kansas State Teachers College, Pittsburg, on the use of Negro troops in the Civil War was the

subject of a two-column article by Harold O. Taylor in the Pittsburg *Headlight*, February 19, 1951.

A history of the Arnold cemetery at Caldwell, by E. A. Detrick, was printed in the Caldwell *Messenger*, February 19, 1951. All burials in the cemetery were made before 1881, but the city did not purchase the plot until 1884.

A brief history of the public library of Russell appeared in the Russell *Daily News*, February 22, 1951. The institution was founded March 1, 1901, with Grace Stephens as the first librarian.

Historical and progress editions were published by the *Phillips County Review*, Phillipsburg, February 22, and March 22, 1951. Subjects in February included: the Indian battle on Prairie Dog creek, by George B. Jenness; the Lutheran church of Stuttgart, by Mrs. Leonard Preuss; first public road in the county; Phillipsburg men in the Spanish-American War, and Kirwin's schools. A description of Phillips county in the early 1870's, quoted from W. M. Wells' "The Desert's Hidden Wealth," and Phillips county post offices and postmasters were among the subjects in the March issue.

A short history of Cherokee was printed in the Cherokee *Sentinel*, February 23, 1951, in connection with the 77th anniversary of the city's incorporation. In the three following issues the *Sentinel* printed small items of information about the early residents.

Articles on the early history of Marshall county, by Lillian K. Farrar, Maxwell, Iowa, begun in the Axtell *Standard* on February 28, 1946, have continued to appear regularly.

A history of the Salina fire department was published in the *Missouri Valley Fire Chiefs Journal*, Topeka, February-March, 1951. The first Salina fire department was a volunteer organization begun in 1879, which served until 1909 when Fred Brodbeck was appointed fire chief and the paid department was organized. A biographical sketch of J. E. Travis, present fire chief, also appeared in the *Journal*.

"Politics in the Midwest," by Walter Johnson, University of Chicago, was published in *Nebraska History*, Lincoln, March, 1951. The "Military Career of Robert W. Furnas," by Robert C. Farb, Simpson College, Indianola, Iowa, was also included in the March issue. Furnas was mustered into the service as a colonel in 1862 and immediately began recruiting and organizing the First Indian regiment in Kansas.

Among articles in the *Bulletin of the Shawnee County Historical Society*, Topeka, March, 1951, were: Pt. IV of Russell K. Hickman's "The First Congregational Church of Topeka"; "Reminiscences of Mrs. E. F. Ritchie"; "Topeka in 1877," including a drawing of a bird's-eye view; "Felitz' Island [in the Kaw river]"; "The Generous Ichabod [Washburn]," by John Daniel Bright; the 11th and last installment of W. W. Cone's Shawnee county history; "Topeka Fetes Royalty," the visit of Grand Duke Alexis of Russia, to Topeka, by William Frank Zornow, and an installment of George A. Root's "Chronology of Shawnee County."

"Kansas Weather—1950," by R. A. Garrett, was published in the *Transactions of the Kansas Academy of Science*, Lawrence, March, 1951. Robert Taft's editorial, which was reprinted in pamphlet form, concerned Asa Gray's ascent of Gray's Peak in 1872.

The Sedan *Times-Star*, March 1, 1951, printed an article on the M. V. Floyd family, who came to Kansas in 1870. In 1872 the family settled in Howard (now Chautauqua) county where they built a log cabin which, until it was torn down recently, was one of the oldest and best known landmarks of the county.

Among recent articles of a historical nature in the *Hays Daily News* were: "Catherine Parishioners Carry Original Colony Cross Today," some of the religious history of the Russian colony of Catharinenstadt, March 4, 1951, and "Names of Signers of Petition for College at Hays Uncovered," April 22.

A history of the Russell county 4-H program, now 24 years old, by Gale Mullen, county 4-H agent, was published in the *Russell Record*, March 5 and 8, 1951. On April 9 the *Record* printed a historical sketch of Russell county. The *Russell Daily News*, May 23, published a special 60-page edition, and the *Record*, May 24, one of 34 pages, in celebration of Russell's 80th anniversary. Included in the editions were histories of Russell county and city, other towns in Russell county, and industries and institutions of the county. Russell was founded in May, 1871, by a group from Wisconsin, and incorporated the following year.

The Cowley county militia of 1874 and the James and Dalton gangs were the subjects of Walter Hutchison's column, "Folks Hereabouts," in the *Arkansas City Daily Traveler*, March 12 and April 6, 1951, respectively.

Reminiscences of Harry Johnson, Woodland Park, Colo., concerning the Central City church, Anderson county, were printed in the *Garnett Review*, March 15, 1951. The church building, recently sold, was constructed in 1870.

The *Belle Plaine News*, March 15, 1951, published a history by Mrs. O. F. Kilmer of the Belle Plaine Presbyterian Church which has reached its 75th anniversary. The church was formed March 11, 1876, under the leadership of the Rev. A. M. Mann, who became its first pastor.

A survey of the foreign-language groups in Kansas entitled "Babel in Kansas," by J. Neale Carman, was published in *Your Government, Bulletin of the Bureau of Government Research*, University of Kansas, Lawrence, March 15, 1951. The article was reprinted in the *Junction City Union*, April 16.

Two articles, by James L. Robinson, in the *Topeka Daily Capital*, March 18, 1951, reviewed the "Messiah" chorus and the art colony at Lindsborg and Bethany College. The 70th annual "Messiah" festival was observed in Lindsborg in March.

Early Pawnee county history was recalled by Ed Christian in *The Tiller and Toiler*, Larned, March 22 and 29, 1951. Christian came to Kansas from Indiana about 1880 when he was 13 years old.

The pioneer experiences of G. J. Peebles, as written by him in 1889, were printed in the *Cawker City Ledger*, March 22 and 29, 1951. Peebles first settled in Brown county in 1857, but in 1870 moved west to near Cawker City.

Articles of historical interest to Kansans appearing in recent issues of the *Kansas City (Mo.) Star* included: "Funston Captured Aguinaldo by Ruse 50 Years Ago, Ending Island Revolt," by J. M. Dow, March 23, 1951; "Pithy Wisdom of William Allen White in Autographs for a Boy's Collection," by Ruby Holland Rosenberg, April 3; "Hope, Kas., a Town of 538, Boasts of Its Native Sons," among whom are Arthur and Edgar Eisenhower, John Cameron Swayze and Oscar Stauffer, by Howard Turtle, April 29; "Glory of a Civilization Nourished by Grass Was Sung by Great Kansas Orator [John J. Ingalls]," May 16; "Famous Old School at Council Grove Becomes Museum of the Storied Past," by Margaret Whittemore, May 19, and "Towns of the Prairie Dogs Stretched Like Ocean Waves in the Early West," by E. B. Dykes Beachy, May 29.

Articles appearing in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Times* were: "The Early Texans Found a Word [Maverick] for Unbranded Cattle of Western Plains," by Lewis Nordyke, April 23; "Many Reminders of the Shawnee Indians Seen in Kansas Area Where They Lived," by E. B. Dykes Beachy, April 27, and "Eisenhower's Strength Is Credited to His Ability to Speak 'Kansas Language,'" by Everett Rich, April 28.

An article by Wayne A. O'Connell on the history of the old Hopefield Mission was published by the Oswego *Independent*, March 30, 1951, and the Oswego *Democrat*, March 30, April 6 and 13. The mission was established in present Oklahoma in the early 1820's by a group sponsored by the Presbyterian church and under the leadership of Dr. William C. Requa. About 1836 the mission was moved to present Labette county where it operated only until 1837 when forced to close because of a severe drought and trouble with the Indians.

A brief biographical sketch of the Hugh Francis Reid family was printed in the Bonner Springs *Chieftain*, April 5, 1951. Reid brought his family to Kansas about 1860, settling near Muncie, Wyandotte county. Mrs. Perle Mesta, U. S. minister to Luxembourg, is a granddaughter of Reid.

The early history of Rosedale school, district 68, Jewell county, by Mrs. Pearl Gifford, was printed in *The Jewell County Republican*, Jewell, April 5, 1951, and in *The Kansas Optimist*, Jamestown, May 3. The district was organized in 1878 and Flora Dayton was the first teacher.

The reminiscences of R. W. Akin of Hewins, were published in the Cedar Vale *Messenger*, April 5, 12, 19, 26, and May 3, 1951. Akin came to Kansas from Illinois in 1872 with his father's family, settling near Cedar Vale.

A 24-page 75th anniversary edition of the Erie *Record* was published April 6, 1951. The *Record* was founded in 1876 by George W. McMillen at Thayer. Histories of the *Record* and of Erie are included in the edition.

An article on the historic Elkhorn mill at Minneapolis appeared in the Salina *Journal*, April 8, 1951. The mill, operated by water power, was first built in 1865 by Israel Markley who had discovered the site while on a buffalo hunt in 1860. Destroyed and rebuilt in 1893, the mill is now to be razed.

A brief biographical sketch of the Rev. Isaac Mooney, by Mrs. Corah Mooney Bullock, appeared in the *Butler Free-Lance*, El Dorado, April 12 and 19, 1951. Mooney was the founder of the Towanda Congregational-Christian Church which celebrated its 75th anniversary in April. Notes from Mooney's journal were printed in the *Free-Lance*, April 26.

The school history of Cuba, in Republic county, was traced briefly by Robert Benyshek in the *Belleville Telescope*, April 19, 1951. The first school building was erected in 1869.

Brief biographical sketches of Theodore Rand and D. R. Jay, pony express riders, were printed in the *Atchison Daily Globe*, April 22, 1951.

A brief biographical sketch of Dick Rogers, Minneola, by J. C. Denious, Jr., was printed in the *Dodge City Daily Globe*, April 25, 1951. The Rogers family came to the Minneola area in 1885 and built a sod house which still stands.

A sketch of the Baptist church of Downs appeared in the *Downs News*, April 26, 1951. Organized in 1876, the church installed an elder, Z. Thomas, as the first pastor. The Rev. S. Renfrow was called in 1877.

The front page of the *Frankfort Index*, April 26, 1951, was devoted to historical articles on Frankfort, Frankfort newspapers, the Wyandotte constitution and the Kansas State Historical Society. Frankfort's earliest newspaper was the *Record*, first published in 1876.

A short, early history of Winfield, reprinted from the *Winfield Daily Telegram*, May 9, 1879, was included in the historical section of the 1951 achievement edition of the *Winfield Daily Courier*, published February 26, 1951.

The history of St. Paul's Lutheran Church, near Albert, was briefly sketched in the *Great Bend Herald*, May 10, 1951. The church was organized in 1876 under the leadership of a Reverend Hengist.

A brief history of the Hopewell United Presbyterian Church, near Beloit, which recently celebrated its 75th anniversary, was published in the *Beloit Daily Call*, May 15, 1951. The church was organized March 13, 1876, with 38 members. The Rev. J. P. Finney was the first full-time pastor. On June 1 the *Call* printed the Mitchell county reminiscences of Frank Douglass, now of Garden City.

The Pittsburg *Headlight and Sun*, May 16, 1951, published 74-page diamond jubilee editions in conjunction with the 75th anniversary of the founding of Pittsburg. Included were biographical sketches of early-day community leaders, and historical articles on Pittsburg industries, businesses, schools, churches and other organizations and institutions.

The Rush County News, La Crosse, May 17, 1951, printed a brief historical article on the community of Liebenthal, which was founded February 22, 1876.

The reminiscences of Andrew G. Nelson, Chanute, concerning his family's early years in Neosho county, written by H. G. Curl, were printed in the Chanute *Tribune*, May 25, 1951. Nelson came to Kansas from Sweden in the late 1860's. The article, in shorter form, was reprinted in the Coffeyville *Daily Journal*, May 27, 1951.

The beginning and growth of the Leavenworth Catholic Church was traced in *The Eastern Kansas Register*, Kansas City, May 25, 1951. The first building was constructed in 1855 under the leadership of Bishop Miede.

A brief history of Kinsley, by Mrs. Nell Lewis Woods, appeared in the Kinsley *Mercury*, May 31, 1951. The town was founded in 1873 and incorporated in 1878.

A two-column story of Old Cherokee, by Wayne A. O'Connell, was published in the Chetopa *Advance*, May 31, 1951; the Oswego *Democrat*, June 1, and the Baxter Springs *Citizen*, June 4. Old Cherokee was a settlement near present Oswego which was destroyed by federal troops in 1860 because the area was not yet open for settlement.

The "colorful past and sizable achievements" of Kansas are reviewed by Debs Myers in "The Exciting Story of Kansas," published in *Holiday* magazine in June, 1951. Abolition, prohibition, Populism, weather, agriculture and industries are some of the phases of Kansas history discussed by Myers, along with sketches of such Kansans as John Brown, William Allen White, Carry Nation, Sockless Jerry Simpson and others.

"Holton's Colorful History," assembled by Will T. Beck, has continued to appear regularly in recent issues of the Holton *Recorder*.

Kansas Historical Notes

The 76th 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 16, 1951.

Luther D. Landon was elected president of the Russell County Historical Society at its annual meeting in Russell February 7, 1951. J. C. Ruppenthal was elected to succeed Landon as second vice-president. Re-elected were: John G. Deines, first vice-president; Merlin Morphy, secretary; A. J. Olson, treasurer, and Mrs. H. A. Opdycke, chairman of the board of directors. Clarence Peck was the retiring president. The Kennebec Landon Valley Historical Association has been made a chapter of the Russell county society. May 28 was homecoming and pioneer day, sponsored by the society, of the eight-day "Prairiesta" held at Russell, beginning May 23. Mrs. Emma Woelk, who came to Russell in 1872, was chosen the city's pioneer mother. A pageant entitled "Pioneers of Progress," was presented in the evenings of May 28, 29 and 30.

Mrs. W. W. Austin was chosen chief historian of the Chase County Historical Society at a meeting of the society's executive committee at Cottonwood Falls, March 3, 1951. Plans were made for publishing the third volume of the history of Chase county. Mrs. Ida Vinson is chairman of the committee.

Officers elected or re-elected by the Ford Historical Society at a luncheon March 9, 1951, included: Mrs. Guy Wooten, president; Mrs. F. M. Coffman, vice-president; Mrs. I. L. Plattner, secretary-treasurer, and Mrs. Lyman Emrie and Mrs. E. H. Patterson, historians.

H. D. Lester was elected president of the Wichita Historical Museum Association at a meeting March 29, 1951. Other officers chosen were: H. M. Quinius, first vice-president; Mrs. Wallis Haines, second vice-president; Carl Bitting, secretary, and Dr. H. C. Holmes, treasurer.

The board of directors of the Finney County Historical Society met at Garden City April 10, 1951, and re-elected all officers of the society. They are: Gus Norton, president; Mrs. A. F. Smith, first vice-president; Frederick Finnup, second vice-president; Mrs. Jose-

phine Cowgill, third vice-president; Mrs. Ella Condra, secretary; Mrs. Eva B. Sharer, treasurer; Ralph T. Kersey, historian; Mrs. Emma Weeks White, custodian of relics, and P. A. Burtis, business manager. C. L. Reeve is a new member of the board. Mr. Finnup presided at the meeting.

The Kansas Association of Teachers of History and Related Fields held its annual meeting at the Memorial Building, Topeka, April 27 and 28, 1951. Speakers and their subjects were: "Greece Under Nazi Occupation and the Greek Underground," G. Georgiades Arnakis, University of Kansas City; "The Effect of Witchcraft on European Royalty During the Seventeenth Century," Floyd W. Snyder, Sterling College; "Carlyle as a British Historian," F. R. Flourney, College of Emporia; "Petain: Traitor or Scapegoat?" Leslie Anders, University of Missouri; "The Kansas Raid of Sterling Price," Albert Castel, Wichita University; "Kansas Negro Regiments in the Civil War," Dudley T. Cornish, Kansas State Teachers College, Pittsburg; "Father Dumortier, Itinerant Missionary in Kansas in the 1850's and 1860's," Sister M. Evangeline Thomas, Marymount College, and "The Unwanted Mr. Lincoln," William F. Zornow, Washburn University. At the luncheon session John Rydjord, Wichita University, addressed the group on "Nationalism: Notions and Nonsense." Flourney was elected president of the association for the coming year. Other officers elected were: Elizabeth Cochran, Kansas State Teachers College, Pittsburg, vice-president; Ernest Baders, Washburn University, secretary-treasurer. Other members of the executive committee are: Alvin H. Proctor, Kansas State Teachers College, Pittsburg; Deane Postlewaite, Baker University; the Rev. Peter Beckman, St. Benedict's Abbey, Atchison, and George L. Anderson, University of Kansas. Anderson was the retiring president.

An antique melodian, which was a gift from John Brown to his oldest daughter, Ruth Brown Thompson, and which was played at Brown's funeral, was presented to the board of the John Brown Memorial Park in Osawatomie at ceremonies held at the Osawatomie high school May 9, 1951. This instrument, since 1925 the property of Mr. and Mrs. Edward Simmons, Altadena, Cal., has been permanently placed in the John Brown cabin in the park. Fred W. Brinkerhoff, Pittsburg publisher, principal speaker for the occasion, discussed Brown's antislavery activities in Kansas and his attempt to seize the government arsenal at Harper's Ferry. Others

participating in the program included: the Rev. William I. Hastie, Osawatomie; State Senator Ben F. Bowers, Ottawa; James A. Day, Osawatomie, who played the melodian, and Ada Remington and Rosalie Ward, members of the Brown family.

Organization of the Edwards County Historical Society was completed at a meeting in Kinsley May 25, 1951. Mrs. E. G. Peterson was elected president. Other officers elected were: Lavina Trotter, Harry Offerle and Ruth Roenbaugh, vice-presidents; Henry J. Draut, secretary; John Newlin, treasurer; Mrs. Myrtle Richardson, historian, and Beulah Moletor, custodian of relics. Mrs. Richardson presided at the meeting and H. F. Schmidt, of Ford county, was the principal speaker.

The Price of the Prairie Grass, is the title of a recently-published 18-page pamphlet by Cecil Calvert, Hays. The article begins with the arrival of Calvert's father in western Kansas in 1884, describes pioneer life, and traces the agricultural practices which led to wind and water erosion of the soil and the disappearance of the prairie grass.

A 75-page pamphlet entitled *A History of the First 30 Years of the Kansas Division of the American Association of University Women*, by Teresa Marie Ryan, was published recently. The first local organization of the AAUW, known then as the Association of Collegiate Alumnae, in Kansas was formed at Lawrence in 1906. The state unit was organized in 1919 and Alice Winston, Lawrence, was elected the first president.

Agricultural Discontent in the Middle West (Madison, Wis., c1951), by Theodore Saloutos and John D. Hicks, is the title of a 581-page historical treatment of the agrarian unrest and the resulting farm movements and farm legislation from 1900 to 1939.

Willie Whitewater, the 309-page story of W. R. Honnell's life and adventures among the Indians as he grew up with the state of Kansas, as told by him to Caroline Cain Durkee, has been published by the Burton Publishing Company, Kansas City, Mo. Honnell, known among the Indians as Willie Whitewater, was born in November, 1860. In 1899 he was appointed Indian agent for Kansas. Later he had a part in the preservation of the Huron cemetery which was laid out by the Wyandot Indians in 1844. Mr. Honnell died in 1946.

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THE COVER

R. H. Kern's sketch of "Fort Massachusetts—At the Foot of the Sierra Blanca; Valley of San Luis" (1853). The fort was established in 1852 in what was once Kansas territory, and is reported to have been the first United States settlement in the San Luis valley. The buildings and stockade of pine logs accommodated 150 men, infantry and cavalry. In 1858 the post was moved a few miles and the name was changed to Fort Garland. The site of old Fort Massachusetts is in the south central part of present Colorado. (*See* p. 366.)

THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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November 4

The Motives of Stephen A. Douglas in the Organization of Nebraska Territory: A Letter Dated December 17, 1853

JAMES C. MALIN

THE scope of this paper is limited. The prime object is to make available a single letter of Stephen A. Douglas, dated December 17, 1853, dealing with his purpose and motives for the organization of the Indian country as of that date. The letter is momentous because it placed upon the record Douglas' own statement of his position after the introduction of the Dodge bill into the senate on December 14, notice having been given December 5, the very first day of the session, and during the interval when the senate committee on territories, of which Douglas was chairman, was deliberating on that bill, which, through substitution and amendment, was to become the Kansas-Nebraska Act of May 30, 1854. This, then, is the nearest contemporaneous statement by Douglas, just prior to the opening of the historic debates, relative to the organization of the Indian country, the Pacific railroad, the Indian barrier and the slavery issue.

The motives of Douglas have been the subject of dispute, and historical literature presents several major interpretations. These are reviewed here under three main heads: (1) slavery, (2) provisional government of Nebraska, (3) Pacific railroad.

The slavery interpretation includes both anti and proslavery versions. The dominant one is represented in many variant antislavery-abolition accounts, all of which, however, agreed upon hostility toward Douglas as the prime author and proponent of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, with its repeal of the Missouri Compromise of 1820 by which slavery had been excluded from the Louisiana Purchase territory north of the line of 36° 30' north latitude. Implied or ex-

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pressly, they ascribed to Douglas lack of moral principles, ambition for the Presidency, subservience to the slavocracy as a means of promoting his personal ambition and unscrupulous political methods of accomplishing his ends. This literature may be classified for convenience into three types: 1) immediate attacks upon Douglas in connection with the debates on the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and the subsequent Kansas troubles, the most dramatic single document being the "Appeal of the Independent Democrats . . .," published January 24, 1854; 2) the formal historical works of contemporaries such as Horace Greeley (1856, 1866), Henry Wilson (1874), and John A. Logan (1886); 3) the formal work of historians of the post-Civil War generation, who were supposedly committed to the scientific method, especially Hermann Eduard von Holst (1885), and James Ford Rhodes (1892). In the name of human freedom, morality and religion, these set the pattern of one of the most flagrant instances of character assassination in history.

The vicious character of the contemporary attacks upon Douglas are best illustrated by the "Appeal of the Independent Democrats . . .,"¹ as it may be said to have set the model for so many others. The body of the "Appeal" was directed at the Douglas drafts of the Nebraska bill as they appeared January 4 and 10. Among other things Senators Chase and Sumner and associates declared that

We arraign the bill as a gross violation of a sacred pledge; as a criminal betrayal of precious rights; as part and parcel of an atrocious plot to exclude from a vast unoccupied region immigrants from the Old World, and free laborers from our own States, and convert it into a dreary region of despotism, inhabited by Masters and slaves.

They expressly related the bill to the Pacific railroad, charging that slavery along such a road would retard settlement, enhance costs of construction, endanger profits, and would render worthless there a homestead law if enacted;

We earnestly request the enlightened conductors of newspapers printed in the German and other foreign languages, to direct the attention of their readers to this important matter. . . .

We implore Christians and Christian ministers to interpose. Their divine religion requires them to behold in every man a brother, and to labor for the advancement and regeneration of the human race.

1. *Congressional Globe*, 33 Cong., 1 Sess., January 30, 1854, pp. 281, 282. The document as printed in the *Globe* was given the date January 19, 1854, and contained a note at the end commenting on the new draft of the Douglas bill presented January 23, 1854, which divided the territory into Kansas and Nebraska. The *New York Tribune* printed the "Appeal" January 25, 1854, giving it the date January 19, without the note, and attributed it to the Ohio senators and a majority of the Ohio members of the house of representatives. The original publication was in the *National Era*, Washington, D. C., January 24, 1854, with the date January 22, 1854. Milton, *Eye of Conflict*, p. 120, note is inaccurate on the *Tribune* handling of the document.

Then the note, appended to the "Appeal," written the day Douglas reported the new draft of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, January 23, 1854, closed with this sentence: "Will the people permit their dearest interests to be thus made the mere hazards of a presidential game, and destroyed by false facts and false inferences?"

Such was the state of mind among the antislavery-abolitionists that all that seemed necessary was for the recognized leaders, like Chase, and Sumner, to make an accusation, and it was accepted as true without investigation. Historians have largely been held captives by this formula of liberalism, morality and religion. Douglas replied in hardhitting speeches, especially on January 30 and on March 3, but few newspapers, North or South, certainly not the New York *Tribune*, reported them adequately for readers to learn the facts.

The essential portion of the Missouri Compromise read that, except for Missouri, in all of the Louisiana Purchase north of 36° 30' north latitude, slavery "shall be and is hereby forever prohibited." It should be noted that the word "forever" is used. When, on January 30, Douglas took Chase to task for the accusations made in the "Appeal," Chase replied:

Sir, our offense is, that we deny the nationality of slavery. No man can show that we have ever sought to interfere with the legislation of any State of the Union upon that subject. All we have ever insisted upon is, that the Territories of this Union shall be preserved from slavery; and that where the General Government exercises jurisdiction, its legislation shall be on the side of liberty. It is because we defend these positions that the Senator from Illinois attacks us. . . .²

If Chase knew what he was saying, he had himself repealed the Missouri Compromise, except during the territorial period when he insisted the policy of the General government must be slanted in favor of liberty. Douglas had stated explicitly that there was no intention of legislating slavery into or out of a territory. Only during the territorial status did Chase's position, as stated upon cross-examination in the debate, differ from that of the Douglas bills in any of their several versions. Participation in government was open to any citizen or immigrant who had declared his intention of becoming a citizen of the United States. The Clayton amendment, proposing to disqualify declarants from political privileges, was not offered until later and should not confuse the issue. What did the antislavery-abolition group intend; what sincerity was there in their professions; what was the meaning of this "tempest-in-a-teapot" in which words had no relation to reality?

2. *Cong. Globe*, 33 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 280.

The excesses of the heat of battle are usually treated by historians with a great deal of tolerance, and that may be applicable to the controversies over the Kansas-Nebraska bill and the later Kansas troubles. But the problem does not end there. The books of Greeley, Wilson and Logan were written after the Civil War, when time and perspective should have, but did not, mellow judgments. Greeley called his two-volume book *The American Conflict: A History of the Great Rebellion* . . . (Hartford, Chicago, 1866-1867). Henry Wilson called his three-volume work *The Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America* (Boston, 1872-1877). John A. Logan wrote of *The Great Conspiracy* (New York, 1886). But least excusable on any basis of measurement is the work of scholars of the generation later, those who had not been participants. Hermann von Holst, a German scholar, might have been expected to bring to the history of the United States an objective view of a foreigner, but in many respects, he outdid the antislavery partisans in his interpretations:

Both [Pierce and Douglas] labored for the slavocracy for the reward of the presidency and earned perhaps only the contempt of the people of the north, . . . but then the contempt visited on Douglas had its roots in hate while Pierce seemed so contemptible that to hate him was to do him too much honor.³

The case of James Ford Rhodes is quite different and more complex. He had grown up under the antislavery environment of the Western Reserve district of Ohio, but his father, Daniel P. Rhodes, had been a friend of Douglas, and there was a marriage connection linking the two families, and Douglas had named Daniel P. Rhodes as executor of his estate. Upon the death of his father, James Ford Rhodes succeeded to that post. When the two Douglas sons became of age the estate had been dissipated, and suit was brought against James Ford Rhodes. This litigation was finally compromised out of court, by Rhodes settling with the Douglas sons for the equivalent of about \$30,000. There would seem to be little room for argument that by that time relations between the two families were not exactly amicable. What bearing did these family difficulties exert on Rhodes as historian? When F. H. Hodder published the facts in 1922, Albert Bushnell Hart undertook to dispute them on authority of a denial by Rhodes. Only when faced with a photostat of the original agreement of settlement, with signatures, did they decide to withdraw their charges.⁴

3. *The Constitutional and Political History of the United States*, 8 volumes translated from the German by John J. Lalor (Chicago, 1881-1892), v. 4 (1885), p. 317.

4. "F. H. Hodder Papers," library of the University of Kansas.

Whatever the influence of these family difficulties, Rhodes' treatment of Douglas in his *History of the United States From the Compromise of 1850* was venomous.⁵

Rhodes said that of the five rivals for the Presidency in the Democratic party, as of January 1, 1854, "Douglas was the boldest of all" and "the least popular with the South." In the nominating convention of 1852, he had received the smallest number of votes from that section, which would have 117 votes in the nominating convention of 1856: "The result of the previous convention, however, had taught Douglas that he could not be nominated without the aid of Southern votes." On the basis of this reasoning, Rhodes attributed to Douglas the following: "Thoughts and calculations like these must have passed through Douglas' mind . . .," and as chairman of the committee on territories, he could win the support of the South by organizing territories agreeable to these wishes. He attributed to Douglas a desire to emulate Clay, assuming for himself a leadership in the Democratic party similar to Clay's leadership in the old Whig party. On this particular point, the comparison with Clay, the great compromiser, Rhodes may have guessed better than he knew, but he spoiled it by venting his personal spleen: "But Clay had profound moral convictions which, although sometimes set at naught in the heat of partisan conflict, were of powerful influence in his political career; in the view of Douglas, moral ideas had no place in politics."⁶

On the proslavery side of this slavery interpretation of Douglas are the versions of Sen. Archibald Dixon, Rep. Philip Phillips and Sen. David R. Atchison, contemporaries; and their subsequent more formal presentations of later years. Each of these men claimed at the time to have been the prime mover or author, or both, of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and to have forced the hand of Douglas in this matter. Mrs. Archibald Dixon elaborated her husband's story in a book, *The True History of the Missouri Compromise and Its Repeal* (Cincinnati, 1899). Perley Orman Ray, published an elaborately documented monograph, *The Repeal of the Missouri Compromise* (Cleveland, 1909), in which he explained the repeal as arising out of the political rivalry of Atchison and Thomas Hart Benton in Missouri, and Atchison's forcing of Douglas' hand. H. B. Learned, without becoming a partisan, has pre-

5. This work was planned in several volumes, the original block covering the period 1850-1877 in seven volumes. Later, two other volumes were added. Volume 1, in which the enactment of the Kansas-Nebraska Act was treated, was published in 1893, copyright 1892.

6. James Ford Rhodes, *History of the United States* . . . , v. 1 (New York, 1893), pp. 424, 425, 430, 431.

sented the evidence on "The Relation of Philip Phillips to the Repeal of the Missouri Compromise. . . ." ⁷

The provisional government of Nebraska interpretation of the Kansas-Nebraska Act has two aspects and complications which defy neat labels. Persons in the Indian country, or near it, conceived the idea of anticipating the official organization of the country into a territory and sending a delegate to represent the so-called Nebraska territory in congress. Hadley Johnson, allied with Iowa interests, was "elected" and appeared in Washington in December, 1853, with the idea of dividing the Indian country into two territories as a means of advancing Pacific railroad interests, and he claimed that Douglas accepted his plan, which appeared in the revised bill of January 23, 1854.⁸

The more comprehensive claims growing out of the situation in the Indian country, were associated with the so-called provisional government of Nebraska territory, which was set up primarily by the Emigrant tribes of Indians, particularly the Wyandot tribe in 1852, with William Walker as provisional governor, and Abelard Guthrie as delegate to congress, both members of the Wyandot tribe. The protagonist of the claims of these men to having instigated the organization of Kansas and Nebraska, was William Elsey Connelley.⁹ He maintained that Hadley Johnson's activities and the division of the territory blocked the recognition by the house of representatives of the provisional government,¹⁰ and that Abelard Guthrie's activities during the winter of 1852-1853 forced the action upon congress at the next session, which did pass the Kansas-Nebraska Act.¹¹

The Pacific railroad interpretation of the Kansas-Nebraska Act was presented to a hostile and skeptical public, after Douglas' death, by two political friends, James Washington Sheahan (1861), and James Madison Cutts (1866). In view of the contents of the Douglas letter which serves as the occasion for this paper, a re-

7. *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, v. 8 (1922), March, pp. 303-317.

8. Hadley Johnson, "How the Kansas-Nebraska Boundary Line Was Established," *Transactions and Reports of the Nebraska State Historical Society*, series 1, v. 2 (1887), pp. 80-92.

9. W. E. Connelley (editor), "The Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory, and the Journals of William Walker, Provisional Governor of Nebraska Territory," *Proceedings and Collections of the Nebraska State Historical Society*, Lincoln, series 2, v. 3 (1899). A brief restatement of the argument is in Connelley, *A Standard History of Kansas and Kansans* (5 volumes, Chicago, 1918), v. 1, ch. 14, and in Connelley, *History of Kansas, State and People* (5 volumes, Chicago and New York, 1928), v. 1, ch. 15.

10. Connelley, *Kansas and Kansans*, v. 1, p. 315. A part of Johnson's own story was reprinted in *ibid.*, pp. 312-315.

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 304-315.

printing of both these versions seems desirable as neither is generally available for reference.¹²

TEXT OF THE SHEAHAN ACCOUNT

. . . The great act of legislation upon which his opponents have assailed him most fiercely, and which, even after death, has been quoted as "the great mistake, not to say crime" of his life, was the one in which he took the most pride, and which he felt to be the wisest and the best. It was the Nebraska Act. A defence of that act is not needed here, but as it served for years as a battery from which he was assailed, it is but proper that in a few sentences it be stated why he proposed it, why he pressed it, and why it failed.

Mr. Douglas was one of those who saw that the agitation of the slavery question in Congress could accomplish nothing, save to widen the social and political breach that has always existed between the slaveholding and non-slaveholding States. Seven years experience in Congress confirmed him in the opinion that it was necessary to remove that question from the halls of the national legislature. In 1850, the compromise bills of that year, of which he wrote every word, were passed. California had been acquired, and a road to the Pacific was indispensable. In 1854, the immense tract of territory, now known as Nebraska and Kansas, was closed, by law, to emigration and to travel. Like a huge block, it barred the natural pathway to the Pacific. The South was pressing a railroad from Memphis, and southwesterly across the continent. Mr. Douglas wanted a fair chance to have that railroad lead from the north, where it could find communication through Chicago to the Atlantic. Our railroads had already reached the Mississippi, and others were projected, extending to the Missouri. He wanted Nebraska and Kansas opened, and the country made free to the enterprise of the north. In case of a dissolution of the Union, it was essential to have the Pacific connected by some other route than one through a hostile section. That was the motive for organizing these territories—a motive having its origin in the desire to benefit the whole nation, and especially to give to the northwest a fair opportunity to compete for the commerce of the great east.

But that curse of all things, the question of African slavery, lay at the threshold. He could not open Kansas and Nebraska without waking the sleeping Demon. He therefore determined to make one grand struggle, to seize the monster, to invite both North and South to unite in chaining it; and, having it in chains, to remove it forever beyond the limits of national legislation. For that purpose he framed the Nebraska Act, by which he asked the North and the South forever to bind themselves to leave the question of the existence or non-existence of slavery to the exclusive adjudication and determination of the people of the respective territories. The bill passed, and became a law.

12. James W. Sheahan, *Eulogy on Stephen A. Douglas* (Chicago, 1861), reprinted, with slight omissions, as *Stephen A. Douglas an Eulogy*, in the Fergus Historical Series, No. 15 (Chicago, 1881), pp. 15-18 in the original printing, and pp. 204-207 in the reprint. The present author has seen only the reprint, but the late Frank Heywood Hodder collated the two printings and marked his copy of the reprint accordingly, and that copy is now in the library of the University of Kansas. This eulogy was delivered at the University of Chicago, of which Douglas was a founder, July 3, 1861.

James Madison Cutts, *A Brief Treatise Upon Constitutional and Party Questions, and the History of Political Parties, as I Received It Orally From the Late Senator Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois* (New York, 1866), pp. 84-97.

Its design and intent plainly stamped upon its face, and its friends all committed to abide its results. He had accomplished all his purposes, so far as they could be done by legislation. The rest he left to time and to the intelligence of the people; and throughout the eventful years that followed he was not an indifferent but a confident spectator, waiting for results which every day seemed more inevitably certain. For two years he fought rebellion in Kansas, and to Pierce he offered just what he offered to Lincoln—his aid in suppressing rebellion, and resistance to the laws and Constitution. In 1856, the Cincinnati convention met. He was but little troubled as to who should be the nominee, but he was greatly agitated lest some portion of the South would not ratify and approve the great act of 1854. But that convention, without a dissenting voice, did ratify that act, and then from the very bottom of his heart he rejoiced. The chain which bound fanaticism forever had been riveted, and the territories were no longer to be divided by a black line, but freedom was as free to go to the lowest confines of the continent as it was to tread the ocean-washed shores of Oregon. Never, except by something approaching a miracle, would there be another slave-State formed by the free will of the people, and no State, except formed by the free will of the people, could ever be admitted without a violation of the contract. In the fullness of his joy, and in the tumult of his gratitude, he sent that dispatch which, while it withdrew his name, unfortunately made Mr. Buchanan President.

Despite the civil war and rebellion which had reigned in Kansas, the great measure worked its own way successfully toward the contemplated result; when lo, there came a blow so sudden and unexpected, that no human sagacity could have been prepared to meet it. The Lecompton fraud was taken to the executive bosom, nursed into life; a message was sent to Congress, requesting that, after the manner of royal infants in other lands, this only child of the bachelor President, should be portioned, pensioned, and provided for at the national charge. Had Mr. Buchanan been true to his trust, true to his plighted honor, and true to the solemn oath of office, the issue of disunion would have been tried on the Lecompton question, and rebellion would have been compelled to take up arms in defence of that horrid fraud—a fraud covered with blood, and reeking with the stench of the most shocking corruptions. Had he been true, Mr. Douglas' original design and expectations would have been verified, and the ultraists of the South, and not of the North, would have heaped contumely upon the Nebraska bill and its author.

As the corner-stone of the University [of Chicago] was laid under a malediction upon the Nebraska bill and its living author, I have thought it not inappropriate, that in burying the illustrious dead beneath its monumental towers, a record of the motive should be placed where posterity may find that and the malediction together.

Mr. Douglas was an independent statesman. Looking at all questions from an immovable stand-point of principle, he could neither be coaxed nor driven into an approval of what he deemed to be wrong. . . .

TEXT OF THE CUTTS ACCOUNT

At the next meeting of Congress after the election of General Pierce, Mr. Douglas as chairman of the Committee on Territories, reported the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, accompanied by a special report, in which he said, "that the object of the committee was to organize all Territories in the future upon the

principles of the compromise measures of 1850. That these measures were intended to have a much broader and more enduring effect, than to merely adjust the disputed questions growing out of the acquisition of Mexican territory, *by prescribing certain great fundamental principles*, which, while they adjusted the existing difficulties, would prescribe rules of action in all future time, when new Territories were to be organized or new States to be admitted into the Union." The report then proceeded to show that the principle upon which the Territories of 1850 were organized was, that the slavery question should be banished from the halls of Congress and the political arena, and referred to the Territories and States who were immediately interested in the question, and alone responsible for its existence; and concluded, by saying "that the bill reported by the committee proposed to carry into effect these principles *in the precise language of the compromise measures of 1850.*"

By reference to those sections of the Kansas-Nebraska Act which define the powers of the Territorial Legislature, it will be perceived that they *are* in the precise language of the acts of 1850, and confer upon the Territorial Legislature power over all rightful subjects of legislation, consistent with the Constitution, without excepting African slavery.

During the discussion of this measure it was suggested that the 8th section of the act of March 6, 1820, commonly called the Missouri Compromise, would deprive the people of the Territory, *while they remained in a Territorial condition* of the right to decide the slavery question, unless said 8th section should be repealed. In order to obviate this objection, and to allow the people the privilege of controlling this question, *while they remained in a Territorial condition*, the said restriction was declared inoperative and void, by an amendment which was incorporated into the bill, on the motion of Mr. Douglas, with these words in explanation of the object of the repeal: "*it being the true intent and meaning of this act, not to legislate slavery into any Territory or State, nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States.*" In this form, and with this intent, the Kansas-Nebraska Act became a law, by the approval of the President, on the 30th of May, 1854.

This bill and its author were principally assailed upon two points. First, that it was not necessary to renew slavery agitation, by the introduction of the measure; and secondly, that there was no necessity for the repeal of the Missouri restriction.

To the first objection *it was replied*, that there was a necessity for the organization of the Territory, which could no longer be denied or resisted. That Mr. Douglas, as early as the session of 1843, had introduced a bill to organize the Territory of Nebraska, for the purpose of opening the line of communication between the Mississippi Valley and our possessions on the Pacific Ocean, known as the Oregon country, and which was then under the operation of the treaty of joint occupation, or rather non-occupation, with England, and was rapidly passing into the exclusive possession of British Hudson's Bay Fur Company, who were establishing posts at every prominent and commanding point in the country. That the Oregon Territory was, therefore practically open to English emigrants, by ships, while it was closed to all emigration from our Western States by our Indian intercourse laws, which imposed a thousand dol-

lars penalty, and six months' imprisonment, upon every American citizen who should be found within the Indian country which separated our settlements in the Mississippi or Missouri Valley from the Oregon Territory. That the desire for emigration in that direction was so great, that petitions were poured into Congress at every session for the organization of the Territory. Mr. Douglas renewed the introduction of his bill for the organization of Nebraska Territory, each session of Congress, from 1844 to 1854, a period of ten years, and while he had failed to secure the passage of the act, in consequence of the Mexican war intervening, and the slavery agitation which ensued, *no one had objected to it upon the ground that there was no necessity for the organization of the Territory.* During the discussions upon our Territorial questions during this period, Mr. Douglas often called attention to the fact that a line of policy had been adopted many years ago, and was being executed each year, which was entirely incompatible with the growth and development of our country. It had originated as early as the administration of Mr. Monroe, and had been continued by Mr. Adams, General Jackson, Mr. Van Buren, Harrison, and Tyler, by which treaties had been made with the Indians to the east of the Mississippi River, for their removal to the country bordering upon the States west of the Mississippi or Missouri Rivers, with guaranties that the country within which these Indians were located should never be embraced within any Territory or State or subjected to the jurisdiction of either, so long as grass should grow and water should run. These Indian settlements, thus secured by treaty, commenced upon the northern borders of Texas, or Red River, and were continued from year to year westward, until, when in 1844, Mr. Douglas introduced his first Nebraska Bill, they had reached the Nebraska or Platte River, and the Secretary of War was then engaged in the very act of removing Indians from Iowa, and settling them in the valley of the Platte River, with similar guaranties of perpetuity, by which the road to Oregon was forever to be closed. It was the avowed object of this Indian policy to form an Indian barrier on the western borders of Arkansas, Missouri, and Iowa, by Indian settlements, secured in perpetuity by a compact, that the white settlement should never extend westward of that line. This policy originated in the jealousy, on the part of the Atlantic States, of the growth and expansion of the Mississippi Valley, which threatened in a few years to become the controlling power of the nation. Even Colonel Benton, of Missouri, who always claimed to be the champion of the West, made a speech, in which he erected the god Terminus upon the summit of the Rocky Mountains, facing eastward, and with uplifted hand, saying to Civilization and Christianity, "Thus far mayst thou go, and no farther!" and General Cass, while Secretary of War, was zealous in the execution of this policy. This restrictive system received its first check in 1844, by the introduction of the Nebraska Bill, which was served on the Secretary of War, by its author, on the day of its introduction, with a notice that Congress was about to organize the Territory, and therefore he must not locate any more Indians there. In consequence of this notice, the Secretary (by courtesy) suspended his operations until Congress should have an opportunity of acting upon the bill; and inasmuch as Congress failed to act that session, Mr. Douglas renewed his bill and notice to the Secretary each year, and thus prevented action for ten years, and until he could procure action on the bill. In the mean time the passion of the Western people for emigration had become so aroused, that

they could be no longer restrained; and Colonel Benton, who was a candidate in Missouri for reelection to the Senate in 1852 and 1853, so far yielded to the popular clamor, as to advise the emigrants, who had assembled, in a force of fifteen or twenty thousand, on the western border of Missouri, carrying their tents and wagons, to invade the Territory and take possession, in defiance of the Indian intercourse laws, and of the authority of the Federal Government, which, if executed, must inevitably have precipitated an Indian war with all those tribes.

When this movement on the part of Colonel Benton became known at Washington, the President of the United States dispatched the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the scene of excitement, with orders to the commanding officer at Fort Leavenworth to use the United States army in resisting the invasion, if he could not succeed in restraining the emigrants by persuasion and remonstrances. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs succeeded in procuring the agreement of the emigrants that they would encamp on the western borders of Missouri, until the end of the next session of Congress, in order to see if Congress would not in the meantime, by law, open the country to emigration. When Congress assembled at the session of 1853-'54, in view of this state of facts, Mr. Douglas renewed his Nebraska Act, which was modified, pending discussion, by dividing into two Territories, and became the Kansas-Nebraska Act. *From these facts you can draw your own conclusions, whether there was any necessity for the organization of the Territory and of Congressional action at that time.*

In regard to the second objection, it is proper to remark, that if the necessity for the organization of the Territories did in fact exist, it was right that they should be organized upon *sound constitutional principles*; and if the compromise measures of 1850 were a safe rule of action upon that subject, *as the country* in the Presidential election, and *both of the political parties* in their national conventions in 1852 had affirmed, then it was the duty of those to whom the power had been intrusted to frame the bills *in accordance with those principles*. There was another reason which had its due weight in the repeal of the Missouri restriction. The jealousies of the two great sections of the Union, North and South, had been fiercely excited by the slavery agitation. The Southern States would never consent to the opening of those Territories to settlement, so long as they were excluded by act of Congress from moving there and holding their slaves; and they had the power to prevent the opening of the country forever, inasmuch as it had been forever excluded by treaties with the Indians, which would not be changed or repealed except by a two-third vote in the Senate. But the South were willing to consent to remove the Indian restrictions, provided the North would at the same time remove the Missouri restriction, and thus throw the country open to settlement on equal terms by the people of the North and South, and leave the settlers at liberty to introduce or exclude slavery as they should think proper. This was true, but this power to defeat the Kansas-Nebraska Act by refusing to make new treaties, that is, repealing the old by consent of both parties, the Indians and the United States, was overlooked by *both parties*, or the Kansas-Nebraska Act might have been defeated. I saw this objection, and was often on the point of letting it slip, in debate, but as often checked myself. In the meantime commissioners were sent out, pending the Nebraska Act, to make new treaties. A clause in

the act made it prospective, so as to await this result. The treaties were made and ratified by the Senate. Bell, of Tennessee, saw the objection, and alluded to it; but he did not portray or grasp it fully. I pretended not to be listening to his speech, but was terribly frightened, when, on the *last night* of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill he made his speech against it (having been previously pledged to vote for it), but at a time when the whole South was pledged to it, and would hardly *even listen to what he was saying*. In that speech, Bell, in substance, said that he did not blame the Senator from Illinois for the part he was acting on this occasion—that Senator understood what he was about. He had a grand scheme for the building up of a great Northwestern empire, which would in a few years be strong enough to govern the whole country. His scheme contemplated the extinction of the Indian title to a country large enough for ten or twelve new States, which under his guidance would soon be brought into the Union, to swell the power of his own section. “I repeat that I do not blame the Senator for the part he is acting; I only blame the South for allowing themselves to be used as his instruments, to carry out his grand scheme for his own section. It is said that the Romans were in the habit of conferring a civic crown upon every Roman consul who added a new province to the empire. If his section of the country shall prove as grateful as the Romans, he will be entitled to ten civic crowns in gratitude for his services.”

Immediately after the Nebraska Bill was introduced, and before the clause was inserted in the bill repealing the Missouri Compromise, an appeal to the people was prepared and published by Messrs. Chase of Ohio, Sumner of Massachusetts, Seward of New York, Wade, Giddings, and other leading Free-soilers, in which they denounced the measure as an attempt to open the whole Northern country to slavery, and, in fact, to introduce slavery into a country large enough for fourteen States by act of Congress, and denouncing the author of it as a traitor to the cause of freedom, to the North, and to the whole country; and appealing to the friends of freedom, and to all who were opposed to the extension of slavery, to forget all former party distinctions, hold public meetings, denounce the measure and its author, send up petitions and remonstrances from every town and hamlet in the country, urge the Legislature to send up instructions, and requesting the *preachers of the gospel* to denounce it in their pulpits, and all *religious men* to assemble in prayer-meetings and invoke the interposition of divine vengeance against those who should consummate such a damnable crime. This appeal to the *passions* of the people was prepared by its authors *secretly*, and after being agreed to *in caucus on the Sabbath day*, as appears from its date, was printed and sent to every portion of the country the day before the bill was to be taken up for discussion in the Senate.

On the next morning, a few minutes before Mr. Douglas was to make his opening speech in favor of the bill, Mr. Chase and Mr. Sumner came to his desk and *appealed to his courtesy* to postpone the discussion for one week, and assigned as a reason that they had *not had time to read the bill and understand its provisions*, acknowledging that it was their own fault and neglect that they had not done so, and therefore that they had no other claim to ask the postponement than the courtesy of the author of the measure. Mr. Douglas yielded to their appeal, and granted the postponement. Three or four days afterwards, he received by mail from Ohio a printed copy of this appeal, signed by Chase and Sumner, and bearing date several days before he had granted the postponement, which conduct he immediately denounced in open Senate.

They had thus *lied*—had got *first* before the country, seeking thus *by fraud* to forestall public opinion. Mr. Douglas' friends had reproved him for granting the postponement. He replied to them that it was a fair measure, and that he intended to act fairly and honestly, and to let friends and opponents all equally have an opportunity to use their abilities, for and against the measure, understandingly.

In response to this appeal the wildest passions were aroused. Meetings were held, violent resolutions of denunciation were passed, sermons preached, violence urged to any extent necessary to defeat the measure. As a specimen of the tone of the anti-Nebraska press, the New York "Tribune" threatened, and justified the execution of the threat, that if the measure could not be defeated in any other mode, the capital should have been burned over the heads of the members, or blown up with powder. Mr. Douglas was burned and hung in effigy in every portion of the free States, sometimes in a hundred different places in the same night, and nearly every pulpit of the Protestant churches poured forth its denunciations and imprecations upon every man who should vote for the measure. A memorial was presented in the Senate, among others of the same character, containing the signatures of three thousand and fifty clergymen protesting against the measure in the name of Almighty God, and imploring His vengeance upon the author. . . .

The twentieth century vindication of Stephen A. Douglas must be credited primarily to two men; Allan Johnson, whose biography was published in 1908, and Frank Heywood Hodder, in a series of papers, 1912-1925, but to the latter must be credited the most fundamental research in establishing the factual basis for a comprehensive reinterpretation of this "Middle Period" of American history.¹³

The interest of Douglas in a Pacific railroad by a northcentral route, preferably from Chicago, and the organization of the Indian country spanned nearly a decade, 1845-1853, prior to the fateful congressional session of 1853-1854. He successfully countered efforts to make commitments for rival routes for railroads north or south of the Chicago-South Pass route, or for canal routes at some point across the Isthmus.¹⁴ The Indian country was divided into two territories, Nebraska and Kansas, to facilitate railroad plans, either through Kansas or through Nebraska. Douglas hoped to avoid any reopening of the slavery agitation.

13. F. H. Hodder, "Genesis of the Kansas-Nebraska Act," *Proceedings*, Wisconsin Historical Society, 1912 (Madison, 1913), pp. 69-86; "Propaganda as a Source of American History," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, v. 9 (1922), June, pp. 3-18; "The Railroad Background of the Kansas-Nebraska Act," *ibid.*, v. 12 (1925), June, pp. 3-22.

A brief review of Hodder's historical career was presented by the present author, "Frank Heywood Hodder," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 5 (1936), May, pp. 115-121; "Hodder's 'Stephen A. Douglas,'" *ibid.*, v. 8 (1939), August, pp. 227-237.

The most comprehensive biography of Douglas that has come out of this reinterpretation is that of George Fort Milton, *The Eve of Conflict: Stephen A. Douglas and a Needless War* (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1934). The Milton book has many good points, but the fact remains that a satisfactory biography of Douglas is still to be written.

14. Robert R. Russel, *Improvement of Communication With the Pacific Coast as an Issue in American Politics, 1783-1864* (Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1948).

This study of the whole range of railroad and canal rivalries was begun under Hodder's direction at the University of Kansas. It is the pioneer monograph and is unique in the field.

To this summary of the revision of the historical view of Douglas, an additional point should be added. Douglas and the West have been emphasized, but that is inaccurate to the extent that it used the word West with two meanings; west meaning everything to the Pacific ocean, and west meaning the Mississippi Valley with emphasis upon the western portion of it. The area in which Douglas was engrossed primarily was the Mississippi Valley; certainly not in a third use of the term west as employed by the followers of Frederick Jackson Turner and the frontier hypothesis, nor in a fourth sense suggested by the phrase: "Westward the course of Empire takes its way," which applied to the idea of the circumnavigation of the globe by European culture. Douglas was thinking about the continent of North America as a land mass, the interior of which was made accessible by steam on waterways and especially on railroads. The Great Lakes and the Mississippi Valley were the geographical pivot of its history. This is in the tradition of Halford J. Mackinder's thinking about land power as superior to sea power under certain conditions, especially under the influence of mechanically-powered land communications.¹⁵ Under such a regime, interior sites became more important than coastal sites, the continent pivoting upon the area where the Mississippi Valley and the Great Lakes meet. To be sure, Douglas had not given these ideas a formal theoretical statement, or constructed from them a system of thought, or embodied them in a comprehensively documented philosophy of history, but his ideas were in accord with a substantial body of opinion trending in that direction. Mackinder did not give this land-mass theory its classical statement until 1904, elaborated in 1919, just as Alfred T. Mahan had not stated his sea-power theory of history until 1890 in his book, *The Influence of Sea-Power in History*. The best statement of Douglas on the subject was extempore, March 13, 1850, but it was so clearly done as to suggest that the ideas were not new to him. He was taking Webster to task for saying that the Northern Democracy had supported the annexation of Texas, the Mexican War, and the annexation of the Southwest "under pledges to the slave interest." Webster interposed to differentiate the Northwest, and it was then that Douglas launched his eulogy:

I am gratified to find that there are those who appreciate the important truth, that there is a power in this nation greater than either the North or the

15. Halford J. Mackinder, *Democratic Ideals and Reality* (New York, 1919, 1942); James C. Malin, "Space and History: Reflections on the Closed-Space Doctrines of Turner and Mackinder and the Challenge of Those Ideas by the Air Age," *Agricultural History*, v. 18 (1944), pp. 65-74, 107-126; *Essays on Historiography* (Lawrence, Kan., 1946), chs. 1 and 2.

South—a growing, increasing, swelling power, that will be able to speak the law to this nation, and to execute the law as spoken. That power is the country known as the great West—the Valley of the Mississippi, one and indivisible from the Gulf to the Great Lakes, and stretching, on the one side and the other, to the extreme sources of the Ohio and Missouri—from the Alleghanies to the Rocky Mountains. There, Sir, is the hope of this nation—the resting place of the power that is not only to control, but to save, the Union. We furnish the water that makes the Mississippi, and we intend to follow, navigate, and use it until it loses itself in the briny Ocean. So with the St. Lawrence. We intend to keep open and enjoy both of these great outlets to the ocean, and all between them we intend to take under our especial protection, and keep and preserve as one free, happy, and united people. This is the mission of the great Mississippi Valley, the heart and soul of the nation and the continent. We know the responsibilities that devolve upon us, and our people will show themselves equal to them. We indulge in no ultrasisms—no sectional strifes—no crusades against the North or the South. Our aim will be to do justice to all, to all men, to every section. We are prepared to fulfill all our obligations under the Constitution as it is, and determined to maintain and preserve it inviolate in its letter and spirit. Such is the position, the destiny, and the purpose of the great Northwest.¹⁶

Douglas had written confidentially to Charles H. Lanphier, November 11, 1853, that three issues would challenge the Pierce administration: public finance which meant adjustment of the tariff to eliminate the surplus before a panic occurred; a rivers and harbors policy toward which he proposed improvements financed by local tonnage dues, and the Pacific railroad, which he would aid with land grants.¹⁷ This letter is the nearest in time to the St. Joseph convention letter which reflects the views of Douglas on what he thought would be the leading issues of the coming session of congress. Historians and biographers of Douglas have either omitted all reference to the rivers and harbors program of Douglas or have barely mentioned it, only to miss its significance.

At an earlier time, Douglas had discussed the matter in congress, but on January 2, 1854, he addressed a letter to Gov. Joel A. Matteson, of Illinois, in exposition of the plan for state action.¹⁸ As the constitution provided that states might levy tonnage dues in harbors with the consent of congress, Douglas advocated a federal act to that effect, providing a uniform rule and authorizing state compacts among states bordering particular rivers, the administration

16. *Congressional Globe*, 31 Cong., 1 Sess., App, p. 365.

17. Quoted in part in Allan Johnson's *Stephen A. Douglas*, pp. 226-228.

18. The full text is in James W. Sheahan, *Stephen A. Douglas*, pp. 358-366, the campaign biography published in the interest of the Douglas candidacy in 1860. Johnson's *Douglas* (1908) bungled the whole subject. Milton's *Douglas* is silent.

Among the contemporary publications, the full text of the Douglas letter to Matteson was printed in the *National Intelligencer*, January 26, 1854, along with a commentary upon it by Archibald Williams. The *National Intelligencer* gave much more space to the rivers and harbors issue during January, 1854, than to the Nebraska question.

of each river being placed in the hands of a board of commissioners named by the compact states. Thus the Delaware river would be governed by a three-state compact and a three-man board; the Ohio river by a six-state compact, and the Mississippi river by a nine-state compact. These regional state compacts and boards were Douglas' alternative to federal involvement, to which, as a States' rights man, he was opposed. The New York *Tribune* took him seriously enough to publish, January 30, 1854, an editorial diatribe on his Matteson letter of nearly two columns on the crucial day of his opening of the debate on the redrafted Kansas-Nebraska bill and of his first opportunity to reply to the "Appeal of the Independent Democrats."

The conclusion to be formulated here for the first time is that the focus of Douglas' interest was the continental interior of North America, and his program of 1853-1854 comprehended both water and land communications combined with a view to the development of the pivot area where the Great Lakes and the Mississippi river meet, "the heart and soul of the nation and the continent."

In view of the existing status of the Douglas problem, the anti-slavery interpretation would seem to have been completely discredited. The proslavery interpretations and the provisional government interpretations must be recognized as contributing, but not as controlling, factors. The preponderance of evidence has long since been all but conclusive that Douglas' ruling passion was the development of what was generally referred to as the west, more accurately, the Mississippi Valley, as the dominant issue of national politics in the mid-nineteenth century. He sincerely believed that the slavery question was subordinate, and that its agitation could only be a menace to the Union. He hoped that any revival of it after the Compromise of 1850 could be avoided.

The revision of the Douglas rôle in history has not been accepted altogether, and in some quarters there has been a tendency to challenge its adequacy. Allan Nevins, *The Ordeal of the Union* (1947), took the ground that the Western interpretation of Douglas' career had not been proven.¹⁹ To some extent the reinterpretation of Douglas has been caught in the cross currents of another disagreement, the whole issue of the American Civil War, its causes, whether war was necessary, and its consequences. The so-called revisionist school had been interpreting it as a needless war that might have been avoided. Milton's biography partook of both re-

19. The Pulitzer prize winner in American history for 1947, in two volumes, v. 2 (New York, 1947), pp. 104, 105.

vision movements.²⁰ Still more recently, a new current of interpretation of the American Civil War is in the making, arising out of the mid-twentieth century preoccupation with racism. These revisionists propose to revise the revisionists, and insist that the major cause of the Civil War was the moral issue of slavery, that slavery could be eradicated only by the shedding of blood, and that it was a veritable "irrepressible conflict," a moral crusade. They are making of it a virtual "holy war," and inevitably hark back to a revival of the old antislavery-abolitionism views of the Civil War generation, with only some twentieth century refinements of argument.²¹

During the summer of 1853, issues in the West were moving rapidly to a climax. The Atchison-Benton feud was intensifying with the approaching election of a legislature which would select the next senator. Natural recrimination was the order of the day between them on the subjects of the organization of the Indian country and the Pacific railroad. Benton and friends sponsored the Edward F. Beale expedition, as a rival to the government surveys, to survey the gaps in the Colorado mountains for a railroad and Benton spoke at the City of Kansas on the occasion of Beale's departure. Also, Benton announced that unassigned lands in the Indian country were already open to immediate white settlement and had a map printed and circulated showing these lands. The map was captioned "Official," but the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, George W. Manypenny, repudiated the claim. The provisional government of Nebraska held elections, from which three candidates claimed the seat of delegate to congress: Abelard Guthrie, Thomas Johnson and Hadley Johnson. Benton was supposedly identified with the provisional government movement, but it had gotten out of hand. Atchison took ground opposite to Benton on white settlement in Indian country, and demanded the repeal of the Missouri Compromise as a condition of organization of the territory of Nebraska.

In response to this excitement centering on the Indian country,

20. Avery Craven, *The Repressible Conflict, 1830-1861* (Baton Rouge, 1939); *The Coming of the Civil War* (New York, 1942); James G. Randall, *Lincoln, the President*, 2 volumes (New York, 1945); *Lincoln and the South* (Baton Rouge, 1946); *Lincoln, the Liberal Statesman* (New York, 1947); George Fort Milton, *The Eve of Conflict: Stephen A. Douglas and a Needless War* (New York, 1934).

For a comprehensive discussion of the problem of the causes of the Civil War, see Howard K. Beale, "What Historians Have Said About the Causes of the Civil War," *Social Science Research Council Bulletin* 54, *Theory and Practice in Historical Study: A Report of the Committee on Historiography* (New York, 1946), pp. 53-102.

21. Bernard DeVoto, "The Easy Chair" department, *Harpers Magazine*, v. 192 (1946), February, March, pp. 123-128, 234-237; Harry Carman, review of Randall's *Lincoln, the President*, *American Historical Review*, v. 51 (1946), July, p. 726; Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., "The Causes of the Civil War: A Note on Historical Sentimentalism," *Partisan Review*, New York, v. 16 (1949), October, pp. 969-981.

a mass meeting was held at St. Joseph, August 27, 1853. At this meeting resolutions were adopted endorsing the immediate organization and settlement of Nebraska, the congressional action to follow the lines of the Willard P. Hall bill of the preceding session, which had been passed by the house of representatives by an overwhelming vote and was defeated in the senate by six votes. Hall addressed the meeting. On November 9, 1853, the *St. Joseph Gazette*²² proposed a delegate convention, which was called to meet January 8, 1854. On December 3, 1853, a mass meeting was held in Buchanan county to choose delegates and pass resolutions. Other counties in northwestern Missouri and western Iowa did likewise during December, even "Nebraska Territory" sent delegates. The Buchanan county mass meeting appointed a committee of correspondents to invite notable men to attend and others to address the convention. Responses came in the form of letters from two senators, Douglas of Illinois, and Augustus C. Dodge of Iowa, Missouri Congressmen Mordecai Oliver and John G. Miller, Ex-Representative Willard P. Hall, and four Missourians in state politics.

The letter of Sen. Stephen A. Douglas is the major concern of this article; the subject of the Nebraska convention at St. Joseph, together with the other documents, being reserved for a separate paper. Douglas had been invited to address the convention, but, of course, declined on account of his duties in the senate at Washington. As suggested by the invitation, however, he expressed his views to the convention. His remarks were organized under four heads: 1) the history of Douglas' interest in the organization of the Indian country 1844 to 1853; 2) prevention of the completion of the Indian barrier, linked with the organization bills; 3) the Pacific railroad paralleling in time the first two questions; 4) and finally the slavery issue. Douglas showed how he had advocated continuously the three policies hand in hand over a decade.

Douglas related how the Indian policy had been shaping in the direction of a permanent Indian barrier from the Red river northward, emigrant Indian tribes from the east being settled there in perpetuity, and with the pledge that they would "*never be incorporated within the limits of territory or state of the Union.*" Upon introducing his first Nebraska bill, in 1844, he had notified the Secretary of War to suspend the settling of Indians there during the

22. The files of the *St. Joseph Gazette*, incomplete, are held by the St. Joseph Public Library, where they were consulted originally by the present author. More recently, they were microfilmed by the Missouri State Historical Society and a copy of that film has greatly facilitated the work on this study which includes another paper on the Nebraska convention at St. Joseph.

time the bill was pending. Afterwards, Douglas continued the tactics and claimed to have succeeded in preventing the completion of the relocation policy. In order to settle the 1,500 miles of Indian country intervening between the Missouri-Iowa boundary and the Pacific coast, the Indians must be removed: "Continuous lines of settlement, with civil, political and religious institutions all under the protection of law, are imperiously demanded by the highest national considerations."

Besides organization and settlements, there must be telegraph and railroads, "not one railroad only, but many lines, for the valley of the Mississippi will require as many Rail Roads to the Pacific coast as to the Atlantic and [I] will not venture to limit the number." He then reviewed his pamphlet of December, 1845, in which he had discussed these issues at length. That was prior to the acquisition of California, but he had expressed a preference for the railroad to reach San Francisco rather than Oregon, "in event California should be annexed in time." The Mexican War and the slavery agitation operated adversely upon these projects, and in the last congress, 1852-1853, the organization bill was defeated, but he was confident that it would pass at this session: "It is to be hoped that the necessity and importance of the measure are manifest to the whole country, and that so far as the slavery question is concerned, all will be willing to sanction and affirm the principle established by the Compromise Measures of 1850."

With the gist of the Douglas letter before the reader and the full text available at the end of this article, the time has come for some evaluations. The first item is to invite comparison of the Cutts version printed earlier in this article with the Douglas letter. Cutts professed to have received the information for his book orally from Douglas. That may have been true, but the exact quotations incorporated at various points is proof that Cutts has consulted the documents rather carefully. Did Cutts have before him a copy of this Douglas letter or some similar statement of the facts about the organization of the Indian country and the Indian barrier? The point Cutts did omit was the development of the theme of the Pacific railroad, although he did refer to the original Douglas Nebraska bill as introduced for "the purpose of opening a line of communications between the Mississippi Valley and our possessions on the Pacific Ocean. . . ." The legislative history of the Kansas-Nebraska bill was general knowledge available from the *Congressional Globe*, for the most part, but possibly punctuated by personal comments

from Douglas; certainly the Chase "appeal" episode is in that category.

Historians have been disposed to ignore the Cutts book. Ray pronounced it "of almost no value." In preparing a monograph, published in 1921, on *Indian Policy and Westward Expansion, 1830-1854*,²³ the present author became convinced of the substantial reliability of the Cutts account of the relationship of the Douglas organization bills and the Indian barrier question. It did fit the major facts. The Douglas letter of December 17, 1853, seems to vindicate that judgment. Possibly the Cutts book as a whole is entitled to a revaluation, because the bitter and vindictive antislavery-abolition prejudice against Douglas extended to all who defended him.

Similarly, the Sheahan *Eulogy* invites comparison with the Douglas letter of December 17, 1853. Sheahan's major contention that the Pacific railroad was the motive behind the Kansas-Nebraska Act is confirmed explicitly by Douglas. His statement of the slavery question was correct so far as it went. Sheahan made one error, when he admitted that the Kansas-Nebraska Act failed on account of the action of Buchanan. What is meant by failure? It did not fail, because the question of freedom in Kansas was settled regardless of the action of Buchanan. The Free-State party held control of both legislatures, territorial and Lecompton state, so that in event of either admission or rejection under the Lecompton constitution, Kansas was free.²⁴ The Lecompton controversy was again "a tempest in a teapot" which had no practical bearing on the fate of Kansas, and served only the purposes of those intent upon inflaming the sectional conflict on a national scale. But, on the main issue, Sheahan was sound, and the Douglas letter vindicates the *Eulogy*.

This Douglas letter of December 17, 1853, has nothing on the matter of the Presidency, either directly or indirectly. It would seem to fit into the framework of his confidential letter to Charles H. Lanphier, editor of the *Illinois State Register*, Springfield, November 11, 1853, when he commented that "I think such a state of things will exist that I shall not desire the nomination. . . . Let us leave the Presidency out of view for at least two years."²⁵ The item that he did have in view for the coming session was the Pacific railroad which he predicted would be "a disturbing element." He did not mention the organization of Nebraska in that letter, but too

23. University of Kansas, *Humanistic Studies*, v. 2 (1921), No. 3, November.

24. James C. Malin, *John Brown and the Legend of Fifty-six* (Philadelphia, 1942), ch. 30, "The Victory of Conservatism."

25. Printed in part in Allan Johnson, *Stephen A. Douglas* (1908), pp. 226-228.

much should not be made of that, because the December letter was most explicit in making the organization of Nebraska and a continuous line of settlements the necessary antecedents of the Pacific railroad. There is nothing contradictory between the two letters, and certainly there is nothing in the December letter that could possibly be interpreted as a changed intention to bid for the Presidency.

In St. Joseph, Mo., Lucien J. Eastin, editor of the *Gazette* of that place, responded enthusiastically, December 14, 1853, to the news of the Dodge Nebraska bill and railroad bill. The headline ran:

BILL TO ORGANIZE NEBRASKA
Introduced First Moment of the
Session, by Dodge of Iowa.
NEBRASKA AHEAD OF ALL.
GO IT FOR NEBRASKA.

and the text elaborated:

The very moment a quorum was announced to be present in the Senate, Mr. Dodge of Iowa, introduced a bill to organize Nebraska Territory; also a bill granting lands to Iowa for Rail Road purposes.

The resolutions adopted at the St. Joseph delegate convention of January 9, 10, 1854, representing northwestern Missouri and western Iowa, spoke of the organization and settlement of Nebraska as "adding many new stars to our political constellation, and we are therefore in favor of such legislation as will cover the whole extent of that wilderness with a people and a free government"²⁶ It was fortunate for Douglas and the success of his bill that these resolutions did not enjoy publicity in Washington. Dodge and Douglas, and for that matter all who advocated the organization of Nebraska, were careful not to refer to it in terms of more than one potential state. The division into two territories by the rewritten bill of January 23, 1854, was carefully explained in terms of facilitating railroads. There is no documentation for the antislavery-abolition charge that it was done to give Kansas to the South as a slave state in compensation for Nebraska as a Free State. All the evidence is on the other side. There was a rather general consensus in the South that Kansas was not adapted to the slave system. In Missouri,

26. *St. Joseph Gazette*, January 18, 1854. The use of the word free in conjunction with government in this sentence did not refer to slavery, but to free white democracy.

The Nebraska bill, as reported by Douglas, January 4, 1854, contained in section 1, a definition of the boundary which differed from the later version of January 23. To clarify geography, these should be compared with the final limits as enacted May 30. But, provisos attached to the boundary section require more attention than has been given them. One proviso authorized the division of the territory, or the admission of one or more states carved from it, no limit being set to the number. The same proviso had been in the Hall bill of December 14, 1853, but occasioned no comment. Therefore, the division of the Indian country into two territories, Nebraska and Kansas, on January 23, should have occasioned no particular surprise, or recriminations.

where slavery had been established from the beginning, it was on the defensive and was declining independently of any influence of antislavery-abolition agitation.²⁷ The logic of these facts has not been applied to the situation, even by those defending Douglas. Cutts mentioned Douglas' consternation at Bell's reference to Douglas' Northwestern empire, which, with the ten or twelve states that would be added from Nebraska, could govern the Union. Every subdivision of the Indian country, under whatever name, meant that many more Free States, and a strengthening of the non-slavery North. The division of the Indian country into two territories, Nebraska and Kansas, was clearly to the advantage of the North. There was no real danger of Kansas ever becoming a slave state, and the whole Kansas crusade of antislavery-abolitionism was a trumped-up affair in which the country was victimized by propaganda, and history has been dominated ever since by that falsehood. The North should have welcomed two territories as a victory. Why didn't they insist on three or five? Naturally, the South was not enthusiastic about the Kansas-Nebraska Act and its popular sovereignty, and many denounced it from the beginning. In any case, the moderate elements in the South accepted it only as an unwelcome compromise, and some attempted to make the best of it for their section.

The argument has been made by the defenders of Douglas, that the organization of the Indian country was essential to prevent the South from getting the Pacific railroad. It is long since time that this assumption was re-examined. The Douglas letter of December 17, 1853, was explicit in specifying that there would be many lines; as many west as east of the Mississippi river. The element of rivalry was in getting the advantage that might accrue from the first railroad. But there is another aspect of the problem that needs clarification. Should the South have secured the first railroad, with the Indian barrier legally intact against the middle and northern routes, illegal settlement, Indian troubles, and organization could have been made formidable handicaps that might have delayed indefinitely the second road by middle routes. Cutts' reference to Douglas' fears had substance, that the South could embarrass him by merely refusing to permit the extinguishment of Indian titles in the Indian country. Organization of the Indian country prior to a southern railroad authorization was essential to that time only to

27. E. L. Craik, "Southern Interest in Territorial Kansas," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 15 (1919-1922), pp. 334-450; G. F. Milton, *The Eve of Conflict*, p. 149, assembled evidence that the South recognized that Kansas was not suited to slavery.

the extent of equalization of opportunity in the rivalry among the sections to be first to settle and to build railroads westward that would reach the coast.

So far as the private speculation of Douglas was concerned, he had placed most of his investments in the Chicago vicinity. But he had invested also in the Superior City enterprise on Lake Superior, with a view to making it the terminus of a Pacific railroad by the northern route.²⁸ He had hedged also against the southern route, by joining with southern interests in railroad bills that would, if successful, connect across Arkansas to Cairo and the Illinois Central with a Pacific railroad by any southern route.²⁹ There is one unanswered question that is entered into the record for the sake of completing the picture: Had Douglas hedged also against the victory of St. Louis and Benton's central route?

The aspect of the Douglas letter that is most in need of clarification is that relating to the slavery issue. The sentence on that theme from the Douglas letter bears repeating as the text for the discussion which follows: "It is to be hoped that the necessity and importance of the measure are manifest to the whole country, and that so far as the slavery question is concerned, all will be willing to sanction and affirm the principle established by the Compromise measures of 1850." Of course, in this sentence and in the bill which he reported January 4, 1854, Douglas was proposing to repeal the Missouri Compromise of 1820. Why deny it, or quibble about it? More accurately, he was recognizing an accomplished fact, that, in effect, the Missouri Compromise had been repealed already by the course of events. His proviso was only a straightforward recognition of reality; a technicality of removing the obsolete material from the statute books.

The successive changes of form, in other words the changes in wording, January 10, and 23, February 6, and 7, 1854, were changes in form only. Nothing of substance was either added to or subtracted from the original report of January 4, 1854, or the sentence quoted above from the letter of December 17, 1853. He yielded nothing of substance in those amendments to David R. Atchison, to Philip Phillips, or to Archibald Dixon. His subsequent assertion that he consulted no one, but wrote the bill himself seems more clearly substantiated than formerly, if it needed any further corroboration.

The "Appeal of the Independent Democrats," which was men-

28. Milton, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

29. Hodder, "Railroad Background of the Kansas-Nebraska Act," *loc. cit.*, p. 13.

tioned by Cutts, was published January 24, 1854, by Sen. Salmon P. Chase of Ohio, Sen. Charles Sumner of Massachusetts, and others, and was undoubtedly a major invention in propaganda technique and strategy. It was as outstandingly successful as it was contemptible. In spite of the fact that the episode has been recounted innumerable times there is no satisfactory version extant; and Milton, in his biography of Douglas, missed his opportunity by writing a distorted pro-Douglas narrative. This article is not the place to retell the story, but this much may be said. Neither party to the Kansas-Nebraska debates in congress, during that session, can stand successfully the test of candid examination, and the idealist must wish that popular government in action might have risen to the challenge of the heroic possibilities of the occasion and might have presented to the world a high level of performance in keeping with the gravity of the crisis. In retrospect, the historian can see so many ways in which Douglas could have made a more statesmanlike defense and one more worthy of the principle for which he stood. The point must not be missed, that Douglas was standing for an important principle.

Douglas did not raise the slavery issue in the Nebraska organization question in congress or outside. That had been done already in the country, and by others. Avoidance of it in congress would have been nothing less than miraculous. The only elements of uncertainty in the matter that can be considered are when, how, and by whom—a mere technicality, but of tremendous strategic advantage in controversy where it is important to place the opponent on the defensive for conducting propaganda on an emotional level. The choice before Douglas was not between right and wrong, a clear cut moral issue, but a choice from among courses, none of which was ideal.

To attempt to ignore the Nebraska question would only have been to precipitate it in another and possibly more dangerous form. Even assuming that the issue was not forced by someone else in that session of congress, following Benton's advice, his deceptive map and false interpretations of law, the population would have moved into the Indian country in force during the summer of 1854, and with unpredictable consequences, possibly civil war on the border. Atchison and Benton were men of more than local influence and they were determined to destroy each other. Both appear equally unscrupulous and both were guilty. Regardless of law, slavery would have been carried into the unorganized Indian country. In fact, slavery had been practiced there for some time at the

Methodist mission to the Shawnees, as well as by Indians themselves, all without the issue of legality under the Missouri Compromise having been raised. Contrary to the accusations of Chase and associates in the "Appeal," Douglas was not introducing slavery into the Indian country by any version of his bills.

Hall's bill had contained a proviso: "That nothing shall be construed to impair the rights of person or property now pertaining to the Indians in said Territory. . . ." This caused no comment. Douglas had used it in his Utah bill of 1850, and inserted it in his Nebraska bill, as reported January, 1854. In this context, it caused an explosion. The *New York Tribune*, January 10, 1854, stated that the Indians who held slaves were protected, and on January 19, applied the proviso generally. The *National Era*, Washington (weekly ed.), January 19, 1854, insisted that the reason for this proviso was the fact that slavery already existed in Nebraska territory.

To attempt to organize Nebraska territory under Dodge's bill, as he prepared it (the Hall bill of the preceding session), without change in the Missouri Compromise status, would have precipitated the slavery controversy on the floor of congress in a manner similar to what did happen, only the three senate sponsors of repeal, Phillips, Atchison and Dixon, would have been engaged in making amendments that really meant change of substance. The situation faced in the winter of 1853-1854 was different from that of the winter of 1852-1853. The slavery agitation had reached such a point of emotional tension and semantic confusion that no statement whatsoever on that subject could be framed that would mean the same thing to those concerned. Two of the several resolutions of the St. Joseph convention on Nebraska illustrate the point:

7. *Resolved*, That, we are utterly opposed to any reagitiation of that vexed question, now happily at rest—and we will resist all attempts at renewing in Congress, or out of it, the agitation of the slavery question, under whatsoever shape or color the attempts may be made.

9. *Resolved*, That in organizing Nebraska Territory, all who are now or who may hereafter settle there should be protected in all their rights, leaving questions of local policy to be settled by the citizens of the Territory, when they form a State Government.

These two resolutions were quoted without comment, by the *National Intelligencer*, Washington, D. C., February 2, 1854, apparently as completely without consciousness as the convention that adopted them, of the absolute paradox they contained. The *New York Tribune*, January 30, 1854, reprinted from the pro-Benton St. Louis *Democrat* an editorial which contained two of the resolutions from the same convention; on immediate organization of Nebraska,

and on opposition to reagitation of "that vexed question," but passed over the one demanding the protection of the settlers in all their rights, which meant that the slave property of any settler was to be legalized in Nebraska contrary to the Missouri Compromise. Was that superseding or repealing the Missouri Compromise; or was it organizing the territory without repealing the Missouri Compromise or reagitating "that vexed question?" The reader should be reminded that one of the five points in the Compromise of 1850 had been the prohibition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia, an area under federal jurisdiction, but not the abolition of slavery there. The view was that certain attributes of the institution were separable. In other words, specified attributes could be practiced, without making a commitment for or against the institution as a whole. That is substantially what the St. Joseph convention was asking for Nebraska territory, the application of the Compromise of 1850. That is exactly what Douglas proposed to do—if the English language can be claimed to serve the function of communication. The charge was made repeatedly that the proposal to organize without repeal was intended to defeat organization; also that the proposal to organize only with repeal had the same purpose. In other words, total frustration threatened regardless of what course was followed. To fail to organize Nebraska at that session would have left all parties to the controversy disgruntled and inflamed.

To organize Nebraska as Douglas proposed to do was only to recognize the fact that the slavery issue had been raised already, and to attempt the disposal of it again by the same formula he had used with apparent success in the Compromise of 1850. Possibly therein lies the major weakness of the Douglas position—captive of his own success in 1850, he thought that the same formula could be employed in a different situation. His hand was not forced to repeal the Missouri Compromise unless one argues mere technicalities to the point of complete semantic frustration. The argument may be made that there was no great crisis to compromise as in 1820-1821, 1833 and 1850, and superficially that may appear to be true, but misses the point. The pro-Benton St. Louis *Democrat* had made the charge against Cass and Douglas:

The glory gained by serving the Union by the Compromise of 1850, has begun to tarnish, and they want another opportunity of displaying their talents in that line, and therefore as nobody else will agitate Slavery and thus endanger the Union, Cass and Douglas have determined to bring about a crises themselves and thus give themselves an opportunity of displaying their patriotism.

It was in this connection that the *Democrat* had quoted two selected resolutions from the St. Joseph convention group, omitting the one relative to protection of property in Nebraska, and denounced agitation of the slavery question as a means of defeating organization of Nebraska. Reprinted in the New York *Tribune*, January 30, 1854, this editorial was given a wide audience.

As intended, this St. Louis *Democrat* editorial diverted attention from the real issue. A potential crisis was brewing, even more portentous than that of 1850, and an explosion was imminent. Douglas' experiences in the crisis were fresh in his mind, and they were to be recalled to him in part by Senator Smith, on February 10, 1854.³⁰ In the session of congress, 1850-1851, a resolution had been presented declaring the Compromise measures of 1850 to be a definitive settlement of all the questions growing out of the subject of domestic slavery. Douglas opposed the resolution in a speech, December 23, 1851:

At the close of the long session which adopted those measures, I resolved never to make another speech upon the slavery question in the halls of Congress. I regard all discussion of that question here as unwise, mischievous, and out of place.³¹

Later in the same speech he repeated:

I wish to state that I have determined never to make another speech upon the slavery question; and I may now add the hope that the necessity for it will never exist. I am heartily tired of the controversy and I know the country is disgusted with it.

The resolution before the senate, therefore, he thought inexpedient, because the country generally acquiesced in the settlement, and the opponents were silent. To pass the resolution would add nothing to the law, and the opponents would charge that the agitation still continued; "Are not the friends of the compromise becoming the agitators?" Furthermore, he added:

If the compromise is to be made the test of faith, the two parties will, of course, be composed of friends and opponents of that measure in battle array against each other, and the slavery question must of necessity continue the sole topic of discussion and controversy. That is the very thing which we wish to avoid, and which it was the object of the compromise to prevent . . . drop the subject.

In 1852, both political parties had adopted finality planks, but as Douglas had pointed out, the repetition of finality pledges was itself continuance of agitation: A controversial situation is not resolved until the participants have stopped talking about it. There

30. *Congressional Globe*, 33 Cong. 1 Sess., App. p. 174.

31. *Ibid.*, 32 Cong., 1 Sess., App. pp. 65-68.

is no legitimate purpose to be served in the mid-twentieth century for historians to pretend either, that Douglas raised the issue, or that the issue was not already before the session of congress which opened in December, 1853. His compromise proviso, or formula, was to quench the new fire before it spread. Douglas was a practical man with more courage and integrity than his opponents to face the facts and to try to find an effective adjustment in conformity with reality. His opponents of the opposite extremes, inspired by doctrinaire approaches were determined to impose their abstractions, without respect to facts, upon all who disagreed, and to penalize by destruction all who refused to comply. Douglas was not a hypocrite in the same sense as his opponents. He found himself in the rôle of a neutral between the aggressive slavocracy and an equally aggressive antislavery-abolitionism. His appeal was to the nonfanatical, to the practical middle-ground majority. In securing the enactment of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, Douglas did succeed in his compromise of 1854.

But that conclusion will be challenged by all traditionalists, and raises the question as to what is meant by success in compromise. The success of the great compromises of 1820-1821, 1833 and 1850 was tested by the measuring stick of whether they prevented or postponed the crisis from leading into dissolution of the Union, or resort to force to prevent it. The Douglas compromise of 1854 met that test. To blame Douglas with conspiring against freedom was like blaming fire fighters for starting the fire, because they built a backfire or demolished buildings in the path of the flames as a means of stopping them.

Having won the compromise, did Douglas' followers betray him and themselves? The answer must be a qualified yes. In the long run they did, possibly because they did not possess a sufficiently positive consciousness of and convictions about the principles underlying their true interests. Time and all of the facts were on their side, if only they were not stampeded into destruction, and persisted in the faith to see the thing through. So far as the extension of slavery into the territories was concerned, railroads and the right of occupation, legalized by territorial organization, would settle the issue of freedom in both the territories and the new states irrespective of the legal status of slavery. Willard P. Hall's letter to the St. Joseph convention on Nebraska had made that point,³² but he received no hearing nationally. Douglas' Freeport doctrine

32. *St. Joseph Gazette*, March 29, 1854.

of 1858 was correct also. Of course a compromise does not settle anything, but when successful, it does buy Time during which reality may work itself out, released from the tensions of the emotional crisis. That had been true of each of the three preceding great compromises, but the fact should be faced candidly, that with the intensification of the slavery controversy, each compromise bought less and less time.

The "Appeal of the Independent Democrats" was successful in creating a false issue, and by repetition it was fixed in the public mind. Douglas was made to appear a villain of the piece instead of the Great Compromiser in the tradition of Henry Clay. Not only did the appeal and the subsequent course of antislavery-abolition propaganda create a false issue and confuse contemporaries, these factors have kept historians confused to the present day. In the South, as the pot boiled, a corresponding fanatical scum rose to the top, so that by 1860 the Democratic party was split at least four ways.

One thing that emerges clearly from a study of the 1850's is the power of fanatical propaganda—unending repetition of unscrupulous falsehoods—syllogizing in semantic confusion—intolerance masked under moral and religious symbolism—all leading the public to frustration and defeatism, which at long last found escape from stalemate in Civil War.

The United States has been conspicuously addicted to the delusion that the passing of a law, based upon some doctrinaire principle, can work miracles; as though a mere statute could solve anything. Such procedure must fail outright, either through nullification of such legislation by general disregard of it, or through resort to force. To be effective, law must follow public opinion, and register popular will. The first alternative contains the seeds of the police state. The latter is the foundation for responsible popular government. The rôle of Douglas in 1854 was to carry through a compromise in keeping with the course of events and the convictions of the effective majority. Kansas was in no danger of being lost to slavery. That bogey was all a trumped-up issue of extremists. The compromise of 1854 postponed again the final appeal to disunion, or to arms, until facts had more nearly overtaken the ideal.

The major "if" question of the Middle Period of American history is whether still another postponement in 1860-1861 might possibly have eliminated the institution of slavery and set the stage for a

satisfactory solution of the race question without resort to force—Civil War and the breakdown of popular government. There should be no mistake about this last point. It is speculation, not history, but by stating the matter in this form, possibly the reader may be aided in liberating himself from captivity to the legend about Douglas, the villain of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, and in re-orienting himself to the idea of Douglas, the successful compromiser of the crisis of 1854.

In conclusion then, this Douglas letter to the St. Joseph convention committee does not provide an answer to all the questions pending about Douglas. Some questions are answered conclusively, but the letter may be said to raise more new questions than it settles. The historian can have no legitimate objection on that score, however, because new facts and points of view give zest and vitality to the study of history. When there are no unsettled questions to answer, then indeed, not only history, but all historians will be dead.

Stephen A. Douglas: Text of a letter to the St. Joseph Convention of January 9, 1854, Dated, Washington, December 17, 1853, and Published in the *St. Joseph Gazette*, March 15, 1854.

Your letter of the 15 inst, inviting me, on behalf of the citizens of Buchanan County, friendly to the immediate organization and settlement of the Territory of Nebraska, to address a Convention favorable to that important object on the 9th of January, next, is this moment received.

Believing that I will be able to promote the objects of the Convention more efficiently by remaining at my post and, as chairman of the Territorial committee, reporting and pushing forward, the Bill for the organization of Nebraska, I will avail myself of the alternative presented in your kind letter of invitation, and furnish a brief "statement of my views, to be laid before the convention."

It is unnecessary for me to inform you, who have so long, and so anxiously watched the slow development and progress of this important measure, that I am, and have been, at all times since I had the honor to hold a seat in either House of Congress, the warm and zealous advocate of the immediate organization and settlement of that Territory. Ten years ago, during the first session I was a member of the House of Representatives, I wrote and introduced a bill for the establishment of the Territory of Nebraska, which so far as I am advised was the first proposition ever made in either House of Congress to create a territory on the West bank of the Missouri river. That bill gave a beautiful and euphonious name to a great river and the country drained by it, by reversing the aboriginal word "Nebraska" and substituting it for the modern and insignificant word *Platte* by which the river and adjacent country were at

that time generally known.³³ From that day I have never ceased my efforts on any occasion, when there was the least hope of success, for the organization of the Territory, and have scarcely allowed a Congress to pass without bringing forward the Bill in one House or the other. Indeed I am not aware that prior to the last Congress, any other member of the Senate ever felt interest enough in it to bring forward a Bill, or even to speak in its favor when introduced by myself.

I am induced to call your attention to these facts in consequence of having been furnished with a copy of a newspaper published in your State, in which I am charged with hostility to the measure. My reasons for originating the measure, and bringing it forward during my first session in Congress, and renewed it so often since even when the indications of support furnished very light hopes of success, may be briefly stated. It seemed to have been the settled policy of the government for many years, to collect the various Indian tribes in the different States and organized Territories, and to plant them permanently on the western borders of Arkansas, Missouri and Iowa under treaties guaranteeing to them perpetual occupancy, *with an express condition that they should never be incorporated within the limits of territory or state of the Union.* This policy evidently contemplated the creation of a perpetual and savage barrier to the further progress of emigration, settlement and civilization in that direction. Texas not having been annexed, and being, at that time a foreign country, this barbarian wall against the extension of our institutions, and the admission of new states, could not start from the Gulf of Mexico, and consequently the work was commenced at Red river, and carried northward with the obvious purpose of continuing it to the British Possessions. It had already penetrated into the Nebraska country, and the war department in pursuance of what was then considered a settled policy, was making its arrangements to locate immediately several other Indian Tribes on the Western borders of Missouri and Iowa with similar guarantees of perpetuity. It was obvious to the plainest understanding that if this policy should be carried out and the treaty stipulations observed in good faith it was worse than folly to wrangle with Great Britain about our right to the whole or any part of Oregon—much less to cherish the vain hope of ever making this an Ocean-bound Republic. This Indian Barrier was to have been a colossal monument to the God terminus saying to christianity, civilization and Democracy “thus far mayest thou go, and no farther.” It was under these circumstances, and with a direct view of arresting the further progress of this savage barrier to the extension of our institutions, and to authorize and encourage a continuous line of settlements to the Pacific Ocean, that I introduced the first Bill to create the Territory of Nebraska at the session of 1853-4 [1843-4?]. The mere introduction of the Bill with a request of the Secretary of War to suspend further steps for the location of Indians within the limits of the proposed Territory until Congress should act upon the measure had the desired effect, so far as to prevent the

33. There were obvious typographical errors in the printing of this Douglas letter. The opening sentence gives the wrong date for the letter of invitation. It could not have been December 15, answered December 17. The other letters of invitation apparently have the date December 3, which was the date of the mass meeting authorizing the invitations. Other corrections of wrong dates are indicated in brackets in the body of the letter.

The sentence about the origin of the name Nebraska is somewhat confused. The authorities on Nebraska nomenclature assign the origin to an Ojibwa word meaning “broad water.” The reverse of Nebraska is Aksarben, a word for which the present author has not found any authority. Looking at it from another angle, maybe Douglas’ original letter meant to say “reviving” instead of “reversing” and it was misread by the St. Joe printer.

permanent location of any more Indians on the frontier during the pendency of the Bill before Congress, and from that day to this I have taken care always to have a Bill pending when Indians were about to be located in that quarter. Thus the policy of a perpetual Indian barrier has been suspended, if not entirely abandoned, for the last ten years, and since the acquisition of California, and the establishment of Territorial governments for Oregon and Washington the Idea of arresting our progress in that direction, has become so ludicrous that we are amazed, that wise and patriotic statesmen ever cherished the thought.

But, while the mischief has been prevented by prescribing limits to the onward march of an unwise policy, yet there are great national interests involved in the question which demand prompt patience, and affirmative action. To the States of Missouri and Iowa, the organization of the Territory of Nebraska is an important and desirable local measure; to the interests of the Republic it is a national necessity. How are we to develop, cherish and protect our immense interests and possessions on the Pacific, with a vast wilderness fifteen hundred miles in breadth, filled with hostile savages, and cutting off all direct communication. The Indian barrier must be removed. The tide of emigration and civilization must be permitted to roll onward until it rushes through the passes of the mountains, and spreads over the plains, and mingles with the waters of the Pacific. Continuous lines of settlements with civil, political and religious institutions all under the protection of law, are imperiously demanded by the highest national considerations. These are essential, but they are not sufficient. No man can keep up with the spirit of this age who travels on anything slower than the locomotive, and fails to receive intelligence by lighting [telegraph]. We must therefore have Rail Roads and Telegraphs from the Atlantic to the Pacific, through our own territory. Not one line only, but many lines, for the valley of the Mississippi will require as many Rail Roads to the Pacific as to the Atlantic, and will not venture to limit the number. The removal of the Indian barrier and the extension of the laws of the United States in the form of Territorial governments are the first steps toward the accomplishment of each and all of those objects. When I proposed ten years ago to organize the territory of Nebraska, I did not intend to stop at that point. I proposed immediately to establish a line of military posts to protect the settler and the emigrant and to provide for the construction of bridges and making roads by granting a portion of the public lands for that purpose. In 1854 [1845], I published a pamphlet in which I proposed, so soon as the territory should be established to make out the line of a rail road to the mouth of the Columbia River, "or to the Bay of San Francisco in the event California should be annexed in time," and then to have the public lands, on each side of the line surveyed into quarter sections, and to set apart the alternate tracts to the actual settler. The object of all these measures was to form a line of continuous settlements from the Mississippi to the Pacific, with a view of securing and enlarging our interests on that coast. The Mexican war operated adversely to the success of these measures, all the revenues in the Treasury were needed for military operations and there was an unwillingness to make any liberal and extensive disposition of the public domain, while we were making loans predicated, in part, upon that fund. The slavery agitation which followed the acquisition of California and New Mexico, also had an injurious effect by diverting public attention from the importance of our old territory and concentrating

the hopes and anxieties of all upon our new possessions. Last session the Bill passed the House of Representatives, but was lost in the Senate for want of time, it being a short session. I have a firm confidence that none of these causes can defeat the organization of the Territory this session. It is to be hoped that the necessity and importance of the measure are manifest to the whole country, and that so far as the slavery question is concerned, all will be willing to sanction and affirm the principle established by the Compromise measures of 1850.

You will do me the favor, Gentlemen to communicate this hasty sketch of my views to the convention, and assure the Delegates of my zealous efforts, and hearty cooperation in the great work which brings them together.

I have the honor to be, with respect your obedient servant.

STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS.

[Men to whom directed]

Messrs. J. H. Crane,

D. M. Johnson,

L. J. Eastin;

Committee, St. Joseph, Mo.

The Pictorial Record of the Old West

XIV. ILLUSTRATORS OF THE PACIFIC RAILROAD REPORTS

ROBERT TAFT

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JANUARY 1, 1850, opened the new year auspiciously in New York City. The day was clear and mild, New Year's parties were numerous and gay as the socially minded hurried from one hostess to the next, getting mellowed as the afternoon advanced. For those not socially inclined Barnum's American Museum could be visited; or one could attend a special afternoon performance of Christy's Minstrels, "The first to harmonize Negro melodies"; or moving panoramas, huge painted canvases that slowly passed before the seated audience, enabled the New Year's day visitor to pass away an hour or so as he viewed the noble Hudson or the ancient Nile, or the Astor House riot of the previous year.

On that same day, Horace Greeley, one of the leading editors of his time, was to write in the *Tribune* "1850 will complete the most eventful half century recorded in history. The coming year is pregnant with good for all Humanity, and so must be a happy one."

As the year commenced in Washington, however, there were signs that all was not happiness and light. The two houses of congress convened for the first time in the new year on January 3. The house immediately got into a wrangle over the election of its officers. It took 20 ballots to elect a clerk of the house and earlier, 63 ballots had been required to elect a speaker.¹ Sectional differences between Northern and Southern members governed every action and the seeds of discord were being lavishly sown.

In the senate, on its opening day of the year, Senator Henry S. Foote of Mississippi notified his colleagues that "on Monday next" he would ask their consideration of a resolution asserting the expediency of establishing a territorial government for California, Deseret and New Mexico. Foote began the discussion of his reso-

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1. *The Congressional Globe*, 31 Cong., 1 Sess. (1849-1850), pt. 2, pp. 94-138. The election of the speaker was completed on December 22, see p. 66 of above reference.

lution on January 16. It provided not only for the organization of territorial government in California, Deseret (Utah) and New Mexico but it also included a clause which would have established, with the consent of Texas, a new state, Jacinto, to be formed from the eastern third of Texas.²

Senator Foote's proposal was, of course, based on the competing claims of free and slave states but failed to muster sufficient support. President Zachary Taylor, however, in a message to the house on January 21, reported that he had recommended to both California and New Mexico that they prepare state constitutions and submit them to congress together with "a prayer for admission into the Union as state[s]."³

The final action taken by congress as a result of all this agitation was to admit California as a state on September 9, 1850, and to organize New Mexico and Utah as territories on the same day.

As this discussion suggests, the American West of 1850 was a vastly different country from the West of today. True, in many respects, it is physically the same, but socially and geographically, and from the standpoint of numbers and material development, it has greatly changed. In fact, if we take the first of the year 1850 as our point of measurement, the entire West at that time was scarcely more than embryo, an outline only faintly suggestive of the changes to come. West of the Mississippi there were but five states when the year began: Texas, Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri and Iowa. In these five states, according to the census of 1850, lived over 90% of all the inhabitants of the West. But all the inhabitants of the West in 1850 made up a population that numbered some two million souls, not many more than the population of present day Kansas. Even in California, which as we have pointed out, was admitted as a state during 1850, the population recorded was a scant 93,000. Fifty-eight thousand of this number claimed they were miners and only 7,000 "females" could be found within its border by the takers of the census!

With the exception of Texas, there were, in 1850, no Plains states. For the spread of plain and prairie, of hill and upland which now makes up many of our states was included in a huge realm that stretched from the northern border of Texas to the southern border of Canada. It had no name save "unorganized territory"; but in speech and writing it was usually called "The Indian Country."

2. *Ibid.*, pt. 1, p. 97, and pp. 166-171 where the boundaries of the state of Jacinto are defined.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 195.

A century ago there were, perhaps, a dozen or so struggling colleges in the states beyond the Mississippi with students numbering less than a thousand. But most surprising of all to many of us, in comparing the West of a century ago with the West of the present, is the fact that in 1850 there was not one mile of railroad beyond the Mississippi, although there were some eight thousand miles of track in the states east of the Mississippi.⁴

Not that railroads were unthought of for the region beyond the Mississippi! As a matter of fact one student, after an extensive consideration of the problem, concluded that by 1850 the idea of a transcontinental railway was firmly established and that "both in Congress and out, it is clear that the construction of a railway to some point on the Pacific coast was generally accepted as a work of the near future by the close of the first half of the nineteenth century."⁵

The rapid growth of California, of the Oregon country, the establishment of the "New Mormon settlement by the Great Salt Lake, beyond the Rocky Mountains" had convinced many that the Far West of the 1850's was "now on the golden shores of the Pacific."⁶

Communication to and defense of the Western shores and intermediate points were matters forming the basis for arguments in favor of railroad construction. War with England or France would cause loss of California and Oregon, one interested group pointed out in a memorial to congress.⁷ As for more rapid communication

4. Admittedly the census figures of 1850 are none too reliable but they are, in fact, all the data that are available to us. The figures on population above were secured by adding those of the trans-Mississippi states and territories as reported in *The Seventh Census of the United States: 1850* (J. D. B. De Bow, Washington, 1853), p. xxxiii as follows: Arkansas, 209,897; California, 92,597; Iowa, 192,214; Louisiana, 517,762; Minnesota Territory, 6,077; Missouri, 682,044; New Mexico territory, 61,547; Oregon territory, 13,294; Texas, 212,592; Utah territory, 11,380; total, 1,999,404. The California population was undoubtedly shifting and changing too rapidly to enable anything approaching an accurate count. *The National Intelligencer*, Washington, D. C., January 14, 1851, p. 3, points out that California claimed a population of 200,000, but there were "actually only about 117,000 reported."

In Henry V. Poor, *Manual of the Railroads of the United States for 1868-69* (New York, 1868) there is a table, "Progress of Railroads in the United States" (pp. 20, 21), which indicates that the only state west of the Mississippi that had any railroads in 1849-1850 was Louisiana, which is credited with 80 miles of track in both 1849 and in 1850. Although I have not determined with certainty the company which owned this trackage, it was probably the New Orleans, Jackson and Great Northern railroad, a company which resulted from the consolidation of two roads, one of which was incorporated in 1841 and the other in 1848 (see Edward Vernon, *American Railroad Manual for the United States and the Dominion* [New York, 1873], v. 1, p. 367). Further, however, this road ran west and north from New Orleans on the east side of the Mississippi and was therefore not in the trans-Mississippi West (see map in Vernon, cited above, "Railroad Map of the States of Arkansas, Louisiana and Mississippi").

Poor, cited above, pp. 20, 21, gives the total railroad mileage in the United States and therefore east of the Mississippi, as 7,365 miles in 1849 and 9,021 miles in 1850.

5. *A Congressional History of Railways in the United States to 1850*, Lewis Henry Haney (Madison, Wis., 1908), p. 406 (*Bull. Univ. Wis.* No. 211).

6. The quotations in the order given above are from the *North American Review*, Boston, v. 70 (1850), January, p. 167, and *Senate Misc. Doc. No. 5*, p. 2, 32 Cong., 2 Sess. (1852-1853).

7. Memorial of a committee appointed at a railroad convention held at Little Rock, Ark., on July 4, 1852.—*Ibid.*

with the country beyond the Mississippi, the need can best be shown by quotation of two contemporary accounts. A Panama newspaper article, reprinted on January 1, 1850, in a Washington paper, stated:

The mails which are now going up to San Francisco have been brought here by the indomitable perseverance of Capt. McLean from New York in sixteen days, will reach San Francisco in Forty Days—the shortest trip ever made. Glory enough for one day.⁸

A dispatch from St. Louis (dated December 28, 1849) indicates the slowness and difficulty of travel on the Plains:

Mr. J. H. Kirkhead arrived in this city yesterday from a journey across the Plains. He left the city of Salt Lake, in company with thirty-five others, on the 19th of October. The party were not molested by the Indians on the route, nor did they meet with any accident. The snow on the Plains was very deep, or the party would have reached here several days sooner.⁹

Small wonder, then, with communication *to* and *from* the West a matter of months, that there was a loud and insistent demand, backed by many in the East, for a better method of transportation.

The question was not, shall a railroad be constructed to meet this demand, but how and where? Which raised problems in turn that were complicated by inflamed sectional feeling, and by personal and commercial antagonisms.¹⁰

How violent these antagonisms actually were, can be seen from the fact that when congress convened in 1853, practically the entire session was devoted to heated debate on legislation that would make possible the construction of a railroad to the Pacific. At least four bills were considered, all of which were amended or substituted, but none could secure sufficient support to insure its passage. As a result of the extended and partisan debates in congress, interest in a Pacific railway throughout the country reached a fever heat and congress, no doubt painfully aware that some progress on the question must be made, finally approved a measure that appropriated \$150,000 for a survey of possible routes that a railroad could successfully follow to the Pacific.¹¹

8. *National Intelligencer*, January 1, 1850, p. 1. *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, New York, v. 24 (1851), p. 784, reported that the Clipper Ship *Surprise* made the trip from New York to the Golden Gate (around the Horn) in 96 days, "The quickest trip between New York and San Francisco."

9. *National Intelligencer*, January 1, 1850, p. 3.

10. Haney, *op. cit.*, pp. 415, 416, 420; and Robert R. Russel, *Improvement of Communication With the Pacific Coast as an Issue in American Politics, 1783-1864* (Cedar Rapids, 1948), chs. 1-3.

11. *Ibid.*, ch. 7, discusses the work of this session of congress (the 32 Congress, 2 Session) on the Pacific railroad problem in some detail.

Probably there were few topics in congress that were discussed in more detail and at greater length during the 19th century than that of a railroad to the Pacific. Beginning in the 1840's and extending up to 1864 when Federal legislation was finally enacted that made possible the beginning of Pacific railway construction, there are literally hundreds upon hundreds of references in the indexes of *The Congressional Globe* to discussions in the halls of congress upon this subject. When one realizes that each such reference may reveal a speech

In this measure, congress instructed army engineers to carry out the work involved in such surveys and it fell to Jefferson Davis, secretary of war in the cabinet of President Franklin Pierce, to draw up the general plans for the surveys. Four general routes to the Pacific had been under consideration from time to time in public and congressional discussions:

(1) A southern route beginning at a point on the Red river of eastern Texas and extending westward somewhere near the Texas-Mexico border; frequently called the 32nd parallel route.

(2) A route beginning at Fort Smith, Arkansas, and extending westward through present Oklahoma, New Mexico and Arizona to California; frequently called the 35th parallel route.

(3) A central route beginning either at Kansas City, Missouri, or Council Bluffs, Iowa, and extending westward to California through the Central West.

(4) A northern route beginning at St. Paul, in the newly organized territory of Minnesota and extending north and west and terminating at Seattle in Washington territory.

Actually some six surveys were at work on parts of these and alternate routes in the period 1853-1854. The plan for the surveys was comprehensive in scope. Not only were the individual surveys instructed to examine carefully the country through which each passed with a view of establishing feasible routes for railroads but the nature of the country as revealed by its climate, by its geology, by its plants and animals and by the character and degree of development of its native inhabitants were to be observed and recorded. All such facts would be of value in making an estimate of the ability of the country through which a railroad might pass to support a population which would naturally be expected to come with the railroad.

To further these ends, each survey party included among its group, in addition to surveyors and civil engineers, geologists, botanists, zoologists, naturalists, astronomers, meteorologists, artists, physicians and topographers. In order to reduce the size of the personnel, a number of the members of each party served in dual capacities. Even so, since in addition to the scientific personnel, cooks, teamsters and assistants had to be provided as well as a military escort—a very necessary addition as we shall see—the individ-

of considerable length, these references mean hundreds of pages of actual discussion. For example, Sen. Jeff Davis of Mississippi has a speech running to ten pages (appendix to *The Congressional Globe*, 35 Cong., 2 Sess., pp. 277-287, January 20, 1859) on the subject. As each page of the *Globe* contains in the neighborhood of 3,000 words, the total volume of words upon the Pacific railroad in the *Globe* would constitute an extensive encyclopedia in itself.

ual parties at times assumed very considerable proportions. One could with difficulty imagine how more extensive the personnel of the surveys could have been made, but a congressman, after the surveys had been completed, complained that no practical railroad men—and he should have added capitalists—had been included among the individual parties.¹²

Preliminary reports of all surveys were published from time to time, but the complete reports, with revisions and additions of the work of subsequent surveys, were published in a magnificent and comprehensive 12-volume work, *Reports of Explorations and Surveys to Ascertain the Most Practicable and Economic Route for a Railroad From the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean*. These volumes, published by the federal government between 1855 and 1861, constitute probably the most important single contemporary source of knowledge on Western geography and history, and their value is greatly enhanced by the inclusion of many beautiful plates in color of scenery, native inhabitants, fauna and flora of the Western country. Ironically enough the publication of this monumental work cost the government over \$1,000,000; the surveys themselves, \$455,000.¹³

These reports, invaluable first-hand sources for the historian of today, created tremendous interest at the time they were published. They were discussed in the newspapers, talked about in congress, in homes, on the street, and were reviewed at length in the contemporary magazines. *The North American Review*, for example, one of the leading magazines for intellectuals of the 1850's, devoted over 25 pages to a review of these reports. The impression they produced can best be realized by quoting the editors of the *Review*:

Before the accession of California, the western possessions of the United States were looked upon as a sort of fairy land basking under the influences of a most delightful climate, and enriched by the choicest gifts of nature. Gigantic herds of buffaloes, and troops of wild horses of comely proportions and unsurpassed fleetness, roaming at large over pastures whose verdure never paled, were said to meet the eye of the traveler at every turn. Plains of immense extent and unparalleled fatness lay at his feet, while ever and anon rich clumps of woodland, gentle flowing rivulets, invited him to shelter and repose. Farther on these become interspersed with hills and ravines, highly picturesque

12. Appendix to *Congressional Globe*, 35 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 288, January 11, 1859; the speaker was Sen. Henry Wilson of Massachusetts.

13. For a detailed bibliography of these reports see the appendix at the end of this article. Hereafter they will be cited simply as *Reports*.

Russel, *op. cit.*, ch. 11, gives a brief review of the surveys, and it is his estimate of the cost of surveys that I have used. The estimate of the cost of publication is based on a comment of Senator Harlan (see Footnote 16) who stated that the first nine volumes cost nearly \$900,000. It seems reasonable to assume that the last three volumes would average at least \$100,000 each (considering the large number of volumes 11 and 12 printed) which would bring the cost of printing up to \$1,200,000 approximately.

in effect, terminated in the remote distance by the snow-clad elevations of the Rocky Mountains, which were again succeeded by gentle slopes of arable land, whose western limits were washed by the waves of the Pacific.

The report of the surveys tended to dispel these illusions, based as they were on a more accurate knowledge of the country than had before been available. In fact, the *Review* went so far as to state after studying the reports:

We may as well admit that Kansas and Nebraska, with the exception of the small strip of land upon their eastern borders, are perfect deserts, with a soil whose constituents are of such nature as for ever to unfit them for the purposes of agriculture, and are not worth an expenditure of angry feeling as to who shall or who shall not inhabit them. We may as well admit that Washington Territory, and Oregon, and Utah, and New Mexico, are with the exception of a few limited areas, composed of mountain chains and unfruitful plains; and that, whatever route is selected for a railroad to the Pacific, it must wind the greater part of its length through a country destined to remain for ever an uninhabited and dreary waste.¹⁴

Despite all the information available in these reports—and all the discussion brought on by the 12 publications—mounting sectional antagonism was destined to prevent immediate decision on “the best” route to the Pacific. Not until the Civil War was well advanced was the actual work of construction undertaken and not until 1869 was the first of the Pacific railroads, that following the central route, completed.¹⁵

We are here concerned, however, with the illustrations of these reports rather than the developments that led eventually to the construction of the road. Their value was early pointed out. Sen. James Harlan of Iowa, even before the entire set was issued, for example, called the attention of his fellow senators to these views. Speaking in the senate on January 6, 1859, he said:

But lest some Senators and members of Congress might not be able to read and comprehend them [the reports of the Pacific railroad surveys], they have been illustrated. Every unusual swell of land, every unexpected or unanticipated gorge in the mountains has been displayed in a beautiful picture. Every bird that flies in the air over that immense region, and every beast that traverses the plains and the mountains, every fish that swims in its lakes and rivers, every reptile that crawls, every insect that buzzes in the summer breeze, has been displayed in the highest style of art, and in the most brilliant colors.¹⁶

Although the senator spoke with more eloquence than truth in describing the illustrations, they were—and are—truly wonderful.

14. The complete article from which the two quotations above are taken may be found in the *North American Review*, v. 82 (1856), January, pp. 211-236. It is based not on the final report, but the preliminary one, i. e., Serial Nos. 505 and 517.

15. For incidents on the completion of the railroad see No. 11 of this series, *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 18 (1950), May, pp. 113-139.

16. *The Congressional Globe*, 35 Cong., 2 Sess. (1858-1859), pt. 1, p. 240.

Large in size, pleasing in color and plentiful in number they have excited admiration for nearly a century; and—as the senator suggested—they conveyed a wealth of information about an unknown country in a language even the simplest mind could understand.

The illustrations, in the *Reports* which we shall consider, are the so-called “views”; these are of greatest general interest but it must be kept in mind, as indicated by Senator Harlan, that many scientific (geological, zoological, botanical) illustrations were also included. Many of the illustrations for the geological reports are woodcuts reproduced in the text and a few of these are of sufficient general interest to mention specifically as has been done later. The “views” are for the most part full-page lithographs and are printed in two or three colors on heavy paper, much heavier than the paper containing the text. Many are printed in brown and black, some in green and black and in still others, a third color, blue, has been added. The lithography was either a two-plate or three-plate printing process, as can be readily seen where the various color plates failed to register exactly in the successive printings. The lithography was done by A. Hoen Co. (Baltimore), J. Bien (New York), Sarony and Co. (New York) and T. Sinclair, Philadelphia.

The illustrators for the volumes, all of whom were members of the various survey parties, were 11 in number and included: John C. Tidball, Albert H. Campbell, Richard H. Kern, James G. Cooper, John M. Stanley, John Young, Gustav Sohon, F. W. Egloffstein, H. B. Möllhausen, W. P. Blake and Charles Koppel. Möllhausen's part in the survey has already been considered in this series as has some of the work of Egloffstein.¹⁷

17. See No. 6 in this series.—*The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 16 (1948), August, pp. 225-244.

Evidently because of the large number of plates required, the same illustration was occasionally lithographed by different firms. As a result, slight differences in views occur, as the lithography was all hand work. Impressions from the same stone vary also, depending upon the number of impressions made and the amount of ink present at a given impression. The crediting of illustrations to the original artist occasionally differs, too, in the different printings. Some of these differences, especially where there are regularities in differences, will be discussed in connection with special illustrations. Although most of the views are lithographs, an important exception occurs in connection with a group of 13 illustrations, by F. W. Egloffstein, in volume 11. This group is made up entirely of steel engravings and will be described in connection with the work of the artist.

Nearly all volumes that contain illustrations (views) have a “List of Illustrations” at the beginning of the section containing each group of views. These lists sometimes specify the artists and give the page numbers where the plates may be found. The plates, however, are not always inserted as indicated and some even may be lacking from a given volume. In one volume examined, only seven of 14 illustrations listed were present and there was no indication that the plates had been removed, as no breaks in the back strip or torn stubs were apparent. Printed as they were on a large scale for their day, errors in assembling and binding produced variations in the pagination of the plates. It is true that occasionally one will come across a volume of these reports at the present day from which the plates have been removed but such a removal can usually be detected by a careful examination of the back strip and the specified page of insertion of an individual plate.

One further variation in connection with the plates may be noted. The titles of plates both in the lists of illustrations and the legends on individual plates will be found at times

Tidball, Cooper and Blake are represented by relatively few illustrations and their work needs only brief comment.¹⁸

Tidball is clearly credited with three illustrations in the third volume of the official *Reports* and may be the original artist of two more. Lieutenant Tidball was a member of Lieutenant Whipple's survey along the 35th parallel and Tidball's illustrations depict a camp of the party on January 28, 1854, in present Arizona; the "Valley of Bill William's Fork" also in Arizona, the most interesting of the Tidball drawings, and the "Valley of the Mojave" in California. The last of these illustrations is a woodcut in the text of the report; the remainder are full-page lithographs. A fourth illustration depicting still another camp site of the party is credited in some printings of the report to Tidball and in others to Möllhausen.¹⁹

Dr. Cooper is represented by not more than two views, both sketched in the Northwest on the Stevens survey. "Puget Sound and Mt. Rainier From Whitby's Island," is credited to Cooper in one printing of the report but in a second printing it is credited to J. M. Stanley. "Mount Rainier Viewed From Near Steilacoom" is credited in all printings that I have seen to Stanley "From sketch by Dr. Cooper."²⁰

William P. Blake was the geologist on Lieutenant Williamson's survey of two routes in southern California. Operations were begun in July, 1853, at Benicia, about 25 miles above San Francisco

to differ in spelling, especially if the legend contains an unusual word. As a result of these variations one becomes cautious about making too definite statements concerning the illustrations in general; such observations are therefore of necessity confined to specific illustrations examined in a real copy.

18. Tidball (1825-1906) was an army officer who, like many of the profession of his day, had some training in sketching. As far as I know he is represented by no other illustrations save those included in the *Reports*. He later achieved a considerable reputation during the Civil War, see *Dictionary of American Biography*, v. 18, pp. 529, 530. Cooper (1830-1902), too, has no other illustrations save the two credited to him in the *Report*. Although a practicing physician he achieved his reputation as an amateur naturalist, see *Dictionary of American Biography*, v. 4, pp. 406, 407. Blake (1825-1910) achieved his reputation, too, as a naturalist and at one time was professor of mineralogy and geology in the College of California (later the University of California), and still later he became director of the School of Mines of the University of Arizona. He has no other illustrations, as far as I know, save these published in the *Reports*. For his career, see *Dictionary of American Biography*, v. 2, pp. 345, 346.

19. In the copies I have examined, "Bivouac, Jan. 28" will be found in v. 3 of the *Reports*, facing page 97. In some printings, the lithography is credited to Sarony, Major and Knapp (of New York) and in others is uncredited; the "Valley of Bill William's Fork" was found facing p. 102 in all copies of v. 3 examined, the lithography credited to either Sarony, Major and Knapp or to Sarony and Co.; the "Valley of the Mojave" was found in all copies on p. 53 of the "Report on the Geology of the Route"; the lithograph sometimes credited to Tidball and sometimes to Möllhausen "Bivouac, Jan. 26" was found facing p. 95 in all copies. The lithography in all cases was by T. Sinclair (Philadelphia); see, also, No. 6 of this series, p. 235. Four of Tidball's original sketches on sheets 9" x 6¼" made on the Whipple survey have recently come to light.—See *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Oklahoma City, v. 28 (1950), p. 233.

20. In the Stevens report issued as "Supplement to Volume I" (Serial No. 992, 1859) the lithography of all plates was by J. Bien and in this volume (facing p. 263) is found the first illustration mentioned above and credited to "Dr. Cooper del." In the 1860 printing (v. 12, Book 1, Serial No. 1054) it is credited to Stanley, facing p. 289, the lithography by Sarony, Major and Knapp. The second illustration described above will be found facing p. 265 in the 1859 printing and facing p. 290 in the 1860 printing.

and the northernmost point of the survey. Much of the work of the survey was spent in the deserts of California and in the Sierra Nevada mountains. Charles Koppel was the official artist of the expedition and a number of his illustrations appear in Lieutenant Williamson's report (volume 5 of the official *Reports*). Blake, however, had an extensive report in this volume on the geology of the country explored and his report is as extensively illustrated as is Williamson's and included 13 full-page lithographs (views) and over 80 woodcut engravings in the text of the report.²¹ All illustrations, of course, were meant to have special geologic significance but a number of both lithographs and woodcuts are of general interest as views. Of the full-page plates, three were drawn by Blake, and one was redrawn by Koppel from an original sketch by Blake. The most interesting of the Blake sketches reproduced as lithographs are "Sierra Nevada, From the Four Creeks" (Plate IV) and especially "Mirage on the Colorado Desert" (Plate XII). [The latter sketch is here produced *facing* p. 369.]

A number of the woodcuts, too, are of interest and over 70 of them were drawn by Blake. The better-drawn ones, however, were done by Koppel. Most of the woodcut illustrations, of course, are geological sections and the few of general interest drawn by Blake were outline sketches. Possibly of these Blake sketches the most interesting are "Mission of San Gabriel" (p. 78) and "San Diego From the Bay" (p. 129).²²

That the surveys were made with real hazards, in addition to those of travel in a mapless territory, is best illustrated by the tragic fate of one of its artists, Richard H. Kern. Kern, Captain Gunnison, in charge of the survey on the central route, J. Creutzfeldt, the botanist of the expedition, and five other members of the survey while detached from the main party were surprised and slain by Paiute Indians on October 26, 1853. Of this party of 12 which was ambushed, only four soldiers escaped.²³

Kern was one of three brothers from Philadelphia who were active in explorations in the West in the middle 1800's, all of whom had sketching ability. Two were killed by Indians and the third

21. In the index of "Illustrations" (pp. XIV-XVI of the official *Reports*, v. 5) 14 full-page plates are listed, three credited to Blake, one credited to Koppel after Blake, and the rest by Koppel. In all the volume fives I have examined, however, Plate XIII of the list is missing and the plate that is numbered XIV in the list appears on the illustration itself as "Plate XIII."

22. Blake also redrew a number of geological cross sections from original sketches by Jules Marcou in v. 3 of the official *Reports*.

23. *Reports*, v. 2, pt. 1, pp. 9, 10, 72-74. News of the massacre was received in the East with more than usual dispatch. It was first reported in the *National Intelligencer*, Washington, on December 3, 1853, p. 1, and in more detail on December 10, 1853, p. 3; see, also, the issue of February 21, 1854, p. 3.

died at an early age, possibly as the result of extreme hardships suffered on at least one Western expedition. Dr. Benjamin Jordan Kern was the eldest of the brothers (born August 3, 1818). He was a member of Fremont's ill-fated fourth expedition that left Westport on the Missouri river—Westport is now part of modern Kansas City—in the fall of 1848. The expedition attempted the crossing of the Colorado Rockies in the dead of winter, encountered such toil and starvation that 11 of 32 members of the expedition perished and the rest were barely able to make their way back to Taos in northeastern New Mexico. All three Kerns were members of the expedition and after returning to Taos, Dr. Kern and the celebrated Bill Williams, Fremont's guide, returned to the mountains to secure notes, collections and equipment cached after their tragic retreat. They reached their cache but were treacherously slain on March 14, 1849, as they conversed with a party of Utes who had been defeated a few days earlier by U. S. troops.²⁴

Edward Kern (born October 26, 1823), another member of the family, had been the artist on Fremont's third expedition that left St. Louis in the summer of 1845, crossed the Plains and Rockies to Salt Lake City and then went on to California. Here he served as lieutenant in the U. S. army from July, 1846, to April, 1847, under Lieutenant Colonel Fremont. In addition to the Fremont fourth expedition, both Richard and Edward were members of a military expedition that left Santa Fe for the Navajo country in the summer of 1849. In the reports of this expedition, 72 lithographed plates (a number were colored) of Indians and scenery appear, and are credited to R. H. and E. M. Kern.²⁵

24. Alpheus H. Favour, *Old Bill Williams Mountain Man* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1936), chs. 14-16.

25. The report, generally referred to as the Simpson report, was published in 31 Cong., 1 Sess. (1849-1850), *Sen. Ex. Doc. 64* (Serial No. 562). Most of the illustrations are credited to R. H. Kern, the lithography was by P. S. Duval, Philadelphia, and Ackerman, New York. Simpson (p. 56) expressed appreciation to the Kerns for their efforts on the illustrations and specifically pointed out that most of the views were made by R. H. Kern. The last plate of the set is numbered 74 but Plates 2, 21 and 39 are lacking from the several copies of this report I have examined. Further, of the 71 plates thus actually present, a number are illustrations of designs on fragments of Indian pottery, Indian hieroglyphics and ground plans of several pueblos, invaluable for the archeologist and the ethnologist, but not of immediate concern in the present study. About forty of the total are "views" of Indians and Indian activities. A number are in color which in addition to the fact itself, is of interest as they were "printed in colour" a fact recorded on some of the individual plates. Although I have not made the matter a point of special study, these colored plates must be among the earliest in government reports reproduced by multiple impressions, see Footnote 32 in No. 6 of this series, *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 16 (1948), August, p. 235. The report was also published privately as James H. Simpson, *Journal of a Military Reconnaissance, From Santa Fe, New Mexico, to the Navajo Country in 1849* (Philadelphia, 1852). The plates here are credited to R. H. Kern but some are recorded as being after sketches by E. M. Kern. All plates are not identical with those in the 1850 government report and 34 are colored; the lithography in the 1852 printing was also by Duval.

Edward M. Kern was also a member of Commander C. Ringgold's North Pacific exploring expedition of 1854. The Huntington Library of San Marino, Cal., has a number of Western diaries and letters of the Kern brothers as well as some biographical material and photographs supplied by Helen Wolfe. It is from this source that I have secured the birth dates of the three Kerns given in the text above. An obituary of E. M. Kern appeared in the Philadelphia *Public Ledger*, November 28, 1863. Kern county and Kern river of Cali-

Richard Kern was also the artist of Captain Sitgreaves' expedition in the Southwest in the summer and fall of 1851. In the report of the expedition he is represented by 23 plates of scenery and Indians.²⁶

Richard Kern, then, had extensive experience in Western travel and field sketching before he joined Capt. J. W. Gunnison's command in St. Louis in early June, 1853, for the survey of the central route. The engineering and scientific party arrived at Westport on June 15, where Kern was left to select a fitting-out camp, while Captain Gunnison and Lieutenant Beckwith, the second in command, went on to Fort Leavenworth to select the military escort. They returned in a few days, and Lieutenant Beckwith reported:

Our encampment was some five miles from Westport and the western line of the State of Missouri, selected by Mr. Kern in a fine grove near a spring, and surrounded by fine grass and an open prairie, and in the midst of the various Shawnee missions, which appeared well.²⁷

Some days were spent in buying and breaking mules and employing teamsters and camp helpers, but by June 23 the party made "its first marching essay" and despite soft roads caused by heavy rains, made eight miles on their first day of travel. The route followed was in general that of the Santa Fe trail (through modern Kansas) although side excursions of small parties were made from time to time in search of possible alternate railroad routes. Captain Gunnison and Kern, for example, with an escort, left the main party on the trail near present Lawrence, Kan., and traveled northwest along the Kansas river (while the main command went southwest). Gunnison and Kern passed the frontier town of Uniontown, which had "a street of a dozen houses," and on up the Kansas river valley until they came to a "new" fort, Fort Riley.²⁸

After some observations on the Smoky Hill and the Republican rivers, the party turned southward and again joined the main com-

fornia are named after him (H. A. Spindt, *Kern County Historical Society, Fifth Annual Publication*, November, 1939).

The Huntington Library also has a diary of Edward M. Kern containing entries from August 6, to September 6, 1851, that indicate that Kern accompanied a military reconnaissance under Lt. John Pope. Included in the diary are a few field sketches by Kern. Considerable biographic material on the Kern brothers written by "a friend" appeared in the *National Intelligencer*, January 24, 1854, p. 2.

26. 32 Cong., 2 Sess. (1852-1853), *Sen. Ex. Doc. 59* (Serial No. 668). The expedition left Zuni (New Mexico) September 24, 1851, and arrived at Fort Yuma (Arizona), November 30, 1851. The plates were lithographed by Ackerman and are numbered but all after No. 13 apparently should be decreased by one in number. Kern also drew a number of zoological plates for this report.

27. *Reports*, v. 2, p. 11 (Beckwith's first report). Beckwith reported Kern's official title as "topographer and artist."

28. Notice that June of 1853 would be a year before Kansas territory was organized and open to settlement. Fort Riley at the junction of the Republican and Smoky Hill rivers (forming the Kansas river) was established as Camp Center in 1852. It was renamed Fort Riley the same year that it was visited by Gunnison and Kern.—See Elvid Hunt, *History of Fort Leavenworth* (Leavenworth, 1951), p. 78; W. F. Pride, *The History of Fort Riley* (1926), p. 61.

mand on the trail. The Arkansas river was crossed on July 20, "old" Fort Bent reached on July 29 and the mountains on August 5. Although observations and records were made on the crossing of the plains, the route was already so well-known that all felt the real work of survey would commence when the Rockies were reached. Although the diary of the expedition from Westport to the mountains is intensely interesting, the general attitude of the report is itself reflected in Kern's illustrations, for the first to appear is a view of the Spanish Peaks (in present southeastern Colorado) where the mountains were reached. Probably Kern made sketches, which would be priceless at present, of some if not all of the points suggested in the above brief review of the crossing of the Plains. They seem to be no longer extant.²⁹

The route of the party from the mountains westward is clearly indicated by the remaining Kern illustrations which include:

1. "Sangre de Cristo Pass Looking Toward San Luis Valley." The first crossing of the mountains was made through this pass (about four miles north of modern La Veta Pass) and the westward descent led into the San Luis valley of southern Colorado.

2. "Fort Massachusetts, At the Foot of the Sierra Blanca, Valley of San Luis." [Reproduced on the cover of this magazine.] This post was near the present site of Fort Garland (Colorado) which was at one time commanded by Kit Carson.

3. "Coo-Che-To-Pa Pass, View Looking Up Sahwatch Creek, Sept. 1st." This pass (modern spelling Cochetopa) is on the western side of the San Luis valley (northwestern Saguach county, Colorado).³⁰

4. "Summit of the Nearest Ridge South of Grand River Traversed in Passing Around Lateral Canones, 12 O'clock, Sept. 12."

The illustration shows that the country through which the proposed railroad was to pass was becoming exceedingly rugged, for the party now was not far from the present Black Canon of the

29. All of Kern's illustrations in v. 2 of the *Reports*, were redrawn by John M. Stanley, a fact made necessary by Kern's death. Stanley redrew them from Kern's field sketchbooks but what has happened to these original sketchbooks, and most of those of other illustrators of the *Reports*, I have been unable to ascertain. In 1950, the Oklahoma Historical Society acquired an extensive collection of original materials bearing on the Whipple survey of 1853-1854. Included were several botanical drawings, eight paintings, 24 original drawings all by Möllhausen, plus the four drawings of Tidball mentioned in Footnote 19.—See *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Oklahoma City, v. 28 (1950), pp. 232, 233. The National Archives now has many of the original manuscript reports and letters of the surveys, but the sketchbooks of the artists on the surveys are not among them as I have ascertained by correspondence with the Archives and by a personal visit in the summer of 1949. I shall have occasion to refer to this point at one or two places in the subsequent discussion in the text.

30. Beckwith's first report, p. 47, *Reports*, v. 2. Gunnison's party determined the elevation at the summit of the pass to be 10,032 feet. It appears on modern maps with exactly the same figure. Kern's view of the pass has been made the basis of an interesting color illustration "Old Bill Williams at Cochetopa Pass" painted by Marjorie Thomas in Favour's book cited in Footnote 24.

Gunnison; for the Grand river of the Beckwith-Gunnison report is now appropriately called the Gunnison river. An excerpt from Beckwith's journal, a few days before this illustration was sketched, gives a vivid glimpse of the difficulties encountered by the survey.

This morning [Sept. 9th, wrote Beckwith] . . . large working parties of soldiers and employes started forward, under their respective commanders, to prepare the crossing of the creek [a tributary of the Gunnison]; and at 2 o'clock p. m. we received orders to move on with the train. Ascending from the ravine on which we had encamped, we were forced high up on the mesas, to avoid numerous deep ravines, which we succeeded in turning successfully, when a short, steep ascent around the rocky wall of the table to our left, brought us, four miles from our morning camp, to the top of the difficult passage—a rapid descent of 4,055 feet in length, and 935 in perpendicular height above the stream, covered with stones of all sizes, from pebbles to tons in weight, with small ledges of rocks cropping out at various points. Some of the stones had been removed in the proposed road; but the wagons, with locked wheels, thumped, jarred, and grated over the greater portion, especially those too large and deeply imbedded in the soil to be removed, until their noise quite equalled that of the foaming torrent creek below. At one point, as they passed obliquely over a ridge, it was necessary to attach ropes to the wagons, and employ a number of men to prevent their overturning. Two hours were thus employed in descending our eighteen wagons, and in twice crossing the creek, in the bed of which we had to descend for a quarter of a mile, before we could gain a permanent footing on the west side. The creek is sixty feet wide by from one to two deep, with an impetuous current falling with a loud noise over a bed of rocks and large stones. Just above its mouth two fine streams half a mile apart, enter Grand [Gunnison] river from the Elk mountains. Day's march five miles, through a heavy growth of sage.³¹

5. "View of the Roan or Book Mountains At the Spanish Trail Ford of Green River, Oct. 1st."

The survey was near the present Colorado-Utah border when Kern made the sketch upon which this illustration is based, and two days before had come upon the well-known Spanish trail that led from Santa Fe to the Pacific Coast at Los Angeles. The trail at this point was almost in constant use by the Green River Utahs, whom Beckwith characterized as ". . . The merriest of their race I have ever seen, except the Yumas—constantly laughing and talking, and appearing grateful for the trifling presents they receive."³²

For the next two weeks the survey continued north and westward (they were now well within present Utah) and eventually reached the great Seaview valley of central Utah. Their arrival here marked,

31. Beckwith's first report, p. 52, *Reports*, v. 2. George Leslie Albright, *Official Explorations for Pacific Railroads* (Berkeley, Cal., 1921), p. 91, discusses the modern geographical nomenclature of the Gunnison and other streams as they appear in the Beckwith report.

32. Beckwith, first report, p. 62, *Reports*, v. 2.

in more ways than one, the end of a definite stage of the survey. Gunnison himself remarked that

. . . a stage is attained which I have so long desired to accomplish: the great mountains have been passed and a new wagon road open across the continent—a work which was almost unanimously pronounced impossible, by the men who know the mountains and this route over them. . . . That a road for nearly seven hundred miles should have been made over an untrodden track, through a wilderness all the way, and across five mountain ranges, (the Sierra Blanca, San Juan, Uncompahgra, Sandstone, and Wahsatch) and a dry desert of seventy miles between Grand [Gunnison] and Green rivers, without deserting one of our nineteen wagons, and leaving but one animal from sickness and one from straying, and this in two and a half months, must be my excuse for speaking highly of all the assistants on this survey.³³

On October 25, Captain Gunnison, Richard Kern, Creutzfeldt, the botanist, Potter the guide, and an escort of eight men left the main party to explore the vicinity of Sevier Lake (in west central Utah). At noon the next day a survivor of Gunnison's party, weak and exhausted, reeled into the main camp, with the tragic news that Gunnison's party had been ambushed. Four of the soldiers escaped but the remaining eight of the party were killed. Beckwith wrote of the tragedy:

The sun had not yet risen, most of the party being at breakfast, when the surrounding quietness and silence of this vast plain was broken by the discharge of a volley of rifles and a shower of arrows through that devoted camp, mingled with the savage yells of a large band of Pah-Utah Indians almost in the midst of the camp; for, under cover of the thick bushes, they had approached undiscovered to within twenty-five yards of the camp-fires. The surprise was complete. At the first discharge, the call to "seize your arms" had little effect. All was confusion. Captain Gunnison, stepping from his tent, called to his savage murderers that he was their friend; but this had no effect.³⁴

Gunnison's cry did have the effect of drawing the attention of the Indians, for he fell, his body pierced with 15 arrows.

As soon as the news was received by the main camp, relief was dispatched in the hope that other survivors could be rescued but only the eight bodies mutilated by Indians and wolves were found.

The command of the survey now devolved on Lieutenant Beckwith, who continued the survey northward toward Salt Lake City until November 8. Efforts to regain instruments, field notes and Kern's sketch book, which had been taken by the Indians, were urged upon the Mormon settlements, and eventually "all the notes, most of the instruments, and several of the arms lost" were delivered

33. Gunnison was quoted by Beckwith, *ibid.*, p. 70.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 74. An interesting account by one of the Indian participants in this massacre (as told in 1894) is given by J. F. Gibbs in the *Utah Historical Quarterly*, Salt Lake City, v. 1 (1928), pp. 67-75.



CHARLES KOPPEL'S "LOS ANGELES," NOVEMBER 1, 1853



A. H. CAMPBELL'S "VALLEY OF THE GILA & SIERRA DE LAS ESTRELLAS
FROM THE MARICOPA WELLS" (ARIZONA), 1855



J. C. TIDBALL'S "VALLEY OF WILLIAMS RIVER" (ARIZONA), 1854



WILLIAM P. BLAKE'S "MIRAGE ON THE COLORADO DESERT" (CALIFORNIA), 1853

to Beckwith in Salt Lake City, where the survivors of the survey spent the winter of 1853-1854.³⁵

The officers spent their time through the winter working up reports and in attempts to replace some of the personnel who had fallen victim to the Indians. On March 1, two travel-worn men reached Salt Lake City, one of whom made almost immediate contact with Lieutenant Beckwith. Beckwith invited the two men, S. N. Carvalho and F. W. Egloffstein, to join his mess at "E. T. Benson's, one of the Mormon apostles." Carvalho and Egloffstein had been members of another—and the last—of Colonel Fremont's expeditions across the Rockies. Fremont and his father-in-law, Senator Benton of Missouri, were intensely interested in proving that the central route to the Pacific was the most feasible. To prove this point, Fremont, despite his terrible experiences in the Rockies of 1848-1849, set out to show that the central route could be followed to the Pacific coast *in winter*. To carry out his project, he organized an expedition at his own expense which assembled at Westport, Gunnison's starting point, late in September, 1853. Carvalho was officially the "artist and daguerreotypist" of the expedition and Egloffstein, the "topographical engineer."³⁶

Fremont's party, which included ten Delawares, was under way westward on September 24. Their route in general followed that of Gunnison, who had started from Westport three months earlier. In fact, when Fremont and his party got into the mountains, they actually followed the trail left by Gunnison's wagons.³⁷

As the party crossed successive ranges of the Rockies in the dead of winter, the rigors of travel increased alarmingly, food gave out even after their horses were eaten, one man died from exhaustion and the remainder were in a perilous state when they arrived at the

35. Beckwith's first narrative, p. 75, *Reports*, v. 2. In addition to the six Kern illustrations described in the text above, there were six other illustrations: "View of Sangre de Cristo Pass Looking Northeast From Camp North of Summit, Aug. 11"; "Sangre de Cristo Pass" (looking down Gunnison creek); "Peaks of the Sierra Blanca"; "Head of First Canon of Grand River"; "View of Ordinary Lateral Ravines on Grand River," and "Rock Hills Between Green and White Rivers." Crediting and page insertion of these plates are very irregular and there is no "List of Illustrations." In some copies, as many as three of the plates are credited to Kern alone; in others all are credited "J. M. Stanley from sketch by R. H. Kern." In addition to the 12 Kern sketches there is a 13th plate "View Showing the Formation of the Canon of the Grand River." In some copies this is credited to F. W. Egloffstein; in others to "J. M. Stanley from sketch by F. W. Egloffstein."

36. Most of our knowledge of this expedition comes from S. N. Carvalho, *Incidents of Travel and Adventure in the Far West* (New York, 1859; there are several printings and editions of this book). Fremont's account has never been published, although there are three contemporary letters (the first two to Senator Benton) available; one dated "Big Timber on Upper Arkansas, Nov. 26" in *National Intelligencer*, Washington, March 18, 1854, p. 3; a second dated "Parawan, Iron County, Utah Territory, February 9, 1854," in *ibid.*, April 13, 1854, p. 1; and a third to the editors of the *National Intelligencer* describing the general results of the expedition, June 15, 1854, p. 4 (later reprinted as 33 Cong., 1 Sess., *Senate Misc. Doc. 67*). Carvalho's experiences as a daguerreotypist I have reviewed in *Photography and the American Scene* (New York, 1938), pp. 262-266.

37. Carvalho, *op. cit.*, pp. 81, 82.

Mormon settlement of Parawan (southern Utah) on February 8, 1854. Fremont's brief comment, an obvious understatement when compared to Carvalho's account of the party's sufferings, gives some idea of the state of affairs: The Delawares all came in sound but the whites of my party were all exhausted and broken up and more or less frostbitten. I lost one [man]. . . ." ³⁸

Both Carvalho and Egloffstein were so exhausted upon their arrival at Parawan that they could go no farther. Fremont and the rest of the party, after resting for a few days, went on to California. The two men left behind, when they had gained sufficient strength, started slowly north for Salt Lake City, which they reached on March 1, as already described. Beckwith immediately offered both men employment on the railroad survey which was soon to take the field again and complete the survey to the coast. Carvalho declined but Egloffstein accepted and took Kern's place. ³⁹

Beckwith's party began their work in the spring with a survey of a route northeast from Salt Lake City to Fort Bridger, a possible connection with any line coming east through South Pass (in present Wyoming), but the real work of the party got under way on May 5, 1854. The survey passed south of great Salt Lake and then turned west, traversed the desolate country through (present) northern Nevada, coming eventually to the Sierra Nevadas. Here a number of passes were explored that might effect a railroad crossing of the mountains into the Sacramento valley.

The party completed its work at Fort Reading (present Redding, Shasta county) in northern California on July 26. ⁴⁰

The character of the country traversed, especially through the Sierra Nevadas, is represented in illustration by a series of five folding panoramic views and eight full-page ones, all steel engravings, and based on sketches by Egloffstein. Probably in none of the 12 volumes of this monumental work are the illustrations more specifically directed to the immediate purpose of the report, that of depicting the country through which a railroad would have to pass, than in these 13 illustrations by Egloffstein. To enhance their value for this specific purpose, important landmarks are identified in the illustrations, and these in turn are keyed into the map that accom-

38. Fremont's second letter; see Footnote 36. A letter from Parawan published in the *National Intelligencer*, May 18, 1854, p. 1, stated that Fremont arrived in that town on February 7.

39. Carvalho, *op. cit.*, p. 140. Incidentally, Carvalho (1815-1899) should be added to our list of Western artists. He several times mentioned sketching or painting on the way west in his book (pp. 140, 141, 180, 192, 212) and upon his return to New York City painted Western scenes based on his experiences.—For a brief biographical sketch, see Taft, *Photography and the American Scene*, p. 490.

40. Beckwith's second report, pp. 20 and 58, *Reports*, v. 2.

panied the report. Although Beckwith's reports are contained in volume two of the set, only one Egloffstein illustration occurred in this volume. This view is a lithographic representation of the canyons of the Grand [Gunnison river] and was made when Egloffstein was still with Fremont (*see* Footnote 35). The 13 steel engravings are found in volume 11 of the reports, where they were undoubtedly placed in order to be with the maps.

The list of these Egloffstein engravings (all dates cited below should include the year 1854) is given in full, as the illustrations and their titles tell in concise fashion the story of this part of the survey. The meticulous care exercised by Egloffstein in dating, even to the hour, and specifying the observation point, is a revealing fact of the man himself.

FULL-PAGE PLATES

(The first four, as can be seen from the dates, are of country north of Salt Lake City.)

1. "Weber Lower Canon April 5th at 2 p. m. From an Island in Weber River, Valley of Great Salt Lake."
2. "Second or Sheeprock Canon of Weber River April 6th at 1 p. m. View Looking East."
3. "Porcupine Terraces Uintah Mountains in the Distance."
4. "Round Prairie From Head of Same April 21st at 10 a. m."
5. "Humboldt Pass May 22d at 12 a. m. From High Peak East of Pass."
6. "Franklin Valley May 24th at 10 a. m. From a Spur of the Humboldt Mountains."
7. "West End of Madelin Pass June 26 at 8 a. m. From a Peak Overlooking Madelin Creek."
8. "Portion of the Main Mountain Passage of the Upper Sacramento on Pitt River July 20 at 1 p. m. 25 Miles South of Mt. Shasta."

FOLDING PANORAMIC VIEWS

1. "Gooshoote Passage Showing 65 Miles of the Proposed Line of Railroad From the Desert West of Great Salt Lake to the Humboldt Mountains May 20th at 2 p. m. From a Peak Near Antelope Butte."
2. "Valley of the Humboldt River at Lassen's Meadows Showing 50 Miles of the Projected Line of Railroad June 9th at 3 p. m. From a Peak on the Western Humboldt River Range."
3. "Valley of the Mud Lakes Showing Eighty Two Miles of the Projected Railroad Line June 14th at 9 a. m. From Mud Lake Peak."
4. "Madelin Pass Showing 70 Miles of the Projected Line of Railroad June 19th at 2 p. m. View Taken From a Mount Observation."
5. "Northern Slopes of the Sierra Nevada June 30th at 9 a. m. View Towards the West." [This view shows Mount Shasta at a distance of 50 miles.] ⁴¹

⁴¹ All 13 engravings are credited to "C. Schurman from F. W. Egloffstein." Schurman was doubtless an artist employed by the firm of Selmar Siebert's Engraving & Printing Establishment (Washington) who printed these illustrations. Plates numbered 2 and 3 of

Egloffstein was not only a member of Fremont's and Beckwith's surveys in 1853 and 1854 but he was also on the Ives survey of the Colorado river in 1858. He is represented in the Ives report also by a group of notable steel engravings.⁴² That he was an artist of considerable merit and a most skillful map maker there is no doubt. Egloffstein, during the Civil War, became colonel of the 103d regiment of New York volunteers, was seriously wounded and breveted out of service as a brigadier general. Still later he became actively engaged in developing a half-tone process based upon a patent he secured in 1865. By one authority he has been called "The inventor of half-tone." He died in London in 1898.⁴³

Albert H. Campbell, to consider still another illustrator of the *Reports*, was a civil engineer with considerable ability in sketching. He is represented by a number of illustrations in two volumes of the *Reports*, 3 and 7. Campbell was engineer and surveyor for Lieutenant Whipple's exploration along the 35th parallel. The survey began at Fort Smith, Ark., on July 14, 1853, traveled nearly due west through (present) Oklahoma, New Mexico and Arizona, and arrived at Los Angeles on March 21, 1854. Möllhausen was the offi-

the full-page group also have the engraver designated, R. Hénshelwood and S. V. Hunt, respectively. There is a brief discussion of the significance of Egloffstein's engravings in appendix B of v. 11 (see especially p. 126).

There is no list of illustrations of these 13 views (in v. 11) that I have ever seen but I have never found more than 13 in a set although I have found copies of v. 11 in which one or more of the engravings were lacking; not a surprising fact when one considers that there were at least three printings of this volume (see appendix to this article).

42. See No. 6 of this series, *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 16 (1948), August, pp. 239, 242, 243.

43. See Beckwith's comments in v. 2 (first report) of the *Reports*, p. 88 ("my very able assistant") and p. 127 ("I cannot speak too highly of the fidelity, zeal, and ability with which Mr. Egloffstein performed these onerous labors") and Lieutenant Ives (*Report Upon the Colorado River of the West*, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., House Ex. Doc. 90, Washington, 1861), p. 6 ("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.") For Beckwith's comment on Egloffstein as a map maker, see v. 2 of the *Reports*, appendix B of his first report, p. 125. Ives also mentions Egloffstein's skill in drawing maps; see appendix D in Ives report. For Egloffstein's patent, see U. S. Letters Patent No. 51103, November 21, 1865; and for his efforts to develop the patent see S. H. Horgan's "General Von Egloffstein, the Inventor of Half-Tone," *Int. Annual of Anthony's Bulletin*, New York, v. 9 (1897), pp. 201-204.

Von Egloffstein was the author of a *New Style of Topographical Drawing* (Washington, 1857), and was the editor of *Contributions to the Geology and the Physical Geography of Mexico* (New York, 1864). He was listed as a resident of New York City in directories extending from 1864 to 1873. According to Col. Wm. J. Mangine of the adjutant general's office (Albany, N. Y.), records in that office state that Egloffstein was mustered in as colonel of the 103d regiment of infantry (N. Y.) on February 20, 1862; "Age at entry, 38 years; born, Prussia; eyes, blue; hair, light; height 5 ft. 7 inches. Brigadier general by brevet, for gallant and meritorious services, to date from March 13, 1865"; see, also, Frederick Phisiterer, *New York in the War of the Rebellion, 1861-1865*, 3d ed. (Albany, 1912), v. 4, pp. 3201, 3202 and 3217.

A grandson, C. L. von Egloffstein, is now (1951) a resident of New York City. Mr. von Egloffstein wrote me on March 25, 1951, that to the best of his recollection his grandfather died in London in 1898, although he was not sufficiently interested to look the matter up. If this last date is correct, it would put von Egloffstein's life span at 1824-1898.

Egloffstein's name appears in the literature in at least four forms: Egloffstein; v. Egloffstein; Van Egloffstein, and Von Egloffstein; probably the last is the correct form. In a number of reports by Egloffstein in *Official Records of Union and Confederate Armies* (Series 1, v. 9), Egloffstein signed himself as "Baron Egloffstein" and in several drawings in the Ives report, they are credited to "Frh. F. W. V. Egloffstein," the German equivalent of Baron Egloffstein.

cial artist of the expedition and we have described the survey in more detail in Part 6 of this series. Several of the illustrations in this report, however, are credited to Campbell, the most important of which are views of the crossing of the Colorado river. The expedition crossed the river, on the Arizona-California boundary (at or near where U. S. Highway 66 now crosses it) on February 27, 1854. The crossing was watched with great interest by a huge group of Mojaves, friendly but virtually uncivilized. After the river was crossed Whipple recorded in his diary:

Every day these Indians have passed with us has been like a holiday fair, and never did people seem to enjoy such occasions more than the Mojaves have done. They have been gay and joyous, singing, laughing, talking, and learning English words, which they readily and perfectly pronounce. Everything that seems new or curious they examine with undisguised delight. This evening a greater number than usual remained in camp. Placing confidence in our good intentions and kindness, all reserve was laid aside. Tawny forms could be seen flitting from one camp-fire to another, or seated around a blaze of light, their bright eyes and pearly teeth glistening with emotions of pleasure.⁴⁴

Evidently the crossing of the river interested those responsible for selecting the illustrations for Whipple's report, as well as the Mojaves, for there are four views of the Mojave villages and the crossing. Three of these are credited to Campbell and the fourth to Möllhausen.⁴⁵

All four views show the Mojaves in various activities and it can be readily seen why Whipple noticed the tawny forms about the camp-fire as evidently men and women alike wore little more for the evening's festivities than they did the day they were born.

One other illustration, a woodcut, credited to Campbell in volume 3 of the *Reports*, should be noted, as it depicts "Albuquerque and the Sandia Mountains."⁴⁶

In the fall of 1854, Campbell joined Lieutenant Parke, who had been directed to survey possible railroad routes in California between San Francisco and Los Angeles as the first part of his task. Upon the completion of this task he was to study a portion of the

44. Whipple's report, *Reports*, v. 3, p. 119.

45. The four views in v. 3 of the *Reports* are: "Rio Colorado Near the Mojave Villages, View No. 1 From the Left Bank Looking W. N. W." J. J. Young from a sketch by A. H. Campbell (frontispiece of "Itinerary"); "Camp Scene in the Mojave Valley of Rio Colorado" (credited to Campbell in some printings; uncredited in others, facing p. 113 in the "Itinerary"); "Rio Colorado Near the Mojave Villages View No. 2 From an Island Looking North" (front. to "Report on the Topographical Features"), J. J. Young after H. B. Möllhausen; "Rio Colorado Near the Mojave Villages View No. III From the Right Bank, Looking East," J. J. Young after Campbell (accompanying "Report on the Topographical Features").

46. This illustration will be found in the *Report on the Geology of the Route*, p. 30. There is still another full-page lithograph credited to "E. Stout after sketch by A. H. Campbell" in the topographic section of the *Report*, v. 3, facing p. 33, in the copies I have examined. The list of illustrations in this section does not carry the view which has the title "View of the Black Forest Mount Hope and Sierra Prieta."

route on the 32nd parallel, principally from Fort Yuma in extreme southwestern Arizona, across (present) southern Arizona and New Mexico, to the Rio Grande, thus making a connecting link with Lieutenant Pope's survey along the 32nd parallel through Texas.

Campbell began active work on the Parke survey at San José, Cal., on November 24, 1854, and worked south to San Diego, which was reached on May 7, 1855, completing the first part of the survey. The second part was begun almost immediately, for the survey was at Fort Yuma on June 9 and pushed east, traveling many times at night in crossing the desert stretches, and completed their work at Fort Fillmore, N. M., on the Rio Grande on August 21.⁴⁷

The eight full-page lithographic views which appeared in Parke's report are all credited to Campbell. Of the eight, three depict scenes in California, the remaining five in southern Arizona. Three of the plates have greater interest than the rest and include "Guadalupe Largo & San Luis Harbor" (Guadalupe Largo is a plain of about 80 square miles extending from the coast inland in the neighborhood of San Luis Obispo. San Luis harbor is near modern Pismo Beach); "Warner's Pass From San Felipe" (Warner's pass was on the wagon road between San Diego and Fort Yuma. It crossed the mountains immediately to the west of the Colorado Desert); and "Mission Church of San Xavier Del Bac" (some 8 or 10 miles south of Tucson, Ariz.).⁴⁸

Campbell, as far as I have been able to ascertain, made no other published illustrations. From 1857 to 1860 he was "Superintendent of Pacific Wagon Roads," charged with surveys of wagon roads in many Far Western states and territories but with his office in Washington. At the outbreak of the Civil War, Campbell followed the lead of his native state, Virginia, and became Maj. A. H. Campbell, Chief of Topographic Bureau, C. S. A. His maps played an important part in Southern military tactics. After the war, he settled in West Virginia and for the remainder of his life was chief engineer of a number of railroads. He died in Ravenswood, W. Va., on February 23, 1899.⁴⁹

47. Campbell's itinerary can be minutely followed in appendix E (*Reports*, v. 7) which is a table of distances, etc., kept by Campbell himself.

48. The illustrations are credited to original sketches of A. H. Campbell in the "List of Illustrations," p. 23, *Reports*, v. 7. The remaining illustrations "South End of Santa Inez Mountains, & San Buenaventura Valley" (California); "View on the Gila Below the Great Bend" (Arizona); "Valley of the Gila & Sierra de las Estrellas, From the Maricopa Wells" (Arizona) [reproduced between pp. 368, 369]; "Valley of the Aravaypa From Bear Springs" (Arizona); "Porphyritic Statue, Peloncillo Range" (Arizona).

49. Campbell, born in Charleston (W. Va.) on October 23, 1826, was a graduate of Brown University in the class of 1847. For a brief biographical sketch, see *Historical Catalogue of Brown University, 1764-1914* (Providence, R. I., 1914). I am indebted to Clifford K. Shipton, custodian of Harvard University Archives, for finding this sketch of Campbell's life. For mention of Campbell in the Civil War, see Douglas S. Freeman's *R. E. Lee*

Of all the illustrators for these famous reports, least is known about Charles Koppel and John Young. Koppel sailed from New York City on May 20, 1853, with Lt. R. S. Williamson and other members of a survey party, bound for California. San Francisco was reached exactly one month later and the party went immediately to near-by Benicia where there was an army post and where the survey began its work. Koppel had the official title of "assistant civil engineer and artist." Nearly the only comment on his work was Williamson's statement: "The sketches which accompany this report were made by Charles Koppel, assistant civil engineer, and they will serve as aids in forming a correct idea of the nature of the country."⁵⁰

Lieutenant Williamson on this survey was charged with exploration of possible routes that would connect the east-west surveys along the 32nd and 35th parallels in California and was instructed to examine especially the passes of the Sierra Nevada, that formidable barrier to any railroad from the East, leading from the San Joaquin and Tulare valleys. As a result, Williamson's efforts were made chiefly in central and eastern California from Benicia southward. The work of the party began on July 10 and was completed at San Diego on December 19.

The illustrations for Williamson's report are therefore confined solely to California and most of them are the work of Koppel who is credited with 21 full-page lithographs and 26 woodcuts.⁵¹

Of all the illustrations by Koppel, the one which is probably of the greatest interest is his view of Los Angeles [reproduced *facing* p. 368], which was probably sketched on November 1, 1853. "This place," the report reads, "is celebrated for its delightful climate and fertile soil. Large quantities of grapes are exported to San Francisco, and considerable wine was formerly produced. The accompanying view was taken from a hill near the city."⁵²

(New York, 1935), v. 3; and *Lee's Lieutenants* (New York, 1943), vols. 2 and 3. A long biographical sketch of Campbell's life is reported to be in the *Charleston (W. Va.) Gazette*, March 4, 1899. I have not been able to locate this issue of the *Gazette* in any of the leading libraries of the country. However, Campbell's obituary clipped from the *Gazette* is in the files of the alumni office, Brown University, Providence, R. I. I am indebted to Miss Ruth E. Partridge of the alumni office who provided me with a typed transcript of the clipping.

50. Koppel's official designation will be found in pt. 1, *Reports*, v. 5, p. 7; Williamson's comment on Koppel in a letter to Secretary of War Jefferson Davis, dated December 31, 1854, appearing in the above volume immediately after the second title page.

51. The illustrations are specifically credited by the line "From original sketches in the field by Mr. Charles Koppel" in the list of "Illustrations" for pt. 1; they include 12 lithographic plates and 12 woodcuts in text. For pt. 2 (the geological report) the list of "Illustrations" specifically credits either Koppel or Blake (*see* Footnote 21). Ten lithographic views (*see* Footnote 21 also for the omission of Plate XIII) and 14 woodcuts are credited to Koppel. In addition one lithograph is credited to Koppel "from a sketch by W. B. B. [Blake]."

52. *Reports*, v. 5, pt. 1, p. 35. The view of Los Angeles in all copies I have seen is opposite this page. The date when the sketch was made is based on the fact that Smith

Other full-page Koppel illustrations which are of interest include: "View of Benicia From the West," "U. S. Military Post, Benicia," "Mission and Plain of San Fernando," "Mission of San Diego," and two desert views, "Colorado Desert and Signal Mountain" and "Valley in the Slope of the Great Basin." The last view looks east from the Tejon pass (northwest Los Angeles county) into the desert "with its peculiar vegetation."⁵³

In 1855, Lieutenant Williamson was back again in California. He left New York City with Lt. H. L. Abbot and five civilian assistants, among whom was John Young, "draughtsman," on May 5, 1855, and arrived at San Francisco on May 30. Benicia was again made the outfitting headquarters for a survey, this time directed northward to determine "the practicability, or otherwise, of connecting the Sacramento valley, in California, with the Columbia river, Oregon Territory, by a railroad. . . ." ⁵⁴

The survey got under way July 10, 1855, and was completed by November 15 of the same year. More or less independent and lateral and alternate surveys were made by Lieutenant Williamson and by Lieutenant Abbot, some accomplished with great difficulty and considerable danger because of an uprising among the northern Indians. Williamson became seriously ill before his report was made and as a result the final report was prepared by Abbot (*Reports*, v. 6).

The survey, made through northern California and Oregon, traversed a country that was in many respects an almost unknown region. "The great importance of the Williamson-Abbot exploration," writes one modern student of the surveys, "lay in the thorough examination made of the Cascade Range. Their observations of distances, practicability of river valleys and passes, and

(the civil engineer of the party) took a small detachment through San Fernando pass to Los Angeles, the party leaving base camp for the lateral survey on October 21 (pt. 1, pp. 34 and 35). The *New York Tribune* for December 13, 1853, p. 5, reprinted an item from the *Los Angeles Star* of November 5 which stated that the party of which Koppel was a member arrived in Los Angeles on October 31 and left on November 2. For other early views of Los Angeles see H. M. T. Powell's *Santa Fe Trail to California*, edited by Douglas S. Watson (San Francisco, 1931), which contains a view of Los Angeles made by Powell in 1850; and the Huntington Library (San Marino, Cal.) possesses a collection of contemporary pencil drawings and water colors done by W. R. Hutton which includes views of Los Angeles in 1847 and in 1852.

53. The brief quotation is from *Reports*, v. 5, pt. 2 (geology), p. 215. The illustration appears opposite this page. The other illustrations, in the order listed above, will be found, in *Reports*, v. 5: frontispiece, pt. 1; facing p. 4, pt. 2; facing p. 74, pt. 2; following p. 40, pt. 1, as does "Colorado Desert and Signal Mountain." A number of Koppel's woodcut illustrations are also of considerable interest; see especially "Straits of Carquines and Martinez, as Seen From Benicia" (p. 9) and "Tejon Indians" (p. 20), both in pt. 1, *Reports*, v. 5.

The only other illustration by Koppel of which I have found mention is a bust portrait, nearly life size, of Jefferson Davis reproduced lithographically in 1865; see Harry T. Peters, *America on Stone* (Doubleday, Doran and Company, 1931), p. 255. Peters only comment on Koppel is "unknown." I have written all the Southern historical societies, and many other places, and have found no record of Koppel.

54. Secretary of War Jefferson Davis' instructions to Lieutenant Williamson, *Reports*, v. 6, "Introduction," p. 9; dates are from pt. 1 of this volume, p. 56.

adaptability of the soil to cultivation were an invaluable contribution to the existing knowledge of Oregon Territory."⁵⁵

The general report of the survey contains 12 full-plate lithographic views and two woodcuts which are credited "From original sketches made by Mr. John Young, artist of the Expedition." The geology section of the report also contains a single full-page view which, although uncredited, is doubtless the work of Young.⁵⁶

One of the unusual features of Abbot's complete report, however, is the inclusion of ten colored full-page lithographs of trees characteristic of the country passed over on the survey. In some respects, these plates are as interesting as any in the report, for they not only represent striking flora, but the plates have been drawn in their natural habitat with the inclusion, many times, of rugged and distant backgrounds. Five of the ten plates are credited to Young and there is reason to believe that all ten were his work.⁵⁷

Young's views, although interesting, are for the most part illustrative of the rugged and mountainous country traversed. Possibly of greatest interest are "Lassen's Butte From Vicinity of Camp 18" (Lassen Peak in present Shasta county, northern California); "Mount Hood From Tysch Prairie" (present Hood River county, northern Oregon); and "Diamond Peak and Ravine of Middle Fork of Willamette River, From Camp 48 W" (present Lane county, west central Oregon).⁵⁸

Additional information concerning Young beyond that given in Abbot's report is indeed meager. J. J. Young, as already pointed out (*see* p. 373), redrew two of A. H. Campbell's sketches and probably J. J. Young is the John Young of the Williamson-Abbot survey. A number of the illustrations of the Ives expedition of 1858 were also redrawn by J. J. Young after sketches by Möllhausen and Egloffstein.

The name of J. J. Young also appears on 11 very beautiful lithographs in color to be found in a report made by Capt. J. N. Maccomb. Maccomb explored the country from Santa Fe to the Junction of the Grand and Green rivers (Colorado) in 1859, with Dr.

55. Albright, *op. cit.*, p. 152. Mr. Albright's extensive studies on the surveys and their reports are invaluable and time saving in studying the *Reports* themselves.

56. The credit line appears in the "List of Illustrations," p. 24 of pt. 1, *Reports*, v. 6. Abbot himself implied that all views are to be credited to Young (p. 3 of pt. 1) in the statement: "The masterly sketches of views upon the route, and the characteristic style of the topography upon the accompanying maps, testify to the professional skill of Mr. Young."

57. The botanical section of v. 6 is comprised in pt. 3 of the complete report and was written by Dr. T. S. Newberry. Newberry complained on p. 52 of pt. 3 that Young failed to make a sketch of one particular tree which would imply that Young had made the others. From the fact that the five uncredited, Plates I to V inclusive, were drawn in the same manner; i. e., with extensive backgrounds, as are Plates VI to X and which are credited on each plate to "J. Young del.," would indicate that Young was responsible for all ten.

58. Plates I, IX and VII respectively of pt. 1, *Reports*, v. 6.

J. S. Newberry as geologist. Newberry made a number of sketches of scenery along the way and they were made into a group of water colors by Young for reproduction. Newberry himself is represented by three black and white illustrations in the report.⁵⁹

Although exact identification has not been made, John J. Young probably spent his remaining years in Washington after his return from the survey, as there is an individual of this name listed in Washington city directories from 1860 until 1879. He is sometimes identified as draftsman for the War Department, as topographical engineer, and as engraver. He died in Washington on October 13, 1879, at the age of 49.⁶⁰

[*The Remaining Illustrators of the Pacific Railroad Reports Will Be Discussed in Part XV To Appear in This Magazine in February, 1952*]

59. For the Young credit of illustrations in the Ives report see No. 6 of this series, *loc. cit.*, p. 243, Footnote 55. The Macomb report will be found in J. N. Macomb *Report of the Exploring Expedition From Santa Fe, New Mexico, to the Junction of the Grand and Green Rivers of the Great Colorado of the West, in 1859* (Washington, 1876). The report, completed in 1861, was delayed in publication by the Civil War. Macomb mentioned "eleven water-color sketches" in the "Letter of Transmittal" in this volume but apparently from the context they had been done by 1861. The lithography, judging from its excellence, was done at the time of publication by T. Sinclair and Son, Philadelphia; for J. S. Newberry, see *Dictionary of American Biography*, v. 13, pp. 445, 446.

60. George M. Hall of the Library of Congress has examined Washington city directories in the period 1855-1880 for me and in many of the directories for this period the name of John J. Young occurs. Death notice of Young will be found in the *Washington Evening Star*, October 14, 1879, p. 3. As the name of J. Young appears in Harry T. Peters' *America on Stone*, confusion with John J. Young who signed himself occasionally as "J. Young" may result. The J. Young of Peters was John T. Young of Rochester, N. Y., who died in that city on September 7, 1842, at the age of 28, see *Rochester Daily Democrat*, September 8, 1842, p. 3. I am indebted to Miss Emma Swift of the Rochester Public Library for information on John T. Young.

APPENDIX

The Reports of Explorations and Surveys To Ascertain the Most Practicable and Economic Route for a Railroad From the Mississippi River To the Pacific Ocean have an involved bibliographic record. For this reason it seems necessary to describe the set in some detail. Copies were published for the use of both senate and house, and in several cases in more than one printing. As a result there are variations, especially in illustrations, as was mentioned in the text. The data given below includes the date of publication as it appeared on the title page of each volume.

VOL.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	CONGRESSIONAL DOCUMENT	SERIAL No.
1	1855	General consideration of routes	33 Cong., 2 Sess. { Senate Ex. Doc. 78 House Ex. Doc. 91	758 791
		ILLUSTRATIONS—None		
2	1855	Reports of Beckwith, Pope, Parke and others (central route, Cal. etc.)	33 Cong., 2 Sess. { Senate Ex. Doc. 78 House Ex. Doc. 91	759 792
		ILLUSTRATIONS—By Kern, Stanley and Egloffstein		
3	1856	Report of Whipple, 35th parallel	33 Cong., 2 Sess. { Senate Ex. Doc. 78 House Ex. Doc. 91	760 793
		ILLUSTRATIONS—By Möllhausen, Tidball, Campbell		
4	1856	Whipple's route, botany, zoology.	33 Cong., 2 Sess. { Senate Ex. Doc. 78 House Ex. Doc. 91	761 794
		ILLUSTRATIONS—Botanical only		
5	1856	Report of Williamson on Cal. route	33 Cong., 2 Sess. { Senate Ex. Doc. 78 House Ex. Doc. 91	762 795
		ILLUSTRATIONS—By Charles Koppel and W. P. Blake		
6	1857	Report of Abbott and Williamson on Cal. to Oregon routes	33 Cong., 2 Sess. { Senate Ex. Doc. 78 House Ex. Doc. 91	763 796
		ILLUSTRATIONS—By John Young		
7	1857	Report of Parke on routes in west Cal. and Rio Grande	33 Cong., 2 Sess. { Senate Ex. Doc. 78 House Ex. Doc. 91	764 797
		ILLUSTRATIONS—By A. H. Campbell		
8	1857	General report of zoology	33 Cong., 2 Sess. { Senate Ex. Doc. 78 House Ex. Doc. 91	765 798
		ILLUSTRATIONS—Scientific only		
9	1858	Zoology report cont'd	33 Cong., 2 Sess. { Senate Ex. Doc. 78 House Ex. Doc. 91	766 799
		ILLUSTRATIONS—None		
10	1859	Zoology report cont'd, reptiles, fish, birds	33 Cong., 2 Sess. { Senate Ex. Doc. 78 House Ex. Doc. 91	767 800
		ILLUSTRATIONS—Scientific only*		
11†	1859	Warren's review of Western exploration, 1800-1857, maps, profiles	33 Cong., 2 Sess. { Senate Ex. Doc. 78 House Ex. Doc. 91	{ 768 ¹ 768 ² 791
		ILLUSTRATIONS—By Egloffstein		
12, Books 1 & 2	1860	Stevens' report of northern route	36 Cong., 1 Sess. { Senate Ex. Doc. House Ex. Doc. 56	{ 1054, 1055
		ILLUSTRATIONS—By Stanley, Sohon and Cooper		
(12)§	1859	Stevens' report of northern route	35 Cong., 2 Sess. Senate Ex. Doc. 46	992
		ILLUSTRATIONS—By Stanley, Sohon and Cooper		

* Contains a number of excellent hand-colored bird plates.

† Not in the serial (congressional) set and therefore possessing no serial number.

§ This volume (Serial No. 992) duplicated in a single book, the material in Serial Nos. 1054 and 1055 and is designated on the title page as "Supplement to Volume 1."

† Also published as 36 Cong., 2 Sess., Senate Ex. Doc. (not in serial set and therefore possessing no serial number), Washington, 1861. The maps in the senate serial set (768¹

It should be observed that I continue to run across variations in printings of the above set, and I also find contemporary discussions, which lead me to believe that there are still other variations and discrepancies in dating and printing. My observations are therefore based on three sets I have studied in the University of Kansas library and two sets in the Kansas State Historical library, plus a few miscellaneous volumes of duplication. It should also be observed that there is a preliminary report of these surveys, unillustrated, which is sometimes confused with the large set of 12 volumes listed above. The preliminary reports will be found in 33 Cong., 1 Sess., *Senate Ex. Doc. 52*, Serial No. 698, and 33 Cong., 1 Sess., *House Ex. Doc. 129*, Serial Nos. 736-739.

I have also tried to estimate the number printed of each of the 12 volumes, a matter of some interest to the bibliographer and collector. On the back of most title pages in the individual volumes is quoted congressional action on the number to be printed. It is on these statements that the estimate below is based. Here again, however, I have found contemporary discussion that would suggest that a greater number was printed than is indicated by the table below.

VOLUME	NO. PRINTED (TO NEAREST THOUSAND)
1-10 inclusive	21,000 each
11	32,000
12	53,000

The number of volumes of the 1859 senate printing of volume 12 (i. e., "Supplement to v. 1") is not specified. I have assumed a printing of 11,000 volumes. As a result of the large number printed, a number of these reports can still be obtained at moderate cost, especially volume 12 which is the most profusely illustrated of any of the set.

and 768*) of volume 11 are mounted on linen (rather than paper) requiring 2 books (part 1 and 2) to contain them. It should be observed that in the 1859 printings of volume 11, the date given on the title page is 1855 which was either intentionally or accidentally an error. Warren's report included in this volume is dated 1859 and Sen. Jefferson Davis of Mississippi speaking in the senate early in 1859, was sharply critical of the fact that the volume of the *Report* containing maps (i. e. volume 11) had not yet appeared (*Appendix to Cong. Globe*, 35 Cong., 2 Sess. p. 284).

The Letters of Joseph H. Trego, 1857-1864, Linn County Pioneer

Edited by EDGAR LANGSDORF

PART THREE, 1863, 1864—CONCLUDED

INTRODUCTION

AFTER recovering his health, Joseph H. Trego was employed as a civilian in the quartermaster's department for the remainder of the war. Much of the time he was stationed at Little Rock, Ark., and the following group of letters were exchanged by himself and Mrs. Trego in 1863 and 1864.

When the war ended Trego went back to Mound City, where he became an examiner and abstractor of land titles. Later he expanded this into a general real estate business, to which he eventually added a loan and collection agency. He served briefly as clerk of the school board in 1865-1866, as county treasurer from April to November, 1866, and as probate judge from October, 1878, to January, 1879. His practice of medicine was confined to serving his circle of friends.

The Tregos had nine children, all girls: Kate, Eleanor, Helen, Rebecca, Sophia, Louise, Sara, Octavia and Martha. Dr. and Mrs. Trego celebrated their golden wedding anniversary on August 22, 1900. Dr. Trego died on July 14, 1905, and Mrs. Trego on September 28, 1912.

THE LETTERS OF 1863, 1864

MAYSVILLE ARK. NOV 7TH 1863

MY DEAR WIFE

A messenger is about to start to Fort Scott and I will try to pen a few lines to let you know that we have got along all safe so far though, as you see by the date, very slowly. We have a lot of ox teams along which proves to be very much of a hindrance.²⁶ I left Fort Scott the day after the snow storm which was a very pleasant day as has been every day since. Have had rain two nights but it

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26. Trego probably was traveling with a large supply train which was moving from Fort Scott to Fort Smith, Ark., under command of Gen. James G. Blunt. The train consisted of about 600 wagons and when in motion was five miles long. It left Fort Scott October 28 and reached Fort Smith November 13, 1863.—*Leavenworth Daily Conservative*, November 5, 10, 17, 18, 25, 29, 1863.

was of no kind of inconvenience. For three days now it has been remarkably warm and pleasant. All the houses along our route so far are deserted except one, and in Missouri we saw the ruins of many that had been burned. Apples on the trees all spoild by frost until within the last three days we find plenty that are not damaged. It seems that there has been no freezing here yet.

You are no doubt aware that Capt Haskell²⁷ has been ordered to report at St. Louis when relieved at Fort Smith. It will require about two months to turn over to his successor the vast amount of property now in his charge and to get his business properly adjusted before leaving for St. Louis. Dont know what changes may take place before that time but it is quite possible that I may return home about New Year. We have been receiving a mail from Fort Scott every few days and I hope to hear from you before many more days pass by. . . . Q. Master [Capt. Chester] Thomas came up from the army, got in this morning. Was going on to Fort Scott, but meeting us I understand it is his intention to return with us. There is no probabillity that we shall so much as have a little brush before we get to Fort Smith.

Nothing of particular interest has occurred on our march and as the country is desolated there has been nothing of much interest to see on the route except its desolated appearance merely. We have a very good cook, a full supply of provisions, laid in at Ft Scott, and are living well enough. Altogether I am very well satisfied with everything but having to be away from wife and children. We have with us, that is, eating and lodging in our tent, a Mr. Atkinson, aged about fifty, who was formerly a slaveholding merchant in Fort Smith and was driven out two years and a half ago. He is now returning to his family who are yet at Fort Smith. His son whom he left in charge of his affairs has since gone into the confederate army.

I shall not have time to write you any more this time but may again before we reach our destination. Hoping you will not find the nights too very cold, and with ever so much love I must say good night

from your Husband

27. John G. Haskell of Lawrence, under whom Trego served while employed in the quartermaster's department, began his military service July 24, 1861, as first lieutenant and quartermaster of the Third Kansas regiment. He was transferred to the Tenth Kansas infantry on the date of consolidation, and on June 11, 1862, was promoted to captain and assistant quartermaster, U. S. Volunteers. He was mustered out as brevet major November 22, 1865.—*Thirteenth Biennial Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Kansas, 1901-'02* (hereafter cited *Thirteenth Biennial Report*), p. 125; *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Kansas, 1861-'65* (hereafter cited *Adjutant General's Report*), pp. 7, 347.

FORT SMITH ARK. NOV. 23D 1863

MY DEAR LITTLE WIFE

You will see by this that we have arrived at the place of our destination, and all right. The time consumed in making the trip put the office business considerably behind hand, so much that we have been very closely confined to the office ever since. We have now been here ten days. Yesterday being Sunday I took a little stroll over the city. The river at this point runs nearly north and the streets, like the Garrison run n. e & s. w. and n. w & s. e.

The principle business street is composed of five, large brick store houses, a few of them very large. The other streets are largely composed of old tumble down frame shops, sheds, and some log cabins, with an occasional rich establishment displaying a great waste of material and a greater lack of good taste in its arrangements, pure southern.

In the northeastern suburbs, along the river bank, is extensively occupied with private residences. They are nearly all white frames, generally one story, covering over a good deal of ground, and with porticos on two or three sides. The negro quarters are neat and white, and all surrounded with a fence of paling or plank and white washed. There is an abundant growth of young oak trees about 30 or 40 feet in height wherever the occupants choose to let them grow. The streets in this locality are wide, sidewalks are raised, the ground is sufficiently sand to keep it from being muddy when wet, and, altogether it is a very pleasant and beautiful spot. I am unable to see what so many families depended upon for such high living as they seem to have indulged in. The officers quarters in the garrison are not very extensive, only eight suits of rooms, but they are very commodious, a long way ahead of those at Forts Scott and Leavenworth.

The river is very low, not more than about two feet deep any where across it at the place of fording and not over one hundred yards wide. I was very much surprised to find the water perfectly clear, as I had understood always that the Arkansas was muddy, like the Missouri. As Capt. Haskell was notified on his way down that he would be relieved of duty at this post, would not take up quarters, but went into camp and kept everything ready for picking up and marching on short notice, but Genl McNeil desires to keep him here and lately assigned him to duty as Depot Q. Master.

We expect to pull up stakes and move into quarters as soon as the Capt. can get a suit of rooms put in order. They were not very well cared for by the rebels and need overhauling. I shall be very glad

when we make the change because living in a tent with a stove in it does not agree with me at all. We cant regulate the heat, and it gets so full of tobacco smoke every evening as to affect my eyes seriously. I am very well suited with my place and in my state of health could do nothing better for me, taking it all around. Among the curiosities that I have met with is the 'Mistletoe' which can be seen every where through the timber now the leaves are off the trees, growing on oaks and elms chiefly.

About our march, we did not have one hour of disagreeable weather while we were on the move. We had two nights of rain, and one afternoon of showery weather while we happened to be laying over a day waiting for the bull-train. Our scouts captured about a dozen bushwhacker[s] on the way down. Genl McNeil is keeping them here to have them ready to hang to telegraph poles when ever the wires may be cut, agreeably to his orders lately issued and which you have probably seen in the papers.²⁸ Genl Blunt is here and likely to remain until he shall be reinstated in his command. I hear from those who have a right to know, that McNeil himself wishes Blunt reinstated.²⁹ They are on very friendly terms and have had several big drinks at which McNeil got gloriously drunk. Haskell who never drinks nor is present at any of their carousals, and for which many of the drinking fraternity dislike him, says that Blunt *never gets drunk*, and has always been ready for duty, which he attends to very promptly though he does certainly imbibe largely. Capt Haskell shows himself a high toned gentleman who dispises vulgarity, and also very practical and precise in his business requirements, which makes him unpopular with many of the officers here who I must say are generally a disgrace to our army. I therefore place much confidence in what he says in matters of fact or of opinion.

28. The following order was issued November 17, 1863, by Brig. Gen. John McNeil, commanding the District of the Frontier, with headquarters at Fort Smith: "The organized forces of the enemy having been driven out of the country in our rear and there being none on our lines of telegraphic and mail communication, except that common foe of mankind, the guerrilla and bushwhacker, and the cutting of telegraph wires being now the act of these men alone—men who have no claim to be treated as soldiers, and are entitled to none of the rights accorded by the laws of war to honorable belligerents—it is hereby ordered that hereafter in every instance the cutting of the telegraph wire shall be considered the deed of bushwhackers, and for every such act some bushwhacking prisoner shall have withdrawn from him that mercy which induced the holding of him as a prisoner, and shall be hung to the post where the wire is cut; and as many bushwhackers shall be hung as there are places where the wire has been cut. The nearest house to the place where the wire is cut, if the property of a disloyal man, and within ten miles, shall be burned."—Leavenworth *Daily Conservative*, November 20, 1863.

29. By order of Maj. Gen. J. M. Schofield, commanding the Department of the Missouri, dated October 19, 1863, General McNeil had been sent to Fort Smith to relieve General Blunt as commander of the District of the Frontier. Blunt, reportedly guilty of "constant and continued violation of orders," and also suspected of being needlessly caught off guard by Quantrill's raid on Baxter Springs on October 6, was ordered to Leavenworth City, where he was to report by letter to General Schofield.—*Tri-Weekly Missouri Democrat*, St. Louis, October 21, 1863; Leavenworth *Daily Conservative*, October 30, 1863.



DR. AND MRS. TREGO AND SIX OF THEIR NINE DAUGHTERS: FIRST ROW, MARTHA, ON THE LEFT, AND OCTAVIA. BACK ROW, LEFT TO RIGHT, SARAH, LOUISE, SOPHIA AND HELEN. MRS. TREGO IS AT THE RIGHT. THIS PICTURE, PROBABLY TAKEN IN THE 1890's, AND THE NEXT PHOTOGRAPH, WERE LENT BY THEODORE W. MORSE OF MOUND CITY.



THE MOUND CITY BAND, FROM A PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN IN 1878. DR. J. H. TREGO WEARS THE BEARD. THE BANDWAGON, BOUGHT ABOUT 1871, APPEARED IN THE CENTENNIAL PARADE AT KANSAS CITY, MO., IN 1950.

He says of Blunt, "he is a good officer, understanding and attending to the details of business, and equally competent as a Genl when a fight is on hand, but as a man he is grossly immoral." I can see for myself that the appointment of McNeil to this command has not bettered matters in any particular.

There have been misrepresentations with regard to Genl Blunt's operations, as we hear there have been with regard to Haskell's bringing a large stock of goods to this place on his own private account, of which there is not one word of truth.

Mr Atkinson invited all in our office to dine with him on roast turkey &c a few days since and we did. Mrs A. was very glad to see her husband again after two and a half years of absence, and so far is satisfied that federals have possession of the post but her sympathies are with her southern friends. She has one son left, in the confed. army and two sons-in-law in the Union army—regulars who [were] formerly stationed here, one of them a surgeon, the other Genl Burns. With her husband a union man she is placed in a very uncertain and distracted position. The women left here are generally rebellious. Who cares? . . .

Now little wife good bye for a while.

As ever your affectionate Husband

ST LOUIS MO.

JAN. 14TH 1864

MY DEAR WIFE

We arrived here yesterday. Left Fort Smith on the 31st ult. and crossed the river at Van Buren, five miles below. It commenced snowing the night previous, and continued that day until about one O'clock p. m. It was very cold and the river was full of snow and was also raising and, fearful that we would not be able to ford it the next day we started out in time to cross before dark. We would have got along with it very well but that one of the teamsters broke a wagon tongue when out in the stream where the water was deepest, just coming up to the wagon box. We tried till dark to get the wagon out but only succeeded in getting out a part of the loading. It was so cold that all engaged in the work had their fingers and ears nipped and the driver who had to get down into the water to loosen his mules had his toes badly frozen.

We stopped in Van Buren the next day. The murcury was down to sixteen degrees below zero that morning and the river was closed up. Got the balance of load out of the wagon and made all ready for an early start the next morning. In going out with an empty

wagon a second time to bring off[f] the loading, the ice had got to running so thick that the mules became unmanageable, one got down under the water all over and was likely to drown but finally released itself from the wagon and swam ashore at the landing below the ford where the water was deep. No one knew where it was or whether it got out at all until the next morning when it was found where it had stood all night, covered all over with one glaze of ice. A man had been left on the broken wagon to assist in unloading it when the empty wagon should return. He had to be brought off and I rode in to do it. Got to the wagon well enough but in trying to return I found the ice running so strong the horse could not stand up before it and so had to take shelter below the wagon. The wind was blowing a gale down the river and terribly cold. Fortunately, while wondering what was to be done about it, the ice partially stopped coming down and we struck out in time to get across the channel into shallow water before it came on again. I had paid but little attention to the cold during the time I was in the water but when out of the difficulty I found that three of my fingers were slightly frozen. During the whole of our trip to Springfield we had the coldest kind of weather and northerly winds to face each day and comfortless nights.

From Springfield to Rolla, three days and a half we had pleasant weather enough but on the eighth, the day we reached Springfield, it seemed to be about as cold as it was on New Years' day. Our party consisted of six men on horse back, two negroes—servants—and two six-mule-teams and drivers. We made the distance, four hundred and five miles, in twelve days. Two hundred and ninety of the distance, with the gov. wagons, was made in eleven and a half days. I did not write you for some time before we left Fort Smith for the reason that I was in almost daily expectation of starting. Capt. H[askell] was finally ordered on duty at that post, by the Q. M. here, and we went to work again expecting we were in for a long job there certain, but in something less than forty eight hours it was telegraphed that Genl Schofield had refused to recognize the act of his Q. M. and that Capt. H. must repair to St Louis at once, which he did for certain. Dont know yet what we are to do or what is to be done with the Capt. . . .

Hoping to see you soon and love to the girls, goodbye

From your devoted H

ST. LOUIS, MO.

JAN. 24TH 1863 [1864]

MY DEAR LITTLE WIFE

. . . We are not through with our work yet but hope that this week will finish up all that need be done for some weeks, except an inconsiderable amount at the end of next month. If we should have to go south again in the spring—which is not improbable—I will come home before starting I think, without doubt. I am glad to see that Genl Curtis is to have command in the, once more, dept. of Kansas, and Rosecrans in this.

We may now expect that there will be no more reigns of terror and standing guard of nights by citizens along the border. There is nothing new or strange that I have to communicate. Genl Blunt is here on his way to Washington and jubilant with expectation since Schofield has fallen.³⁰ His only advantage is that he happens to be on the right side of the great question of the country. There has been numerous arrivals from Ft. Smith since we came. The cold weather seems to be over and the ice—if this weather continues only a few days longer—will soon disappear from the river, which will be very fortunate.

By way of amusement I have visited the St. L. theatre twice to see "Booth" in Richd III. He is said to be son of old Booth who used to play in Philada. Also to the Merchantile Library Hall to see the Lilliput Family Genl Tom and lady, Commodore Nutt, and Minnie Warren, Mrs. Thumb's sister.³¹ Every body expresses a desire to see Tom's heir that is to be. They may have to wait some time yet, before their curiosity can be gratified.

After I had been to their exhibition I changed my boarding from Barnum's to the Everett House where I had an opportunity of seeing them every day. Minnie is about the size of Sophy and Commodore is but little larger. He presented a very comical ap-

30. The Department of Kansas was recreated from the Department of Missouri on January 1, 1864, and on January 16 Maj. Gen. Samuel R. Curtis was appointed commanding general. W. S. Rosecrans was named commander of the Department of Missouri on January 30, succeeding Brig. Gen. J. M. Schofield, who had been in command of the department since May 24, 1863. Schofield's policies had been unpopular, and his nomination as major general by the President roused much opposition. A protest against senatorial confirmation of the nomination, signed by Missouri's representatives in congress, said that his administration in Missouri "resulted in misrule, discord and confusion" and that he had done nothing to merit his rank of brigadier, much less promotion to major general.—*Daily Missouri Democrat*, St. Louis, January 22, 1864; Frederick H. Dyer, *A Compendium of the War of the Rebellion* (Des Moines, 1908), p. 255.

31. John Wilkes Booth, sometimes billed as "the eminent Tragedian," appeared at the St. Louis Theater from January 4 to 15, 1864, opening in Shakespeare's "Richard III." He was the son of Junius Brutus Booth, and brother of Edwin Booth, both noted Shakespearean actors. He himself was an actor of considerable promise, but is now remembered chiefly as the assassin of President Lincoln.

"The Four Smallest Human Beings of Mature Age Ever Known on the Face of the Globe" appeared at the Mercantile Library Hall in St. Louis, January 11-20, 1864.—*Daily Missouri Democrat*.

pearance one day when *put* into a chair in the barbers shop in the Hotel, and undergoing a shampooing. Very much the same as one of the larger sized dolls in a common sized rocking-chair. Have been several times to see dancing. Last night to see the Ravel family who have just arrived.³² There is always the elaborate display of extremities both upper and lower and the *lower* is displayed highly, but they "cant dance" like danseuses in Philada used to do. No Ellsers and Celestes. I have seen all I want to see until something new is put upon the boards.

To day I feel religiously inclined and think I will attend some church this afternoon where they have good music.

Capt. J. F. Broadhead³³ and lady—don't know who she was—stopped a day or so at our hotel but I happened to be unwell and did not go down there for my meals until they were gone, saw his name on the register in the morning when I was at breakfast but—of course—they want up then and the morning after, they left for Alton I suppose, whither the regiment had gone some days before. . . .

Your ever loving H.

ST. LOUIS MO.

APRIL 2D 1864

MY DEAR WIFE

Just arrived, and find that Haskell has gone to Little Rock. He has provided transportation for me and as my pile is now small I go the first boat which starts now very soon, and I have only time to write a few lines. All right so far and I had just as soon go to Little Rock as any where. . . .

With much love I am your affectionate

H

LITTLE ROCK, ARK.

APRIL 11TH 1864

MY DEAR WIFE,

We arrived in this place all right last Friday afternoon. Had a very successful trip all the way through in making connections and thereby avoiding hotel bills, and were only one day behind the

32. "Jane English's Great Ravel Troupe," featuring Rosita, "Queen of the Rope"; Mlle. Louise Zanfretta, "the Wonderful Tight Rope Artiste"; "the celebrated French Artistes, AGOUST and CARON," and Professor Muller, "the unrivalled Violinist," played at the Mercantile Library Large Hall from January 21-27, 1864.—*Tri-Weekly Missouri Democrat*, January 18, 1864.

33. John F. Broadhead of Mound City was mustered July 25, 1861, as captain of Company D, Third Kansas regiment, and on the date of consolidation became captain of Company E, Tenth Kansas infantry, with which he served until the regiment was discharged on August 18, 1864.—*Thirteenth Biennial Report*, p. 139; *Adjutant General's Report*, p. 357.

other party which left St. Louis six days before we did. We had some difficulty in finding a house and did not get moved in until Saturday evening, nor our mess started until this morning. There was need of hurrying the matter forward to save expenses at a hotel though it was *only* three dollars per day. This place has never been one for business and but few store houses are in it, but it is the handsomest and pleasantest town I have ever yet seen to live in. The lay of the ground is unexceptionable, blocks layed off in perfect squares with broad streets and generally paved side walks though where they are not the surface is sand and gravel so that they are never muddy. There is an abundance of shade trees—native growth—oaks that are beginning to look green and a large proportion of pines and cedars. It has been the home of many a cotton planter who formerly lived here in great luxury and splendor. The residences are generally very large and expensive but not of the yankee styles; they are massive and heavy looking in the finish and the grounds around them in many instances extending over an entire block, with gravelled walks and carriage roads, with plenty of fine oaks and pines, of native growth and cedars, arborvitae, magnolia, pommegranite, fig, palmetto &c. beside—to me—nameless flowering shrubs, make up a grand and beautiful residence.

I came here not expecting to see much more than Ft. Smith and am very agreeably disappointed. There are but few troops here at present, the army having gone to Red river with Genl Steele, so the place seems very nice and quiet just now. . . . The captain employed Blodgett at once, but we are not fixed for doing much yet so he and I are going down to Pine Bluff by next boat, to see the boys of the 5th Kansas. I would like to be here too this week because the legislature meets this week; those elected under the free state constitution, and I've no doubt there will be some interesting debates. . . .

After we left St. Louis on the 2d we have had on the route cold, raw weather and frequent rains, and now, though it is clear and pleasant, the air is cold as though it came off of snow not very far away. There has evidently been warm weather here because the little prairie we crossed on the railroad from White river to this place, is all over green, and cotton woods along the streams are looking quite green. I've no doubt we shall have hot weather soon enough, but our yard is well supplied with fine oaks and pines, but it is a new place and no flowering shrubs have been set out. There are seven of us now beside Buck and Hill in a house with three large rooms, a hall, a portico in front and large piazza back, and a

smaller house separate and made for negroes, which will be convenient for us as kitchen and dining room. . . .

The Arkansas river is very low yet and no boats can come up except very small craft such as is running between here and Pine Bluff, but it is on the rise and should it get up to a good boating stage so that shippers can load at St Louis and Cairo direct for this point we shall have plenty of every thing we need; at present the rail road is not sufficient to keeping up a supply, though even now our expenses for provisions, with rations are nothing compared with what they were in St. Louis— With a strong embrace and a very prolonged kiss and much love to the dear children I am as ever your devoted

Hd

LITTLE ROCK, ARK.

APRIL 30TH 1864

MY DEAR WIFE

. . . There was considerable excitement last night and all day to-day in consequence of the near proximity of Pap [Gen. Sterling] Price, and his declaration that he would to-morrow morning, eat breakfast in Little Rock or in h—l but scouts returning this evening set all quiet again, by reporting Genl Steele close at hand, returning to this place in consequence of the capture below Pine Bluff, of his train that was to carry out supplies for his army.³⁴ They had quite a big time all last night and to day, carting out cotton, with which they made temporary breastworks. It is not unusual to see *breast works* made of cotton, but these, made to-day are not intended to look inviting.

May 1 After writing so much I went to the state house to hear one of the numerous aspirants to a seat in the United States senate from this state, make a speech in which he was to give an account of himself. The legislature has, ever since it was organized, been besieged with *reformed* rebels who were formerly the politicians and office holders of the state, and they hit upon a very good way to dispose of them. The aspirants have been allowed the use of the assembly room several evening[s] each week to address the members of the legislature and show up their claims. The consequence has been that they have pitched into each other and told a

34. Maj. Gen. Frederick Steele was commander of the Department of Arkansas from January 30 to December 22, 1864. In April an expedition was undertaken against Camden, Ark., but it was unsuccessful. On April 18 a foraging expedition led by Col. James M. Williams was attacked at Poison Springs by a large Confederate force and after suffering severe losses was forced to abandon the wagon train. Steele's army retreated, the rebels following to within eight miles of Little Rock. His losses were said to be 3,000 men, nine pieces of artillery, 3,000 mules, and 700 wagons. See Trego's letter of May 8, 1864.—Dyer, *op. cit.*, p. 572; *Adjutant General's Report*, Pt. II, "Military History of Kansas Regiments," pp. 221, 222; *Leavenworth Daily Conservative*, May 12, 1864.

great deal more about the mean and disloyal acts of all, than could have been found out in any other way. To-morrow the election of senators will be had and I have no doubt that it will be a highly interesting time. The weather was delightful this morning and I fixed up and went to an Episcopal church where they went through with the ceremonies with a good accompaniment of music. It had been so long since I had had an opportunity of the kind that I may say I was highly entertained and came out feeling better than when I went in. It cost nothing to get in though I paid a trifle to get out again. This afternoon, Blodgett and I took a stroll through the cemetery and there gathered a lot of red, white and yellow—not blue—roses which we fixed up on our mantle shelf, adding to them some honeysuckle, evergreens &c. The river has been so low since we came here as to put an end to navigation for a week or ten days except for the very smallest kind of craft, but now there is a fine stage of water and boats are running to Fort Smith. After all, I am getting tired and time goes slowly because I have scarce any acquaintances out side of our own party and I'm quite sure that I am not the kind of person likely to hunt them up. . . .

Good bye for the present.

From your devoted

H

J H. Trego
Box 234 Little Rock
Arkansas

MOUND CITY, MAY 2ND /64

MY DEAR HUSBAND

. . . The following Friday after you left Col Moonlight and one Co of the 11th Kansas arrived at this place. The Col has been promised, that he can stay here all Summer.³⁵

I suppose you heard before you left, that there was word sent them, that they should be accommodated here. Well, I thought I would have a good excuse, not to take any of them, my husband being gone. They all went to Mr Wheelers, when they first came, stayed two days then left & came here, thought they had not been

35. Thomas Moonlight of Leavenworth county had served in the regular army during the Seminole war and in the campaign against the Mormons. When the Civil War broke out he raised a battery of light artillery and was commissioned a captain. April 14, 1862, he was commissioned a captain in the adjutant general's department, resigning September 20 to become lieutenant colonel of the Eleventh Kansas cavalry. In the spring of 1864 he was assigned to command the Second brigade, District of South Kansas, and established his headquarters at Mound City on April 2. On April 25 he was promoted to colonel of the regiment, on February 13, 1865, was brevetted brigadier general, and was mustered out on July 17, 1865. He served one term as secretary of state, 1869-1871, and from 1894 to 1898 was United States minister to Bolivia.—*Adjutant General's Report*, pp. 6, 7, 382; Frank W. Blackmar, *Kansas, A Cyclopaedia of State History* . . . (Chicago, 1912), v. 2, pp. 309, 310; *Mound City Border Sentinel*, April 15, 1864.

treated rightly and had nearly concluded they were not wanted here. It being Court week, the Hotel was full, well I thought I would keep them until Mother came. I expected by that time I should be tired of them, but they are the best set that I have seen for a long time, they are refined and neat not one of them *Chew Tobacco*, or *spit on the floor*.

The first day of April, the Adj J. E. Greer First & Second Lieut (Tabor, Parrot) came; on Sunday, the Surgeon; on Wednesday, the Chaplain; stayed a week, then the Surgeon was taken sick with Typhoid Fever, was very sick,³⁶ on the 14th Mother and Decie came: in a few days after the Dr sent for his wife, so you see I have not had much time to be lonesome: *then* besides all that I have had to go to the Society, and attend to the building. Since you left Mrs. [D. P.] Lowe joined our Society [the Ladies' Enterprise Association] and I *wish she had stayed out*, for there has been a perfect turmoil ever since. Last Thursday Fannie and myself and some half a dozen others came very near saying that we would withdraw our names, and I will *yet* if she dont *cool* down.

I forgot to tell you my boarders are all married men and the Col has dined with us once, and taken tea twice. On Sunday we went for a ride in the country, the Col Adj and Lieuts; Cadie, & Decie, Mrs. [J. F.] Broadhead & self. it was a beautiful day, the first of May. I shall not forget it very soon; one reason we enjoyed ourselves very much, and another that I feel as tho' I had been pounded. Now I hope you will not get jealous, still you may hear something that would not be pleasant; I hope not I have not been out with any of them alone, and shall guard against suspicion. But it seems to *me*, if they would say anything about Mr Gardner, just coming to the house, there will be something said now. I think there is some jealousy already existing, and I cant tell why. The Adj is a

36. James E. Greer of Topeka began his military service August 19, 1862, as a private in Company H, Eleventh Kansas cavalry. On the same date he was promoted to the grade of sergeant, and on January 31, 1863, was made sergeant-major of the regiment. On November 2 he was commissioned as regimental adjutant, and on August 20, 1864, was promoted to captain of Company I. He was mustered out with the company September 26, 1865.

Ira I. Taber of Holton was mustered in as a private in Company B on August 16, 1862, was promoted to first sergeant on August 30, to second lieutenant on June 19, 1863, and to first lieutenant December 8. He was made regimental adjutant October 12, 1864, and was mustered out August 19, 1865.

John B. Parrott of Holton also was mustered in as a private in Company B on August 16, 1862, promoted to sergeant on August 30, to first sergeant January 19, 1863, to second lieutenant December 9, to first lieutenant December 15, 1864, and was mustered out with the company on August 31, 1865.

James S. Cline of Tecumseh was chaplain of the regiment, serving from October 11, 1862, to July 7, 1865.

Richard M. Ainsworth of Kansas City, Mo., was assistant surgeon of the regiment from September 20, 1862, to June 23, 1863. On that date he was promoted to surgeon, and served until July 21, 1865.—*Adjutant General's Report*, pp. 382, 385, 388, 405, 407, 408.

very nice young man, aristocratic and a man of education & refinement. He is about Decie's age, and they seem to like each other very well, but he is a man of to good a principle to be more than courteous.

We have gone to two parties, all of us together; I expect through Mrs Blodget and myself you will get the news. Jim Snoddy sent your paper to Little Rock.

Three weeks ago yesterday, I went down to John Garrets to look at the Melodion. Mrs Capt Broadhead went with me, as she had just come from the East, I thot she would be a judge of an instrument. she thot I could not [get] a new one for \$75 and then the expence would be considerable getting it here. So I concluded to take it at \$50, and was offered the same for it, in three days after I got it, and every body thinks I got a bargain, and Katie is perfectly delighted, practices frequently. . . .

Well *our* Meeting house is nearly finished, with a belfry. We, the Ladies got up an Oyster supper, the tickets were \$1 each. Then we had a ring cake, with a \$2 ring in it, and sold enough pieces, at 25 cts a piece, to amount to \$8.

Edna Lowe painted a picture, which brought \$13 clear of expences, that was her donation. Then we finished off with a dance, at 75 cts a ticket, and it all amounted to \$125 clear of expence. Then once since there has been another party, and cleared \$50 more.

It is reported around the country that there is to be dancing in the Meeting house. Mr Marr [Rev. J. R. Marr] told Fanny yesterday, thought it would be better if we knew it. Now the intention is to have an article written, and sign our names to it.³⁷ The long talked of exhibition is to come off about the first of June. The Officers are to take a part. Since we have got some to help, that understand how such things should be done, we expect to have something of a *show*. . . . Will say good buy,

Your loving Wife A

37. In 1863 the United Brethren congregation at Mound City began construction of a church. Lack of finances forced them to discontinue the work when only the frame was completed, and they sold the building to the Ladies' Enterprise Association. The ladies were able to raise enough money to finish it, and the building was thereafter used as a free church and schoolhouse, and also as a courthouse whenever the county seat was located at Mound City.—Andreas-Cutler, *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago, 1883), p. 1108.

In reply to the charge that dances were to be held in the meeting house, the Mound City *Border Sentinel* on June 3, 1864, published a communication signed by the president and the secretary of the association, Mrs. A. H. Baird and Miss C. A. Baird, announcing that the Free Meeting house was to be what its name implied: free not only to all Christian denominations, but to all "spiritualists, infidels, atheists, or any other of the numerous 'ists' or 'isms!'" and that it would be open "for all public meetings and for all innocent amusements."

LITTLE ROCK, ARK.

MAY 8TH 1864

MY DEAR LITTLE WIFE

I hope that numerous letters are on the way here for me and that I shall ultimately get them, but as yet I have heard nothing from home or any where else. . . .

The Kansas troops that were here—came back with Genl Steele—crossed the river yesterday and will return to Ft. Smith by that route, the road on this side being considered too dangerous since Steele's defeat. The expedition of Steele's south was,—according to the statement of all the Kansas men except Capt. Miserez³⁸—a most outrageous affair, a truly McClellan manouvre. About eight hundred wagons with harness, and all camp and garrison equipage, Medical stores, officers clothing & regimental and company papers were burned, and lots of wounded left on the ground without an effort to bring them away. What fighting they did do was done without Steele's orders. There is sufficient ground for suspecting that he didn't care much if the Kansas troops were annihilated if it would not endanger his personal safety.

He had retained his rooms here, evidently not expecting to take and occupy that country and his greatest desire seems to have been to get back here safe to his comfortable quarters and plenty of wine. The troops were coming in for three days themselves and animals almost starved out, many of the men without shoes, some with blankets but not a tent to a regiment. The Kansas regiments in that "Bull run" expedition have about as much love for Steele now as the 5th Kansas had in '62 at Helena. It is quite bad enough to know that this war has corrupted the morals of nearly all our officers but when cowardice or treachery is added the disgust becomes sickening. The prominent officers here have not obtained such an unenviable reputation as Blunt and his ambitious imitators, Anderson, Loring, Moonlight and others, but they are very much given to boasting of their numerous conquests, and I believe that no decent man can believe that they have done a half of what they boast of without feeling ashamed that his mother was a woman. Yet it is a general weakness of both man and woman, as my experience has taught me, to give ear to that side, and if a lady is on speaking acquaintance merely with an officer of notorious character it is sufficient cause for scandal, but if she has the hardihood to ride out with him her character is compromised surer.

38. Peter J. Miserez of Mound City was mustered September 30, 1862, as first lieutenant of Company K, Twelfth Kansas infantry, was promoted to captain of the company on May 26, 1864, and was mustered out with the regiment on June 30, 1865.—*Adjutant General's Report*, p. 442.

We have not had much to do since we have been here, but will begin tomorrow on what promises to be a heavy job from this time out as long as we may stay here. I hope I shall feel more contented when we have full business on hand.

So far it has been hard to reconcile staying away from you for the matter of pay, but necessity seems to compel it that we may have the means to properly educate our girls. Twenty five dollars per month has been added to my salary since the first of April, and my expenses for board and washing will be from twelve to fifteen dollars per month. We have now a pretty large bachelor's hall out-fit. . . .

When we came here the army had already left on the late expedition, and we found the place very quiet indeed but now the streets are full of soldiers, numerous brass bands play at stated periods, with an occasional serenade—which is much the best because then all else is quiet—and a surfeit of drums, fifes and bugles, sounding the various calls for their respective regiments and companies. . . .

From your devoted Hd.

[JUNE 1864]

[MY DEAR HUSBAND]

. . . Yesterday Moonlight received a dispatch ordering him immediately to Aubry, Jonstson County Mo About five hundred rebels were there, had taken a train. There had been one Co of the 11th Kansas at Potosi, and the one here, all left for the line [of] Jonston Co Kan except 14 here to guard camp, and some sick. They left tents, and everything just as it was, expect to be back in ten days, but I should not be surprised if they do not come back at all.

The Malitia were all ordered out last night I wish you could have seen them, they looked more like secesh than anything else.

Adgt says they would be of no use, they dont think of obeying orders. It was thot yesterday that the Malitia would be turned over to the Adgts care. He says he wish they would, he would see if they did not obey orders.

You will see by the paper that we got up a soldiers dinner, and it was as satisfactory as all other public dinners have been heretofore. Nothing for the second table! But still they are going to try it again on the forth.³⁹

39. "THE BANQUET.—Last Friday was a gala day for our citizens. The military stationed at this place were the recipients of a munificent banquet, of which they are well worthy. The proceedings commenced by the military forming in procession at Headquarters, and marching in their usual splendid order, preceded by the Eleventh Kansas Band, to the scene of the pleasant ceremonies. Lieut. Taber, assisted by Lieut. Parrott, performed the duties of Marshal in admirable style. When the military arrived upon the ground, a happy crowd of citizens had gathered to receive the boys. The exercises were opened by a prayer by Chaplain Kline. Hon. D. P. Lowe tendered to the military, in a well made

I was one of the committee of arrangements and was so tired I could not eat any dinner.

Judge Lowe, and Col Moonlight made a speech, and the Regimental band was here for the occasion. The Col and first Lieut are good singers. Lieut has been instructing the people here in singing for the last three weeks preparatory to the dinner. But there were few sang. The Ladies were Mrs Blodget, Mrs Rowson and Carpenter—Snoddy Dennison Moonlight Taber, two Sargents, Isabelle and Barns,⁴⁰ and two of the Band, constituted the Choir. In the evening there was a party, and seven of the band played. . . .

Your Affectionate Wife

MOUND CITY, JUNE 23RD, 1864

MY DEAR HUSBAND

. . . The Col. [Moonlight] returned on Tuesday and the Company Wednesday noon, after being over the Shy hill⁴¹ after the rebels, but did not find any.

Instead of our loosing a train, it was only one Wagon, the Col says he knows there are plenty of rebels around in those parts, and were told so by a family living near where they were. Col Brown ordered the Kansas troops back to Kansas. Moonlight had orders to go in there from Gen McKane [McKean]. I think Moonlight took eight companies with him, sent a dispatch to Col Hoyt, to meet him at Pleasant Hill with part of his command and some Colorado commander with his men, to surround the place where it was reported the rebels were. But for some reason, Gen Brown ordered them back. Moonlight says Brown had a fight with them, and got whipped, and was afraid Mo[o]nlight would do a good thing, or rather looked as if he would be jealous, if they accomplished any thing.⁴²

address, the banquet prepared by our citizens; to which Col. Moonlight replied in a handsome speech. After music by the Band, and songs by the Glee Club, the feast was served up. Everybody seemed to enjoy themselves, and every one went away satisfied."—*Border Sentinel*, Mound City, June 17, 1864.

40. Isaac H. Isbell of Wabunsee, the sergeant-major, and James H. Barnes of Manhattan, the saddler sergeant, both of the regimental noncommissioned staff.—*Adjutant General's Report*, p. 382.

41. Probably Sni hill, Jackson county, Missouri, in the area drained by Sniabar creek.

42. Brig. Gen. Thomas J. McKean was in command of the District of Southern Kansas from June 25 to September 1, 1864.—Dyer, *op. cit.*, p. 578.

George H. Hoyt of Boston, Mass., was mustered November 11, 1861, as second lieutenant of Company K, Seventh Kansas cavalry, was promoted to captain May 27, 1862, and resigned because of disability on the following September 3. He re-entered the service October 17, 1863, as lieutenant colonel of the Fifteenth Kansas cavalry, was made brevet brigadier general on March 13, 1865, and resigned his commission July 19.—*Adjutant General's Report*, pp. 6, 252, 500.

Brig. Gen. E. B. Brown commanded the District of Central Missouri from June 9, 1863, to July 24, 1864.—Dyer *op. cit.*, p. 548.

The Leavenworth *Daily Conservative*, June 21, 1864, printed a report of a fight on June 19 between a large body of bushwhackers led by Quantrill and a detachment of the Second Colorado cavalry under Col. J. H. Ford. The action occurred in the Sni Hills.

We all rejoiced when the Com returned for we all felt afraid when they were gone. The Malitia I dont think would be any protection if the rebels should come. the night before the com came back, the Picket went to sleep, some one went out there took their Guns and one horse without disturbing them. . . .

Your Affectionate Wife

Orlando Morse and Prue Swin[g]ley, and Lieut [Capt. William H.] Boyd and Hellen [Swingley] were married last evening

MOUND CITY JULY 28TH [1864]

MY DEAR HUSBAND

. . . Day before yesterday, Gen McKane ordered the companies from Potosi and here to Paola, and we have had to depend on malitia for guard.

This morning there is a report that the troops are coming back. They went up as there was a report of another raid into Kansas, that the rebles were in force on the Big Blue, and left the Line unprotected from here to Paola.

There is a report that Jennison is going to have command of Southern Kansas. I have been over town this morning, and heard several say that they would about as soon the bushwhackers would come at once, as for them to come. I saw quite a number swinging their hats, at the news of the company coming back, and others that they had already swung theirs, at least they said so. . . .⁴³

[August 1.] This morning the Adgt took his farewell leave of us. The Com[pany] did not return as expected, are to remain at Paola.

There was a report yesterday that three hundred bushwhackers were at Barnesvill, but found out it was a false report. There were about a dozen of the Malitia over in town last night. the men positively refuse to leave their farms and crops in the field unprotected. A company of the fifteenth staid in town last night on their way to Potosi. . . .

From Your ever loving Wife

A. M. Trego

Early the following morning the Eldridge House at Wyandotte was set on fire by two men believed to be acting with the guerrillas, and soon afterward an attack was made on the outer pickets at Kansas City.

43. Charles R. Jennison, then colonel commanding the Fifteenth Kansas cavalry, assumed command of the First Sub-District of South Kansas, with headquarters at Mound City, on August 2, 1864. On July 28 he had arrived in town, "looking hale and hearty . . . on a reconnoitering expedition—trying to discover where his old enemies, the Border-Ruffians, do congregate 'mostly,' and there he proposes to station the Fifteenth. He goes to Fort Scott to-day [July 29]; thence to Humboldt; and wherever danger is thickest, along the southern or eastern line of Kansas, there he intends to establish his headquarters. Success attend the 'Little Jayhawker!'"—*Border Sentinel*, July 29 and August 5, 1864.

DEPOT QUARTER-MASTER'S OFFICE,
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
AUG 7TH SUNDAY 1864

MY DEAR WIFE

. . . Nothing has occurred since I wrote you last. We have heard from Pine Bluff since. The Post Qr. Master was up yesterday and says that Genl Price is close upon them, with probably twelve thousand men. The pickets of the two armies are almost constantly in sight of each other. Our forces there are not strong enough to leave their fortifications to attack Price and the rebs. seem to be afraid to make another attack upon the place, no doubt remembering full well their great failure and disappointment last October. Our cavalry has been very active for some days, but those at Memphis, whose business it is to keep this army supplied with forage, are very negligent of their duty, and it is fear[ed] just now that much trouble will be felt in consequence, and not unlikely that a great amount of stock will perish. . . .

The river is very low and no communication can be had by land without sending a large force, which dont seem to be required now, that is, there dont seem to be anything that will justify the sending out of a large force in that direction. The 5th Kansas is waiting to be paid, the Paymaster went down on boat last evening and Qr. Master [Edwin D.] Hillyer thinks they will be ready to start home by the last of this week. I hope they will for they are *very* anxious to be on the way. Capt. [Orlin C.] Morse thinks he will get off with them. Clayton was desirous of keeping him there on duty as Provost Marshal. . . .

I see by the papers that there is much trouble in Northern Mo. with "bushwhackers" and that trouble was apprehended on the borders of Southern Kansas. You did not mention the subject so I conclude you feel safe *as usual* at Mound City, which is not saying very much either. . . .

Now good night . . .

As ever, your affectionate Husband.

LITTLE ROCK, ARK.

SUNDAY P. M. AUG 28TH 1864

MY DEAR LITTLE WIFE

. . . One day last week, a portion of Shelby's returning force, took possession for a few hours, of a station on the R. R. burnt a lot of hay and tried to damage the track but did not effect much as they had no effective tools to work with so the damage they did do was soon repaired. The troops under Steele's command are doing

nothing but lay in camp letting their horses starve while rebels are burning hay which they need here so much and in the very place where our cavalry, or a portion of it, should be encamped, because there the horses could have an abundance of grass while the presence of troops there would protect the hay-makers. Here the horses get almost nothing, the men being idle, spend their wages for liquor, get drunk, raise a row and get into the guard house. I have heard no reasons assigned for such mismanagement except that the officers of the different regiments prefer remaining in the city and Steele dont like to incur their displeasure by ordering them away. . . .

Our mess arrangement is about to be broken up and each of the party will have to hunt up boarding for themselves. Charley Haskell expects to move his family into the house we are now occupying. Blodgett and I have begun in time, have succeeded in finding a place and expect to move to it to-morrow. Dont know yet what kind of a place it will prove to be, but think it will be a comfortable place. They will have no boarders but ourselves. . . . I hope we may find it pleasanter there than we have had it for six weeks past. It done very well for awhile but we got to[o] thick to thrive well and having nobody to look after sleeping arrangements the b-d b-gs began to 'intrude and have finally taken possession of our bunks and can drive us out whenever they please. It is astonishing how quickly they over powered us after they first got a start. It is scarcely two weeks since we first knew that there was one in the house and then I could find none about my bed. One week after it was over run with them. I dont think they could have wasted time to perform marriage ceremonies or they could not have multiplied so rapidly. It shows that men cant keep house—right—though they may manage very well in the eating line, and to be civilized they must be taken care of by the women. . . .

I understand that you are favored with the company of Jennison again. Of course you will feel quite safe while he is there with much love I am as ever

your devoted H—d

LITTLE ROCK, ARK.

SUNDAY EVENING OCT. 30TH 1864

MY DEAR LITTLE WIFE

. . . The St. Louis papers of the 24th give accounts of Price's march to the Kansas border near West Port and of a battle on the 23d in which he (Price) was routed and was retreating towards

Fort Scott. We expect to hear, by next mail, that the border counties have been desolated by his troops. . . .

I am in a perfect fever of excitement to know the facts and if the next mail brings intelligence of an invasion of Kansas I shall start at once, unless I get other intelligence which can satisfy me that you are all safe. I don't hope for anything for Mound City if any portion of Price's army has been able to enter it. . . .⁴⁴ Hoping to hear something decisive by next mail I will bid you a most affectionate good night—

From your devoted H—

44. A Confederate army under Gen. Sterling Price began a march, in the latter part of September, from Arkansas through Missouri and into Kansas. The Union troops were few in number and widely scattered, and it seemed at first that Price would accomplish his objectives with little opposition. However, the defenders were rallied, the Kansas militia was called out, and after a number of holding actions and skirmishes during the first three weeks of October Price's troops were defeated at the Battle of the Big Blue on October 22. Next day the Battle of Westport resulted in the "precipitous retreat" of the rebels, and on October 24 they crossed the line into Kansas and camped that night at Trading Post, Linn county. They were closely pressed by the Union forces, and on the 25th the Battle of Mine Creek was fought near Mound City. Price's army was routed and driven back into Arkansas. This was the notorious "Price's Raid," which resulted in Kansas claims totaling several hundred thousand dollars for damages inflicted by the Confederates and for services rendered in the Union cause.

Bypaths of Kansas History

AN EARLY COURT SCENE IN BROWN COUNTY

From the *White Cloud Kansas Chief*, October 11, 1860.

A rich scene transpired in court, in our neighboring county of Brown, a short time since, the like of which cannot be found in the Reports.

One Clark was undergoing a trial upon the charge of resisting the officers of the law in the performance of their duty. The lawyer for the prosecution was in the midst of his speech, and was very severe upon the prisoner. He at length made some assertion, when the prisoner exclaimed: "You're a d—d liar." The prosecutor immediately stopped speaking, and made a lunge at the prisoner. The latter sprang out at the door, and streaked it around the court house, the prosecutor in pursuit. So they had it round and round, the distance between them remaining about ten feet, and neither one appearing to gain. The spectators stood watching the result with breathless interest, no one saying a word, with the exception of a Methodist preacher, who could hold in no longer, but yelled to the pursuer: "Hit him in the ribs! Hit him in the ribs!" But the prosecutor, not having the requisite length of arm for that business, did not hit him in the ribs, and was finally forced to give up the fruitless chase. We believe that was the last of the trial!

WHEN THE RELIGIOUS STORY REACHED CALDWELL

From the *Caldwell Commercial*, August 24, 1882.

Civilization is advancing in the west, particularly in that portion of it covered by the town of Caldwell. And for why? Because the Winchester and self-cocker have given place to nature's arms, good "bunches of fives," and perhaps a stick. Two ructions of that kind occurred last week, one on Thursday and the other on Saturday. Uncle Bill Corzine says the first row arose from the circumstance of one of our well known citizens having attended church or prayer meeting (we have such things in Caldwell) the night previous, where he learned for the first time that the Jews had killed the Gentile Savior something over eighteen hundred years ago. It incensed him to such an extent that the next morning he pitched on the first Jew he met. Bat. Carr and Henry Brown [city marshals], both of whom appear always to be in the way when any fun is going on, stepped up just in time to stop the citizen in his mad endeavor to avenge the wrongs of eighteen centuries standing, and quietly conducted him before his honor Judge Kelly. Uncle Bill says that his honor, putting on all his magisterial dignity, asked the prisoner in his most impressive tones: "What have you to do with Christ, anyhow?" Being unable to answer the conundrum his honor told him to contribute to the depleted city treasury the amount of five dollars, with an extra "In God we trust," to maintain the dignity of the court. The next imitation of a Democratic ward meeting, was brought about by a difference arising from a financial settlement. Both parties got the worst of the row, physically and financially. But while they may feel sore and somewhat distressed, we must congratulate them upon being pioneers in the new order of things that makes the six shooter in this community of no more account than a toy pistol.

Kansas History as Published in the Press

Kirke Mechem, writer of the new series, "Kansas History Through the Years," in *The Kansas Teacher*, Topeka, was introduced to readers by a biographical sketch in the September, 1950, issue. His first article which reviewed the history and work of the Kansas State Historical Society, also appeared in the September number. Other articles in the series during the past school year included: "When the Flag Was First Flown in Kansas," October; "Skeletons in the State House Closet," November; "Jotham Meeker: Indian Missionary, Teacher and First Printer in Kansas," December; "The Bullfight at Dodge City," January, 1951; "A Million Fake Heirlooms," the story of the *Ulster County Gazette* which contained the news of George Washington's death, February; "The 'Messiah Festival' at Lindsborg," March, and "The Grim Chieftain [James H. Lane]," May.

The history of the Centenary Methodist church, North Lawrence, appeared in the Lawrence *Journal-World*, May 28, 1951, in connection with the church's 85th anniversary. The *Journal-World*, August 9, published a brief history of the Hotel Eldridge in Lawrence. The Eldridge, built in 1855, was destroyed twice in border raids.

A sketch of the Kimbrough family which settled near Fact in Clay county in 1882 was printed in the Clay Center *Dispatch*, June 9, 1951. Included in the article were the reminiscences of Cass Kimbrough who operated the store at Fact for 53 years.

The experiences of Henry C. Prince, Marblehead, Mass., in the Dighton area, where he arrived in 1887, are related in his letter published in the Dighton *Herald*, June 20, 1951. Nolen Yates' story of how Dighton was named appeared in the *Herald*, July 25.

A series of biographical sketches taken from the *History of Wyandotte County, Kansas*, by Perl W. Morgan, has appeared in the *News Press*, Bonner Springs, in recent months. Included were: Oscar Hyoort, June 21, 1951; L. G. Frisbie, July 5; William Starr Twist, July 12, and George A. Perkins, July 19.

Excerpts from the diary of Mrs. A. G. Cron, describing a wagon trip from Dakota territory to Kansas in 1881, were printed in *The Butler County News*, El Dorado, June 21, 1951. The *Butler Free-Lance*, El Dorado, July 5, published a history of Prospect school, Butler county, which was organized in 1872.

The early railroad history of Kansas and particularly of the Russell area as told by O. P. Byers was published in the *Russell Record*, June 25, 1951.

Among short historical articles which have appeared in recent issues of the *Courtland Journal* were the history of White Rock by Grant Lovewell, June 28, 1951, and historical sketches of Courtland, July 5, 26 and August 2.

An article entitled "Frankfort's Early Day Merchants," was reprinted in the *Frankfort Index*, June 28, July 5, 1951, from the *National Headlight*, Frankfort, March 5, 1880.

A two-page article entitled "Council Grove, Kansas—Chosen as the Most Historical Town on the Old Santa Fe Trail," with pictures, appeared in the *Railroad Digest*, Ottawa, June, 1951.

Coats was featured July 3, 1951, and Iuka on August 30 in the series of two-page articles by Rowland R. Peters on communities in the Pratt area, printed by the *Pratt Daily Tribune*. On September 24, the *Tribune* published a 44-page friendship edition as a part of the "friendship week" activities in Pratt. Included in the edition were features on Pratt municipal and private organizations and institutions.

On July 5, 1951, the *Louisburg Herald*, in celebration of its 75th anniversary, printed a short historical sketch of Louisburg.

A three-column history of the Almena Congregational church was published in the *Almena Plaindealer*, July 5, 1951. The church was organized in 1886 and the Rev. Holly H. Avery was the first pastor.

The fourth in a series of historical and progress editions was published by the *Phillips County Review*, Phillipsburg, July 5, 1951. Featured were Phillipsburg schools, early Kirwin history, Phillips county officials and a biographical sketch of Mrs. Sarah Bentley, one of the county's pioneers, now 102 years of age.

A history of the Maydale Catholic church and school was published in the *Eastern Kansas Register*, Kansas City, July 13, 1951. The first Catholics arrived in the area late in 1869 and services were at first held at irregular intervals in the homes. The first church was erected in 1875.

Among articles of historical interest to Kansans published recently in the *Kansas City (Mo.) Star* were: "Terror in Flash Flood a Highlight of Recollections by Custer's Widow," excerpts from Elizabeth

B. Custer's *Tenting on the Plains* and a review of her life in Kansas, by Everett Rich, July 16, 1951, and "Climate and Circumstance Toughened People of Kansas in Pioneer Mold," by Dr. George N. Mendenhall, July 17. Articles in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Times* included: "Dr. [Harry R.] Wahl Links K. U. Medical Center to Its Beginnings on Seminary Hill," by Conwell Carlson, July 6; "K. U. Museum Memorializes Collector's Ardor of Prof. Lewis Lindsay Dyche," by Albert H. Hindman, July 25; "Settlers Moved Into the Last Great Pioneer Country [in Oklahoma] 50 Years Ago Today," by W. W. Baker, August 6; "Alfred Miller's Pictures and Words Provide a Tour of the West That Was," a review of Marvin C. Ross' *The West of Alfred Jacob Miller*, by Warren H. Griffith, August 13; "Finding of Tombstone *Epitaph's* Lost Files Adds to Luster of Wyatt Earp," by Dean Prichard, August 27, and "History and Scenery Are Mingled in the Far Northeast Corner of Kansas," by E. B. Dykes Beachy, September 15.

Reminiscences written in 1901 by J. R. Marsh, early settler of Chautauqua county, concerning early county history were printed in the Cedar Vale *Messenger*, July 19, 1951.

Notes on the history of Lebanon appeared in the *Smith County Pioneer*, Smith Center, July 19, 1951, in recognition of the town's 64th anniversary.

Short historical sketches printed recently in the Atchison *Daily Globe* included the story of a roadhouse on the old Oregon trail which still stands, July 23, 1951; and an article published July 30 on the history of the Missouri Pacific railroad for which ground breaking ceremonies were held in July, 1851. Passenger service was initiated in December, 1852, said to be the first west of the Mississippi.

The first log cabin near present Marysville was the subject of a brief article in the Marysville *Advocate*, July 26, 1951. The cabin was erected in 1851 by F. J. Marshall, for whom the county was named. A marker has been placed on the site by the Marysville Rotary club.

A brief historical article entitled "Leavenworth Pioneer City," appeared in the July, 1951, issue of *To the Stars*, Topeka, and was reprinted in the Leavenworth *Times*, July 18.

A description and the history of the old Jewett ranch in Sedgwick county appeared in the Cheney *Sentinel*, August 2, 1951. The

ranch was started in 1884 when Henry C. Jewett, Buffalo, N. Y., bought 5,160 acres of land and built extensive improvements on it. Jewett sold the ranch in 1897 and soon thereafter it was broken up. The house, originally used by the ranch managers, is now being torn down. Short histories of Marshall, early Sedgwick county town, and Cheney, with a biographical sketch of Benjamin P. Cheney, for whom the town was named, were printed in the *Sentinel*, August 16, 1951. Marshall, established in the 1870's, moved to Cheney in 1883 when the railroad reached that place.

Early days in Graham county were briefly discussed by Mrs. Minnie Vesper in an article in the *Hill City Times*, August 2, 1951. Mrs. Vesper came to Graham county in 1887.

A 112-page, eight-section, "pride in progress" edition was published by the Great Bend *Tribune*, August 10, 1951. Printed in celebration of the *Tribune's* 75th anniversary, the edition contains histories of the paper and of many phases of Great Bend and Barton county life. The *Tribune* first appeared as *The Inland Tribune*, edited and published by Chan P. Townsley, in 1876.

The Ebenezer Methodist church, near Clay Center, recently observed its 75th anniversary, and a brief history of the church appeared in the *Clay Center Times*, August 16, 1951. It was organized in 1876 by the Rev. John Ehram and the Rev. Jacob Tanner.

A pioneer edition of *The Modern Light*, Columbus, devoted to events in the history of Columbus and Cherokee county, was published August 16, 1951. A column of historical notes, "Do You Remember," has continued to appear regularly in the *Light*.

"The Story of General Jim" is the title of a four-column article by Wayne O'Connell, on the military activities of Maj. Gen. James G. Blunt in southeastern Kansas during the Civil War, which appeared in the *Baxter Springs Citizen*, August 20, 1951, and the *Chetopa Advance*, September 6.

Emil Abrahamson's story of the early days at Garfield as told to Lois J. Black, appeared in *The Tiller and Toiler*, Larned, August 30, 1951. Abrahamson came to Pawnee county from Illinois in 1879 when he was one year old.

A column-length letter by Judge John S. Dawson recalling some of his experiences as a school teacher in and near Fremont, now Morland, in the early 1890's was printed in the *Morland Monitor*, August 30, 1951.

A brief biographical sketch of William A. Phillips, founder of Salina, and some of the early history of Salina are included in an article by Barbara Jean Orendorff and Marilyn Lou Peters, Kansas Wesleyan University students, in the *Salina Advertiser-Sun*, August 30, 1951. Phillips and other members of the town company began a survey of the townsite early in 1858.

Several publications have made pictorial records of the July, 1951, Kansas and Missouri flood. Among these are: *Southwestern Telephone News*, St. Louis, August, 1951; a 24-page publication by the *Topeka Daily Capital*; a 48-page pamphlet of pictures of the flood in Manhattan by the *Manhattan Tribune-News*; "Picture Story of the Flood Waters in Marion and Vicinity, July, 1951," 20 pages, by the *Marion Record-Review*, and "The 1951 Flood in Greater Kansas City, a Picture Review," privately published.

The founding of Manhattan was briefly discussed in the *Manhattan Tribune-News*, September 2, 1951. Juniata, established in 1853 or before, was the first town near the present site of Manhattan, followed by Poliska, Canton and Boston in 1854 and 1855. Plans are being made by the Manhattan Chamber of Commerce and the Riley County Historical Association for the centennial celebration.

A page-length article on Stockton by Helen Francis, was published in the *Hays Daily News*, September 9, 1951. The first settlers arrived at the Stockton townsite in the early 1870's and the town was incorporated in 1879.

The story of the journey through Kansas of Grand Duke Alexis of Russia in 1872, and of his buffalo hunt in central Kansas, was published in the *Lyons Daily News*, September 17, 1951.

Articles in the September, 1951, number of the *Bulletin of the Shawnee County Historical Society* included: T. M. Lillard's description in verse of Topeka as it was 40 years ago; another installment of "Old Shawnee County Families"; part 5 of Russell K. Hickman's "The First Congregational Church of Topeka"; the conclusion of John Daniel Bright's "The Generous Ichabod [Washburn]"; "In the Tradition," a memorial to the late Paul B. Sweet, by T. M. Lillard; "They Came to Kansas," the story of two German emigrants who settled near Meriden in the 1850's; a continuation of George A. Root's "Chronology of Shawnee County," and several short articles.

Kansas Historical Notes

Fred D. Warren, former editor of the *Appeal to Reason*, Girard, was the speaker at a meeting of the Crawford County Historical Society in Girard, June 11, 1951. A quiz program and singing were other features. Ralph Shideler is president of the society.

On June 24, 1951, members of the National Railway Historical Society, Kansas City, visited the museum and other points of historical interest in Fort Scott, and listened to a talk by Ralph Richards on Fort Scott history.

Moses Grinter, first permanent white settler in Wyandotte county, was the subject of talks by Clint Hammer and Judge William H. McCamish at a dinner meeting, July 2, 1951, of the Wyandotte County Historical Society in the Grinter home, built in 1857.

Frank "Chief" Haucke of Council Grove was the speaker at the 1951 annual Fourth of July dinner of the Lyon County Historical Society in Emporia. Mr. Haucke spoke on the Santa Fe trail and the historical importance of Council Grove. At the annual business meeting, September 17, Orville Watson Mosher II, was elected president of the society. Other officers elected were: Catherine H. Jones, first vice-president; Albert Thomas, second vice-president; Mrs. C. A. Moore, secretary; Warren Morris, treasurer, and Mabel H. Edwards and Charles Caldwell, new historians; Mrs. F. L. Gilson and Lucina Jones were re-elected historians.

Mrs. H. C. Campbell was elected president of the Pawnee County Historical Society at a meeting in the courthouse, Larned, July 6, 1951. A. H. Lupfer, president of the society since its organization in 1923, was named president emeritus. Other officers elected included: Charles Peterson, first vice-president; Mrs. Alice McNamara, second vice-president; Mrs. C. E. Grove, secretary; Mrs. Leslie E. Wallace, treasurer; Mrs. R. V. Phinney, custodian, and Mrs. A. N. Wedge and H. C. (Hal) Evans, directors. Re-elected to the board of directors were: Mrs. George W. Bindley, John Sweeny, Harry Hunsley and H. L. Reed.

A meeting of the Douglass Historical Society was held August 9, 1951, at the completion of the first year of the society's existence. All officers were retained for another year. They are: Mrs. Elmer Sherar, president; J. M. Guyot, vice-president; Mrs. Inez Graves, secretary; Mrs. Daisy Lamb, historian, and Mrs. Viola Dennett, reporter.

Ten antique steam engines, models 1890 to 1932, were the featured attractions at an exhibition presented by the Antique Engine and Threshers Association in Wichita, August 9-12, 1951.

About 200 persons attended the meeting of the Labette County Old Settlers' Association on September 3, 1951, in Oswego. The program included musical entertainment and short talks by persons who recalled early county history. All officers of the association were re-elected. They are: Herman Hurst, president; Elmer S. Nance, vice-president, and Bess Francisco, secretary and treasurer.

George Miller, Cottonwood Falls, was elected president of the Chase County Historical Society at the annual meeting September 8, 1951. Other officers chosen were: Henry Rogler, Matfield Green, vice-president; George Dawson, Elmdale, treasurer, and Helen Austin, Cottonwood Falls, secretary and chief historian. Appointed to the executive committee were: Ida Vinson, Clint Baldwin, Lizzie Worth, Howel Jones, Minnie Norton, T. R. Wells and Claude Hawkins. The society is now engaged in preparing the third volume of *Chase County Historical Sketches*.

Paul B. Winter was elected president of the Old Settlers' Association of Douglas county at the annual meeting in Lawrence, September 15, 1951. Other officers are: Vanroy Miller, vice-president; I. F. Eberhart, secretary; Mrs. I. F. Eberhart, assistant secretary and necrologist; Mrs. Guy Bigsby, treasurer, and Mrs. R. E. Love, historian. The guest speaker at the gathering was the Rev. Dale E. Turner, pastor of the Plymouth Congregational church.

Nyle H. Miller, assistant secretary of the State Historical Society, was the guest speaker at the Jackson county Old Settlers' picnic in Holton, September 20, 1951. R. E. Singer was chosen president of the group for the coming year. Other officers are: A. E. Venneberg, vice-president; Mabel Epling, secretary, and John A. Pomeroy, treasurer. The Rev. Travis Siever was the retiring president.

Officers recently elected by the Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society are: Mrs. James Glenn Bell, president; Mrs. Homer Bair, first vice-president; Mrs. David Huber, second vice-president; Mrs. Fred Carter, recording secretary; Mrs. John Blake, corresponding secretary; Mrs. Chas. Houlehan, treasurer; Mrs. Kenneth Carbaugh, historian, and Mrs. C. L. Curry, curator.

A 145-page narrative by Roderick Cameron dealing with the arrival in Kansas of the Cameron family and their pioneer life on the plains, was recently published under the title *Pioneer Days in Kansas*. The Camerons came to northwest Kansas in 1878 from Minnesota.

The growth and the commercial and political development of the American colonies between 1664 and 1765 is the subject of *Liberty and Property*, by R. V. Coleman, a native Kansan, recently published by Charles Scribner's Sons. This volume continues the story of early America begun in Coleman's *The First Frontier*, published three years before.

Travels in Search of the Elephant: the Wanderings of Alfred S. Waugh, Artist, in Louisiana, Missouri, and Santa Fe, in 1845-1846 is the title of a 153-page volume edited and annotated by John Francis McDermott and published by the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis. All available portions of Waugh's own account of his travels are published in this work.

Errata and Addenda, Volume XIX

Page 39, line 21, read May 12, 1894.

Page 67, middle of the page: Memorial day, May 30, was declared a legal holiday by an act of the Kansas legislature of 1886.

Page 190, line 26: John Beymer should read Charles Beymer.

Page 251, eight lines from bottom of page: Will Sluster should read Will Shuster.

Page 254, line 15: The date 1948 should read 1848.

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