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THE
Kansas Historical
Quarterly

KIRKE MECHEM, Editor
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Volume II

Number 1

February, 1933

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NOTE.—Articles in the *Quarterly* appear in chronological order without regard to their importance.

Ferries in Kansas

GEORGE A. ROOT

Part 1—Missouri River

SETTLEMENT of that portion of present Kansas bordering on the Missouri river at once established the need of communication with the outside world. Steamboats were not yet making regular trips up the "Big Muddy," so some other method of water transportation must be made use of. Mackinaw boats¹ and bull boats² used by early trappers and by the military at the time of the establishment of Cantonment Martin were pressed into use, and in the absence of anything better served their day and age very acceptably. When these mackinaw boats were not to be had the white man fashioned a dugout from the trunk of some suitable tree near enough to water to serve the purpose. Rafts were made use of, also. Then followed the primitive ferryboats, formed of two or three dugouts with poles laid crosswise and closely together; later the boats were made from sawed lumber, propelled by poles at first, then by oars, then by means of ropes or cables stretched across the streams, the current often furnishing the propelling force, and then "Old Dobbin" was harnessed and pressed into service. When immigration set in for Oregon, Utah and California, horse-propelled ferries were about the fastest mode of crossing the Missouri, but these were few. In the latter fifties and early sixties steam was adopted by the most enterprising ferrymen.

With the coming of the missionaries and early settlers arose the necessity for permanent roads. These thoroughfares were laid out regardless of section lines, and usually followed the divides. When a stream had to be crossed a good fording place was sought. When this was not convenient or practicable, a ferry solved the problem. Up to the time of the signing of the Kansas-Nebraska bill there were but few ferries owned or controlled by residents living west of the Missouri river—these being the ones operating from old Canton-

1. A flat-bottomed boat with a pointed prow and square stern, using oars or sails, or both, used especially on the upper Great Lakes and their tributaries.

2. The bull boat was in common use on the Missouri and other western rivers between 1810 and 1830, being especially adapted on account of lightness of draft. They were shaped much like a light raft and were from 25 to 30 feet long. This framework was covered with buffalo bull hides sewed tightly together. These boats were capable of carrying a cargo of 5,000 to 6,000 pounds.—*Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 9, p. 271.

ment Martin, Fort Leavenworth, Grinter's, Wyandotte, Papan's, Smith's, Ogee's and Marshall's ferry at the Blue.

With the establishment of the territory came an era of town speculation:

"It was the day of small things but great beginnings. . . . Opportunity was knocking at every door. There were schemes of every sort, rational and chimerical. The laws of the early legislative sessions furnish abundant examples. If charters had been taxed, the revenues would have embarrassed the vaults of the treasury. It was a time of tremendous mental and business activity. Official sanction was given to operate ferries, toll bridges, and stage lines in every direction. Highways were projected to imaginary cities in the undisputed prairie grass, where flaming lithographs exploited the sale of town lots at fabulous prices before there were any inhabitants except grasshoppers and prairie dogs. Mail routes were established in advance of post offices or settlements, and contracts awarded and paid for by an indulgent government when there was no occasion for any service, and when in fact no service had been performed. The Kansas river and many of its insignificant tributaries were declared navigable streams, when in some of them the catfish actually suffered for water. There were prophets in those days."³

Up to the meeting of the so-called "bogus legislature" (the legislature of 1855) there had been no restrictions hampering anyone wishing to start a ferry. Before that body adjourned it had adopted, along with many other Missouri laws, the one regarding ferries. This act was evidently a satisfactory one, for not until 1862 were any changes made in it, and these only regarding amounts of tax to be paid to the county, or forfeits for failure to secure licenses before engaging in business.

The earliest ferries touching Kansas were started by residents of Missouri. These primitive affairs served their day and purpose, enabling residents living on the west side of the Missouri river to keep in touch with the East. With the era of railroad and bridge building which followed the Civil War, however, the day of the ferry gradually passed, until now it is but a memory. With the building of the Hannibal bridge at Kansas City in 1869, the Fort Leavenworth and Elwood bridges in 1873 and the Atchison bridge in 1875, the need for ferries was almost ended—one being operated at Kansas City as late as 1888, one at Leavenworth—the *Willie Cade*—until about the last of the eighties, and one at White Cloud, which was inaugurated in the fall of 1932, after that town had been without ferry privileges for several years.

The following is an attempt to list Missouri- and Kansas-owned ferries which had any intercourse with the territory embraced in

3. Albert R. Greene, "In Remembrance," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 11, p. 486.

Kansas. The arrangement is not chronological, but rather, geographical, beginning near the mouth of the Kansas river and proceeding up the Missouri. Some, created by acts of the territorial and early state legislatures, may never have functioned; in all probability the charters or licenses were secured by promoters who hoped to "unload" at a good price to other parties. In some cases these charters, granted for a specified number of years and claiming exclusive rights within certain bounds, seemingly overlap. In several instances this may be due to the fact that the first parties allowed their franchises to lapse.

This list, by no means complete, is offered by the writer as the first attempt to gather data on early ferries on the Missouri river. Subsequent chapters will complete the review of ferrying on the Missouri river and will cover the history of ferrying on the Kansas, Republican, Smoky Hill, Neosho, Arkansas, and other rivers of Kansas.

The first ferry operating at or near the mouth of the Kansas river over the Missouri was established in 1825 by Joseph Boggs, a resident of Clay County, Missouri. Richard Linville⁴ also started one the same year. A third ferry, operated by John Thornton, was located "at or near the Blue Bank." In May, 1825, a road was laid out from Liberty to Thornton's ferry; another ran from Liberty to the Missouri river "at the boat landing at the town of Gallatin; still another ran from Liberty to the mouth of the Kansas river. From the meager records obtainable it is difficult to locate the exact points of these ferries and landings owing to changes in the river banks and the vagueness in the descriptions of the landing places. When the license was issued to Joseph Boggs, in September, 1825, he was authorized to keep a ferry across the Missouri river 'from the bank where Wyatt Adkins lives.' " He was permitted to charge the following rates:

For a loaded wagon and team, \$2.

Empty wagon and team, \$1.

Dearborn and horses, or gig and horses, 62½ cents.

Man and horse, 37½ cents.

Single person, 18¾ cents.

Horses, each, 18¾ cents.

Sheep, hogs and cattle, each, 3 cents.

4. Linville sold out in 1826 to an old Frenchman named Calisse Montarges, commonly called "Caleece." He ran the boat until 1830, and it must have been the most popular of all the ferries. The old man was one of the eccentric characters known all along the river, as there have been many others since that time engaged in the transportation of men, animals and chattels from one side of the river to the other. Calisse came to this part of the country soon after the War of 1812 as a French trapper and voyageur.—Deatherage, *History of Greater Kansas City*, p. 188.

These charges were regulated by the division of the old Spanish dollar into bits. A bit was 12½ cents; a bit and a half was 18¾ cents; 2 bits, 25 cents; 4 bits, 50 cents, and 8 bits a dollar.⁵

Prime's ferry at Independence, Mo., was being operated in 1829, according to Frederick Chouteau in his reminiscences published in *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 8.

The settlement of the Platte Purchase had an important effect upon Kansas City, Mo. Up to that time there had been no ferry across the river there other than canoes, but with the opening of this new country there was a spasmodic movement into it from the south side of the river. To accommodate this immigration Peter Roy, son of Louis Roy, who settled at the foot of Grand avenue during 1826, established a flatboat ferry, and in order to provide better access to it than by the old road he cut a new road through the woods from about where Walnut street crosses Fifteenth street, past the present junction of Main and Delaware streets, and thence down a deep ravine along Delaware street to Sixth, thence across by the corner of Main and Fifth streets, diagonally across the public square and thence to the river a little east of the present line of Grand avenue from Third street down. This road afterward became a factor in the concentration of the Santa Fé trade at this place, and was the one mainly used by the heavy freighting teams, as it afforded a tolerably easy grade to the river, and also provided in later years the means of reaching Westport by a short cut. The ferry thus established by Mr. Roy, was conducted by him but a short time when he sold it to James H. McGee, who then lived on a farm south of Sixteenth street. McGee sold the ferry in less than a year to Rev. Isaac McCoy,⁶ who conducted it until 1843 when he sold it to his son, John C. McCoy.⁷ Mr. McCoy subsequently sold a half interest in it to John Campbell, and in 1854 disposed of the other half to Messrs. Northrup and Chick.⁸ This ferry was convenient to the military road running from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Gibson, and was close to the trading posts located on the Kaw near its

5. Gatewood, *History of Clay and Platte Counties, Missouri*, p. 113; Deatherage, *History of Greater Kansas City*, pp. 187, 188.

6. Rev. Isaac McCoy, Baptist missionary, was born in Pennsylvania in 1784, and died in Kentucky in 1846. He removed to Missouri in 1829 and later located near the mouth of the Kansas river. He and his sons surveyed most of the Indian reservations located in Kansas.

7. John Calvin McCoy was born in Indiana in 1811. He came west and assisted his father in surveying in the Indian country. He later settled in Johnson county, Kansas, where he lived many years. He died in Kansas City, Mo., in 1889.

8. *History of Kansas City, Mo.*, pp. 295, 296; *Goodspeed's History of Wyandotte County, Kansas*, p. 468.

mouth, and also to several missions located among the Shawnees along the route of the Santa Fé trail a few miles southwest of Westport landing.

In 1828 another ferry was started by a man named Frost.⁹

Another ferry was operated by one Aaron Overton in May, 1830, at the mouth of Rose's branch.¹⁰

All the above ferries were propelled by oars or sweeps, and it was a good half day's work to take a boat over to the south side of the river and bring back an emigrant wagon.¹¹

In November, 1831, Allen Overton had a ferry at Overton's crossing. Shrewsbury Williams operated one in 1832, and Samuel Gragg established one in 1833.¹²

Col. Shubael Allen established a landing on his plantation about 1830, and near by William Yates had a ferry in 1831. In the fall of that year Colonel Allen obtained the ferry and operated it from his warehouse. This ferry was succeeded by Fielding McCoy's ferry.¹³

Allen's landing, from 1829 until the death of Colonel Allen in 1841, was the main point of exit and entrance of nearly all the business and travel of northwest Missouri, in its communication with the outer world by the river. It was for many years the starting point of a large number of the employees of the American Fur Company in their expeditions to the plains and the mountains of the great Northwest.¹⁴

Isaac Ellis was granted a license in 1838 or 1839 to operate a ferry across the Missouri river, between the Platte county side and the west bank, and toll rates were prescribed.¹⁵

In 1844 William M. Chick started a ferry at Kansas City. The first boat was simply a flatboat with two men to pull the oars. Later a horse ferryboat was substituted and operated for a year or two. While using the horsepower boat a traveling circus came through and was ferried across the river. Mr. Chick states that there were different kinds of animals to be brought over and that they had no trouble with any except the elephant. It at first refused to come on board, but after much coaxing, was finally induced to do so. The deck creaked but the elephant was finally brought

9. Deatherage, *History of Greater Kansas City*, p. 188.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 188.

11. Gatewood, *History of Clay and Platte Counties, Missouri*, p. 101.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 119.

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 118, 119.

14. *U. S. Biographical Dictionary, Missouri*, p. 313.

15. Gatewood, *History of Clay and Platte Counties, Missouri*, p. 572.

safely across, though not without considerable damage to the boat, which cost \$10 to repair. Mr. Chick tried to get the showman to pay the \$10, but he refused. Then Mr. Chick sued him, and attached some of his belongings so he could not leave. The trouble was brought before the justice of the peace court in Westport and the showman was made to pay the \$10.¹⁶

Early in the 1840's Kansas City, Mo., and Westport became the depot for trade with Santa Fé and Mexico, as well as with California, Utah and Oregon, and for a number of years following immense caravans fitted out there for the long and perilous journeys to the far West. Westport had one of the best landings on the Missouri, and being most convenient to the Oregon and Santa Fé trails enjoyed a monopoly of the business following these transcontinental highways. Factories sprang up in the growing city, and about everything needed in the transportation business was manufactured on the spot. The magnitude of the freighting business starting from there is shown in the following figures: In 1840 there were five firms or proprietors engaged in the trade, with 60 wagons valued at \$50,000. The following year there were a dozen firms similarly engaged, operating 100 wagons, valued at \$150,000. In 1842 there were fifteen, with 120 wagons valued at \$160,000 and thirty in 1843, with 350 wagons worth \$450,000.¹⁷ During the period between the early 1840's and the latter 1850's this business doubled and trebled, for Kansas City's business transactions for the year 1857 amounted to over \$3,000,000. This business increased materially during the next few years, when, owing to raiding parties during the Civil War, it practically ceased, the commerce previously enjoyed having moved north to Fort Leavenworth, Atchison and Nebraska City, where it was practically immune. After the war the immense business going west from Kansas City was taken over by the railroads, and the long lines of prairie schooners, each wagon drawn by a team of six or eight slow-plodding oxen or a like number of sturdy Missouri mules and presided over by a picturesque "bullwhacker" or "mule skinner," faded out of the picture.

Wyandotte was the natural distributing point for settlements along the Kansas river and points to the south and west, and was the radiating point for a number of roads leading in different directions. One ran northwest to Quindaro and on to Parkville, Mo.; one to Leavenworth; one to old Shawnee Mission, where it joined

16. Reminiscences of Washington Henry Chick, MS., in the Kansas State Historical Society.

17. Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairie*, v. 2, p. 144.

the Old Santa Fé trail; one connected with the road to Fort Scott; one to Grinter's ferry, where it crossed the Kaw river and ran up the Kaw valley; one crossed the Kansas river and ran to Kansas City and Westport.

There was a plot along the river at Wyandotte, known as "Ferry Tract," and here the various ferryboats having ferry privileges within the city took on or discharged their cargoes. Ferryboats *Lizzie*, of Kansas City, Mo., in 1855; and *S. C. Pomeroy*, of Wyandotte City, the largest ferryboat on the river, put in operation by Capt. Otis Webb in 1857, plied back and forth from the two cities at the mouth of the Kaw.¹⁸

Joseph C. Ransom & Co. were authorized by the legislature of 1857 to maintain a ferry across the Missouri river between Wyandotte and Kansas City, Mo.,¹⁹

William Walker,²⁰ Thomas H. Doyle, Cyrus Garrett²¹ and Henry McMullin were granted authority by the legislature of 1857 to run a ferry across the Missouri river, and to have a landing on land owned or claimed by the Wyandotte City Company, or others, within the town limits. Their ferry privileges were to run for twenty-five years.²²

The legislature of 1858 granted a charter to Silas Armstrong,²³ W. Y. Roberts,²⁴ S. W. Eldridge,²⁵ James McGrew²⁶ and James D. Chestnut,²⁷ to operate a ferry across the Missouri river under the name of the Wyandotte City Ferry Company, the charter to be for a period of twenty-one years, and to have exclusive privilege of landing at any place on the west side of the river between the point where the Missouri state line leaves the same, and a point one mile above the mouth of the Kansas river on the Missouri river, and at

18. Andreas, *History of Kansas*, p. 1230.

19. *Laws, Kansas*, 1857, pp. 157, 185.

20. William Walker was a native of Michigan, born in 1799, and died in Kansas City in 1874. He was a leader and counsellor of the Wyandotts, and came to Kansas in 1843 with the tribe. He acquired the title of "governor" when he was appointed provisional governor of territory embraced in Nebraska and Kansas.

21. Cyrus Garrett was a Wyandott, born about 1835.

22. *Laws, Kansas*, 1857, p. 157.

23. Silas Armstrong was born at Xenia, Ohio, in 1810. He was president of the Wyandotte City town company and became wealthy. He died in 1865.

24. William Y. Roberts was a native of Pennsylvania and born about 1811. He came to Kansas in 1855, took an active part in the territorial struggle, and held many positions of trust. He died near Lawrence in 1869.

25. Shalor Winchell Eldridge was born in Massachusetts in 1816. He was a railroad contractor and came to Kansas in 1856 and leased the Free State hotel that year, and also established a stage line from Kansas City to Lawrence and Topeka. He died at Lawrence in 1899.

26. James McGrew was born in Pennsylvania in 1822. In 1859 he settled at Wyandotte, and was engaged in various occupations. He died in Kansas City, Kansas, January 19, 1911.

27. James D. Chestnut was probably one of the directors of a South Carolina company that came to Kansas early in 1856.—*Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 15, p. 415.

any point on the bank of the Kansas river, one-eighth of a mile from its mouth. Nothing was to infringe on the right of the Wyandotte ferry to cross the Kansas river. This act was vetoed by the acting governor, and was passed by the legislature over his vote.²⁸ This ferry was operated between Wyandotte and Kansas City, Mo., for a number of years.

It is said a steam ferry was in operation at Wyandotte as early as 1858, but no details are available.²⁹

The city of Wyandotte was granted a charter by the legislature of 1860 to operate a ferry across the Missouri river, to ply at any point or points between the mouth of the Kansas river and a point on the Missouri two miles above the mouth, for a period of twenty years. The city of Wyandotte was to run a good and substantial steam ferry-boat within six months from the passage of the act, which was approved by the governor February 14, 1860. The act also provided that the city of Wyandotte should have power to lease the ferry right for any term of years not exceeding the term for which the charter was granted.³⁰

On May 23, 1867, the Kansas and Missouri Ferry Company, of Wyandotte, was chartered. J. B. Scroggs,³¹ Charles S. Glick, S. V. Morse, D. M. Cable, J. A. Berry,³² Isaiah Walker, Russell Garrett,³³ H. M. Cook and W. B. Bowman were the incorporators. The capital stock of the company was \$50,000 and shares \$50 each. The new ferry was scheduled to operate from the levee at Wyandotte across the Missouri river. The charter was filed with the secretary of state May 25, 1867.³⁴

During the ferrying era the condition of the levee was paramount. From time to time repairs were made as occasion demanded. In the fall of 1866 the city began to realize the need of better protection from the encroachments of the Missouri. A committee was appointed by the city council to confer with railroad companies, but no decision was reached at that time and no action was taken. The *Wyandotte Gazette* urged that steps be taken at once, whether the railroads were ready to coöperate or not, stating that if the levee

28. *Laws, Kansas*, 1858, pp. 70, 71.

29. *First Biennial Report*, State Board of Agriculture, 1877-'78, p. 455.

30. *Laws, Kansas*, private, 1860, p. 287.

31. John B. Scroggs was an Ohioan, born in 1838. He removed to Wyandotte in 1866, and later served as county attorney and as mayor of the city. His death occurred June 28, 1898.

32. J. A. Berry was a resident of Wyandotte county during the latter fifties, and for a year and a half published the *Wyandotte Democrat*.

33. Russell Garrett was a Wyandott.

34. *Corporations*, v. 1, p. 340, in Archives Department, Kansas State Historical Society. Hereafter cited as *Corporations*.

was not preserved Wyandotte would soon lose the great advantage she then possessed over other river towns, that of ample room for the transaction of heavy railroad and river business combined. Apparently nothing in the way of permanent protection had been accomplished up to the latter part of May, 1868, when renewed efforts on the part of the city officials were again made. The *Gazette* of May 30 contained the following:

"OUR LEVEE. We learn that Mayor Cobb and Mr. Killen have been to St. Louis and had a conference with the directors or some officers of the Missouri Pacific railroad in regard to the protection of our levee. At the meeting of the council on Tuesday evening, a resolution was passed, offering, in case the voters ratify the proposition, to give the railroad company \$5,000 in ten-year 7 percent bonds, with right of way and depot grounds, if the company will go ahead and thoroughly protect the levee, from the mouth of Jersey creek to the mouth of the Kansas river. The company has a gang of men now at work throwing in stone, and we presume will accept the proposition. So mote it be."

The ferry business on the Missouri river had no serious opposition until the advent of the railroad. The first bridge to span the river was that of the Hannibal & St. Joseph railroad, built at Kansas City in 1866. Up to this time freight shipments from Kansas and the west had found their way in good part to the mouth of the Kansas river by way of the various wagon roads and the old Kansas Pacific railroad, which was put in operation that year.³⁵ Late in 1867 that railroad was considering laying a third rail between the state line and the ferry landing to enable the road to handle standard-gauge cars. This was for the purpose of transferring freight from this road to the Kansas City & Cameron railroad.³⁶

Moving up the river from Wyandotte we find the next point at which a ferry was operated was Quindaro, about four miles distant.

Quindaro was started as a free-state town in December, 1856. The river at this place had a rocky channel and good banks for landing. By May, 1857, the city had a force of workmen grading the ground near the wharf and Kansas avenue, the main street running north from the river. By July a steam ferryboat 100 feet long, with a 26-foot beam, was running between Quindaro and Parkville, a few miles up the river.³⁷

The legislature of 1858 granted a charter to Otis Webb,³⁸ Charles

35. *Report*, State Board of Agriculture, 1877-'78, p. 455.

36. *Wyandotte Gazette*, January 4, 1868.

37. *Report*, State Board of Agriculture, 1877-'78, p. 455; Andreas, *History of Kansas*, p. 1229.

38. Capt. Otis Webb was a noted Missouri river steamboat captain, and ran a boat named for himself.

Robinson³⁹ and Charles H. Chapin⁴⁰ to establish another ferry cross the Missouri river at Quindaro, with one or more landings for a period of twenty-one years. The law provided that no other ferry should be established between the intersections of the west bounds of sec. 22, T. 10, R. 24 E., and the east bounds of sec. 28, T. 10, R. 25 E., with the Missouri river. Charges for ferriage were fixed as follows:

Each passenger, 10 cents.

Two-horse team loaded, \$1.25.

One-horse carriage, 75 cents.

Each additional horse, mule, ass, ox, cow, calf, 15 cents.

Each score of sheep or swine, \$1.

Lumber, \$1.50 per 1,000 feet.

All freight, not lumber, not in teams loaded and unloaded by the owner thereof, and with a detention not exceeding 15 minutes, 10 cents per 100 pounds.⁴¹

This ferry was convenient to a road from Leavenworth to Wyandotte, was but a few miles below the Parkville landing by the river, and was also the northern terminus of a road running in a southerly direction through the Delaware and Shawnee lands, and on to the vicinity of Paola, Miami county.⁴²

Later, George W. Veale, Abelard Guthrie, Fielding Johnson⁴³ and Julius G. Fisk were granted a charter, by the legislature of 1860, to maintain a ferry at the present limits of Quindaro for a period of ten years. The law provided that no other ferry should be established within two miles of the city, and that the landing should be restricted to and confined within the limits of said city.⁴⁴

A Quindaro ferryboat was sunk by Missourians in 1861, but it is not known who were the owners. The motive claimed was to prevent slaves from escaping.⁴⁵

On July 31, 1866, the Quindaro and Parkville Ferry Company was chartered, Alfred Gray, Alfred Robinson, David Pearson, Francis Kessler and Francis A. Kessler being the incorporators. The company proposed to operate a ferry across the Missouri river, steam, horse, or man power to be used as the company should prefer. The

39. Gov. Charles Robinson was a member of the Quindaro Town Company.

40. Charles Herman Chapin was a native of New York, born in 1822. He came to Kansas in 1856 and was identified with the free-state movement. Later he was employed in the United States engineering service. He died in 1889.

41. *Laws, Kansas*, 1858, pp. 68, 69.

42. Gunn and Mitchell's *Map of Kansas*, 1862.

43. Fielding Johnson was born in Indiana in 1810. He served in the Black Hawk War. In 1856 he came to Kansas, and settled at Quindaro in 1857. He removed to Topeka in 1866, where he died in 1872.

44. *Laws, Private, Kansas*, 1860, pp. 285, 286.

45. *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 13, p. 190.

ferry was to run between the dividing line between sec. 29, T. 10, R. 24 E., extending from the east to the west bank of the river, and embracing a strip of land 100 feet wide within these limits. The principal office was at Quindaro, and capital stock was \$20,000, in shares of \$100 each. The charter was filed with the secretary of state, August 14, 1866.⁴⁶

The most northern ferry in Wyandotte county, as one ascended the river, was operated, on the Missouri side, from Parkville. John Ryan, Solomon Taylor, N. L. Barnard, C. S. Glick and L. F. Hollingsworth were the incorporators of the Parkville Ferry Company, chartered October 3, 1872. The capital stock of the enterprise was \$10,000, shares \$50 each, with privilege of increasing stock to \$20,000. The principal place of business was given as Wyandotte, and the ferry was to cross the Missouri river to a landing at or near where the county road from Nearman station on the Union Pacific railroad running due north strikes the Missouri river. This charter was filed with the secretary of state, October 8, 1872.⁴⁷

The first settlement north of the Wyandotte-Leavenworth county boundary line was a German community known as Weimar City, which was established about 1857-'58. It was near the site of present Pope station on the Missouri Pacific railroad, about thirteen or fourteen miles above Parkville, Missouri, approximately on the NE $\frac{1}{4}$ of sec. 33, T. 9, R. 23. This is about one mile below the old town of Delaware, and about seven miles below Leavenworth city of that time. Opposite this place the Platte Valley Ferry Company was established, being incorporated May 15, 1866, with H. T. Greene, James E. Ireland, Robert C. Foster, Archibald B. Earle, L. B. Wheat and D. Hudson Redman as incorporators. The company had a capital stock of \$10,000, with shares \$100 each. On the Kansas side the ferry operated above Weimar City to a point one mile below where "Seven Mile creek" empties into the Missouri river, and below to the dividing line between Leavenworth and Wyandotte counties. The principal office was located at Leavenworth. The charter was filed with the secretary of state, May 26, 1866.⁴⁸

The next settlement up the river was the town of Delaware, about one mile above Weimar City and six miles below Leavenworth. The town was platted in July, 1854, and was located on parts of Secs.

46. Corporations, v. 1, pp. 202, 203. Alfred Gray, an incorporator, was secretary of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture 1871-1880. He died at Topeka, January 23, 1880.

47. Corporations, v. 4, p. 526.

48. *Ibid.*, v. 1, pp. 162, 163.

18, 19, 29, T. 9, R. 23 E. The town was on a wagon road running from Fort Leavenworth to Wyandotte, and was close to the junctions of roads running south to Grinter's ferry and southwest to Lawrence.

John Van Vranklin established the first ferry at Delaware, having it in operation early in 1855, as evidenced by the following advertisement, which ran in a Leavenworth paper:

"DELAWARE FERRY.—The undersigned has established a ferry on the Missouri river at the town of Delaware, Kansas territory. He has been for some time past and is at this time prepared to cross at a moment's notice, all those wishing to cross the Missouri at Delaware. Any one wishing to visit Kansas territory from any point below Weston, in Platte county, Missouri, will find that this ferry is the nearest and best point at which to cross the river, particularly if they wish to go to the Stranger or Grass Hopper country. This also will be the case with all persons wishing to go to the Kaw country, or visit Calhoun, Lawrence, Council Grove or Fort Riley. He would state, that all persons traveling towards Kansas territory, on the Great Stage route, on the north side of the Missouri river, leading from St. Louis through Columbia, Fayette, Carrollton, Richmond and Liberty and then visiting Kansas, from the country bordering on the Mississippi river, will save weary miles by crossing at this point. His ferry boats are safe and substantial; his ferrymen hardy and experienced; and will at all times be pleased to serve with alacrity, those who may wish to cross the Missouri river at his ferry.

"March 13, '55—6m.

JNO. VAN VRANKLIN." 49

This ferry operated from the center of the townsite and was said to be the equal of any on the river.⁵⁰

Another ferry was projected for Delaware in 1855, the territorial legislature granting a twenty-year privilege to Messrs. George Quimby, William H. Spratt, William D. Brummell and W. Christison. Their ferry was to be established within the limits of the town and have exclusive privileges for one mile up and one mile down the river on the Kansas side. The company, by one of the provisions of the act, was not required to run a steam ferryboat until the first day of April, 1856.⁵¹ Quimby and Spratt were residents of Delaware, the latter operating a saloon there for a number of years.⁵² Christison was a resident of Lexington township, Lexington P. O., Johnson county, in 1860, his name appearing in the printed census enumeration for that year.

While Delaware thus had a good ferry as early as 1855, apparently there was a lack of suitable roads leading to the town. This condition was being remedied early in 1857 by a Captain Hollingsworth,

49. *Herald*, Leavenworth, April 13, 1855.

50. *Ibid.*, June 1, 1855.

51. *General Statutes*, Kansas, 1855, p. 790.

52. Hall and Hand, *History of Leavenworth County*, p. 144.

of that place, who was engaged in opening a road from Leavenworth. The road started from the steam mill in the south part of Leavenworth, passed directly by the Muncie Mission and thence to Delaware.⁵³

Above Delaware a half mile was the next early-day ferry site. On May 2, 1866, the Junction Ferry Company was chartered for the purpose of operating a ferry over the Missouri river, being granted exclusive privileges and rights at a point where Seven Mile creek empties into the Missouri river, and one mile up and one mile below the mouth of said creek. The incorporators were Richard R. Rees,⁵⁴ Martin Howsley, Robert C. Foster,⁵⁵ L. B. Wheat,⁵⁶ and Henry T. Greene.⁵⁷ The organization was capitalized at \$20,000 with shares \$100 each. The principal office of the company was at Leavenworth City. Their charter was filed with the secretary of state, May 24, 1866.⁵⁸

Two miles below the original Leavenworth, David H. Mitchell and James Davis⁵⁹ were granted exclusive ferry privileges by the legislature of 1858 to operate a ferry for a period of ten years.⁶⁰

Fort Leavenworth and Leavenworth City were terminal points on the Missouri river from which highways radiated in every direction. A "Map of the Defence of the Northern and Northwestern Frontier," of 1837, showed roads running from Fort Leavenworth to the arsenal at Fort Osage and from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Calhoun at the Council Bluffs.⁶¹ It was the starting place for the road to Fort Scott and Fort Gibson; to the forts along the Santa Fé trail; to Fort Kearney on the Platte. Later roads led to Fort Riley, to the Big Stranger, to the Grasshopper country, to Topeka, Lawrence, Lecompton, Shawnee Mission, and Wyandotte.

Up to January, 1855, Leavenworth had no Kansas licensed ferry, depending for her needs in river transportation on the ferries operating from the Missouri side. The *Herald* of January 19 mentioned that "a large and commodious steam ferry boat is being

53. *Herald*, Leavenworth, February 7, 1857.

54. Richard R. Rees was born in Cincinnati in 1812 and died in Leavenworth in 1875. He came to Kansas in 1855 and later served Leavenworth county as probate judge.

55. Robert Cole Foster was born in Kentucky in 1834. He came to Kansas with his parents in 1856. He died at Denison, Tex., in 1910.

56. L. B. Wheat was an attorney at law, and was listed as a resident of Leavenworth in 1858-'59.

57. Henry T. Greene was an attorney at law, born in Hanover, Va. He came to Leavenworth county in 1854, and was a practicing attorney after his arrival. He was a staunch Democrat.—Andreas, *History of Kansas*, p. 444.

58. Corporations, v. 1, pp. 156, 157.

59. James Davis is listed in the Leavenworth city directory, 1859.

60. *Laws*, Kansas, 1858, p. 63.

61. *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, v. 7, opposite p. 781.

built expressly for this place, and will be here early in the spring. It will carry two hundred head of stock and fifteen wagons at a time, and cross the river in five minutes." The *Herald* pointed out that the boat would do a heavy business during the next spring as it was expected there would be an immense immigration. The territorial legislature that year granted ferry privileges to at least one Leavenworth ferry company, which up to near the end of July had not started operating. The *Herald* of July 21 predicted that inside of a month it would be in operation, and stressed the fact that a good ferry would make Leavenworth the great point of entry into Kansas territory, and that it would be the "primary city of Kansas."⁶²

Early in 1855 Leavenworth took steps to improve and protect her levee. In March that year the landing had been graded from the foot of Cherokee street to the foot of Delaware. The *Herald* stated that the improvements made on the levee would add greatly to the appearance of Water street, and when finished would be the best landing on the Missouri river.⁶³ By 1857 the city had decided to undertake something in the way of municipal improvements. The legislature permitted the city to borrow \$100,000 for this purpose. The *Herald* of April 4, that year, said: "We want a good levee. We want our streets graded and we want the principal streets McAdamized." That this was good policy is evidenced by the increase of business the following year, the *Herald* of July 3 stating that the levee presented a "busy scene the past week. It has been piled high with goods and all kinds of freight from one end to the other. Dry goods, groceries, flour, lumber, wagons, sawmills, machinery and printing presses, all go to make up the huge pile." Every boat that stopped at the levee landed hundreds and hundreds of tons of freight upon the landing, prompting the *Herald* to ask "Why does not some enterprising person prepare a report of business statistics of Leavenworth? We believe it would astonish the natives."

With the passing years Leavenworth's trade territory was extended across to the Missouri side, and the ferry company realized that its existence depended upon this outside trade, and took steps to hold it. Freshets in the river from time to time had cut a channel through the low bottoms on the opposite side of the stream, and in 1867 the landing was at the island opposite the city. The ferry company had expended quite a sum of money in building a wagon road

62. *Herald*, Leavenworth, January 19, July 21, 1855.

63. *Ibid.*, March 30, 1855.

across the slough to the island, which served not only as a public highway but also to turn this water back into its proper channel. An earth-and-brush dam was started, and the ferry company was satisfied that if this were completed it would be of great advantage to the city. The city drew an immense amount of trade from the Platte country, and it was manifest that anything which facilitated communication with that neighborhood would tend to the material increase of trade. It was the judgment of competent engineers that if the volume of water which every spring ran through the slough were turned back into the river channel, the sand bars immediately opposite the city would soon be washed out, affording a straight passage to the shore of the island. The ferry people also held to the hope that the Platte county railroad would run to and build its depot upon the island were this done. If this were not done the depot would be built some two miles down the river. The inconvenience which this would occasion was pointed out. The ferry company justly felt that the city should bear a fair share of the burden. The matter was brought before the city council, and the *Leavenworth Conservative* published the following paragraph showing the action taken:

"Harvey Edgerton, from the special committee on the communication from W. L. Reyburn, in relation to the embankment on the east side of the river, recommended that the city encourage the enterprise by appropriating \$2,000 therefor, provided, that none of said amount be paid until said work is fully done according to the dimensions set forth in said communication, and reported as done by the engineer of the city. After some discussion the report was rejected."

The *Conservative* characterized the action of the council as negligently and, as the *Commercial* appropriately suggested, "penny wise and pound foolish."⁶⁴

By the last of February, 1867, the Platte county road was completed to a point opposite Leavenworth, or near the intersection of the old Platte City road. The roadbed was also made to the depot ground below, but there was not enough iron on hand at that time to finish the work. The company was evidently waiting to see if the wagon-road dyke then being built across the slough would stand the spring rise before extending the line any closer.⁶⁵

The citizens of Leavenworth also had appreciated at an early date the importance of good roads and bridges into the interior. As early

64. *Leavenworth Daily Conservative*, February 15, 19, 1867.

65. *Ibid.*, February 28, 1867.

as 1858 subscriptions were raised for the purpose of bridging the principal streams on roads leading to and from the city, the *Herald* insisting that "No move can add more benefits to our city than this." At this time a substantial bridge was being erected across Salt creek, on the Fort Riley road, near Rively's store, while others were needed over the Stranger at Easton, Russell's Mills, and on the Lawrence road. Leavenworth citizens were admonished to "come up and subscribe liberally."⁶⁶

Not until April, 1873, was a railroad bridge across the Missouri river at Leavenworth completed. This was located on the military reservation, a mile or so above the town, and cost between \$800,000 and \$1,000,000. Just what effect it had on the ferry business is not clear, as ferries operated for years afterward. The bridge was in use up to about 1909, when the eastern approach collapsed. In 1913 the flooring on the Fort Leavenworth end burned. In 1926 the government rehabilitated the old bridge for use as the only free bridge across the Missouri river, furnishing the connecting link for federal highway No. 92.⁶⁷

In 1918 Vinton Stillings, of Leavenworth, built a pontoon bridge across the Missouri at a point a little north of the present terminal bridge. The pontoon was 3,600 feet long, 18 feet in the clear, and cost \$36,000, being financed entirely by Mr. Stillings. On the east side was a drawbridge to allow boats to pass up and down the river. Toll charges over the bridge were: Vehicles, 50 cents for round trip; foot passengers, 10 cents for round trip. Mr. Stillings has said that during the almost four years of its operation, which began in July, 1888, its revenue averaged \$200 a day.⁶⁸

The terminal bridge was constructed during 1893, and was opened for traffic January 2, 1894. It was located a little south of the pontoon built by Stillings, and cost, with tracks, terminal buildings, freight depot, switches, etc., about \$480,000.⁶⁹

A railroad meeting was held at Platte City in January, 1857, to discuss the advantages of building a road on the Missouri river opposite Leavenworth, to connect with the Hannibal & St. Joseph road. The advantage of such a road was self-evident. In fact the ultimate success of Leavenworth depended upon the road. Kansas City, the only rival Leavenworth had to fear, was already in the field, and the *Herald* emphasized that Leavenworth must not allow

66. *Herald*, Leavenworth, August 7, 1858.

67. *Leavenworth Daily Times*, March 6, 1932; *Kansas City Journal*, July 25, 1915; *Topeka Daily Capital*, June 29, 1926; *Kansas City Times*, January 9, 1918.

68. *Leavenworth Daily Times*, March 6, 1932.

69. *Ibid.*, March 6, 1932.

her rival to outstrip her by a suicidal apathy on the subject, but that it was her duty to keep the project in motion until the work was completed, to enable Leavenworth to enter into favorable competition with others.⁷⁰ Railroad talk prevailed, and during the spring or early summer a preliminary survey was made for a road to connect Leavenworth with Cameron, Mo.⁷¹ A little over a year later the *Herald*, in an able editorial on the subject of railroads, contended that Leavenworth could not compete with other cities on the Missouri river in the commerce and trade of the great West unless she formed means of communication with the East by railroad. Continuing, the *Herald* said:

"Kansas City and St. Joseph will have railroads running through them in less than eighteen months, and then what position will we occupy, situated between two flourishing cities which have the energy as well as the means to take our present trade away from us? . . . Unless we establish a railroad connecting . . . with the East . . . we will go backward instead of forward. . . . The time has come when the people of Leavenworth must look to her laurels, and let those who are interested take the subject in hand."⁷²

While Leavenworth thus early appreciated the importance of a railroad bridge, it was not until 1873 that the tracks actually crossed the Missouri. For many years, therefore, her citizens depended on the various ferries for transportation and communication with the east. The first ferry operated from the city proper was owned by Thomas C. Shoemaker,⁷³ Jarret Todd,⁷⁴ Samuel D. Pitcher and their associates, who were granted a twenty-year charter by the territorial legislature of 1855 to be restricted to and confined within the limits of the city of Leavenworth. The law provided that no other ferry should be established within two miles of the limits of the town, and also prescribed charges for ferriage, as follows:

Foot passengers, 10 cents.

Each horse, mare, mule, or ass, with or without rider, 25 cents.

Each two-horse team, loaded or unloaded, with driver, 75 cents.

Each single-horse carriage, 50 cents.

Each additional cow or ox, 15 cents.

Each swine or sheep, 5 cents.

All freight of lumber, merchandise or articles not in teams, at rate of 15 cents [100 lbs.]

70. *Herald*, Leavenworth, January 31, 1857.

71. *Ibid.*, July 4, 1857.

72. *Ibid.*, August 14, 1858.

73. Thomas C. Shoemaker was the first receiver of public moneys in the territory. He came to Kansas about the first of May, 1855, and made Leavenworth his home, where he lived up to the date of his death, February 5, 1857.

74. Jarret Todd came to Kansas July 4, 1854, and settled at Leavenworth. His name appears in Leavenworth city directory, 1859, and also in a census of Leavenworth, 1859, p. 66, in archives department, Kansas State Historical Society.

Each 1,000 feet of lumber, \$1 per 1,000 lbs.

All other articles, 5 cents [per 100 lbs.].

The act also provided that anyone crossing at night might be charged double fare.⁷⁵

In 1860 the law relating to this ferry was amended as follows: "The owners of the ferry privilege granted shall not be required to run their ferryboat or boats for any purpose in the night time, nor at any time when it shall be unsafe to do so, by reason of ice in the river, or other cause."⁷⁶

This charter was again amended in 1861 to provide that the company should, on the first Monday in September each year, pay to the treasurer of Leavenworth county the sum of \$100, "which sum shall be in lieu of all taxes and assessments of every kind and character, on said ferry privilege; and no additional tax, for any purpose, shall hereafter be imposed or levied upon said franchise, by the legislature or other authority." The amended law also extended the franchise fifteen years beyond the limit set by the original act, and likewise provided that "the moneys contemplated by this act shall go to the road fund of Leavenworth county."⁷⁷ This company's ferryboat, the *Willie Cade*, Capt. Al Cade, owner, is also mentioned in Leavenworth Board of Trade proceedings for year 1888, p. 253.⁷⁸ This company's charter expired in 1890.

Other boats operated by this same company prior to 1866 were the *David Hill* and the *Ella*. In the spring of 1866 the ferry company started work on a new ferryboat, the *Edgar*, which was built by Frank Wheeler. This boat was to replace the old *Ella*, which was withdrawn. The new boat, built on the river bank a short distance above Carney's pork house, and launched October 13, 1866, was a large and staunch craft, which cost about \$20,000, and was to be used between the city and City Point (East Leavenworth) on the opposite side of the river.⁷⁹

Despite the fact that Shoemaker and his associates had received an exclusive charter for twenty years, one Simon P. Yocum was operating the Leavenworth steam ferry late in November, 1857. Whether Yocum was an associate of Shoemaker is not known. The *Herald* of the 28th of that month noted that the boat continued to make regular trips, notwithstanding the river was full of floating

75. *General Statutes*, Kansas, 1855, p. 792.

76. *Laws, Private*, Kansas, 1860, p. 284.

77. *Ibid.*, 1861, pp. 39, 40.

78. Manuscripts, archives department, Kansas State Historical Society.

79. *Leavenworth Daily Conservative*, July 1, August 18, October 14, 1866.

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

ice, and was doing a good business. The boat was described as of light draft, capable of carrying a great quantity of stock and several wagons at a time, and could make the trip in less than five minutes. It was also made clear that there was no time lost waiting for the boat. An item in the *Herald* of December 26 stated that the Leavenworth ferryboat was making regular trips, and that it never stopped for floating ice, running until ice closed the river. This staunch little craft was christened the *Leavenworth City*, and was mentioned by the *Herald* in its issue of July 3, 1858, which stated that the boat still continued to ply between that city and the Missouri shore, notwithstanding the high water and immense quantities of driftwood. The current was reported as very strong, and the boat had hard work bucking it, "but never fails to make the ripple."

Frank M. Gable, of Leavenworth county, tells of one of Yocum's ferries:

"We crossed the Missouri river on a ferry called the *Old Horse* boat. This was run by a Mr. Yoakum [Yocum?] and the motive power was a pair of horses that worked on a treadmill. Ice chunks were floating in the river that day, making the crossing very dangerous. Leavenworth did not amount to much then, and I think there was only one grocery store in the town. This was run by a couple of old German bachelors by the name of Ingram. I believe they were called Fred and Fritz, and were located on the corner where Martin Donovan's transfer office now stands."⁸⁰

The *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Leavenworth, February 12, 1859, contained the following:

"The following telegraphic dispatch was received by the captain of the ferryboat at this point, from our city marshal (now in St. Louis), who is one of the owners of the boat:

"*To Capt. Hill—*

"St. Louis, Feb. 4

"Rather than cross Gen. Lane, or any one else in Missouri on an unlawful expedition, *sink the boat.*

I. G. LOSEE."

On February 21, 1865, the Leavenworth Ferry Company was incorporated by Isaac G. Losee, Jasper S. Rice, Amien Warner, David Hill and J. M. Orr.⁸¹ The organization had a capital stock of \$5,000, divided into fifty shares. The ferry was to be located between the southern line of the military reservation and a point two miles south of the southern line of the city of Leavenworth, departing and landing at any place between the points named. The charter was filed with the secretary of state February 23, 1865.⁸²

80. Leavenworth *Times*, January 13, 1907.

81. Jasper S. Rice was one of the proprietors of the Planter's House; Amien Warner, a carpenter of Leavenworth; David Hill, captain of a ferryboat, and James M. Orr, a resident of Leavenworth, 1859.

82. Corporations, v. 1, p. 21.

This company probably ran a boat called the *David Hill*, named for its captain, David Hill, one of the owners.

A rival ferry, apparently, was operating at Leavenworth in 1859, W. S. Reyburn on April 4 paying \$60 for a license. Just how long this ferry was in existence has not been learned.⁸³

On July 16, 1866, the Leavenworth and Missouri Bridge and Ferry Company was incorporated, John C. Douglass,⁸⁴ A. A. Higinbotham, D. W. Eaves, Lucien Scott⁸⁵ and S. J. Danah being the promoters. The charter, granted without time limit, authorized the building of a bridge or the operation of one or more steam ferries across the Missouri river, at or near Leavenworth, and on the Missouri side in the county of Platte, with principal office at Leavenworth. The company had a capital stock of \$200,000, and the privilege of increasing it to \$1,000,000. Shares were \$10 each. The charter was filed with the secretary of state July 18, 1866.⁸⁶

Moving up the river to Fort Leavenworth, we come to the earliest ferry in present Leavenworth county, which was inaugurated in 1829 to meet the needs of Cantonment Leavenworth, established by the government in 1828. The following year, 1829, a military road was cut out from Fort Leavenworth to Barry, in Clay county (Missouri), and Zadoc Martin, a farmer of Clay county, was stationed on the east bank of Platte river to keep a government ferry. Up to that time the men of Fort Leavenworth had used an old mackinaw boat for crossing the Missouri, but "in 1829 the ferry at the fort . . . was placed in the hands of Zadoc Martin. He was a stout, muscular man, and commanded all about him with despotic power." The work at Fort Leavenworth required the employment of great numbers of laborers, carpenters and masons, and Mr. Martin did a large business at his ferries. The boats for the ferries were made of hewed gunwales, and boards sawed by hand.⁸⁷

This ferry at Cantonment Leavenworth was mentioned by Rev. John Dunbar as early as 1835, when he was missionary to the Pawnees.⁸⁸ At that time there was a ferryhouse on the banks of the Missouri, opposite Fort Leavenworth.⁸⁹

83. Paxton, *Annals of Platte County, Missouri*, p. 277.

84. John C. Douglass, one of the pioneer attorneys and early settlers of Leavenworth, was born in Greenfield, Ohio, December 13, 1824. He came to Kansas in 1856 to help make Kansas a free state, and took part in many exciting engagements.

85. Lucien Scott was born in Illinois in 1835. He arrived in Kansas about 1857 and that year engaged in the banking business, later becoming president of the Leavenworth First National Bank.

86. *Corporations*, v. 1, pp. 197-199.

87. *History of Clay and Platte Counties, Missouri*, p. 912.

88. *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 14, pp. 592, 595.

89. *Ibid.*, v. 14, p. 692.

In 1839 William Hague was granted a license to operate a ferry at Fort Leavenworth.⁹⁰

The first ferry above Fort Leavenworth probably ran from a point on the Missouri, known as Pensineau's Trading House, across the Missouri to a landing point about two miles below present Weston and originally known as "Pensano's Landing." This location, about 1840, became the town of Rialto. A ferry known as the Rialto ferry was in active operation as early as 1854. On October 9, 1855, large numbers of Missourians made use of it, coming over into Kansas territory to participate in the election of John W. Whitfield as delegate to congress. This ferry was running as late as 1862.⁹¹

Robert Cain, living on Todd's creek,⁹² Platte county, Missouri, operated a ferry to Fort Leavenworth in 1836. Mr. Cain, a veteran of the War of 1812, went to Missouri in 1819, and to Platte in 1836, before the Indian title to the lands was secured. He settled at the fine spring at the crossing of Todd's creek, kept the ferry at the fort, and opened a large prairie farm. He supplied the garrison with provisions and stock, taking the contract to furnish supplies for the men and animals, and became a great favorite for his honesty, candor and generosity. No other name except that of Zadoc Martin is so intimately connected with the early settlement of the Platte country. He died September 14, 1868, on his farm in Platte county, Missouri, and was buried on his farm.⁹³

In October, 1840, John Boulware, of Platte City, contracted with Platte county, Missouri, to run a free ferry at the foot of Main street for twelve months at \$250. He was an early resident of the county, took charge of the "Issue House" in 1835, and sold goods to the Indians and early settlers. He was appointed a major and led a battalion to the Mormon War. For years he was a leader in civil and military affairs.⁹⁴ This ferry, over Platte river, enabled residents of that village to reach Fort Leavenworth, which was about nine and one-half miles to the west.

About four miles above Fort Leavenworth by the river was the town of Rialto, Mo., about a mile below its rival, Weston. At Rialto July 1, 1844, John B. Wells,⁹⁵ a resident of Platte county,

90. Paxton, *Annals of Platte County, Missouri*.

91. Andreas, *History of Kansas*, p. 424; Leavenworth *Daily Conservative*, Feb. 28, 1862; *History of Clay and Platte Counties, Missouri*, p. 560.

92. Todd creek heads about nine miles east of East Leavenworth or City Point, and flows in a northeasterly direction into Smith's Fork, a tributary of the Platte river.

93. Paxton, *Annals of Platte County, Missouri*, pp. 16, 460.

94. *Ibid.*, pp. 16, 38.

95. John B. Wells was born in Kentucky, November 16, 1800, and died near Weston, February, 1890. He removed to Marion county, Missouri, in 1833, and to Platte in 1837. His name is closely connected with the history of Weston. His steam ferry at Rialto was the highway of immigration from 1854 to 1865.—Paxton, *Annals of Platte County, Missouri*, pp. 172, 913, 914.

Missouri, was operating a ferry which at that time was one of the few that served as a communication with Fort Leavenworth and the Kickapoo Indian settlement to the north. Later Maj. John Boulware and his son, William L. Boulware,⁹⁶ became associated with Mr. Wells in establishing the Rialto steam ferry between Rialto, Mo., and Fort Leavenworth, which was said to have been the main crossing for immigration in that section up to 1865.⁹⁷

Following the death of his son, Maj. John Boulware apparently retired from the firm within a year and Mr. Wells formed a partnership with a man named Washburn, under the firm name of Wells & Washburn. This firm carried an advertisement of their ferry in the first number of the *Kansas Weekly Herald*, of Leavenworth, September 15, 1854. It was as follows:

"To Kansas Immigrants.

"STEAM FERRYBOAT. The undersigned with pleasure announce to all persons immigrating to Kansas, California, Oregon and Salt Lake City, that they have purchased a new, safe and commodious steam ferryboat, to ply between Weston and Fort Leavenworth. All persons who may wish to cross the Missouri at this point, may rest assured that every exertion will be extended to them to insure a speedy and safe transit across the river. Call and try us.

"WELLS AND WASHBURN."

Another mention of this ferry appeared in the *Herald* of June 7, 1856, as follows:

"WESTON STEAM FERRYBOAT. MESSRS. Wells & Washburn have just brought out a new and splendid steam ferryboat, the best on the Missouri river. Its crossings will be one mile below Weston, at Rialto. It was built at Pittsburg[h], and brought round for this and other places three hundred tons of freight, mostly lumber. This boat is called the '*Tom Brierly*,' after one of the most popular and fast steamboat men on the river. It is 126 feet in length, has three boilers, an engine eighteen inches in the clear, with a five-foot stroke, and wheels that can knock all creation out of the river, and can make its landings in from three to five minutes. The boat is large and roomy, and can carry any amount of stock and wagons. Messrs Wells & Washburn deserve great credit for getting such a magnificent ferryboat. Success to them.

"A Good Omen.—While lying at St. Louis, a swarm of bees settled on the jackstaff of the boat, and Mr. Washburn immediately hived them, and they are now at work on the bow of the boat, busily engaged in making honey to sweeten the weary traveler on his pilgrimage to Kansas. The boat is bound to succeed."

Messrs. Wells and Washburn had their misfortunes the same as other ferrymen on the river. On Thursday afternoon, August 19,

96. William L. Boulware died August 8, 1853.

97. Paxton, *Annals of Platte County, Missouri*, pp. 62, 172, 913, 914; George J. Remsburg, letter to author, August, 1932.

1858, their boat sank at the landing one mile below Weston. According to the *Leavenworth Herald*, of August 21, the boat was to be raised soon, and another boat substituted while the other was gotten into serviceable shape again.

According to George J. Remsburg, a former resident of Oak Mills, Atchison county, and an authority on early historical matters of that county, one John Gardiner, in 1844, established a ferry between Weston, Missouri, and Fort Leavenworth. How long this ferry was in operation is not known.

In 1861 the legislature granted authority to James Davis to operate a ferry across the Missouri at a point on the west bank opposite Kickapoo Island.⁹⁸ The act included special privileges for one mile above and two miles below said point.⁹⁹ This ferry was probably located about halfway between Fort Leavenworth military reservation and the town of Kickapoo, and was for the convenience of Weston and Kickapoo.

Kickapoo City, seven miles above Weston, Missouri, was one of the most important of the early settlements in Leavenworth county, dating back to the time of the Kickapoo Indian occupancy. The site of the town was rough and broken, and an unnatural one for a city, and was almost inaccessible from the back country. The town flourished from 1854 to 1856, and was a rival of Leavenworth. It began to decline during the latter fifties, and by the latter seventies contained but two or three houses. In early days mails were brought over from Weston, and Kickapoo City for some time was quite a distributing point for the postal service.¹⁰⁰

On March 11, 1839, Isaac Ellis procured a license to operate a ferry at Kickapoo. This ferry is shown on Hutawa's *Map of the Platte Country, Missouri*, published in 1842, and was located about three and one-half miles above Weston, and almost opposite a village of Kickapoo Indians. Isaac Ellis was later associated with the Burnes Bros. and John C. Ellis in the ferry business at this point.¹⁰¹

98. Kickapoo Island probably received its name after the settlement of Kickapoo Indians in that immediate vicinity in the early thirties. The island originally was about two and one-half miles long east and west and one and one-fourth miles north and south at the widest part, near the west end. A map of Leavenworth county in Evarts' *Atlas*, dated 1886, showed the main channel of the Missouri river flowing to the east of the island. Floods since that date have changed the course of the channel to the west of the island, and the island proper has apparently become a part of the mainland to the east, but still subject to overflow during high water. The island was situated in townships 7 and 8, range 22 east.

99. *Laws, Private*, 1861, pp. 38, 39.

100. Andreas, *History of Kansas*, p. 459; *Atlas of Leavenworth County*, 1878, p. 7.

101. Paxton, *Annals of Platte County, Missouri*, p. 26. Gatewood, *History of Clay and Platte Counties, Missouri*, p. 572.

In 1855 the legislature authorized Burnes Bros. & Co., composed of Lewis Burnes,¹⁰² Daniel D. Burnes, James N. Burnes, John C. Ellis and Isaac Ellis, to maintain a ferry over the Missouri river at a point opposite the town of Kickapoo for a term of fifteen years. The act specified they should have a landing on the south side of the river upon land owned by the United States and occupied and claimed, wholly or in part, by John C. Ellis and the Kickapoo Town Association.¹⁰³

The following advertisement regarding this ferry is enlightening in that it states that at that time it was the only steam ferry on the river from Atchison to far below the mouth of the Kaw:

"CROSSING AT KICKAPOO CITY.

"Our safe and commodious steam ferry, and the only steam ferry between Atchison and Lexington, just from the ways and thoroughly renovated and repaired, is making her regular crossings every half hour at Kickapoo. The public may rely upon the most strict punctuality and regularity in her crossing. The banks on both sides are good and accessible. The roads from Kickapoo City to most points westward are now being much improved. With the rare inducements now offered at Kickapoo, it has become the general crossing for all the settlements on Stranger, Soldier and Grasshopper creeks.

"April 12, 1856. 31-tf.¹⁰⁴

BURNES, BROTHERS & Co."

Steam was used on this ferry very shortly after it was established, and during the county seat election of Leavenworth county, October 8, 1856, boats returning from Missouri brought many residents of that state over to Kansas to vote. The company must have had fairly good patronage, for in 1857 their boat crossed every thirty minutes.¹⁰⁵

In 1860 a charter was granted by the legislature to John Baker¹⁰⁶ to run a ferry across the Missouri river at the town of Kickapoo for a period of five years, he to have exclusive privilege for a distance of three miles up and down the river from said town of Kickapoo.¹⁰⁷

At the bend above Kickapoo City a ferry was operated by William Thompson, under a charter granted by the legislature of 1855. This was close to the Atchison-Leavenworth boundary line and was the most northern ferry in Leavenworth county.¹⁰⁸

102. Lewis Burnes was from Missouri and in 1865 was 60 years of age. He apparently was pretty well-to-do for that day, listing real estate valued at \$15,000 and personal property at \$5,000.—Census, Kansas, 1865.

103. *General Statutes, Kansas, 1855*, p. 786.

104. *Herald*, Leavenworth, April 12, 1856.

105. *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 13, p. 379; *Atlas of Leavenworth County*, p. 7.

106. John Baker came to Kansas in the year 1857, settling in Kickapoo township, Leavenworth county. He was a farmer and manufacturer of brooms.—Andreas, *History of Kansas*, p. 459.

107. *Laws, Private, Kansas, 1860*, p. 283.

108. *General Statutes, Kansas, 1855*, p. 779.

Lewis' Point was a location about three miles above Kickapoo City and, according to George J. Remsburg, was near present Oak Mills, Atchison county. Sheffield Ingalls' *History of Atchison* also gives this location. This was about seven miles below the old town of Sumner. Capt. Calvin Lewis had operated a crossing at this place, known as Lewis' ferry, and in 1855 secured a charter from the territorial legislature granting exclusive rights at this point and for one mile up and one mile below for a period of ten years.¹⁰⁹ This was in all probability the first ferry north of the Leavenworth-Atchison county boundary line. This ferry served local needs only and apparently did not cut much of a figure in the line of transportation.

Nimrod Farley, a well-known character who resided in the Missouri bottoms, was the proprietor of another early-day ferry, a little farther north. Farley owned land on the Kansas side near the present Oak Mills, and this furnished him a landing place on the west side of the river. He was a brother of Josiah Farley, who laid out the town of Farley, in Platte county, Mo., in 1850. Nimrod Farley was granted a charter by the legislature of 1855 to operate a ferry across the river from a point near Iatan, Mo., (formerly known as Dougherty's landing), to the Kansas side, this privilege being for a period of ten years.¹¹⁰ This ferry was one of a number operating on the Missouri during the early days of Kansas, which made a specialty of, and did a thriving business in, the transportation of Missouri voters to Kansas to participate in the early elections. The following advertisement of this ferry appeared in the *Western Argus*, Wyandotte, of March 10, 1855:

"Election in Kansas—The Ferry That Never Stops. A report having gotten out that one of our boats had been carried off by the ice, we take the liberty of contradicting it. Ours is the only ferry that never stops. We keep two good boats, and when one can't run the other can. All who wish to be in Kansas in time to vote, go to Iatan, and you will not be disappointed, for old Nim is always ready. (Signed) NIMROD FARLEY and J. G. M. BROWN."

Farley finally sold out to George McAdow, who continued the business until the boat was destroyed by Jayhawkers early in the Civil War.

Charles W. Rust, Atchison county pioneer and a former county clerk of that county, now living at San José, Cal., in a letter dated October 25, 1926, to George J. Remsburg, says:

"I remember old Nimrod well. He was a neighbor of ours in Missouri and

109. *Ibid.*, p. 797.

110. *Ibid.*, p. 775.

was known as a doctor. He was about the hardest old sinner the Iatan neighborhood turned out, and did a big business on election day in 1855, when the Missourians polled 1,500 in favor of the proslavery candidate at Kickapoo precinct."

In a letter of November 3, 1926, he writes:

"Old Nimrod was a great old joker. I remember one of his pull-offs was, when he met a friend, the first question he would ask was, 'Have you got a chew of tobacco?' No matter whether the reply was yes or no, old Nim would yank a six-inch plug out of his pocket and say: 'Have a chaw.'"

(To be Continued in May Quarterly.)

The Indian Question in Congress and in Kansas

MARVIN H. GARFIELD

FROM 1864 to 1870 few greater problems confronted congress and the executive department than the complex Indian question. Both departments of government were torn by conflicting forces, one of which demanded that the Indian problem be settled by peaceful methods, while the other could see no solution except by the use of force. In the executive department the conflict raged between two subsidiary divisions, the Department of the Interior and the War Department. Administration of Indian affairs was in the hands of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in the Interior Department, which had supervision over all Indian superintendents and agents, including authority to distribute annuities. Whenever Indian hostilities broke out, however, the War Department was compelled to intervene until they could be put down. As a consequence, the authority of the two departments overlapped and, therefore, clashed. Military programs were constantly interfered with by the Indian Bureau with disastrous results both to the military and to the frontier settlements. On the other hand, the military people undoubtedly contributed to many unnecessary Indian wars. The War Department desired to regain the control over Indian affairs which it had exercised prior to 1841. The Indian Bureau, for various reasons, both selfish and otherwise, refused to be transferred.

This interdepartmental war spread into congress where pressure was brought to bear by friends of the War Department to bring about the proposed transfer. Congress divided on the question. Both senate and house hotly debated the proposition at intervals over a period of several years, finally allowing the Interior Department to retain the Indian Bureau. In general, the senate favored the *status quo*, while the house constantly passed bills providing for changing the location of the bureau.

Public opinion entered the contest, the East as a rule upholding the policy of the Indian Bureau, while the West denounced it in the strongest terms. Congressional legislation varied in accordance with changing situations, but on the whole it was tempered more by the peace party than by the war party. In pursuance of its policy to make peace with the Indians, congress in 1867 created a peace commission which attempted to settle the Indian problem on the plains.

No serious resistance, however, was offered to the War Department when, in 1868-1869, it launched a decisive military campaign against the Indians.

The Indian Bureau in 1865 had attempted to establish harmony with the War Department by a division of authority. Comm. D. N. Cooley issued a circular to all superintendents and agents announcing that, in its relation with hostile Indians, the Interior Department would subordinate its actions to the War Department. Agents, however, were instructed to perform their regular official duties in governing friendly Indians.¹ Had this policy been carried out as planned, much trouble might have been avoided.

The difficulty was that hostile Indians could seldom be distinguished from friendly Indians, due to the fact that the red men were alternately warlike and peaceful. Thus in the Hancock war of 1867 the military authorities assumed that the Indians were hostile, whereas the Indian agents were positive of their friendliness. And Indian Bureau officials were quite critical of Gen. W. S. Hancock and branded as a mistake his whole course of action. Supt. Thomas Murphy, of the central superintendency, at the time expressed a very decided wish that the military authorities would leave the management of Indian affairs to the Indian agents.²

Again in 1868 trouble arose between the rival departments over the distribution of arms and ammunition to the Indians. Interior Department officials had authorized Col. W. H. Wyncoop to issue the guns and bullets to the eager braves on that fateful August day at Fort Larned.³ Soldiers hired by the War Department were then forced to face the Interior Department's guns in the Indian campaigns which ensued as a result of the Saline-Solomon raids in Kansas.

After years of discord the War and Interior Departments finally worked out a coöperative Indian policy. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1869 announced that a perfect accord had been reached. The Indian policy for the future, as defined in the report, provided for the location of Indians upon reservations. Reservation Indians were to be entirely under the supervision of the bureau of Indian affairs. On the other hand, all Indian bands which refused to come into their reservations should be subject to control of the military authorities and treated as either friendly or hostile

1. *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1865, p. iv.

2. *Ibid.*, 1867, p. 292.

3. *Ibid.*, 1868, p. 68.

according to the situation.⁴ Since this policy provided a definite basis for dividing the jurisdiction of the rival departments, it did much to clarify the situation.

Congress, in attempting to analyze the Indian problem, created in 1865 the Joint Special Committee on the Condition of the Indian Tribes. The purpose of the act, as explained by its proponents when first introduced as Senate Resolution 89, was to investigate the alleged corruption of Indian agents and the alleged causing of unnecessary Indian wars by military authorities.⁵ The Joint Special Committee was authorized to sit during recess of congress and to report its findings to congress at its next session. The complete report of the committee was published in 1867. Its main decisions were: (1) The Indians were rapidly decreasing in numbers, due to disease, wars, cruel treatment by the whites, unwise governmental policy and steady westward advance of the white man. (2) In a large majority of cases Indian wars are caused by aggressions of lawless white men. (3) Loss of hunting grounds and destruction of game is a big cause for decay. (4) The Indian Bureau should remain in the Department of the Interior. (5) In order that abuses of Indian administration may be corrected the Indian lands should be divided into five inspection districts with a board of inspection in each district. The board would be empowered to check up on all questions of Indian administration and report at stated intervals to congress.⁶

In order to put the ideas of the committee into legislation, Sen. J. R. Doolittle, of Wisconsin, chairman of both the Joint Special Committee and the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, introduced Senate Bill 204, which provided for the annual inspection of Indian affairs by five inspection boards, as heretofore mentioned. After long debate the bill passed the senate on March 19, 1866, by a vote of nineteen to sixteen.⁷ The house failed to take action on the bill until the following session, when it amended by striking out the entire contents of the senate bill and substituting the provision that the Indian Bureau should be transferred to the War Department. When the house amendment was returned to the senate for concurrence it was decisively defeated.⁸ A deadlock ensued, for the breaking of which conference committees were appointed from both

4. *Ibid.*, 1869, p. 5.

5. Senate debate, 1865, *Congressional Globe*, 38 Cong., 2 sess., p. 327.

6. *Senate Reports*, 39 Cong., 2 sess., No. 156, pp. 1-10.

7. Senate debate, 1866, *Congressional Globe*, 39 Cong., 1 sess., p. 1492.

8. *Ibid.*, 1867, 39 Cong., 2 sess., p. 1720.

houses. The joint committee met but failed to agree, so asked to be discharged from further consideration of the bill.⁹

The senate attitude throughout this contest was hostile to the proposal to transfer the Indian Bureau. During debate on the house amendment Senator Doolittle stated that the committee on Indian affairs of both senate and house and the Joint Special Committee on the Condition of the Indian Tribes were all unanimous in their desire to support the original bill, but were all unanimous in their desire to defeat the house amendment.¹⁰

Congress' next attempt to carry out recommendations of the Joint Special Committee took place in the special session of the fortieth congress in the summer of 1867. The seriousness of the Indian situation on the plains at the time was one of the reasons for the calling of the special session. With the peace party dominant in both houses, legislation was rushed through providing for the creation of a peace commission to make treaties with all the hostile tribes between the Mississippi and the Rockies. The functions of the peace commission, as stated in the act of July 20, 1867, were as follows: (1) To restore peace upon the plains. (2) To secure as far as possible the frontier settlements and the unimpeded right of way for the Pacific railroads. (3) To recommend a permanent Indian policy.

The commission accordingly went to the plains in the autumn of 1867 and concluded agreements with both the northern and southern plains tribes.¹¹ In its report to congress on January 7, 1868, the peace commission recommended the following changes in Indian policy: (1) Revision of laws governing relations of the two races. (2) Indian affairs should not be transferred to the War Department. A temporary transfer to the War Department of jurisdiction over hostiles, however, was suggested. (3) Congress should get rid of incompetent Indian officials. (4) A new department of Indian affairs should be created. (5) Territorial governors should treat the Indians more fairly. (6) No governor or legislature in either state or territory should be permitted to call out and equip troops for the purpose of carrying on war with the Indians. (7) Traders should all be required to receive permits from Indian Bureau officers in order to enter the Indian trade. (8) New provisions should be made which positively direct the military authori-

9. *Ibid.*, p. 1923.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 1712.

11. For detailed account of these treaties see Marvin H. Garfield, "Defense of the Kansas Frontier, 1866-1867," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, August, 1932.

ties to remove white persons who persist in trespassing on Indian reservations.¹²

Efforts by the enemies of the peace commission to dissolve it failed. On the day that congress passed the act creating the commission, a bill was introduced into the senate for its dissolution. The senate killed the bill by referring it to the committee on Indian affairs.¹³ Apparently congress was in sympathy with the work of the peace commission, because a bill appropriating \$150,000 to enable it to carry on its work passed in July, 1868, with little opposition in either house.¹⁴

Numerous attempts were made to put through legislation which would bring about the transfer of the Indian Bureau to the War Department. One of the first of these arose in the senate on May 16, 1866, when Sen. W. M. Stewart, of Nevada, introduced a bill for that purpose. It was referred to the committee on Indian affairs and promptly lost.¹⁵ Again, in the same year, the proposition was submitted to the senate, this time as an amendment to the annual Indian appropriation bill by Sen. John Sherman, of Ohio, chairman of the senate finance committee and brother of Gen. W. T. Sherman. A great debate took place between Sherman and Stewart on the one side and Doolittle on the other. In the end Doolittle won out, and the Indian Bureau for the time was saved from the transfer. The senate rejected Sherman's amendment by a 21 to 12 vote.¹⁶ The third and strongest attempt to bring about the transfer occurred in 1867, when the house of representatives amended Senate Bill 204 by inserting the well-known provision.¹⁷ This effort was also defeated by friends of the Indian Bureau in the senate.

Not to be discouraged by reverses the house, in December, 1868, made another determined attempt to put across the transfer of the bureau. James A. Garfield, of Ohio, chairman of the house military committee, introduced a bill, H. R. 1482, for that purpose. Although Windom, of Minnesota, a member of the house committee on Indian affairs, made a valiant fight against the bill, he was outvoted 116 to 33.¹⁸ When, however, the bill reached the senate it was killed in the committee on Indian affairs.¹⁹ A final attempt

12. "Report of the Indian Peace Commission," January 7, 1868, in *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1868, pp. 26-50.

13. Senate debate, 1868, *Congressional Globe*, 40 Cong., 2 sess., p. 1461.

14. *Ibid.*, 40 Cong., 2 sess., pp. 3100, 3174, 3175, 3183, 3249, 3271, 3279, 3299, 3731.

15. *Ibid.*, 1866, 39 Cong., 1 sess., p. 2613.

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 3506, 3507, 3552-3559.

17. See previous reference to the house amendment.

18. House proceedings, 1868, *Congressional Globe*, 40 Cong., 3 sess., pp. 17-21.

19. *Ibid.*, Senate debates, 1868-1869, 40 Cong., 3 sess., pp. 40-43, 663.

failed in the house in January, 1869, when Garfield's effort to amend an appropriation bill by adding a section transferring the Indian Bureau to the War Department, was ruled out of order.²⁰ When the appropriation bill was sent to the senate for approval, Senator Stewart, of Nevada, amended it by adding a clause identical to that offered by Garfield in the house. Stewart's amendment was lost by a 36 to 9 vote, chiefly because it was regarded as inappropriate at the time.²¹

This ended the efforts of the friends of the War Department. It is clearly apparent by the debates and votes on these various bills that the senate consistently maintained its defense of the Indian Bureau. Both houses desired an improvement in Indian relations, bureau. Both houses desired an improvement in Indian relations, but could not become convinced that the removal of the Indian Bureau from one department to another would appreciably improve the situation.

From beginning to end of the great contest over Indian policy, Kansas remained in the war party. Governor, state legislature, press and public opinion united solidly in demanding a change in Indian administration. The Kansas delegation in congress, therefore, was compelled to enter the fight on the side of its state. Kansas was represented in the house during the period by Sidney Clarke, of Lawrence, while Sens. S. C. Pomeroy and E. G. Ross were in the upper chamber. Sen. J. H. Lane's death in 1866 occurred early in the struggle; consequently the chief interest lies in the actions and opinions of the other men mentioned.

Pomeroy, senior senator from Kansas, was the sole member of the Kansas delegation who did not share the general views of his state on the Indian question. In 1866, when the senate was debating the house proposal to amend Senate Bill 204 by transferring the Indian Bureau to the War Department, Pomeroy was decidedly opposed to the transfer.²² In the course of his speech on the amendment he stated that he was not prepared to turn out the army to exterminate the Indians; furthermore he believed that white men precipitated most Indian wars.²³ When the house amendment came up for final decision, Pomeroy voted against it.²⁴

20. *Ibid.*, House proceedings, 1869, 40 Cong., 3 sess., p. 880.

21. *Ibid.*, Senate debate, 1869, 40 Cong., 3 sess., p. 1378.

22. See footnote No. 17.

23. *Congressional Globe*, Senate debate, 1867, 39 Cong., 2 sess., p. 1624.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 1720.

In the special session of 1867, when congress was considering Senate Bill 136 for the organization of the peace commission, Pomeroy again ran counter to public opinion in his own state by favoring the creation of the commission. While he believed it to be only a temporary measure, he thought it was to the interest of the western country to secure peace.²⁵ The following season saw Pomeroy introducing a bill to transfer the Indian Bureau to the War Department by allowing the Freedman's Bureau to assume the duties of the Indian Bureau.²⁶ It is evident that Pomeroy had either changed his mind on the Indian question or that he was trying to please his constituency. The latter idea seems to be more plausible. This is further carried out by the fact that the Kansas senator in 1869 voted against Senator Stewart's proposition to transfer the Indian Bureau,²⁷ and earlier in the session introduced a bill to provide for the creation of a separate department of Indian affairs.²⁸ It is most probable that Pomeroy's personal opinion was unfavorable to the war party, but that his position as a senator from Kansas required him constantly to change his stand on the question.

The attitude of Senator Ross is not so difficult to define. Ross was a personal friend of Gov. S. J. Crawford, received his appointment to the senate from Crawford, and maintained a fairly consistent position as ardent advocate of frontier defense and enemy of the Indian Bureau. Ross introduced numerous resolutions of the Kansas state legislature into the senate.²⁹ It was Ross to whom Governor Crawford turned on June 29, 1867, after Gen. W. T. Sherman had rejected his offer of volunteer cavalry.³⁰ Crawford poured out his bitter story in its entirety and appealed to Ross to convince congress that "there is no such thing as peace with the Indians except by war."³¹ In response to this appeal Senator Ross amended the peace commission bill by a provision that the army should accept the services of mounted volunteers from states and territories of the West in order to suppress Indian hostilities.³²

In defense of his amendment Senator Ross argued that the peace

25. *Ibid.*, 40 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 708, 709.

26. *Ibid.*, 1868, 40 Cong., 2 sess., p. 3275.

27. *Ibid.*, 1869, 40 Cong., 3 sess., p. 1378.

28. *Ibid.*, 1868, p. 61.

29. A prominent example was the resolution urging congress to establish a military post in northern Kansas between Fort Harker and Fort Kearney, Neb.

30. Garfield, *op. cit.*

31. "Indian Depredations" (Clippings), v. II, pp. 183-186, Kansas State Historical Society.

32. See "Defense of the Kansas Frontier, 1864-1865," in *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, February, 1932, p. 146.

commission bill made no provision for frontier defense, that Indian depredations were increasing, that Kansas sought merely permission to protect herself, that the first duty of the nation was to protect the white race, and that war was the only method of bringing about peace with the Indian. Ross condemned both the Easterner's view of the Indian as a hero and the Westerner's idea that the Indian was a devil incarnate. The conflict, he said, was one between civilization and barbarism and that civilization must win.³³

Senator Ross assumed a somewhat different position in a speech at Lawrence, Kan., on November 5, 1867. Although condemning the treaty system in general and the Medicine Lodge treaty in particular, he did not advocate making peace by means of war. Instead he suggested that the best possible solution for the Indian problem was the gradual localization of Indians upon reservations. To accomplish this end, the senator stated the government must make a reasonable show of force. Military posts, he believed, should be increased both in number and size of garrison. In conclusion, he said:

"After all, it is not so much the manner in which the peace of the plains is to be secured, as the fact itself, in which the people of Kansas are most interested. What we all most ardently desire is the immunity of our frontiers from the disturbances and devastations which have so effectually retarded the settlement and development of the West."³⁴

Again in 1869 Senator Ross aided in the frontier defense of his state. In the autumn of that year Indian depredations were renewed in northwestern Kansas. Since the militia had been mustered out, Gov. J. M. Harvey became apprehensive for the safety of the settlers. Senator Ross accordingly was appealed to and secured the promise of Sherman that United States troops would be sent to the region.³⁵

Of the entire Kansas delegation in congress, Representative Clarke maintained the most consistent attitude. He never changed his position of antagonism toward the peace party. When an Indian appropriation bill was before the house, in 1868, Clarke opposed it on the grounds that it provided for making appropriations to hostile tribes.³⁶ On March 3, 1868, he introduced a bill, H. R. 854, for the

33. Speech of the Hon. E. G. Ross in the senate, July 18, 1867, in "Kansas Collected Speeches and Pamphlets," v. IX (compiled by the Kansas State Historical Society).

34. *Kansas State Record*, Topeka, November 6, 1867.

35. Senator Ross to Governor Harvey, including letter of Ross to Gen. J. M. Schofield dated December 30, 1869, Adjutant General's Correspondence, 1869 (Kansas).

36. *Congressional Globe*, House proceedings, 1868, 40 Cong., 2 sess., p. 1424.

dissolution of the peace commission. The bill was referred to the committee on Indian affairs but was never acted upon.³⁷

In 1869 Clarke agreed heartily with Garfield's efforts to get the Indian Bureau into the War Department. He stated in debate that public opinion in the West was almost unanimous in favor of the proposed transfer.³⁸ In a lengthy speech in support of Garfield's measure Clarke expressed his views plainly. The Indian question, he argued, was not a question of philanthropy, nor of laying the blame for aggression upon either whites or Indians. It was, however, he stated, a question of practical administration, that civilization had come in contact with the Indian, but that civilization would march forward in spite of opposition. He, therefore, wanted civilization aided instead of being hindered by congress.³⁹

Although the votes and speeches of the Kansas delegation in congress are a good indication of the Kansas attitude toward the Indian question, a more thorough analysis can be obtained by turning to the state itself. Executive and legislative acts, press comments, and individual opinions best reflect what Kansas actually thought.

Previous chapters in this monograph have disclosed the attitude of the governors of Kansas toward the entire Indian problem. Governor Crawford, who held the post of chief executive from 1865 to 1868, inclusive, had very decided opinions, which may be summarized as follows: (1) Every effort should be expended in defending the state from Indians. (2) Indian uprisings should be put down by the use of military force. (3) The wild tribes of Indians should be conquered and driven from the state. (4) Reservation Indians in eastern Kansas should be removed to Indian territory. (5) The Indian Bureau should be transferred from the Interior Department to the War Department. (6) Indian traders and agents should not be allowed to sell arms and ammunition to the Indians.

Crawford's successor, Governor Harvey, entertained similar ideas. In his message to the legislature in 1869 Harvey advocated: The transfer of the Indian Bureau to the War Department; that congress be urged to indemnify frontier settlers out of Indian annuities; that provision be made for the organization of two regiments of volunteer militia for frontier defense.

The Kansas legislature gave both governors able support in their efforts to obtain frontier protection and removal of the Indians. In

37. *Ibid.*, p. 1631.

38. *Ibid.*, House proceedings, 1869, 40 Cong., 3 sess., pp. 881, 882.

39. *Ibid.*, 1868, p. 18.

January, 1865, a joint resolution passed both houses requesting the War Department to place a sufficient military force in the hands of Gen. S. R. Curtis to enable him to give ample protection to the Kansas frontier and the Overland and Santa Fe routes. The resolution also ordered the secretary of state to forward a copy of it to the legislatures of the states of Missouri, Iowa, Nevada, and California, and to the territories of Nebraska, Colorado, Montana, Washington and Utah with the view of inducing the legislatures of those states and territories to take similar action.⁴⁰

In February, 1865, the legislature adopted House Concurrent Resolution No. 20 which provided that congress be urged immediately to order the construction of a telegraph line from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Lyon via Forts Riley, Zarah and Larned. The purpose of the proposed line was to enable United States troops and Kansas militia more easily to locate and punish Indian hostiles. The resolution further provided that the governor forward copies to the President of the United States, the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Interior, and each senator and representative in congress.⁴¹ The proposed line was not built.

In 1867 the Kansas state legislature sent several concurrent resolutions to congress in an effort to obtain greater frontier security. The most prominent of these was a resolution requesting the Kansas delegation in congress to urge upon the government the necessity of promptly establishing a military post or permanent camp between Fort Kearney and Fort Harker. This resolution was tabled in the senate on February 15, 1867, thus practically killing it.⁴²

Col. J. H. Leavenworth, Indian agent for the Comanche and Kiowa tribes, was especially unpopular with the Kansas legislators; consequently they petitioned congress for his removal. The complete text of the resolution adopted on February 8, 1867, will best convey the opinion the legislature held concerning Mr. Leavenworth.

"WHEREAS, It has come to the knowledge of the legislature of the State of Kansas that Col. J. H. Leavenworth, present agent of certain hostile tribes of Indians on the western and southwestern frontier of the State of Kansas, is wholly incompetent to perform the duties thereof; and whereas the settlers on said frontier are in imminent peril of their lives and property through said incompetency; and whereas, unless some competent person be appointed in his stead friendly to the whites, with nerve to meet our present wants

40. *House Journal*, Kansas state legislature, 1865, p. 105.

41. *Ibid.*, pp. 338, 339.

42. *Senate Miscellaneous Documents*, No. 26, 39 Cong., 2 sess.

and emergency, our citizens will be butchered, as heretofore in detail; Therefore,

*Resolved by the House of Representatives, the Senate concurring, That the said Congress, and especially our delegation therein, be earnestly requested to see that said Leavenworth be removed, and a man substituted in his stead who will use his best and honest endeavors, while protecting the interests of the Indians, to save our citizens from slaughter."*⁴³

Congress failed to heed this petition, also, so Mr. Leavenworth continued in office.

The legislative session of 1869 not only sent many appeals to congress for frontier protection, but passed a large number of state laws on the subject. The Kansas delegation in congress was instructed to use its efforts to secure the passage through congress of an act to enable the adjustment and payment by the United States of claims of Kansas citizens. The claims in question were for damages inflicted by Arapahoe, Cheyenne, Kiowa, and Comanche Indians in 1864.⁴⁴ Another resolution urged congress and the general government to make a speedy appropriation for the relief of Kansas citizens who had been victims of Indian depredations from 1861 to 1866.⁴⁵ Both of these resolutions were referred to the committee on Indian affairs in the senate but failed to emerge. Congress was also memorialized to transfer the Indian Bureau to the War Department, Mr. Clarke, of Kansas, presenting to the house of representatives the concurrent resolution of the state legislature.⁴⁶

Legislative measures for frontier protection passed during the 1869 session dealt chiefly with the financing of military expeditions of 1868. An act was passed providing for the issuance and sale of \$14,000 in state bonds to defray the expenses incurred by the raising of the Nineteenth Kansas cavalry.⁴⁷ Another act of similar nature provided for the issuance of \$75,000 in state bonds for payment of all other military indebtedness of 1868. Especially did this apply to the expenses of raising and maintaining the First frontier battalion.⁴⁸ For future protection of the frontier the legislature ordered that \$100,000 of state bonds be issued and sold to provide a state military fund.⁴⁹

In the session of 1870 the legislature again sent a memorial to congress, the main points of which were an appeal to the govern-

43. *Ibid.*, No. 34, 39 Cong., 2 sess.

44. *Ibid.*, No. 32, 40 Cong., 3 sess.

45. *Ibid.*, No. 48, 40 Cong., 3 sess.

46. *Congressional Globe*, House proceedings, 1869, 40 Cong., 3 sess., p. 581.

47. *Laws of Kansas*, 1869, pp. 46-48.

48. *Ibid.*, pp. 38-41.

49. *Ibid.*, pp. 42-44.

ment to prevent repetition of the Indian outrages on Kansas settlers and a protest against any reduction of the United States army.⁵⁰

In reading through the files of Kansas newspapers for the period one is impressed by the unmistakable attitude of antagonism which the press maintained toward the Indian, the Indian traders and agents, and the Indian policy of the United States government. Several representative articles chosen from a variety of newspapers will indicate what the Kansas papers thought on the Indian question. One editor during the Civil War demanded the complete extermination of the plains Indians.⁵¹ Others approved heartily of Col. John M. Chivington's method of dealing with them.⁵² In 1866, when Maj. Gen. W. F. Cloud was contemplating a campaign against the Indians with Kansas militia, the Junction City *Union* commented in the following way:

"If the general has any compunctions of conscience in regard to 'playing Sand Creek' upon them he had better not start. It is unfortunate for the settlements that so many asses have existed as to make such a tremendous howl, in the interests of thieving agents, because of Sand Creek whipping. Had the effect of that not been spoiled, Indians would have been effectually subdued for years."⁵³

Following some sarcastic comments about Indians indulging in their "little innocent pastime of scalping," another editor made a caustic reference to the United States military posts. The posts, he declared, were of no protection whatever to travelers or settlers and he stated that "the only purpose subserved by these ornamental appendages to the government seems to be the consumption of poor commissary whiskey."⁵⁴

Epithets applied to the Indians by newspapers were numerous. They varied from the slightly sarcastic references to "the noble red man" and "Lo, the Poor Indian" to the more emphatic appellations of "red devils," "hell hounds," and "sons of the Devil." Even the reservation Indians in the eastern part of the state were not exempt. An amusing yet contemptuous opinion of the Kaw Indians is reproduced below:

"We have not seen the dusky forms of the noble red man of the Kaw persuasion about our streets in the last two or three days. Doubtless those

50. Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 23, *Senate Journal*, Kansas state legislature, 1870, pp. 122-124, 259.

51. *Kansas Daily Tribune*, Lawrence, August 25, 1864.

52. *Ibid.*, December 21, 1865, a reprint from the Denver *Rocky Mountain News*.

53. Editorial of August 4, 1866.

54. *Daily Kansas State Record*, Topeka, July 23, 1868.

sweet-scented ones that were encamped near here have gone back to their reservation. When we consider how efficient they were in 'gobbling up' the putrescent animal and vegetable matter about the city, we almost regret their departure.

"Now that these scavengers are gone, our city fathers should look to it that some other means be employed to guard the health of our people."⁵⁵

Occasionally a Kansas paper took the part of the Indian. The *Kansas State Record* in 1868 deplored the fact that people persisted in getting up rumors of an Indian war when there was no occasion for it. The editor admitted that more than half of the Indian outrages were caused in the first place by wrongs done to the Indian by the white man.⁵⁶ The same editor later in the year denied that the majority of Indian wars were caused by the whites.⁵⁷ A few days subsequent to this, after riding on a train in the company of Col. E. W. Wyncoop, Indian agent at Fort Larned, the editor published an article in which he coincided with Wyncoop's views. Wyncoop had said that the military never punished the guilty Indians but wreak their vengeance on the innocent; also that every treaty made by the United States with the Indians was first broken by the whites.⁵⁸

Indian agents received their share of abuse at the hands of the press. Colonel Leavenworth, of course, was the principal target at which these literary shafts were aimed. A newspaper correspondent writing from Fort Harker on July 10, 1867, handed the following bouquet to the colonel:

"... the Indians evidently having either gone North, or to the vicinity of Colonel Leavenworth's headquarters, there to receive those presents that tender-hearted functionary has recently obtained from the government for distribution among the Lo family. It is the earnest wish of every person in this section, so far as I can ascertain, that the Indians immediately after receiving their presents from Leavenworth will return the compliment by lifting his hair."⁵⁹

The Junction City *Union* in speaking of John Smith, an Indian trader, was almost incoherent with rage because the said Smith hobnobbed with congressional committees, professed horror at any proposal to punish the Indians, yet grew rich by stealing from both the government and Indians. The article advised the government

55. *Ibid.*, June 25, 1868.

56. *Ibid.*, June 3, 1868.

57. *Ibid.*, November 22, 1868.

58. *Ibid.*, November 28, 1868.

59. Leavenworth *Daily Conservative*, July 12, 1867.

to get rid of its thieving agents, interpreters and hangers-on if it intended to solve the Indian question.⁶⁰

Kansas editors especially resented the attitude of the eastern press toward the people of their state. A common accusation of eastern newspapers was that the people of Kansas desired an Indian war for the sake of the contracts and profits which would accrue to the locality in which military expeditions were organized and outfitted. This was constantly denied with vehemence by the Kansas press.⁶¹ When a St. Louis paper, the *Missouri Republican*, quoted General Sherman as saying that parties in Kansas wanted an Indian war, the Leavenworth *Conservative* immediately published a statement which not only denied the truth of the accusation but doubted that Sherman ever said it.⁶² Following the Saline-Solomon raids of 1868 a Topeka journal expressed the views of Kansas in these words:

"We hope that Easterners will learn that Kansas citizens are not thieves, constantly striving for an Indian war for the purpose of speculation; but that the frontier settlers are constantly in the presence of a great danger so long as the Indians are permitted to remain in or come into the state."⁶³

Kansas in general ridiculed the Easterner's ideas on the Indian question. "Maudlin sentimentalists," "Eastern philanthropists," "Indian worshippers," and other similar epithets were hurled back at those people in the East who advanced solutions for the great racial problem. An eastern proposal to withdraw troops from the plains in the fall of 1865 was regarded as absurd.⁶⁴ Horace Greeley's plan for putting the Indian to work raising cattle and sheep on the plains was hailed with glee by a quick-witted Kansas editor who observed that it was about as practical as going to the moon in a balloon.⁶⁵

Whenever the Indian Bureau received mention in a Kansas paper it was only in the most scathing terms. The Leavenworth *Daily Conservative* at one time described the "Indian Office" as being nothing but a great buying and selling agency which paid tribute to barbarism to compensate for damages done to civilization.⁶⁶ The same paper again alluded to the bureau as a reproach and a disgrace to the nation and stated that the country looked upon it as a den of robbers.⁶⁷ The *Conservative* had previously adhered to the belief

60. Issue of August 19, 1865.

61. Editorial, Leavenworth *Daily Conservative*, July 27, 1867.

62. *Ibid.*, May 23, 1867.

63. *Daily Kansas State Record*, Topeka, August 23, 1868.

64. *Kansas Daily Tribune*, Lawrence, October 20, 1865.

65. Leavenworth *Daily Conservative*, February 19, 1867.

66. *Ibid.*, July 11, 1867.

67. *Ibid.*, February 13, 1867.

that the Indian Bureau should be transferred to the War Department, but in 1867, when a suggestion had been made in Washington to make the bureau an independent department, the Leavenworth paper approved. Especially did the *Conservative* welcome that part of the new plan which proposed consigning the wild Indians to the War Department while the Indian Department supervised the civilized tribes. "By all odds let the War Department have the uncivilized Indians," it shouted.⁶⁸

When the Indian Bureau in 1868 declared that Kansans were greatly exaggerating reports of Indian raids the *Kansas State Record* rose in anger and wrathfully retorted:

"The Indian Bureau will believe nothing till they obtain, through miles of red tape a month later, an official report. We only hope that Governor Crawford will put himself at the head of a band of our western men, follow the Indians to their homes, and do his work *a la Chivington*. If he does he must be sure to keep out of the way of United States officials; or, if necessary, fight them."⁶⁹

Upon hearing of the senate confirmation of L. V. Bogy as commissioner of Indian affairs the Junction City *Union* vented its opinion of the man. Among other things he was referred to as "one of the most skulking and cowardly rebels of all wretches of the class who ever cursed Missouri with the evil of their wicked lives."⁷⁰

The Kansas press was especially belligerent toward the peace party in congress, who endeavored to settle the Indian troubles by treaty instead of by force. The *Kansas Daily Tribune* advocated a short residence upon the plains with the loss of a scalp as a sure cure for the romantic ideas which the United States senators and congressmen had formed in regard to "the dirty red devils."⁷¹ The White Cloud *Chief*, in reference to Gen. P. E. Connor's destruction of an Arapahoe village, feared that Connor would "go overboard" since a "sniffing congressional investigating committee will shortly be after him to examine into and report upon this fiendish piece of barbarism."⁷²

While a special session of congress in the summer of 1867 debated the question of sending a peace commission to the plains, the newspapers in Kansas were ridiculing its efforts. The way to make peace, according to one editor, was by notifying the Indians that no more treaties would be made and then removing the red men to res-

68. *Ibid.*, October 15, 1867.

69. Issue of August 21, 1868.

70. Issue of March 16, 1867.

71. Issue of January 25, 1865.

72. Reprinted in the *Kansas Daily Tribune*, October 4, 1865.

ervations.⁷³ Throughout the period spent by the peace commission in Kansas in 1867, the Leavenworth *Conservative* printed sarcastic articles, most of which applied the term "Full Moon Exercises" to the treaty of Medicine Lodge.

Miscellaneous remarks of Kansas papers are worthy of note. The report of the Joint Congressional Committee on the Condition of the Indian Tribes was met by a storm of protest. The Atchison *Daily Free Press* thought the report would "wonderfully please the worshippers of the noble red man in the East," but doubted if it would find favor with the frontier people who were acquainted with the facts in the case.⁷⁴ The Junction City *Union* once went so far as to declare that all treaty makers should be killed by Indians.⁷⁵

To sum up the attitude of the newspapers of Kansas toward the Indian a representative selection is quoted from one of the leading journals:

"With our routes of travel closed; with our borders beleaguered by thousands of these merciless devils whose natures are compounded of every essential diabolism of hell . . . we present to the civilized world a picture of weakness and vacillation, deliberately sacrificing men and women, one of whose lives is worth more than the existence of all the Indians in America."⁷⁶

Lest it be thought that a few newspaper editors were dictating the thinking of the people of Kansas, it is well to cite opinions of the frontiersmen themselves. Citizens of Marion county first circulated a petition for the removal of Colonel Leavenworth. The petition was then indorsed by Governor Crawford and sent to the Secretary of the Interior.⁷⁷ Opinions expressed by the frontiersmen concerning the Indians and Indian policy, while less polished, were just as forceful as those of newspaper editors. The majority of the letters sent by frontiersmen to the Kansas governors expressed hatred and fear of the Indians, horror at the Indian Bureau's policy of arming the red men, and disgust at the peace-treaty making, present-giving system employed by the government.

Another expression of the people's attitude was the resolution adopted by the Republican state convention at Topeka on September 9, 1868: "We demand in the name of our frontier settlers, that the uncivilized Indians be driven from the state, and the civilized tribes be speedily removed to the Indian country."⁷⁸

73. Leavenworth *Daily Conservative*, July 19, 1867.

74. Issue of January 7, 1868.

75. Issue of August 4, 1866.

76. Leavenworth *Daily Conservative*, August 11, 1867.

77. Correspondence of Kansas Governors, Crawford (Copy Book), p. 45, Archives, Kansas State Historical Society. (Petition indorsed on January 31, 1867.)

78. Wilder, *Annals of Kansas*, pp. 483-485.

County Seat Controversies in Southwestern Kansas

HENRY F. MASON¹

THE county seat struggles in the southwestern counties of Kansas during the later eighties were but a particular phase of the general town-building boom of that period. The peculiar features of that singular phenomenon were perhaps more strikingly presented in that longitude than farther east. The disproportion between anticipation and realization was greater there than elsewhere, not because speculative values rose higher, but because they fell further. In other parts of the state the situation was the familiar one of an era of abnormal activity, followed by one of corresponding depression. While improvements were made and public expenses incurred far in advance of existing needs, the movement was, generally speaking, only premature. Conditions were present which required only time to justify, perhaps, the wildest predictions of the most enthusiastic optimist. But in the western end of the state the fact was sadly otherwise. The vast tide of immigration which started in 1885 and overflowed the short-grass prairies clear to the Colorado border and beyond was the result of a belief that every quarter section represented a farm—160 acres of as good agricultural land as the sun ever shone upon, sufficiently watered by nature's beneficence to produce crops year after year with only such an occasional failure as might be looked for even in the most favored region. This belief prevailed, notwithstanding that earlier unsuccessful attempts at settlement seemed to teach the contrary in unmistakable terms. It was urged that drought was no more to be feared then than it had been a few years before in eastern Kansas. It was said that the climate had changed, that cultivation of the soil had favored the retention of moisture and thereby increased evaporation, which in turn promoted further precipitation. The expressive epigram of the time

1. Justice Henry Freeman Mason was born in Racine, Wis., February 17, 1860. He was graduated from the University of Wisconsin in 1881. In 1886 he came to Kansas and opened a law office in Garden City. After serving two years as city attorney he was elected county attorney of Finney county in 1889 and served four years. He represented the county in the legislatures of 1899 and 1901, serving as chairman of the judiciary committee in the latter year. In 1902 he was elected to the supreme court of Kansas and remained in that body until his death on May 4, 1927. In 1919 he was awarded the degree of doctor of laws by Washburn college.—*Twenty-sixth Biennial Report, Kansas State Historical Society*, p. 63.

[The paper printed here was read a number of years ago by Justice Mason before the Saturday Night Club of Topeka, without any thought of publication. It is published through the courtesy of Mrs. Henry F. Mason, of Topeka.]

was "the rain follows the plow." The theory that the general enlargement of the crop area in the longitude of eastern Kansas had tended gradually to push the eastern boundary of the semi-arid belt farther west was at least entitled to serious consideration. But it was soberly argued that the amount of sod newly turned had within a twelve-month produced a revolution of physical conditions. This vast plain, that had dried and baked in the winds and suns of centuries, had been here and there scratched with the plow of the settler, and the idea was not too grotesque for general acceptance that this infinitesimal disturbance of its surface had worked a miracle worthy of omnipotence. The few cattlemen who scoffed at the proposition were discredited as having a manifest interest in discouraging immigration, in order that they might continue to range their herds at will over this wide expanse of priceless pasture. Schemes for irrigation were frowned upon because it was thought that they would tend to frighten timid investors by advertising a distrust of the sufficiency of the natural rainfall to insure the rewards of husbandry.

This was the state of public opinion when occasion arose for the organization of new counties carved out of the territory to which these remarks apply. In a few of them there were towns of such size and situation that opposition to their being made county seats was so evidently hopeless that their designation as such was acquiesced in by common consent. But in most cases there was no one town having any apparent advantage in that regard over others then existing or that might be established. In a considerable number of instances there were no towns whatever, and the field was open to any handful of speculators to acquire a site and enter the campaign with a reasonable prospect of success. In such circumstances it was natural that there should be many and vigorous controversies over the selection of county seats, and that the value of the prizes at issue should be greatly overestimated. As an illustration of this I recall that C. J. Jones, who delighted in the sobriquet of "Buffalo Jones," on being remonstrated with for his recklessness in becoming involved in some six or eight of these affairs, justified his course by saying that he could afford to lose in all of them but one; that if in any single instance the town which he was backing became the county seat he and his associates would not only from their profits be able to recoup their losses in all their unsuccessful efforts, but would have enough left to make them independent for life.

A problem that has received considerable attention and has never been satisfactorily solved, is why the men who were engaged in these contests, most of whom were of at least average standing as citizens, and many of whom in all the ordinary relations of life—social, political and commercial—were of exemplary conduct, were willing to lay aside every conscientious scruple and to countenance, if not to indulge in, bribery, intimidation, ballot-box stuffing, subornation of perjury, and kindred offenses in support of the prospects of the town of their choice. One reason, no doubt, was that the belief that large financial interests were involved tended to soothe the pricks of conscience. Another was the development of a spirit of partisanship more violent than that engendered by any but the bitterest of political struggles. Another was a variation of the adage that the end justifies the means, expressed in the aphorism that it is necessary to fight the devil with fire, it being said, and doubtless believed, that every villainy resorted to was merely an offset to the unconscionable devices of the opposition.

There was little in the means adopted to assist nature in securing results in these contests that had sufficient novelty to merit special attention. The prevalent methods included the importation of illegal voters, direct and indirect bribery, stuffing of ballot boxes, forging of election returns, and coercion of electors by actual or implied threats of violence into voting against their wishes or remaining away from the polls. Quasi legal colonization schemes were nearly universal. Additions to town sites were platted and lots given to so-called actual settlers who would use them as the bases of claims of residence until after the election. To provide for the immediate needs of these pampered pioneers various devices were employed. Public improvements, such as the building of bridges and roads, were undertaken by county and township boards, bonds were issued for such purposes, and the proceeds were turned over to the campaign committee for use for the good of the cause. A simpler device available to the faction having control of the existing county government was to utilize it as a warrant factory—turning out warrants nominally for legitimate claims, such as the employment of attorneys, but really to swell the corruption fund. These warrants, illegal and void in themselves, were later transmuted by the alchemy of refunding into valid obligations of the municipalities issuing them. To these practices is due the fact that many of the southwestern communi-

ties are burdened with vast indebtedness but have no public buildings, roads, bridges or property of any kind to show for it.

In Gray county the candidacy of the town of Ingalls for the county seat was due to the ambition of A. T. Soule,² who had been made a millionaire by the advertisement and sale of "Hop Bitters," to have a county seat of his own as a sort of toy to beguile his idle moments. As an aid to his project he built a railroad from Dodge City to Montezuma which, for want of anything to carry, was afterwards torn up, and the Eureka Irrigating Canal, which was a great work of engineering and lacked only one thing to make it a glittering success, namely, water. His efforts added greatly to the circulating medium and raised the local per capita distribution to an abnormal figure.

In Grant county the Ulysses people established a thoroughly business-like system, by which voters were paid at the rate of ten dollars apiece as they cast their ballots, the rights of each party to the transaction being protected by appropriate checks and counter checks. It seemed a perfectly fair method, for under it every one received just what he bargained for, but it failed to meet the approval of the supreme court and the election was set aside on account of it.

In the mere matter of adding names to the voting lists and putting corresponding ballots in the box no great amount of originality was ordinarily shown. The election officers usually lacked even imagination enough to invent fictitious names, but had recourse to old city directories and to the pages of ancient and modern history. In one instance, however, a degree of ingenuity in this regard was exhibited that is perhaps worthy of mention. The election officers carefully prepared a list of all the persons who had at some time lived in the vicinity, but had moved away. They wrote their names on the poll books as having voted, but in each instance made some slight variation, such as the change of an initial. The beauty of this method was that if in a contest it was claimed that a given name was fictitious, evidence could be produced that its bearer was known in the community. If, however, conclusive proof were made that the particular person indicated did not vote, then attention could be called to the fact that the name was not the same.

A great amount of litigation resulted from these controversies, much of it being settled in the supreme court. The disputed ques-

2. Asa T. Soule of Rochester, N. Y., manufacturer and financier, was brought to Kansas by J. W. and G. G. Gilbert. He died in 1893.

tions were for the most part those of fact rather than of law, and their decision contributed little to the development of our system of jurisprudence. However, in *Martin v. Ingham* and *State v. Martin*, 38 Kan. 641, growing out of the contests in Grant and Hamilton counties, the supreme court for the first time considered the doubtful, difficult and interesting question of how far the judicial department of the state government might interfere with the executive branch, and held that the court had the power in certain cases to control the action of the governor, either by mandamus or by injunction, although in particular instances it declined to do so. Another decision by which the literature of the law was enriched was that rendered in *State v. Commissioners of Seward County*, 36 Kan. 236, where it was held with becoming caution that a secret canvass of the vote cast at a county-seat election, made by two members of the board of commissioners without notice to the third, or to anyone else, held on the open prairie at three o'clock in the morning by the light of the moon, without poll books, ballots or tally sheets, and without any record being made at the time, was "not only irregular, but invalid."

The most picturesque, if not the most effective, of the reprehensible campaign practices referred to was the employment of mercenaries technically known as "killers." These were the real and imitation "bad men" who frequented Dodge City. The purpose in enlisting their services was in part, wherever practicable, to overawe opposition by the mere terror inspired by their fearsome reputation, and in part to have them in readiness for the carrying out of any desperate project that might require physical courage and the utter disregard of all restraints of the law. They formed a recognized part of the machinery of the ordinary county seat fight. They commanded good pay, were treated with the greatest deference, and fairly lived in clover while the wars lasted. Their presumed value was graduated by the nearness of their approach to the conventional type of frontier ruffian—the "Alkali Ike" of the funny papers. While they were all thugs, toughs, and sure-thing gamblers, only a few of them had in fact done anything to earn the right to be considered dangerous characters. The rest were vain pretenders. Their presence was believed to be, and doubtless was, a menace to the peace of society, but in fact they did little to earn their wage and, generally speaking, their part in the drama was confined to the moral effect of their presence—the immoral effect, perhaps I should say. It is true that one of them, while awaiting orders for active

service, did shoot and kill an inoffensive citizen, and upon the earlier reports of the affair it was assumed that the tragedy was the outcome of an election fight, but it turned out that the killing was entirely accidental—an unlooked-for and unpreventable casualty, such as continually occur, which, however regrettable, afforded no just ground for impugning the motives of the unfortunate instrument—the involuntary agent of an inscrutable Providence. It seems that it had been his purpose, animated by a mere exuberance of animal spirits, as a matter of pleasantry, to shoot a hole through the hat of a bystander—a form of practical joke of high repute in the cow-boy days. But through no fault of his own—probably by reason of unsteadiness of nerve occasioned by an inferior quality or an excessive quantity of liquor—the bullet ranged low and perforated the brain as well as the hat of the victim. In justice to the survivor it must be said that he appreciated to the full his error, regretted its distressing consequences, and made every reparation in his power by tendering most ample apologies to the friends and relatives of the dead man. Of course, this closed the incident. What more could William Tell have done had his arrow been similarly deflected?

There were undoubtedly times in the history of each one of these controversies when conditions were ripe for physical encounters of the most desperate character—when a slight disturbance might have precipitated a general slaughter. There were times when frightful consequences were narrowly averted. Looking back, even after the few years that have passed, it is difficult to realize the serious character of situations which in retrospect suggest comic opera rather than tragedy. One concrete instance may serve to illustrate this. In Grant county the contending towns were Ulysses and Appomattox. The former had the advantage of the earlier start, the better location and the more abundant “sinews of war.” As the day of test drew near the confidence of its partisans increased and the spirit of doubt was more manifest in the opposing camp. In this situation a day or two before the election two of the leading supporters of the claims of Appomattox—members of the town company—conferred with the Ulysses managers and entered into a written contract by the terms of which it was agreed, among other things, first, that neither side should resort to bribery or any other wrongful method to influence the result; and second, that upon whichever banner victory might perch, the successful town company should reimburse its defeated rival for the expenses incurred

in the attempt to build up an opposition town, which should thereupon be abandoned, all interests then to unite in the upbuilding of the place selected as the county seat.

Upon its face this agreement was perfectly mutual and entirely commendable. Its provisions were not intentionally made public by the parties to it, perhaps through fear of misconstruction. But in some way knowledge of its substance leaked out at Appomattox shortly before the polls closed. In an atmosphere of suspicion and distrust which was the usual accompaniment of such controversies, it was not strange that the transaction should have been looked upon as a selling out of the interests of the town—a giving up of the fight by the managers in consideration of being themselves protected from loss. At all events that was the interpretation that was placed upon it by many of the Appomattox boomers. A crowd collected and the men accused of treachery were taken into custody and placed under guard. It soon developed that upon the face of the returns Ulysses had received a large majority of the votes cast in the county. This intensified the ill feeling already existing. The rougher element of the town's population, inflamed alike by the contemplation of their real or imagined wrongs and by the indulgence in frequent potations, clamored for summary vengeance and proposed that the prisoners pay the penalty of their offending with their lives. It required the utmost diplomacy on the part of the cooler heads to prevent the immediate carrying out of this plan. A variety of ingenious expedients were resorted to by them to give rise to discussion and so gain delay. Matters remained in this condition for over twenty-four hours, during every moment of which the lives of the imprisoned men were in imminent peril. As the excitement gradually subsided it became possible to consider proposals for appeasing the wrath of the leaders of the mob. It was finally agreed that the captives should be freed upon their making provision for the repayment to their captors of the amounts the latter were said to have expended in behalf of Appomattox in the course of the campaign. A schedule of such amounts was accordingly prepared and the prisoners, glad of relief upon any terms, drew checks upon their home bank for their payment. Money was advanced upon a part of the checks by the local bank, the funds were distributed and the imprisonment ended. None of the checks were ever paid, but the Appomattox bankers recovered judgment for such of them as they had cashed. This episode doesn't sound very thrilling in the telling. Perhaps this is due to a lack of graphic talent in the narrator. The

average reader of the newspaper refuses to become excited over the familiar statement accompanying the report of some revolting crime that "it is rumored that the perpetrator will be lynched if caught." And it may be that in the case mentioned the danger of violence was not so great as it seemed. Still, no doubt on this point was ever entertained by those who were most directly concerned.

It was a noticeable feature of the turbulent times under consideration that the expected catastrophe seldom or never happened. In spite of the constant preparation for battle, perhaps because of it, the opposing forces seldom or never met in physical strife. If human life was ever intentionally taken in the course of a struggle for a point directly involved in any effort for the location of a county seat, I do not know of it. The fight at Coronado on February 27, 1887, in which three Leoti people were killed and several others badly wounded, is usually accounted such a case, but I think improperly so. While it was in a sense an outgrowth of the ill feeling generated by the rivalry between the opposing towns, it bore no direct relation to the issue between them. The participants were not struggling to gain any advantage for their locality. Of course there are two versions of the affair, and they are so absolutely conflicting that it is a hopeless task for one having no personal knowledge of its details to form a satisfactory judgment as to the real facts. This much is obvious and undisputed—at a time when Coronado and Leoti were engaged in a campaign preceding the selection of a county seat, and while the excitement incident to such a situation was at fever heat, a party of the adherents of Leoti went to Coronado, where a battle ensued in which three of the visitors were killed outright and others were badly wounded. This is the story as told by the Coronado people: The Leoti party came to their town for the express purpose of causing trouble; they were drunk, quarrelsome and abusive; they visited upon inoffensive citizens all manner of indignities; they forced them to dance for their amusement, promoting activity in the exercise by firing bullets from their revolvers through the floor near the feet of the performers. This conduct was borne by the residents until endurance was no longer possible, when an effort to stop it brought on a general engagement. The record of at least one of the men killed—Jack Coulter—was such as to lend plausibility to this tale. He was a cowboy who delighted to be known as a desperate character and strove to live up to that reputation. The local tradition is that his trigger finger continued to twitch for half an hour after his death.

Of course, the essential features of the Coronado version were denied, but this important fact is beyond dispute—if the Leoti folk came upon any legitimate errand whatever, it was not one having any relation to the county seat matter. Whether the homicides were felonious, justifiable or excusable, they were not committed in any effort to make Coronado the county seat, and were only indirectly attributable to the rivalry between the towns. A number of arrests were at once made, the militia being called out to keep the peace. The defendants waived preliminary examination and were placed in charge of the sheriff of Finney county to await trial. After a few days their restraint was only nominal. In a short time they applied to the supreme court to be let to bail, alleging that their waiver of examination had been due to fear of violence. Upon a hearing in which the merits of the case were pretty thoroughly gone into they were released upon bond. The final disposition of the case was somewhat singular. The defendants asked for a change of venue, upon the ground that a fair trial could not be had in Wichita county. Over their protest the case was transferred, not to another county of the judicial district, but to a county situated in a different district. There they raised an objection to being tried outside of the district where the homicide was committed, which was held good by the district court and also by the supreme court on appeal. This ended that prosecution, and the whole matter having then become an old story no further arrests were made.

A fatal shooting in Gray county would form an exception to the statement made, but for the fact that it was said to be, and probably was, entirely accidental, in the sense that the person who fired the shot had no purpose to injure the one who was killed. This was the only occasion upon which the "Hessians" were called upon to perform the peculiar services for which they were supposed to be especially employed. The county seat was temporarily at Cimarron. An Ingalls man had been elected county clerk. It was conceived to be a brilliant stroke of strategy for him to proceed to Cimarron with sufficient assistance, take forcible possession of the records of his office, and remove them to Ingalls. An expedition was organized with this in view. A dray guarded by a select band of ruffians was driven into Cimarron and up to the door of the court house, where the work of loading up the archives was at once begun. Perhaps if any considerable degree of tact had been employed no physical resistance would have been made. The hireling assistants

had been sworn in as deputy sheriffs and were nominally acting in that capacity. Had this pretense of legal procedure been kept up it is possible that there would have been an effort to meet it only by recourse to the machinery of the law. But the haste and lack of ceremony with which the invasion was conducted stamped it as a forcible ravishment rather than the peaceful assertion of a lawful right. Before the spoliation of the office could be completed the citizens of Cimarron had resorted to arms and opened up a lively fire upon such of the invaders as were outside of the building, with the result that, without stopping even to rescue two members of the party who remained inside, the driver whipped up and made a quick retreat back to Ingalls. The two thus abandoned took refuge in the second story of the court house, where they remained at bay, responding by a desultory fire to the fusillade that continued for some time from the street. It was in the course of this more or less aimless shooting that a peaceable resident of Cimarron, who was standing perhaps a hundred feet from the building, was killed. The two prisoners were held in captivity until the next day, their captors in the meantime, so it is said, making every effort to compass their destruction. Their friends in Dodge City, learning of their desperate plight, began preparations for a rescue party. But wiser counsels prevailed and, chiefly through the intervention of residents of Ford county who had the confidence of the leaders of each faction, peace was restored. In course of time, after the passions aroused by the unfortunate occurrence had measurably subsided, the members of the Ingalls party were brought to trial upon the charge of murder, the attorney general conducting the prosecution. The result was an acquittal. While, of course, this was unsatisfactory to the Cimarron element, it was recognized everywhere that the trial had been a fair one, and the result was accepted as final and acquiesced in with better grace than might reasonably have been expected.

But, although no lives were lost in the collision of the opposing forces upon the direct issue of the location of any county seat of southwest Kansas, there grew out of the Stevens county contest a series of assassinations worthy of a Kentucky feud or a Sicilian vendetta. In 1885 practically the first settlement in that county was made at Hugoton, and plans were at once formed to make that place the county seat. In the preliminary steps that were taken for the speedy organization of the county with this in view, there is no room for doubt that the grossest fraud was practiced. This, how-

ever, would probably have passed unchallenged but for the arrival upon the scene of Sam Wood.³ He, with his friends, started the rival town of Woodsdale, and in its interest began legal proceedings to prevent the premature organization of the county. The Hugoton people regarded him as an interloper, maliciously seeking to interfere with what they considered their firmly established vested rights.

The first sensational incident, which was to be followed by a long line of tragedies, was the kidnapping of Wood. To get rid of him for the time being, until the pending efforts for effecting a temporary county organization could be carried out, the Hugoton supporters caused him, in August, 1886, to be arrested upon a warrant charging him with libel. Bail was refused and he was placed in the charge of several guards and taken out of the state and into what is now Beaver county, Oklahoma. To account for his absence it was given out that he had been induced by the payment of a sum of money to abandon his fight and had gone into the territory on a hunting trip. This report was not for a moment credited by his friends. A party was organized to search for him. On their way south they found a note secretly penciled by Wood and thrown upon the trail. Thus assured that they were upon the right track, they increased their speed and shortly overtook and surrounded Wood's captors, who yielded to superior numbers and surrendered. The tables thus being turned Wood organized a triumphal march to Garden City, metaphorically dragging his kidnappers at his chariot wheels. Civil and criminal proceedings were begun against the Hugoton leaders upon charges of conspiracy but were permitted to slumber and were finally dismissed without trial.

The proceedings brought to prevent the organization of Stevens county would probably have been successful but for a counter movement. In the legislative session of 1887 an act was passed legalizing the steps already taken, and the effect of the pending litigation was thus evaded. The fight for the county seat then proceeded, Hugoton being temporarily successful. The next disturbance grew out of an election to vote bonds for a railroad which Woodsdale favored and Hugoton opposed. In a meeting held in May, 1888, at a neutral point—Voorhees—for the discussion of this issue, a minor altercation took place, in which Sam Robinson, the marshal of Hugoton,

3. Samuel Newitt Wood was born at Mount Gilead, Ohio, December 30, 1825, and removed to Kansas in July, 1854. He settled on a claim near Lawrence and immediately became an acknowledged leader of the free-state party. In 1859 Mr. Wood went to Chase county, and was sent to the territorial legislature from there in 1860-1861. In 1861 he was a member of the first state senate, and was four times a member of the state legislature. Mr. Wood established the first newspapers at Cottonwood Falls and Council Grove, and two newspapers in Woodsdale. He was killed on June 23, 1891.

assuming to act as a peace officer, struck the under sheriff with his revolver. Nothing more serious took place at the time, but within a few days a warrant was issued against Robinson, charging him with assault and battery, and placed in the hands of Ed Short, the marshal of Woodsdale, and a constable as well. Short proceeded to Hugoton where he seems to have attempted to arrest Robinson. At any rate, the two men engaged in a gun fight in which each emptied his revolver without injury to either.

The railroad bond election had in the meantime been held, but the vote had not been canvassed. There was a dispute as to the regularity of the returns in one precinct, and it was felt that a conflict could hardly be averted at the time of the canvass unless protection should be afforded from the outside. The sheriff wired Gov. John A. Martin asking that militia be sent to preserve the peace. Brig. Gen. Murray Myers was at once sent to the scene of hostilities to examine and report. He found each town a fortified camp, the inhabitants fully aroused and ready and willing for a general engagement. Believing that bloodshed was imminent he brought on two companies of militia and disarmed the belligerent forces. The canvass of the election returns having been completed, the excitement having subsided, and the intended arrest and prosecution of Robinson having apparently been abandoned, the militia was withdrawn, having been in camp from June 19 to June 24. In writing to Sam Wood as mayor of Woodsdale, General Myers took occasion to comment upon the un wisdom of the placing of the warrant for Robinson in the hands of Short.

A month passed by without fresh incident and it might well have been supposed that there was no danger of further trouble. But on July 22 Short was at Voorhees and there learned that Robinson was with a picnic party in the neutral strip. Returning to Woodsdale he procured the assistance of several friends and started in pursuit of him. The two parties came together, but Robinson mounted a race horse and made a temporary escape. Short and his companions followed and succeeded in surrounding Robinson, but feeling the need of more help in effecting his capture sent to Woodsdale for reinforcements. [John M.] Cross, the sheriff, with four others, responded to the call and started in search of Short but, not finding him, stopped for the night at a haymaker's camp near Wild Horse Lake, a depression in the prairie in which storm waters gathered. In the meantime, Robinson's friends had reached Hugoton, organized a rescue party, and returned to the strip in quest of him. He,

having escaped the vigilance of Short, met and joined the rescuers. Shortly afterwards they came upon the camp where Sheriff Cross and his men were asleep. Then ensued what came to be known as the Haymeadow Massacre, in which four of the Cross party were killed and the fifth wounded and left for dead. According to the Hugoton account, this was the result of a running fight, but by the report of Herbert Tonney, the one member of the Woodsdale party who survived, which was corroborated by the haymakers and seemingly by all the known circumstances, the victims were taken by surprise, captured, and shot down in cold blood. Nothing can be said in extenuation of the act, yet it is but fair to add that the murdered men were not clean handed. The encounter was primarily of their own seeking, and in that sense they were the aggressors. They had followed Robinson into the neutral strip with the unlawful purpose of kidnapping him, for obviously the warrant in the hands of Short conferred no authority to make an arrest outside of the state. Moreover, apart from any technical consideration, the effort to follow up the prosecution of Robinson lacked the appearance of good faith, for if the interests of society were thought to require it, the time to have undertaken it was while the militia were still on the ground and the power of the state could have been had in support of any laudable endeavor to enforce the law.

The militia was again called out and the community practically placed under martial law. Arrests were made and then the remarkable fact was developed that apparently no court had jurisdiction of the crime. The territory within which it was committed, popularly known as "No Man's Land," had seemingly been overlooked in providing for the administration of justice in the federal courts. Colonel Wood charged himself with the duty of bringing the assassins of his associates to trial. He devised a reasonable theory for finding jurisdiction in one of the federal courts of Texas. It was not necessary to test that theory, for congress by new legislation placed the jurisdiction there. In time a trial was had, ending in a conviction. This result was due in a large degree to the persistence and energy of Wood, acting as a voluntary assistant to the prosecuting office. Upon review the jurisdiction of the trial court was upheld, but a reversal was ordered by reason of a manifest error which can only be accounted for by supposing that the judgment of the attorneys in charge of the prosecution was clouded by their zeal. At the time of the homicide the then

attorney general of the state, S. B. Bradford,⁴ made a personal investigation of its circumstances, visiting for that purpose Stevens county and the haymeadow camp, and getting all the information possible at first hand. He made a written report of his conclusions to the governor in which he expressed the unqualified opinion that the killing was a deliberate murder. Mr. Bradford's term of office having expired, he was retained to assist in the defense. He was not called as a witness by the defendants, having indeed no such personal knowledge of the facts as to make him competent to testify. But the prosecution called him for the government and asked him if he had not made such an investigation and report as those just described. He replied that he had, but that the report was based upon hearsay evidence which he later discredited. Upon this obviously insufficient foundation the prosecution introduced in evidence the report to the governor made by Bradford as attorney general. Upon the hearing in the supreme court it was confessed that this proceeding was error requiring a reversal and a new trial was ordered. The attorney general of the United States became convinced that the district attorney had at least lacked discretion in the conduct of the case—that he had given too much leeway to Colonel Wood in its management, and he was on that account removed. Energetic and finally successful efforts were then made to have the prosecution discontinued, and so far as the courts were concerned the matter ended there.

The next personage to become involved in the imbroglio was Theodosius Botkin.⁵ In 1889 six counties in the southwest corner of the state, into only one of which a railroad ran, were erected into a judicial district. Gov. [Lyman U.] Humphrey appointed Botkin judge on the score of old personal friendship, in spite of protests made on the ground of his well-known tendency to over indulgence in drink. His election followed in the same year, Sam Wood being one of his supporters. Botkin had been concerned in the county-seat contest in the neighboring county of Seward, but was not directly involved in the Stevens county trouble. His unpleasant re-

4. Simeon Briggs Bradford was long prominent in Kansas politics. In 1875 he represented Osage county in the legislature and in 1880 was elected county attorney of Osage county. He was elected attorney-general of the state in 1884 and was reelected in 1886. In 1898 he became a United States commissioner in the Indian territory. He died at Ardmore, I. T., April 2, 1902.

5. Theodosius Botkin was born in Clarke county, Ohio, June 25, 1846. In 1865 he came to Kansas, settling in Linn county. He was admitted to the bar in 1875 and served as probate judge of the county and police judge of Mound City. He was appointed judge of the thirty-second district in March, 1889, and removed to Stevens county. He resigned this judgeship October 11, 1892, and settled in Hutchinson. Reno county elected him to the state legislature in 1896. In 1901 he moved to Salt Lake City, Utah. He was serving as U. S. consul at Campbellton, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, when he died, May 27, 1918.

lations with Wood began in 1890, either through Botkin's candidacy for congress or through a disagreement in court, or through both of these matters. Botkin was intolerant of opposition. Wood was, in a way, rather easy-going but would fight and fight hard in self defense. The character of the men was such that it was inevitable that the feeling between them should become intensely bitter. Botkin was a man of much native ability and good education. He was a lawyer of no little strength. He understood legal principles and knew how to apply them. Granting that he was not corrupt, and even leaving out of account the fact that he was a drunkard and a gambler, his administration of the judicial office was foredoomed to failure. He was by temperament a partisan. He could scarcely witness a dog fight without taking sides. He could not hear the most ordinary law suit, even if disinterested at the start, without becoming biased upon one side or the other. And as in each of the counties composing his district the county seat controversies had left bitter animosities, he straightway become involved in factional quarrels.

Next to his instinct of partisanship Botkin's most unfortunate characteristic was the extent to which he carried the doctrine of judicial notice. The accepted formula is that courts will take cognizance without proof of whatever is a matter of common knowledge. Judge Botkin did not stop at this. He took notice not only of all that was publicly known but of much that was only privately suspected. If he failed to take official cognizance of everything that occurred in his district the omission was more than compensated for his taking judicial notice of much that never did occur. He was continually making orders based upon what he himself stated to be vague rumors. Upon such information he would order the county attorney to institute prosecutions, arraign offenders before himself to answer as for contempt, disbar attorneys, and imprison citizens for what amounted to lese majesty. The newspaper man who ventured any criticism of his conduct, on or off the bench, was likely to be haled before him to answer for his temerity in a summary proceeding peculiar to that jurisdiction—a curious blend of court martial, examination for contempt, and prosecution for criminal libel. The lawyer who with reasonable vigor tried a case before him for a client with whom the judge was out of sympathy was deemed to have achieved a triumph of forensic skill and diplomacy if he escaped being committed to the county jail.

Naturally enough Botkin soon reduced his district, already suf-

ficiently distracted by the tumultuous confusions of local war, to a state of anarchy. Yet, strange to say, he attracted adherents even among some of the most respectable residents. In every community there was a sharp division into factions. But this division was no longer along county seat lines. It was into Botkin and anti-Botkin parties. Sam Wood gradually came to be regarded as the anti-Botkin leader, and against him were directed all the influences controlled by Botkin. Attempts were made to arrest him at Topeka upon charges lacking in any reasonable pretense of good faith—but, as Wood no doubt conscientiously and not unreasonably believed, for the purpose of taking him among his enemies with a view to his assassination. Then came the session of the legislature of 1891, Wood being officially clerk of the judiciary committee of the house and actually the ruling spirit of that body, the majority of which were populists, as he was. Botkin was impeached, and the impeachment was tried by a senate all members of which, save two, were Republicans. Although a majority voted for conviction, the requirement of a two-thirds vote to convict caused a failure of the prosecution. Botkin was acquitted but not vindicated.

Aside from the general accusations of drunkenness and petty tyranny, the principal charge against him was based upon his conduct with reference to the finances of the city of Springfield. Bonds of that municipality had been issued for the construction of water works. The bonds had been sold and the proceeds partially expended for that purpose. Disputes arose with reference to the validity of a part of the proceedings in relation to the matter. In March, 1890, Judge Botkin made a written order reciting that complaints of the conduct of the city council had come to his notice, and that it had been represented to him that the county attorney had refused to institute proceedings against them and requiring that officer to do so at once or to show cause why his office should not be declared vacant and he himself be attached for contempt. Shortly after this the county attorney began an action to enjoin the city officers from recognizing in any way the validity of the bonds referred to. A temporary injunction was allowed. The city at the time had on hand cash to the amount of about \$7,500. According to his own statement, Judge Botkin, having heard street talk to the effect that his injunction might be disregarded, feared that this sum would be improperly expended if vigorous measures were not taken to prevent. He, therefore, upon his own motion made an order in the pending action appointing a receiver to take charge of this fund.

A few weeks later the action was dismissed, "with prejudice," and the receiver was discharged, having in the meantime paid out with the approval of the court over \$5,250 for attorneys' fees for which no visible services had been rendered either to the city or to the receiver. Such a transaction was obviously incapable of palliation or excuse, but a number of senators justified their votes against conviction by attributing it to bad judgment, free from any wrongful motive. Comment would be superfluous.

During the session of the legislature Wood had been arrested upon a charge of bribery and had given bond for his appearance at the term of court in Stevens county, which began June 23, 1891. About the middle of the forenoon of that day Wood, accompanied by his wife and a Mrs. Carpenter, drove into Hugoton and to the door of a church where Judge Botkin was holding court. An adjournment was taken until two o'clock just before Wood reached the building. Wood entered it for the purpose of examining some records. While he was inside the judge and most of the court attendants left. Jim Brennan walked out at the front door and stood waiting until Wood came out, when he pulled a revolver and shot him in the back. Wood started to run around the corner of the building. Brennan followed him and shot him again in the back. All this was in the presence of Mrs. Wood and Mrs. Carpenter. A crowd gathered quickly. Wood was carried into the church, where he died in a short time. Brennan had been a witness for the defendants in the trial of the haymeadow murderers, and his evidence had been sharply criticised by Wood in his argument to the jury in that case. This was given out as the occasion for the assassination. Personal enmity doubtless had a place in inspiring this atrocious murder, but there were many circumstances that tended to lend probability to the theory, which was generally accepted by Wood's friends, that it was the result of a wide-spread conspiracy to which Botkin was actively or passively a party. Brennan was taken into custody, but only a half-hearted attempt was made to prosecute him. It was realized that it was impossible to find a sufficient number of qualified jurymen for the trial of the case in Stevens county. Only a few hundred men were eligible for jury service there and these, almost without exception, had been identified with one or the other of the contending factions. But had the fact been otherwise, had the county had a dense population of disinterested and dispassionate citizens, the very publicity of the butchery would still, under the curious application sometimes made of the law in this state, have

disqualified all of them that had sufficient intelligence to form an opinion. After one or two futile attempts at a trial Brennan was discharged.

In 1911 another effort was made to bring him to trial, the increase in the population of Stevens county by immigration seeming to justify a belief that a qualified jury could be obtained there. He was arrested upon extradition papers in Oklahoma, but was released on habeas corpus upon the ground that having submitted himself to the process of the Kansas courts and been discharged he was not a fugitive from justice. The soundness of the decision is open to question, but it is not without support in the authorities.

The miscarriage of justice resulting from a failure to procure a jury naturally added to the popular distrust of the machinery of the law. It was believed by a large proportion, if not by the majority, of the people of the six counties composing the district that the judge was capable of every crime in the calendar and guilty of most of them, and that he was supported in his iniquity by the state administration. It had been seen that murder could be done in his district, almost in his presence, with impunity if not with judicial sanction. A reign of terror followed. No man felt his life or his property to be safe. No man dared appeal to the law for the protection of either. Just what plots and counter-plots were formed will probably be left to a later generation to discover. Rumors were rife of oath-bound bands leagued for the destruction of Botkin. In December, 1891, word was brought to him of a definite plan to kill him while on his way to hold court at Springfield in the following month. It came through one who professed to have taken part in the deliberation of the plotters. It received scant credence, partly because many similar reports had proved unfounded, partly because of the emotional character of the informer. Nevertheless, it undoubtedly resulted in saving Botkin's life. On the 5th of January, 1892, court was to be opened at Springfield. The judge lived some three miles south of the town. By reason of the warning mentioned the sheriff with a posse was sent to reconnoiter the route thither just about daybreak. From a ravine lying near the road the party was fired upon and Sheriff [Sam] Dunn was killed. The killing was not through mistake. Although it is beyond doubt that Botkin was the victim primarily sought, Dunn himself was extremely obnoxious to the anti-Botkin element and was unquestionably slain on that account. Other members of the party could easily have been killed or captured, but were permitted to escape.

Botkin immediately turned his residence into a military camp. Pickets were thrown out, arms accumulated and a state of siege was established. All persons approaching were halted, examined and, if it was thought advisable, searched. None was permitted to pass the outposts except after giving a satisfactory account of himself and his errand. Botkin wired the governor for assistance. Militia was promptly sent to his relief. He cursed the authorities for sending him soldiers instead of merely furnishing him with guns. His conduct for a few days led those who saw him to entertain the gravest doubts of his sanity. His words and actions were hysterical. Yet there was method in his madness. After the presence of the militia had apparently restored peace and removed the fear of further violence, the officer in command suggested that as he was there for the purpose of protecting the court, and as the protection offered was ample, there was no reason why the business of the term should not be proceeded with. But Botkin stubbornly refused to open court and as stubbornly declined to give any reason for delay. The reason which he afterwards assigned was this—a contest was pending for the office of sheriff; the candidate favored by Botkin was the contestor, his opponent having received the certificate of election; but it was understood that a decision was shortly to be rendered and that it would be in his favor. Judge Botkin's purpose in postponing from day to day the opening of court, as expressed to his friends, was in order to give his candidate time to get from the contest court a certificate of election in order that he might be in a situation to proclaim the opening of the district court and thereby obtain the benefit incident to being recognized as the *de facto* sheriff.

Arrests were made of men supposed to have taken part in the killing of Dunn, but the impossibility of obtaining a jury led to the discontinuance of the proceedings. There are men still living in the vicinity who avow personal knowledge that the purpose of the ambushade was to take the life of Botkin, who justify such purpose, and are at little pains to deny their own participation in it. Botkin came to Topeka shortly after the new homicide and, realizing that he was generally felt to be in a large degree responsible for this and other recent troubles, issued a formal statement justifying his acts, which bore a distinct family resemblance to the traditional defense made by Jim Lane to the charge of the murder of Jenkins. The statement in type occupied two newspaper columns and was little

more than a labored attempt to prove that the widow of Sam Wood was with the party that killed Dunn.

Whether through fear of a more successful attempt upon his life, or by reason of pressure brought by his friends, Botkin concluded to resign, delaying only until thirty days before election, in order that his successor might hold for a year by appointment instead of only until the next general election. He removed to Hutchinson and was a member of the Kansas house of representatives in the session of 1897. He seems to have been regarded by his colleagues in that body as an elderly gentleman of mild manners and inoffensive disposition. How far the continuance of the condition of strife, disorder and crime throughout the district, which originated in the county seat quarrels, was due to his personal influence can be judged from this—from the hour of his retirement there has been no more peaceable and law-abiding community in the state of Kansas or out of it, than that of the old thirty-second district. There and in the neighboring counties the passions excited in those troublous times have passed away. There may still linger here and there traces of the suspicion and hatred then engendered, but they are not obtruded. The effect of the debauchery of the public conscience then accomplished may not have wholly disappeared, but its display is rare.

The era of turbulent strife ended as suddenly as it began. Where the subsidence of the struggle found the county seat located otherwise than in its natural place a change was later effected practically without opposition. In Hamilton county at one time Coolidge, Kendall and Syracuse each claimed to be the county seat, and each maintained a full set of county officers and assumed to transact the county business. One who wished to pay taxes, or to begin a law suit, had to guess at his peril which was the *de jure* or the *de facto* government. Syracuse, the central town, was obviously the only place where the public would have been satisfied to have the county seat permanently established, and there it was finally placed. In Kearny county while the fever was raging Hartland succeeded in winning the coveted prize from Lakin; but after conditions had reverted to the normal a change was made by an overwhelming vote. In Gray county Soule's money ravished the county seat for Ingalls. In their haste to get it back the Cimarron people proceeded without a strict regard for the legal requirements and omitted some of the conditions precedent to a valid election. Nevertheless an election was held and the records and offices were transferred in accordance with the vote cast. The Ingalls contingent carried the matter to the

district court but were denied relief. On appeal the decision was reversed, but in the meantime interest in the matter had become so lax that no one ever undertook to follow it up, and Cimarron has ever since remained the *de facto* county seat by mere common consent, although *de jure* the title is doubtless still in Ingalls. In Seward county Springfield won in the bitter fight there waged, but when Liberal, from its position on the railroad, became the business center of the county it was soon naturally and inevitably made the center of government as well.

It is said that assassination never changed the course of history. It did not do so in this case. Probably no single county seat in any of the counties in the region referred to is now in a different place from what it would have been had there been no boom, no frenzy of town building, no controversy, no bribery, no frauds, no murder. The losses of life and property incurred in the effort to influence such locations were net. No tangible beneficial results to any one remain to be placed against them. The outrages upon humanity and decency were ineffectual, and this is fortunate, for it makes it easier to regard the whole disgraceful episode as the hideous nightmare that it was and to speed it on its way to oblivion.

The Grass Wigwam at Wichita

BLISS ISELY

ON AN inaccessible island in the Little Arkansas river at Wichita stands a conical, grass-thatched wigwam which, if situated in a state that knows the value of advertising its points of historical interest would attract many Kansans every year. Think of the thousands upon thousands of picture post-cards which Kansas visitors to other states send back home of such scenes as Plymouth Rock, Molly Pitcher's Spring, Indian dwellings in New Mexico, Arizona or California.

The Indian wigwam in Wichita is no less interesting than are those of Utah and, situated as it is on an island with trees, could be made very attractive. Historically it is of value because in such a lodge dwelt the farmers of the Arkansas valley before the first Spaniard or Frenchman came to the plains. Since no Indians other than the Wichitas built exactly that type of lodge it is a rare structure, there being only four or five remaining on the Wichita lands near Anadarko, Okla.

The manner in which the Indians constructed the wigwam in Wichita and their reason for building it show evidence of a deep religious feeling and of a natural generosity little known.

The lodge came into existence as the result of a visit to the Indians in June, 1924, by a group of Wichita citizens consisting of Col. S. S. Carter, president of the Wichita Booster Club; William C. Peacock, an old-time plainsman and scout who is adept in the Indian sign language; Glen Douglas, one of F. W. Hockaday's highway sign men; and myself. I was then a reporter for the *Wichita Beacon*. At the suggestion of Peacock, who knew Indian character well, we obtained a commission from Mayor Frank L. Dunn, appointing us as ambassadors from the white city of Wichita to the red brothers living on the banks of the Washita.

When this letter was read and translated to an assemblage of Indians on the agency grounds near Anadarko, the old men, who remembered Wichita as a village of grass houses, took us to their homes, where they inquired about the town as it now appears. Everything was done to show their appreciation of our friendly visit. The aged chief Kiowa, who won his name in a war when he single-handed brought in a captive Kiowa chief, took us inside his grass lodge, where we were allowed to sit and look around while

he visited a long time with Peacock in the sign language. He and Peacock had been scouts together in the Indian campaign of 1874, at which time the Wichitas fought on the side of the whites. Their visit over, I chanced to remark to Peacock my surprise at the excellence of the construction of Chief Kiowa's wigwam, which had been standing for almost sixty years and appeared to be good for sixty years more. Peacock repeated my remarks in sign talk. Whereupon the old chief answered: "If you like it, you shall have one."

Several weeks later Mayor Dunn received a letter from the Wichita Indian council, offering to come to Wichita and construct a lodge. Mayor Dunn appointed Colonel Carter as chairman of a committee to make arrangements. I was secretary. We soon learned that we would have to pay the expense of the building, not because the Wichitas wanted to make a profit, but because they were too poor to buy the materials, pay for transportation of themselves and material to Wichita, and feed themselves during the ten days necessary for the construction. In the first place, they specified that the piers of the lodge would have to be of cedar, and they no longer had cedar on their lands. It had to be specially selected cedar. Nothing shoddy was to go into the construction.

The committee obtained consent from the park board for construction of the lodge on Mead island, an undeveloped wooded tract of three acres belonging to the Wichita park system. It was Colonel Carter's plan to surround the lodge with an Indian garden, and he adopted a suggestion of Elmer T. Peterson, then editor of the *Beacon*, now editor of *Better Homes and Gardens*, that the lodge be roofed over with a glass house to insure its preservation for posterity, when it would become more valuable than ever. Colonel Carter also planned an Indian museum, where the curios of the plains tribes might be preserved.

Unfortunately Colonel Carter died before the lodge was built, and it would not have been completed had it not been for Mrs. Fern Mead Jordan, widow of the pioneer for whom Mead island is named. When the lodge was completed and a deficit remained, she paid it out of her own pocket.

The Indians arrived late in May, 1927, headed by Sooka, a woman, who, as a girl, had swung in the grape vines in what is now Riverside Park, not far from where the lodge now stands.

Among the Wichitas, as among most Indians, the home belongs to the woman. In case of divorce she throws the man's things out of the lodge and she remains. Consequently, the women are the build-

ers. Men accompanied the women as escorts and as assistants in building, for among the modern Wichitas men work on the farms and in house building after the manner of white men.

House building among the ancient Wichitas was a sacred thing, for in a house children are born and grow to manhood and womanhood. For that reason when the first cedar pier was set, Sooka bowed her head and in the Wichita tongue prayed to the Great Spirit. It might be well to say that the majority of the modern Wichitas are Christians, being members of the Baptist Church. I do not know whether the Christianized Wichitas pray in building their houses or not, but Sooka prayed after the custom of her mothers.

Other cedar piers were set in a circle of twenty feet diameter. Each pier had a crotched top, and across the crotches were laid transverse beams on which rested long cedar saplings, reaching from the ground upward, where they were gathered together at the top of the cone-like house and lashed together. Over the framework was laced a wattle work of willow, which was covered with a thatch of long grass, laid in tiers, overlapping like shingles.

At the apex of the lodge was set the most important thing of all. It was a five-pointed device, symbolical of the five fingers of the hand, and consisting of pointed rods. The central rod was pointed straight up to Man-Never-Known-on-Earth. The other four rods were inclined toward the four winds of Heaven. This device enables the four winds and Man-Never-Known-on-Earth to enter the lodge and bestow their blessings on the people.

The lodge has two doors, one at the east, where the sun can peep in in the morning to give his blessing, and one in the west where he can look in before night to see that all is well. There also is an opening at the south to serve as a window, where the sun can look in at noon. Just east of the apex is a smoke hole. Under the smoke hole is a circular excavation on the floor of the lodge, which is a fireplace.¹

The construction over, Sooka struck a fire, and two meals were cooked over the fireplace. The Indians spent one night in the lodge so that it could be said that real Indians had slept there. The lighting of the first fire was accompanied by prayer, so the Indians later reported, but no white men were allowed to be present, although Mrs. Jordan, being a woman and the widow of James R.

1. A picture of the lodge in Wichita, with the five-pointed device plainly showing, can be seen on the frontispiece of *Early Days in Kansas*, by Bliss Isely, Wichita Board of Education (Wichita Eagle Press, 1927). There is also a picture of Kiowa's wigwam on page 8. See, also, *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. XVII, p. 520, for a brief story and picture.

Mead, the old-time friend of the Wichitas, was welcome at any time.

Early travelers on the prairies were always glad to come to the village of the Wichitas, for, unlike the teepee dwellers, the grass-house dwellers were farmers, and in a grass lodge corn, beans and pumpkins were served to the visitors, who welcomed a change from a diet of nothing but buffalo meat.

Kiowa told me that visitors were always welcome at his mother's lodge, and they were welcome to dip food out of the pot without invitation. There was always food in the pot, and during green-corn time there were roasting ears, protected by husks, baking in the ashes. At harvest time pumpkins were cut round and round in a long string and dried for winter use. They were hung from the underside of the roof of the lodge by one end of the string. Corn also was suspended from the roof by the husks, until the whole underside of the roof was gaily festooned with corn, pumpkins and other provisions.

Women took care of the crops, not because the men were lazy but, as Kiowa explained, because reproduction is woman's work and in the old days crops would not grow if men interfered. It was man's place to bring home the meat, defend the village, break horses, make saddles and shields and bows and arrows. Any one who scoffs at Kiowa's theory that the men were not lazy had first better try to make a bow and arrow and fit the arrow with an arrow head. While women did the field work, their house work was light. They cooked but one meal a day and left the loaded pot near the fire where anybody could help himself all day long if hungry. They washed no dishes, laundered no clothes, sprinkled water on the floor of the wigwam to settle the dust, and made no beds.

Night was the time for parties in which women danced with the men. Kiowa said he never could recall when his mother worked after dark, but his daughters, who now walk the white woman's road, often work by lamplight.

What some authorities consider to be the earliest visit to the Wichitas by white men was that of the Coronado expedition in 1541. Pedro de Castaneda, historian of the expedition, wrote: "The houses are round, without a wall, and they have one story like a loft, under the roof, where they sleep and keep their belongings. The roofs are of straw." ⁷²

In 1601 Juan de Onate, first governor of New Mexico, visited the

2. George Parker Winship's translation of Castaneda's narrative, *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, v. 1, p. 528.

Arkansas, presumably at the mouth of Cow creek or the Little Arkansas. The people he found there are supposed to be the Wichitas, from the description of their houses. He wrote:

"We came to a settlement containing more than twelve hundred houses, all established along the bank of another good-sized river, which flowed into a large one. They were all round, built of forked poles and bound with rods, and on the outside covered to the ground with grass."³

Continuing his description of their fields he wrote:

"We remained here for one day in this pleasant spot surrounded on all sides by fields of maize and crops of the Indians. The stalks of the maize were as high as that of New Spain and in many places higher. The land was so rich that, having harvested the maize, a new growth of a span in height had sprung up over a large portion of the same ground without any cultivation or labor other than the removal of the weeds and the making of holes where they planted the maize. There were many beans, some gourds, and between the field some plum trees."⁴

Later the French left records of visits to the Wichitas, whom they called the Pani Piques; Pani, because they were related to the Pawnees, and Piques, because they tattooed themselves like the Picts of ancient Scotland.⁵ Wars with the Osages, who were supplied with firearms by the French traders of St. Louis, forced the Pani Piques south. This fact was recorded by Meriwether Lewis, the explorer, who obtained the information from his French guides. In his discussion of the various branches of the Pawnees, he wrote in his journal concerning the Pani Piques: "The fourth band originally resided on the Kansas and Arkansas, but in their wars with the Osages they were so often defeated that they at last retired to their present position on Red river, where they form a tribe of four hundred men."⁶

The Wichitas were visited on Red river by the Dodge military expedition in 1835. George Catlin, the artist, who accompanied the expedition, called them Pawnee Picts, and his description of them is much like that by Onate 234 years previous. Says Catlin:

"To our very great surprise we have found these people cultivating quite extensive fields of corn, pumpkins, melons, beans and squashes. So with these aids and an abundant supply of buffalo meat they may be said to be living well.

"We found here a very numerous village containing some five or six hundred wigwams, all made of long prairie grass thatched over poles which are

3. H. E. Bolton (ed.) Juan de Onate's Expedition to the Arkansas, in *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest* (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1916), p. 260.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 261.

5. Frederick Webb Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, v. II, pp. 947, 948.

6. Meriwether Lewis, *History of the Expeditions of Captains Lewis and Clark*, reprinted from edition of 1814 (A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, 1903), p. 36.

fastened in the ground and bent in at the tip, giving to them, in distance, the appearance of straw bee hives." ⁷

In 1863, because they sided with the Union, the Wichita village was destroyed by the Confederates and the fugitives returned to their ancient habitat in Kansas, where James R. Mead first met them on the site of Wichita, and where they promptly built a grass village and surrounded it with gardens of corn, beans, squash and melons. ⁸

The government removed them to their present seat on the Washita in 1867, and the Wichita pioneers used the straw of their houses for horse bedding and the cedar piers for fence posts.

For sixty years the grass lodges were unknown on the Arkansas, until Sooka and her women rebuilt the one on Mead island. It is to be hoped that Wichita will some day bring their historical treasure out of hiding and put a bridge to Mead island so that her own boys and girls and the visitors to the city can see the wigwam that was erected by such reverent hands.

7. George Catlin, *The North American Indians* (Leary, Stuart & Co., Philadelphia, 1913), v. II, p. 79.

8. James R. Mead in *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. X, p. 10.

The Annual Meeting

THE fifty-seventh annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society and the board of directors was held in the rooms of the Society on October 18, 1932.

The meeting of the board of directors was called to order at 10 a. m., by the president, Justice John S. Dawson. The first business was the reading of the annual report of the secretary.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY, YEAR ENDING OCTOBER 18, 1932.

The past year has been one of continued growth and progress in all departments of the Society. Accessions of manuscripts, documents, books and relics have been large and of unusual interest and value. Especially noteworthy is the marked increase in the number of persons who have used the Society's collections. This may be because of unemployment or, as has been suggested, because of the stimulated interest in public affairs which accompanies a national political campaign. During the year, however, there was a material increase in the extent of newspaper publicity the Society's activities received, both locally and throughout the state, and this doubtless attracted many new patrons.

The secretary has been greatly assisted in the work of the year by the president of the Society, Justice John S. Dawson, and by the executive committee. The executive committee has met regularly once a month, and all matters of importance have been referred to it.

LIBRARY.

The library received over two thousand inquiries for information, mostly regarding Kansas subjects or genealogy. These requests come from all parts of the United States and are answered by letter or by the loan of duplicate books or material compiled specifically for loan use. Many are from school teachers and students. Some can be answered in a few minutes while others often require hours of research. Writers of theses have used the library, the newspaper section, and the manuscripts and archives departments for the following subjects during the year: New England Emigrant Aid Company; government regulation of business; survey of Portland cement industry in Kansas; history of education in Rush county; history of education in Sumner county; Kansas state documents; Kansas state constitution; library legislation in Kansas; bank taxation; Mennonites; landmarks in Kansas; high-school courses of study; development of Kansas government; history of school lands in Kansas; history of municipal ownership of public utilities in Kansas; history of the Robinson administration; the Progressive party in Kansas.

In addition, much use was made of the library by newspaper writers and historians.

The constantly increasing demand for information and assistance often makes it impossible for the library staff to handle the routine of library work and cataloguing. Two additional catalogue clerks are needed to do the work

efficiently. The Society possesses 15,000 pictures which should be sorted, catalogued and filed. At present there is no workable index to this valuable collection.

Accessions to the library proper and to the archives and newspaper sections for the year ending June 30, 1932, were as follows:

Library:

Books (volumes)	841
Pamphlets	2,607
Newspapers and magazines (volumes).....	932

Archives:

Separate manuscripts	64,582
Manuscript volumes	112
Maps	2
Maps, atlases and charts.....	94
Pictures	547

These accessions bring the totals in the possession of the Society, including the museum, to the following figures:

Library, including books, pamphlets, bound newspapers and magazines,	340,627
Archives, separate manuscripts.....	912,281
Archives, manuscript volumes.....	26,653
Archives, maps	416
Maps, atlases and charts.....	10,145
Pictures	14,639
Museum relics and objects.....	32,529

Through the courtesy of the Southwestern Bell Telephone Company the Society is now receiving current telephone directories from all the company's exchanges in Kansas. Next to the newspapers, these directories are the most important contemporary record of each community. Efforts are also being made to secure directories from the independent exchanges.

ARCHIVES AND MANUSCRIPTS.

Accessions of private manuscripts and documents have been among the most important since the organization of the Society. The largest in point of numbers is a collection of the letters and papers of the late Charles S. Gleed, donated by his family. Mr. Gleed was president of the Southwestern Bell Telephone Co., a director of the Santa Fe Railroad Co., and a leader in Kansas affairs. This collection is an invaluable source record comprising over 25,000 pieces.

Another unique and valuable accession is a collection of the manuscripts, maps and documents of Adolph Hunnius, donated by his son, Carl Hunnius, of Leavenworth. Adolph Hunnius served in the Civil War and was employed by the government as a map maker. He visited many sections of Kansas in an early day. This collection contains numerous manuscript maps, some of which have already thrown new light on early forts and trails. There are several thousand pieces in this collection.

Gen. Wilder S. Metcalf, a director of the Society, gave a valuable collection of letters, manuscripts, pictures, books and relics. The three volumes of correspondence include two on the Spanish-American war and one on the European war. There are several albums of pictures showing American troops in the Philippines, especially the Twentieth Kansas, of which General Metcalf was colonel. There are hundreds of newspaper clippings in this collection.

Recently General Metcalf also gave to the Society a fine library of books on army manuals, tactics, etc. The relics include a Moro shield and spear, two rifles and two saddles. One of the saddles was used by General Metcalf during his service in the Philippines and the other is one which he owned and which was used by General Funston.

Mrs. L. C. Schnacke, daughter of John Davis, former congressman and editor at Junction City, donated fourteen volumes of indexed scrap books which had been prepared by her father.

Walter E. Thiele, of Lawrence, gave a most interesting collection of military records of the Nineteenth Kansas cavalry which had belonged to Capt. John Q. A. Norton, of Company D. These include official documents and correspondence.

During the year the Society has acquired several new John Brown letters. The most interesting is an original letter which was written by John Brown to his father in 1849. It is one of the earliest records of Brown's interest in the negro question. Three photostatic copies of new John Brown letters, written in the 50's, were purchased. A photostatic copy of a bill of sale for a horse which John Brown sold to the father of Sen. H. K. Lindsley, of Wichita, was given to the Society by Mr. Lindsley.

These collections are the outstanding accessions, but are only a part of those received this year.

Excellent progress has been made in the work of repairing and calendaring manuscripts. Naturally but little headway can be made by two clerks on the vast collections owned by the Society. It had been hoped that additional clerks might be requested from the next session of the legislature, but in view of the economic situation it was the opinion of the executive committee and the secretary that it would not be good policy to request them at this time and they were not included in the budget.

In the death of Esther Clark Hill the Society lost an invaluable assistant. Mrs. Hill was not only a capable worker; she brought to her task a knowledge and an intense love of Kansas which were a great asset to the department.

The largest accession to the archives came from the insurance department. This was a collection of 62,000 manuscripts and 106 manuscript volumes of annual statements. Five hundred manuscripts came from a former board of managers of the state soldier's home and the Mother Bickerdyke home. The most important accession during the year, in the archives department, was the manuscript collection of Wm. I. R. Blackman, who came to Lawrence in 1854. It was given by his son, Maulsby W. Blackman, of Syracuse, N. Y. This collection was received by the Society in 1930, but was not transferred from the vault to the archives until 1932. The most valuable document in this collection is the complete journal in original form of the Leavenworth Constitutional Convention which met at Minneola March 23, 1858, and adjourned next day to convene at Leavenworth.

Second in importance is a corrected draft of the Wakarusa Treaty of Peace, made December 8, 1855, by Gov. Wilson Shannon, Charles Robinson and J. H. Lane. Three drafts of treaties had been made, the one by the free-state men being accepted with slight changes.

NEWSPAPER SECTION.

Readers in the newspaper section have noticeably increased in numbers during the year. The demand for current issues especially has been greater. Old files have been consulted by about the usual number of readers and students of history.

The issues of 757 newspapers and periodicals, 89 being school and college publications, were being received regularly on October 1. Of these 57 were dailies, one triweekly, 13 semiweeklies, 520 weeklies, 19 fortnightlies, three once every three weeks, 12 semimonthlies, 81 monthlies, 11 bimonthlies, 26 quarterlies, 11 occasionals, and three semiannuals. In the list were included 458 weekly community newspapers. On January 1 the Kansas newspaper collection totaled 40,419 bound volumes.

Valuable out-of-state newspapers included in our files are still stacked on benches in the basement awaiting shelving facilities. Territorial newspapers of Oklahoma, and Boston newspapers contemporary with the New England Emigrant Aid Company, are included in this collection. An appropriation is being asked of the next legislature to care for these.

The 1932 annual *List of Kansas Newspapers and Periodicals* received by the Kansas State Historical Society was published in June. The edition listed the editors and publishers of 755 publications.

At the consolidation of the Chanute *Daily Timesett* with the Chanute *Tribune* January 9, 1932, fifteen unbound volumes of the *Timesett* were presented to the Society by John P. Harris and Charles F. Jones, editors of the reorganized *Tribune*. A file of the Manhattan *Kansas Farm Bureau Bulletin* from 1922 to 1928 was given the Society by R. C. Obrecht, of Topeka.

MUSEUM.

While the museum continues to be our most popular department with the general public, the attendance for the year fell to 27,316, due to the fact that it was closed for two months during the winter for repairs. The walls and ceilings were repaired and painted and all exhibits, including over 600 portraits and paintings, excepting only the Goss collection of birds, were taken down and thoroughly cleaned. During the week of the fair the museum attracted 2,733 visitors.

The number of relics and museum objects accessioned during the year was ninety-nine.

One of the most valuable accessions was the collection received from the estate of Ione D. Eastman, widow of the late Phil Eastman, of Topeka. This bequest of colonial furniture included a grandfather clock, two windsor chairs, a wall cabinet, a mahogany dresser, a mahogany drop-leaf sewing table, a mahogany writing desk, a marble-top walnut shaving stand, a brass door knocker, an Austrian vase, and a large Wedgewood platter.

A wooden Indian was donated by Hedwig Wulke. A hand-written arithmetic begun in 1792 was donated by the daughter of Dr. G. H. Fitzgerald, Kelly, Kan., and Mr. E. T. Fay, of Harris, Kan., added twenty-two specimens to the collection of Indian artifacts previously donated by him.

Last winter the local newspapers announced that the Society was planning to build a sod house in the museum. This story, which was picked up by press associations and printed all over the country, invited old-timers to write

to the Society and describe methods of construction. Over two hundred letters were received.

KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY.

Four numbers of the new *Quarterly* have been issued and the fifth will be ready when the index to the volume is completed. The first volume will consist of the first five numbers, including the November, 1932, issue which will contain the index. This was done so that a new volume will not begin in the middle of the year; subsequent volumes will contain four numbers each.

The *Quarterly* has been successful beyond expectations. It has proved popular with the members and has resulted in much favorable newspaper publicity. Articles from each number have been reprinted, condensed or commented upon by newspapers in all parts of the state. Much of the credit for the high standard of the articles is due to Dr. James C. Malin, associate professor of history at the University of Kansas and associate editor of the *Quarterly*.

LOCAL AND COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

Since the last annual meeting two county historical societies have affiliated themselves with the state Society by taking out life memberships. In addition, the Society has given assistance to the organizers of several other county historical societies not yet affiliated. A special invitation to attend this annual meeting was extended by the secretary to the officers of local and county societies. Several of these associate societies are doing excellent work in gathering historical data and relics. The encouragement of these local societies is an important part of the work of the state Society. It is obviously impossible for the Society with its limited staff to secure and preserve the historical records of the 105 counties. Only through active local societies can this be done.

SHAWNEE MISSION.

The old Methodist Shawnee Mission near Kansas City is the outstanding historic site in Kansas and one of the finest in the Middle West. At the present time only two of the large brick buildings are open to the public, and only one of these is in a presentable condition. Eventually all three of these buildings should be restored as nearly as possible to their original condition. The state architect estimates that it would require in the neighborhood of \$25,000 to restore the north building, which is in the worst condition. The most interesting of these buildings is the one known as the east building, and it is now attracting hundreds of visitors. Last fall permission was given the Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society, a newly organized group in Johnson county, to install a museum in the large downstairs room in this building. The results have been surprising and most gratifying. Hundreds of relics and museum objects, illustrative of the early life of the mission are now attractively displayed. At a meeting attended by several hundred persons which was held there on June 27, the museum was formally turned over to the state Society. This museum has received much publicity in the Kansas City and nearby papers and as a result thousands of readers have been told of the importance of this early-day outpost of civilization in the history of Kansas and the west.

Another local organization which has shown much interest in the mission

is the Shawnee Mission Floral Club. This club at its own expense installed a lily pool and rock garden. On April 3 this gift was formally presented to the state. A Washington elm which was planted at the time was accepted on behalf of the state by Gov. Harry H. Woodring, and the rock garden and lily pool were accepted by the secretary of the Historical Society.

FIRST CAPITOL OF KANSAS.

The First Capitol building, on highway 40 near Fort Riley, continues to attract many visitors. Despite the greatly decreased volume of tourist travel the number of visitors has increased. For the year ending October 1, 1932, there were 13,216 visitors as compared with 12,552 the preceding year.

GIREAU TRADING POST.

The untimely death on May 28, 1932, of John A. Hall, of Pleasanton, a director of the Society, delayed plans for the erection of a marker on the site of the old Gireau Trading Post at the town of Trading Post, which he had donated to the Society. This site marks the spot where Gireau traded with the Indians in 1834; where General Scott erected defense barracks in 1842; and where John Brown dated his famous *Parallels*, written in January, 1859. Last month the secretary visited Mrs. Hall and Mr. Hall's two brothers and made arrangements for the erection of a granite marker and the maintenance of the site. This marker will be erected this month.

MARKING HISTORIC SITES.

This month the Historical Society and the Kansas Chamber of Commerce are beginning a coöperative effort to compile a complete list of historic spots in the state which are marked by tablet, statue, or otherwise. The only lists now available are far from complete. The work of securing these lists from local communities will be done by American Legion posts and Legion Auxiliary Units, through the coöperation of the state department.

Respectfully submitted,

KIRKE MECHEM, *Secretary.*

Upon the conclusion of the reading of the report of the secretary the president asked what disposition the board of directors wished to make of it. On motion of Thomas A. Lee, seconded by Mrs. Grace D. M. Wheeler, the report was approved and accepted.

The president then called for the reading of the report of the treasurer of the Society, Mrs. Mary Embree, which follows:

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

MEMBERSHIP FEE FUND.

Balance September 21, 1931, cash.....	\$1,173.90
Membership dues	235.67
Interest on liberty bonds.....	297.50
Refund of money advanced for postage and expense money.....	122.50
Liberty bonds, at cost.....	5,911.63
Total amount on hand.....	<u>\$7,741.20</u>

EXPENDITURES TO AUGUST 17, 1932.

Traveling expenses	\$343.42
Subscriptions	97.45
Rent of safe deposit box.....	3.00
Printing and paper.....	29.23
Rental of chairs for annual meeting.....	4.00
Hussey Insurance Co., premium on bonds.....	10.00
Old letters of John Brown, picture, etc.....	110.00
Christmas gifts to janitors.....	13.50
Extra clerk hire.....	105.80
Filing record and registering deed.....	3.10
Repairs	7.20
Hauling mail	2.00
Flowers	10.50
Maps	7.00
Dues in Topeka Chamber of Commerce.....	25.00
Office files	28.00
Refund on membership dues.....	.50
Tax on checks.....	.12
Money advanced for postage, etc.....	110.00
<hr/>	
Total expenses	\$909.82
Balance August 17, 1932.....	6,831.38
<hr/>	
	<u>\$7,741.20</u>
<hr/>	
Liberty bonds	\$5,911.63
Cash	919.75
<hr/>	
	<u>\$6,831.38</u>

JONATHAN PECKER BEQUEST FUND.

September 21, 1931:	
Balance	\$79.86
Interest	40.38
<hr/>	
Total amount on hand.....	\$120.24
Expenditures:	
Frank J. Wilder, New Hampshire books.....	\$89.60
August 17, 1932, balance.....	30.64
<hr/>	
	<u>\$120.24</u>

JOHN BOOTH BEQUEST.

September 21, 1931:	
Balance	\$72.85
Interest	21.25
<hr/>	
Balance	\$94.10
No expenditures.	

THOMAS H. BOWLUS FUND.

\$1,000, in form of liberty bond; the interest from which is deposited with membership fee fund. Respectfully submitted,
 MARY EMBREE, Treasurer.

On motion of John S. Dean, seconded by W. W. Denison, the treasurer's report was approved.

The report of the committee appointed by the executive committee to audit the books of the treasurer was read, as follows:

REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

The committee appointed by the executive committee of the Historical Society having examined the books of the treasurer and compared it with the state accountant's audit report for the preceding fiscal year find that the same agree in all respects and we therefore approve the above and foregoing treasurer's report as correct.

EDWIN A. AUSTIN,

THOMAS AMORY LEE,

Committee.

On motion of Col. Sam F. Woolard, seconded by H. K. Lindsley, the auditing committee's report was approved.

Mrs. Eliza E. Goodrich, secretary of the Wyandotte County Historical Society, asked permission to speak a few words on the work of her society. She exhibited a photostatic copy of the *Shawnee Sun* of 1841 and portraits of early settlers of Wyandotte county.

The report of the nominating committee was called for and was read by Mrs. Henry F. Mason:

REPORT OF NOMINATING COMMITTEE.

To the Board of Directors, Kansas State Historical Society:

Your committee on nomination beg leave to submit the following report for officers of the Kansas State Historical Society for the following year:

For president, Thomas Amory Lee, Topeka.

For first vice president, H. K. Lindsley, Wichita.

For second vice president, Thomas F. Doran, Topeka.

For secretary, Kirke Mechem, Topeka.

For treasurer, Mrs. Mary Embree, Topeka.

Respectfully submitted,

MRS. HENRY F. MASON,

ISABELLE C. HARVEY,

E. E. KELLEY,

JAMES C. MALIN,

E. A. RYAN,

Committee.

Mrs. Flora R. Godsey, of Emporia, spoke of the secretary's proposal to build a sod house in the museum and suggested that a log cabin be erected to represent the eastern part of Kansas.

There being no further business for the Board of Directors, the meeting adjourned.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY.

The annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society convened at two o'clock p. m. The meeting was called to order by President Dawson.

The secretary read telegrams and letters from members who were unable to be present.

President Dawson asked Thomas A. Lee to introduce Mr. Boyd B. Stutler, of West Virginia. In presenting him Mr. Lee stated that Mr. Stutler possessed probably the largest collection of John Brown material in the country. Mr. Stutler said that having been born not far from Harper's Ferry he had from boyhood been interested in John Brown, despite the local antipathy toward him, and had begun at an early day to make a collection of material relating to him. His collection comprises books, pamphlets, posters, portraits and other items. A bibliography containing over a thousand titles which he has compiled will be printed by the New York City public library. Upon the completion of Mr. Stutler's talk President Dawson suggested that if he were in doubt where to place his collection when he passed on, the Kansas State Historical Society would be glad to act as its custodian.

President Dawson read a letter which had been written to him by Judge C. E. Cory, of Fort Scott, a director of the Society, who is at present living in Lake Charles, La., and requested the secretary to write him expressing the regret of the members at his absence.

The president then read his annual address:

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

If Herodotus was the Father of History, I presume I should greet you representatives of the Kansas State Historical Society as the Sons and Daughters of Herodotus. And this, with my very best bow, I now do.

History is an authentic record of what man has done. Arnold of Rugby defined it as the biography of the commonwealth. Napoleon said that history is a fable that people have agreed upon; but that satirical remark was clearly erroneous, since what is not true is not history.

As a state historical society we are primarily concerned with the chronicles of our own commonwealth, with the collection and preservation of data and materials by which the story of its development can be set down in available and enduring form. There is no more lasting public service a group of scholarly men and women can render than that of preserving a state's history for the instruction and future guidance of its citizens. Like the Scripture, a state's history is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in civic righteousness. No part of this state's educational program is more worthy of public support than the activities of the Kansas State Historical

Society. Kansas history is not confined to its mere provincial aspects. For the greater part of one heroic generation Kansas supplied the stage and theme for an all-engrossing national political drama whose acts and scenes were laid hereabout—the rush from North and South to capture and hold this territory for freedom or slavery; the border warfare which opened the “Irrepressible Conflict”; the influx of the soldier settlers who staked out their homesteads on the Kansas plains; the epic of the prairie trails to Santa Fe, to Oregon and Pike’s Peak; the building of the railroads, and the boom towns which sprang up in their wake. Such dramatic incidents largely shaped our state’s history from the passage of the Squatter Sovereignty act of 1854 until the later eighties, and their repercussions deeply affected the entire nation.

The moods and tenses of the people of Kansas should be interpreted in the light of their colorful and dramatic background, having in mind what our pioneer forbears strove for and endured and accomplished. And the Kansas of to-morrow will be the product of all our yesterdays. Our state consciousness, our temperamental, social and political attitudes, are our composite reaction to the tribulations through which the Sunflower State has cleaved its way—not to the stars, but in their direction—*Ad astra per aspera!*

Yet the true historian has other obligations than that of formulating pleasing encomiums to flatter our state pride. Lord Acton, a historian of the last century, declared that in all the years he had devoted to historical research and historical writing he had constantly striven to suppress the poet, the patriot, the religious and political partisan, to sustain no cause, to write nothing to gratify his own feelings or disclose his personal convictions. His steadfast attitude towards his work was to scrutinize, dissect his materials, and set down the result. Nothing more. But such an attitude of neutrality is hardly attainable by the average student of history; and possibly the voluminous product of Lord Acton’s pen is an accumulation of highly valuable materials for the writing of history rather than history itself.

I think it not improper that historians should be partisans—honest, informed partisans—but our partisan mood should follow and not precede our research work. There is likely to be more vitality, more sustained interest, in the literary work of an honest, informed partisan than in the colorless writing of one whose entire attitude is that of studied detachment. The true student of history pursues his researches in the scientific spirit. His work must be systematized. The discovery, classification and preservation of historical data constitute one important aspect of his work. Appraising the due weight and significance to be given to such data is another great responsibility. Both services are invaluable. History cannot be predicated on memory, folk lore or tradition. It must rest on material proof. Documentary evidence is the best and makes the largest contribution. Statutes, decisions of courts, files of court proceedings, official reports, governors’ messages, newspapers, business records and personal correspondence of the long ago—all these supply invaluable material when subjected to the appraising scrutiny of the trained analyst. Biography, and especially autobiography, are highly serviceable source books for the compilation of history. It has been truly said that the life of every person contains the materials for an excellent story, if he has had the good fortune to have a biographer. Poetry, the popular songs of past gen-

erations, even the crude doggerel of the common people, contain much gold of historic truth which the trained student can readily uncover. Ancient ruins, coins, weapons, relics of all sorts yield a rich treasure of evidentiary data. In the Field Museum in Chicago is a marvelous collection of dentists' tools, unearthed in Pompeii, which reveals what remarkable progress the dental art had made in Italy before A. D. 79, when that city was destroyed. Many authentic contributions to the history of other arts of surprising proportions have been gleaned from similar sources. The antiquarian and archeologist bring to light evidentiary materials for the composition of ancient and medieval history; and that history in turn teaches us to interpret the present and to forecast the future. If and when we accumulate sufficient data concerning the nations of antiquity to diagnose the causes of their decline and fall we shall have progressed a long way towards the discovery of an antidote for the economic and social diseases which produce the mortality of states and of peoples.

Whenever the evidentiary facts of history have been made available, its composition will follow in due course. And of all who bear a hand in gathering the evidentiary facts and materials for the writing of history, as well as of those who do write it, and those who study it when written, it can justly be said that they are of a royal and privileged race. Whereas the years of a man are three score and ten, the years of the student of history are lengthened to include all the authentic ages of the past; and from the vantage point of such disciplined breadth of view he acquires something of a philosopher's attitude towards the present and a prophet's vision to anticipate the future.

The research worker and writer in the field of history must have aptitude and industry and unqualified devotion to his subject. A man who finds history tedious or uninteresting would better let it alone. Otherwise he is apt to conclude that history is what Henry Ford swore it was, in his million-dollar lawsuit with Aaron Shapiro.

Not only is a natural aptitude for the work of the historian necessary, but the successful worker must be trained to it, either self-taught or school-taught—trained in analysis of facts and their value, in the selection of the relevant and elimination of the inconsequential, and in the matter of drawing proper deductions from the systematized mass.

Within the half century which covers the period of my memory and experience, the student's approach to history has been greatly altered. The value of its substantive matter has shifted completely. In my boyhood we studied dates, battles, dynasties—

"First William the Norman,
Then William his son,
Henry, Stephen and Henry,
Then Richard and John. . ."

Of the people who supported those autocrats and of contemporary social conditions we were taught very little. To this day I must admit I know a good deal more about the half-mythical Siege of Troy and the "wrath of Achilles" than I do about how common humanity lived and died during many centuries prior to and succeeding the incidents embalmed in Homer's song. In my youth school boys read much about Mirabeau and Danton, Robespierre and Napoleon. But somehow our histories made no impression upon our minds as to the causes of the sanguinary events which brought these personages

into public view—the protracted growth of French absolutism, the hopeless wretchedness of the French people. Of the reformers, philosophers and writers who groped their way to the world-shaking climax of 1789, the histories of fifty years ago placed before a college lad told next to nothing.

The modern historian has a far better sense of historic values. His chief concern with the climaxes and cataclysms of history is to trace them to their remote sources, to detect and reveal the causes which produce such consequences. The past, its errors and successes, are lessons for guidance in the future. By such service as the painstaking historian alone can give, enlightened citizenship and patriotic statesmanship can direct the course of history away from the mistakes of the past into wiser channels, and thereby counteract history's fateful tendency to repeat itself. In times of social unrest, when economic and industrial conditions are abnormal, the lessons of history are invaluable. Those lessons supply two prime services, at least: First, the assurance that we always have won through such troublesome periods to better conditions and easier times; and second, a guideboard showing how our economic and industrial tribulations have been surmounted heretofore. History is freighted with the experiences of peoples who have followed blind political trails and espoused fallacious doctrines to their sorrow and misfortune. Students of history cannot stress too strongly how wise and profitable it is for people to be historically minded; how greatly the state can profit by the lessons of experience. It is the historian's bounden obligation never to become weary of well-doing; he must patiently and steadfastly teach with tongue and pen how imprudent it is to espouse proposed doctrines and policies without consulting historic records to learn whether these have been tried before and with what result of success or failure.

It is a curious social phenomenon that it is only on matters of public concern that the lessons of experience are ignored. On any important legal question the average man will engage the services of a lawyer who will make an exhaustive examination of the pertinent decisions of the highest courts before he will venture to advise his client or put his legal rights to the hazard of a lawsuit. In any case of dangerous illness the course of treatment prescribed by a conscientious physician is always the one which a studious examination of similar recorded cases suggests as most likely to effect a cure. But in matters of economics, politics and government, inquiry is seldom made whether a proposed expedient has ever been tried before. Even if it is a mere commonplace fact of history that a suggested measure had been repeatedly tried and had invariably failed it will be plausibly championed as if it were the acme of political wisdom.

Why should not the great political parties establish research bureaus to study proposed economic and political measures, and to have reports thereon made at off seasons when no political campaigns are impending. If this country is to continue to be governed through the expediency of political parties something of this kind will have to be undertaken. We cannot go on indefinitely as we have been doing in recent years. It is absurd to suppose that the grave and important economic and political problems of our national democracy or of a single American commonwealth can be wisely solved by a platform committee who are informally convened for a brief session in a hotel bedroom on the night before a political convention.

When the American pioneers came over the Alleghanies into the woods and prairies of the Middle West, governmental concerns and activities were at a minimum. To the frontiersman who did not violate the sixth, seventh, and eighth commandments, the government was a vague, impalpable thing with which he had little or nothing to do except in time of war. That remote relation of the common man to his government continued until so recent a time that many of our citizens of middle life and older are still bewildered at what has happened to the America of their youth. Now government is concerned with a multitude of matters which were regarded as clearly outside its legitimate scope a few decades ago. It is the plain duty of the historian to interpret this disquieting growth of governmental activity. Much expansion of government has been required to make our country as comfortable a place for 125 million people to live in as it was for twenty, or forty, or sixty million people, and while patriotic anxiety over our constantly expanding government ought to slow down the enactment of more laws and police regulations, the research student of history must confess that the tendency to curtail the people's liberties and to increase the burdens of their government has never been effectively and permanently checked among the nations and states of bygone times. Whether it can be done without halting or crippling the progress of civilization is a problem worthy of the most earnest solicitude of patriotic men and women. As dutiful historians—like Clio, with her stylus—we will faithfully record every worthwhile attempt at its solution.

Perhaps the most profound lesson which history has to teach is that nothing in government or in the structure of society has happened by mere chance. Our national and state constitutions were devised in travail of brain and patriotism. The institutions of this fair state—its cities, churches, schools, and business establishments—did not just grow like Topsy. They came about because two generations of men who preceded us labored unceasingly and purposely to bring them into existence—not for themselves alone, nor for us their children, but for many generations yet to come. A great and enduring commonwealth is not founded upon lands and goods but on the faith of its people and in the genius of its institutions. Faith is the substance of things hoped for. And a people can achieve only what they aspire to and work for and pray for.

Kansas history should occupy a larger place in our system of education. More local history needs to be written and preserved. There is an instructive lesson in the chronicles of every county, in every worth-while town, in every worth-while public achievement. There are many Kansans still living who were here in our day of small things. Almost every one of them has a story which should be preserved. Not all of these stories need be printed. Set down in typewriting and filed in the archives of this Society, they will not be lost; and their value will be justly appraised by our research students as the years go by.

As members of the Kansas State Historical Society we have nothing to do with mere boasting of our state's greatness. Like other patriotic folk we have a just pride in its history; but none will more readily admit than we that there are limitless stretches of social culture and of political progress yet to be achieved by forward-looking men before our beloved Kansas accom-

plishes its destiny, before it fulfills its motto, "To the Stars Through Difficulties."

"Look backward, how much has been won;
Look forward, how much is yet to win.
The watches of the night are done;
The watches of the day begin."

Following the reading of his address the president called for the report of the committee on nominations for directors of the Society, which was read by the secretary as follows:

October 18, 1932.

To the Kansas State Historical Society:

Your committee on nominations make leave to submit the following report and recommendations for directors of the Society for the year ending October, 1935:

Aitchison, R. T., Wichita.
Bowman, Noah L., Garnett.
Capper, Arthur, Topeka.
Cory, C. E., Fort Scott.
Crosby, E. H., Topeka.
Dawson, John S., Hill City.
Denison, W. W., Topeka.
Doerr, Mrs. Laura P. V., Larned.
Doran, Thomas F., Topeka.
Ellenbecker, John G., Marysville.
Harvey, Mrs. Sally, Topeka.
Hobble, Frank A., Dodge City.
Hodder, F. H., Lawrence.
Hogin, John C., Belleville.
Huggins, Wm. L., Emporia.
Humphrey, H. L., Abilene.
Johnston, Mrs. W. A., Topeka.

Knapp, Dallas W., Coffeyville.
McLean, Milton R., Topeka.
McNeal, T. A., Topeka.
Malin, James C., Lawrence.
Mason, Mrs. Henry F., Topeka.
Morehouse, George P., Topeka.
Plumb, George, Emporia.
Raynesford, H. C., Ellis.
Russell, W. J., Topeka.
Smith, Wm. E., Wamego.
Spratt, O. M., Baxter Springs.
Stevens, Caroline F., Lawrence.
Thompson, W. F., Topeka.
Van Tuyl, Mrs. Effie H., Leavenworth.
Walker, Mrs. Ida M., Norton.
Wilson, John H., Salina.

Respectfully submitted,

MRS. HENRY F. MASON,
ISABELLE C. HARVEY,
E. E. KELLEY,
JAMES C. MALIN,
E. A. RYAN,

Committee.

On motion of Colonel Woolard, seconded by General Metcalf, these directors were unanimously elected for the term ending October, 1935.

The president called on Mrs. Frank Hardesty, president of the Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society, to read the annual report of the work of her organization. In closing she read a poem by Bernice G. Fraser on the Old Shawnee Mission. Mrs. Hardesty then introduced Mrs. Edna Anderson, of Kansas City, Mo., who was

born at the mission and who is a daughter of Rev. Thomas Johnson, its founder. Mrs. Anderson expressed her appreciation for the work of the State Society and the coöperation of the Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society.

Miss Edna Nyquist, secretary of the McPherson County Historical Society, was called upon and spoke briefly about the work being done in that county.

Judge Dawson introduced the two members of the Grand Army of the Republic who were present, J. W. Priddy, department adjutant, and Col. W. W. Denison, prefacing his introduction by calling attention to the debt the Historical Society owes the G. A. R. for the beautiful Memorial Building in which it is housed. Mr. Priddy and Colonel Denison both responded with short talks.

President Dawson told of the work being done by the Society in the preservation of old manuscripts and documents, and called upon the secretary to explain the processes used. Mr. Mechem explained that the repair work is based on the methods in use at the Library of Congress and exhibited samples of old manuscripts in various stages of repair.

H. C. Raynesford, of Ellis, a director of the Society, was asked by the president to explain the work he has done in tracing the Butterfield Overland Despatch road through Ellis and Trego counties, which was first surveyed by the government in the 1850's as a mail line between Missouri and the Rocky Mountains. Mr. Raynesford told how he had been assisted in this undertaking by Mr. Charles A. Baugher, who was present at the meeting. He displayed a number of sections of detailed survey maps to illustrate his talk, and explained some of the difficulties which arise due to the fact that the old trails and station sites have been almost obliterated. Mr. Raynesford stated that they expected to complete the surveys to the western boundary of the state.

Gen. Wilder S. Metcalf called attention to the fact that the route of the old Oregon trail can be seen in six places on highway number 40 between Topeka and Lawrence, and stated that more markings should be erected on the old trail.

No further business being presented, the meeting adjourned.

MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS.

The afternoon meeting of the board of directors was called to order by the president. The secretary read the names of life, honorary and annual members to be elected by the board, as follows:

LIFE MEMBERS.

William A. Bailey, Kansas City, Kan.	Frank T. Sullivan, Lawrence.
Dr. Loyal Davis, Chicago, Ill.	McPherson County Historical Society,
Jasper Younkin, Kansas City, Kan.	McPherson.
Dr. Margaret Bostic, Topeka.	Coburn Library, Colorado College,
Miss Kate Stephens, New York, N. Y.	Colorado Springs.
Julius M. Liepman, Fort Scott.	Kiowa County Historical Society,
Clarence Mershon, Oakley.	Mullinville.
O. D. Sartin, Cedarvale.	

ANNUAL MEMBERS.

Lucile Lukens, Lenora.	Agnes Emery, Lawrence.
Mrs. Martha O. Colvin, Neosho, Mo.	Salina Memorial Art Co., Salina.

HONORARY MEMBER.

Mrs. John A. Hall, Pleasanton.

On motion of Col. Sam F. Woolard, seconded by Thomas Amory Lee, they were unanimously elected to membership.

The president called for a rereading of the report of the nominating committee for officers of the Society. On motion of Colonel Woolard, seconded by Colonel Denison, the following officers were elected:

For a one-year term: Thomas Amory Lee, president; H. K. Lindsley, first vice president; T. F. Doran, second vice president;

For a two-year term: Kirke Mechem, secretary; Mrs. Mary Embree, treasurer.

President Dawson called upon the newly elected president, Mr. Thomas Amory Lee, who thanked the board and made a brief talk.

Sen. H. K. Lindsley, of Wichita, inquired if it is necessary for newly elected members to wait for the annual meeting to ratify their election before certificates of membership can be issued to them. It was pointed out that the by-laws adopted the year previously gave the power to ratify memberships and issue certificates to the executive committee.

No further business being brought before the board the meeting adjourned.

KIRKE MECHEM, *Secretary*.

DIRECTORS FOR YEAR ENDING OCTOBER, 1933.

Beeks, Charles E., Baldwin.	Metcalf, Wilder S., Lawrence.
Beezley, George F., Girard.	Morrison, T. F., Chanute.
Bonebrake, Fred B., Topeka.	Norris, Mrs. George, Arkansas City.
Bowlus, Thomas H., Iola.	O'Neil, Ralph, Topeka.
Browne, Charles H., Horton.	Philip, Mrs. W. D., Hays.
Dean, John S., Topeka.	Rankin, Robert C., Lawrence.
Embree, Mrs. Mary, Topeka.	Ruppenthal, J. C., Russell.
Gray, John M., Kirwin.	Ryan, Ernest A., Topeka.
Harger, Charles M., Abilene.	Sawtell, James H., Topeka.
Harvey, Mrs. Isabelle C., Topeka.	Simons, W. C., Lawrence.
Haucke, Frank, Council Grove.	Soller, August, Washington.
Kagey, Charles L., Beloit.	Stanley, W. E., Wichita.
Kinkel, John M., Topeka.	Stone, Robert, Topeka.
Lee, Thomas Amory, Topeka.	Trembly, W. B., Kansas City, Kan.
McFarland, Helen M., Topeka.	Walker, B. P., Osborne.
Malone, James, Topeka.	Woodward, Chester, Topeka.
Mechem, Kirke, Topeka.	

DIRECTORS FOR YEAR ENDING OCTOBER, 1934.

Austin, E. A., Topeka.	Lindsley, H. K., Wichita.
Berryman, J. W., Ashland.	McCarter, Mrs. Margaret Hill,
Brigham, Mrs. Lalla M.,	Topeka.
Council Grove.	Mercer, J. H., Topeka.
Brooks, H. K., Topeka.	Oliver, Hannah P., Lawrence.
Bumgardner, Dr. Edward, Lawrence.	Patrick, Mrs. Mae C., Satanta.
Curtis, Charles, Topeka.	Reed, Clyde M., Parsons.
Davis, John W., Dodge City.	Rupp, Mrs. W. E., Hillsboro.
Denious, Jess C., Dodge City.	Scott, Charles F., Iola.
Frizell, E. E., Larned.	Schultz, Floyd, Clay Center.
Godsey, Mrs. Flora I., Emporia.	Shirer, H. L., Topeka.
Hall, Mrs. Carrie A., Leavenworth.	Van De Mark, M. V. B., Concordia.
Hamilton, Clad, Topeka.	Van Petten, A. E., Topeka.
Haskin, S. B., Olathe.	Wark, George H., Kansas City, Kan.
Hegler, Ben F., Wichita.	Wheeler, Mrs. B. R., Topeka.
Jones, Horace, Lyons.	Woolard, Sam F., Wichita.
Kelley, E. E., Topeka.	Wooster, Lorraine E., Salina.
Lillard, T. M., Topeka.	

DIRECTORS FOR YEAR ENDING OCTOBER, 1935.

Aitchison, R. T., Wichita.	Knapp, Dallas W., Coffeyville.
Bowman, Noah L., Garnett.	Ellenbecker, John G., Marysville.
Capper, Arthur, Topeka.	Harvey, Mrs. Sally, Topeka.
Cory, C. E., Fort Scott.	Hobble, Frank A., Dodge City.
Crosby, E. H., Topeka.	Hodder, F. H., Lawrence.
Dawson, John S., Hill City.	Hogin, John C., Belleville.
Denison, W. W., Topeka.	Huggins, Wm. L., Emporia.
Doerr, Mrs. Laura P. V., Larned.	Humphrey, H. L., Abilene.
Doran, Thomas F., Topeka.	Johnston, Mrs. W. A., Topeka.

McLean, Milton R., Topeka.

McNeal, T. A., Topeka.

Malin, James C., Lawrence.

Mason, Mrs. Henry F., Topeka.

Morehouse, George P., Topeka.

Plumb, George, Emporia.

Raynesford, H. C., Ellis.

Russell, W. J., Topeka.

Smith, Wm. E., Wamego.

Spratt, O. M., Baxter Springs.

Stevens, Caroline F., Lawrence.

Thompson, W. F., Topeka.

Van Tuyl, Mrs. Effie H.,

Leavenworth.

Walker, Mrs. Ida M., Norton.

Wilson, John H., Salina.

Recent Additions to the Library

Compiled by HELEN M. MCFARLAND, Librarian

SINCE the library is specialized, books which are purchased or received by gift generally fall into the following classes: the Kansas library, including books by Kansans and books about Kansas; the western section, covering explorations, overland journeys, and tales of the early West; genealogy and local history, including family histories, vital records, Revolutionary records, publications of patriotic and hereditary societies, and state, county and town histories; and books on the Indians of North America, United States history and biography.

We are always interested in obtaining information about Kansas authors and their work and shall consider it a great favor if our readers will send us any information that will put us in touch with local authors.

The following books have been added to the library from October 1, 1931, to October 1, 1932:

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- BEEBE, CHARLES P., *Kansas Facts*. Vol. 3. Topeka, Beebe [c. 1931].
- BELL, ARCH L., *Who's Who in the Kansas Legislature; Session 1931*. Great Bend, Howell Printing Company, 1931.
- BLANCHARD, LEOLA H., *Conquest of Southwest Kansas*. Wichita, Kan., Wichita Eagle Press [c. 1931].
- CLAYTON, CHARLES LINCOLN, *God, Evolution and Mind Healing*. Wellington, Kan., The American School of Science and Religion, 1923.
- COUNTS, GEORGE SYLVESTER, *Dare the School Build a New Social Order?* New York, John Day [c. 1932].
- *Soviet Challenge to America*. New York, John Day [c. 1931].
- COUNTS, GEORGE SYLVESTER, tr., *New Russia's Primer*, by M. Ilin. *The Story of the Five Year Plan*. Boston, Houghton [c. 1931].
- COWAN, MRS. EDWINA EUNICE (ABBOTT), and AVIS D. CARLSON, *Bringing Up Your Child; a Practical Manual*. New York, Duffield & Company [c. 1930].
- COWAN, MRS. EDWINA EUNICE (ABBOTT), and LAURA THORNBOROUGH, pseud., *The Psychologist Keeps House*. Minneapolis, Midwest Company, 1930.
- CURROR, D., *Scotch Enterprise in America*. *Mr. George Grant's Great Property; Victoria in Kansas . . . an Explanation to an Enquiring Scotchman Who Contemplated Emigration*. Edinburgh, Colston, 1873.
- DAVIDSON, CHARLES LOCK, *Dilson's Key*, by the Commodore. Wichita, Kan., The Goldsmith-Woolard Publishing Company, 1916.
- DENTZER, PHYLLIS, *Story of Abilene High School, 1880-1932*. no impr.
- DONEGHY, DAGMAR, *The Border; a Missouri Saga*. New York, W. Morrow & Company, 1931.

- DRISCOLL, CHARLES BENEDICT, *Treasure Aboard*. New York, Farrar and Rinehart [c. 1931].
- EBLE, JESSIE G., *The Red Trail*. New York, H. Harrison [c. 1931].
- EISELE, WILBERT EDWIN, *The Real Wild Bill Hickock*. Denver, Colo., W. H. Andre, 1931.
- ELLENBECKER, JOHN G., *Oak Grove Massacre (Oak Grove, Nebraska); Indian Raids on the Little Blue River in 1864*. Marysville, *Advocate-Democrat* [1926?].
- ELLIOTT, R. S., *Kansas Pacific Railway; Experiments in Cultivation on the Western Plains*. St. Louis, Levison & Blythe, 1872.
- English Enterprise in America; Notes Addressed to Investors and Settlers Concerning the Estate of Victoria (Ellis County, Kansas, U. S.) Property of Mr. George Grant*. Edinburgh, John Lindsay, 1874.
- FISHER, HUGH T., *Communism in Soviet Russia; Its Challenge to Thinking Americans*. [Topeka, Kan.] Capper Printing Company [c. 1932].
- FREDERICKSON, OTTO FROVIN, *Liquor Question Among the Indian Tribes in Kansas, 1804-1881*. Lawrence, Kansas University, 1932.
- FRENCH, LAURA MARGARET, *History of Emporia and Lyon County*. Emporia, Kan., Emporia Gazette Print, 1929.
- GEHMAN, JOHN LUKE, *The Ceaseless Circle; a Series of Sermons*. New York, Fleming H. Revell Company [c. 1931].
- GRAY, GEORGE M., *Fifty Years in Practice of Medicine*. no impr.
- HARRIS, DWIGHT THACHER, and CLIFFORD V. SOUDERS, *Fifty Years of History; Topeka Typographical Union No. 121*. Topeka, Kan., Capper [c. 1932].
- History of Southwest Kansas Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Vol. 1, 1869-1931*. n. p., Published by the Conference, n. d.
- HOYT, CHARLES B., *Story; History of Field Hospital 139 of Topeka, Kansas, in the Great War, 1917-1918-1919*. [Topeka, Jones & Birch, n. d.]
- HUGHES, LANGSTON, *Negro Mother, and Other Dramatic Recitations*. New York, Golden Stair Press [c. 1931].
- INDEPENDENCE, FIRST CHRISTIAN CHURCH, *Brief Historical Statement of the Founding, Establishment and Accomplishments of Independence, Kansas, and the First Christian Church*. Independence, n. p., 1931.
- ISELY, CHARLES C., *Cast Out the Demon Depression*. Dodge City, Kan., Wheat Belt Intelligence [c. 1932].
- JACQUART, ROLLAND, *Prairie Lore*. Sublette, Kan., Sublette Monitor, 1931.
- JENNINGS, P. J., *Celestial Trails, a Story Written Exclusively for the Amateur Astronomer and Those Who Love the Starry Nights*. Kansas City, Mo., Burton Publishing Company [c. 1931].
- KANSAS CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, *Organization Handbook; Tax Study in Thirteen Lessons*. n. p. [c. 1932].
- KANSAS STATE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION, *Fifty Years of History; Kansas State Y. M. C. A., 1882-1932*. no impr.
- KARSNER, DAVID, *Silver Dollar; the Story of the Tabors*. New York, Covici, Friede [c. 1932].
- KESTING, CARMELA L., *Repression, Plowing Time and Other Stories*. Kansas City, Mo., Burton Publishing Company [c. 1930].
- LAKE, STUART N., *Wyatt Earp, Frontier Marshal*. Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1931.
- LARKIN, MARGARET, *Singing Cowboy, a Book of Western Songs*. New York, A. A. Knopf, 1931.
- LONG, SIDNEY, *The Cry of the Newsboy*. Kansas City, Mo., Burton Publishing Company [c. 1928].

- MALIN, JAMES CLAUDE, *The Background of the First Bills to Establish a Bureau of Markets, 1911-'12.* no impr.
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Kansas History as Published in the State Press

"Memories of Early Days," by H. P. Tripp, has been published in the *Waldo Advocate* in its issues of January 18, February 29, April 11 and December 5, 1932.

The pioneering experiences of a pastor of the Swedish Lutheran church at Mariadahl were recounted in a letter from the minister, Dr. J. Seleen, published in the *Rooks County Record*, Stockton, August 18, 1932. The article was reprinted from the *Mariadahl Messenger*, Cleburne.

"Scott County Historical Society Notes," a column appearing in *The Scott County Record* and *The News Chronicle*, Scott City, featured "The Smoky Hill Cattle Pool," August 25; "Dull Knife's Raid in 1878," by George W. Brown, a scout, September 15-October 20; "A Page From the Notebook of a Buffalo Hunter," by Rosa B. Dickhut, and biographical sketches of Mr. and Mrs. E. E. Coffin, in November, and a letter from a buffalo hunter which told of the naming of White Woman creek, December 8.

Names of 140 Gove county persons over seventy years of age were published by the *Republican-Gazette*, Gove City, September 8, 1932.

"Echoes of the Old Dewey Trial," was a feature of the *Norton Champion*, September 15, 1932. The article gave the story of the Chauncey E. Dewey and Alpheus Berry feud famous in early north-west Kansas history.

The history of Barclay, Osage county, was briefly reviewed in *The Osage County Journal*, Osage City, September 21, 1932. John M. Wetherall, of Philadelphia, was the first settler.

Names of old settlers registering at Oakley's forty-seventh birthday anniversary celebration and historical notes taken at the gathering were published in the *Oakley Graphic*, September 23, 1932.

Dave D. Leahy's "Random Recollections of Other Days" column appearing in the *Wichita Sunday Eagle* included articles on the following subjects: The organization of the Twentieth Kansas regiment, from an interview with John Quick, September 25, 1932; "Chalk" Beeson and the buffalo hunt of Grand Duke Alexis, Oc-

tober 2; Eugene Ware, October 9, and memories of a corner grocery store in Caldwell, October 23.

"Sixty Years of Life at Logan, Kansas" was the title of a feature story published in the *Logan Republican* in its issue of September 29, October 20, November 10 and 24, 1932.

Two meteors which fell in Washington county in 1890 were recalled by the *Washington County Register*, Washington, September 30, 1932. The larger stone weighed 188 pounds. Names of the Civil War veterans attending an 1888 reunion in the Washington armory building were listed in this issue.

An article entitled "Kansas—the Nation's Bread Basket," by Larry Freeman, was published in *The Highway Traveler* (Cleveland, Ohio), in its issue of October-November, 1932. The story of Kansas wheat was briefly reviewed.

A brief history of the Bluff City Methodist Episcopal church, by E. E. Elliott, was published in the *Anthony Times*, October 4, 1932, and the *Anthony Republican*, October 6. The church was organized in 1891 by Rev. Charles Brown, of Freeport.

On the fortieth anniversary of the famous Dalton raid on Coffeyville the *Daily Journal*, of October 5, 1932, published a two-page illustrated review of the event. The eye-witness account of Ida Gibbs-Jones, as written forty years afterward, was an added feature.

"Medicine Lodge Looks Back Sixty-five Years to the Ending of the Indian Wars," was the title of an illustrated article in the *Kansas City (Mo.) Times*, October 5, 1932.

The Pioneer Kansan Club of Morris county held its fourth annual meeting in Council Grove, October 6, 1932. Thomas F. Doran, Topeka, a former resident, was a speaker. Names of members present were published in the *Council Grove Press*, October 6, and the *White City Register*, October 13.

Settlement of a New Haven colony in Smith county was described by A. T. Gledhill, of Los Angeles, Calif., in the *Smith County Pioneer*, Smith Center, October 6, 1932. Mr. Gledhill was a member of the company settling in Kansas in 1871. "Sod Shanty Days," as reviewed by Roy Clough, was another feature of the same issue.

The fiftieth anniversary of Charles F. Scott's editorship of the

Iola Daily Register was observed October 6, 1932, with a special historical edition prepared by the *Register's* staff.

An 1886 map of Lincoln county inspired *The Lincoln County News*, Lincoln, to reminisce in its issue of October 6, 1932. The county at that time had one railroad and four more had been surveyed.

Early Wallace county history as prepared by R. F. Brock has been headlined in *The Western Times*, Sharon Springs, as follows: "Some Facts and History of Pioneer Days in Wallace County," October 6; "Fort Wallace and Other Historical Events of Interest," October 13 and 27; "Interesting Facts of Early Days in Wallace County," November 10; "Moving of the County Seat to Sharon Springs from Wallace," November 17; "George M. DeTilla writes of His Early-day Experiences," November 24, and "How Cheyenne Wells Received Its Name—Early Newspapers," December 15.

Old trails of Pratt county were discussed by the *Pratt Daily Tribune*, October 7, 1932. It was thought by the *Tribune* that the Medicine Lodge peace treaty commissioners passed close to Pratt in going to the treaty grounds in 1867. The article was reprinted in *The Barber County Index*, Medicine Lodge, on October 13.

A Grant County Historical Day was observed October 8 in Ulysses. Names of registered old settlers were published in the *Grant County Republican*, October 13, and the *Grant County New Era*, October 14.

"Ghosts Haunt Wichita's First Jail," by Mary Moore, was the title of an illustrated feature article appearing in the *Wichita Beacon*, October 9, 1932.

A brief resume of Indian activities in Kansas leading up to the Medicine Lodge treaty of 1867 was written by Paul I. Wellman for the *Wichita Sunday Eagle*, October 9, 1932.

"Prairie schooner" days were recalled by Mrs. James Allen Throop for the *Washington County Register*, Washington, October 14, 1932. Mrs. Throop and her husband homesteaded a farm in Coleman township near where the Throop church, schoolhouse and store now stand.

Old records revealing the early history of Lowman Memorial Methodist Episcopal church, Topeka, were reviewed recently in preparation for the forty-seventh anniversary of the church which

was held during the week starting October 16, 1932. A brief historical sketch was published in the *Topeka Daily Capital*, October 15, 1932. Rev. J. D. Foresman was the first minister of the church.

"Savage Altars," a historical novel of Indian strife and adventure in 1840, by Paul I. and Manly Wade Wellman, began as a weekly serial in the *Wichita Sunday Eagle* with its issue of October 16, 1932.

"The Story of Kansas," by Milton Tabor, is a regular Monday feature of the *Topeka Daily Capital*. The series, which it was announced will cover Kansas history from the beginning, started with the issue of October 17, 1932.

A brief chronology of the *Larned Tiller and Toiler* was published in its issue of October 20, 1932. The newspaper was established under its present name in Larned in 1891, having been moved there from Bluffton, Ind.

A two-column "History of Chisholm Trail," by Sam P. Ridings, of Medford, Okla., was published in the *Caldwell Daily Messenger*, October 21, 1932.

Wichita's first telephone exchange and a newspaper history of the city were features of the 24-page fiftieth anniversary edition of the *Wichita Democrat*, issued October 22, 1932.

Indian Hill, three miles southeast of Hartford, is said to be the site of a bloody encounter between the Pawnee and Osage Indians, which occurred in the early 40's. The prevalence of this belief led the *Emporia Gazette*, October 22, 1932, to review the story.

The reminiscences of Charles Isaacson as written and read by a daughter, Mrs. Joseph Johnson, for a meeting of the Scandia Parent Teachers' Association, was published in the *Scandia Journal*, October 27, 1932. Mr. Isaacson homesteaded in Republic county.

Everest newspaper history was reviewed by E. J. Patch of Washington, D. C., in the *Everest Enterprise*, October 27, 1932. Mr. Patch edited the *Everest Reflector* in 1884.

The seventieth anniversary of the Irving First Presbyterian church was observed October 23, 1932. Rev. Charles Parker was the first pastor. Historical notes of the gathering were published by the *Irving Leader* in its issues of October 28 and November 4.

A brief history of the Wichita Indians, from whom the city of Wichita derived its name, was written by Victor Murdock for the *Wichita Evening Eagle*, November 1, 1932.

The three-year Hamilton county seat fight between Kendall and Syracuse was described in the *Dodge City Daily Globe*, November 3, 1932. The article was republished in the *Syracuse Journal*, November 11.

An eight-page illustrated Cheyenne county historical supplement was published by the *Bird City Times*, November 3, 1932. Past and present Bird City, a history of the Evergreen United Brethren church, the first wedding and the christening of the World War ship *Bird City*, were recalled. Sketches and experiences of pioneers included the following names: W. W. Shahan, Mrs. E. J. Sheldon, Ida Howell Henry, Maggie Howell Ramsey, R. S. Thompson, Fred D. Cram, Henry H. Eads, Rollie M. Eads, J. Oliver, Irving Anderson, H. B. Bear, Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Stanley, Charles E. Curry, Mrs. Alma (Slifer) Kilmer, Carrie E. Johnson, Mrs. Ida L. Taylor, Pat McCloskey, Dr. and Mrs. G. R. Pegg, Dore Lockard and Lou M. Benson.

Sixty-three years of Washington Presbyterian church history were reviewed by the *Washington County Register*, November 4, 1932. The church was established October 31, 1869, by Rev. Edward Cooper and Rev. W. G. Thomas with fifteen members enrolled.

The fiftieth anniversary of the Walnut Baptist church was celebrated October 30, 1932. A history of the organization was published in the *Walnut Eagle* in its issue of November 4 and 11.

Brief historical sketches of the first church building, first mill and first bank in Seneca were published in a "Here and There" column in the *Seneca Courier-Tribune*, November 7, 1932.

Tribute to the Grinnell family, publishers of the *Americus Greeting* which recently celebrated its forty-second birthday, was given by the *Emporia Times*, in its issue of November 10, 1932. The Grinnells have owned the newspaper thirty-seven years.

Wichita's first social event was recorded by Victor Murdock in the *Wichita Evening Eagle*, November 14, 1932, after an interview with Syl. Dunkin, who walked to Wichita from Emporia in March, 1871. On arriving in the new city Mr. Dunkin was given food which had been left over from a quilting party held the day before—and that party was Wichita's first society news, wrote Mr. Murdock.

The sixtieth anniversary of the Winfield First Christian church

was observed November 16-20, 1932. It was organized September 22, 1872, under the direction of the Rev. James Irvin. Historical notes of the church were published in the Winfield *Independent-Record* and *Courier*.

W. V. Jackson, pioneer homesteader of Comanche county, wrote of a journey forty-three years ago over the southwest prairies in a covered wagon, for the Hutchinson *Herald*, November 17, 1932.

Pres. U. S. Grant was among a group of notables registering in 1871 at the Ames Hotel in Wamego, according to the *Times* of November 17, 1932. The yellowed pages of the hotel register also revealed the names of Henry Ward Beecher, Frank P. Arbuckle, the coffee merchant, and John Jacob Astor.

Wichita's first ferry and bridge across the Arkansas river were described by Victor Murdock in the Wichita *Evening Eagle*, November 17, 1932. The ferry went into operation in May, 1871, and was supplanted by the bridge a year later.

The early history of the Fredonia Christian church, prepared by O. B. Griffin, was published in the *Daily Herald*, November 19, 1932, as a feature of the anniversary services of the church. The church was organized in the summer of 1871.

A column sketch of Gov. James M. Harvey, who settled in Riley county in 1859, was published by the Manhattan *Mercury*, November 23, and the Manhattan *Republic*, December 1. The sketch was prepared and read by Emma Harvey, a daughter, at a recent meeting of the Riley County Historical Society.

John R. Bowersox, pioneer Republic county resident, told of his Civil War experiences in the Scandia *Journal*, November 24, 1932. Mr. Bowersox took part in the siege of Corinth.

A two-column history of the Russell city library, as given by J. C. Ruppenthal at a Rotary Club luncheon, was published in *The Russell County News*, Russell, November 24, 1932.

The life story of Capt. W. S. Tough, famous Union raider, was reviewed by Manly Wade Wellman in the Wichita *Sunday Eagle*, November 27, 1932. Captain Tough was with General Blunt at the battles of Cane Hill, Ark., and Baxter Springs, where Blunt's body-guard was massacred by Quantrill. The reminiscences of A. H. McCormick, early resident of Augusta, as told to Helen Haines, was another historical feature of this issue of the *Eagle*.

A brief history of the Billard mill, later known as the Central mill, Topeka, was published in the *Daily Capital*, November 27, 1932. Jules B. Billard, owner of the mill, was formerly mayor of Topeka.

The Harmony Presbyterian church, west of Wichita, celebrated its fiftieth anniversary November 27, 1932. A brief history of the organization was published in the *Wichita Morning Eagle*, November 29, 1932.

A four-page historical supplement devoted to Wakeeney and Trego county was published by the *Hays Daily News*, November 30, 1932. The organization of the county and its school system, the origin of the name Wakeeney and a condensed history of the county by A. S. Peacock, were features of the edition.

The seventy-fifth birthday anniversary of the Burlingame Baptist church was celebrated November 24-27, 1932. The church was established August 6, 1857, at the home of Miss Helen Tisdale. A history of the organization was reviewed in the *Enterprise-Chronicle*, December 1, 1932, and on December 8 a history prepared and read by Mrs. E. M. Deming at the golden anniversary was republished.

A brief newspaper history of Protection was published by the *Post*, December 1, 1932, commemorating its twenty-fifth birthday. The *Post* was first published by J. A. and Claude Wood in December, 1907.

The fiftieth charter anniversary of the First Christian church, Sedan, was observed November 27, 1932. A brief history of the organization was published in the *Sedan Times-Star*, December 1. The congregation was informally organized in 1876, but was not chartered until 1882.

A short history of the St. John Auxiliary of the Woman's Home Missionary Society, by Mrs. Ruth Oden, was published in the *St. John Weekly News*, December 1, 1932.

Frazer hall, University of Kansas, was the subject of a historical sketch appearing in the *University Daily Kansan*, Lawrence, December 2, 1932. The "New University" building or Frazer hall, was first used sixty years ago.

Two other Kansas towns have had the name of Pittsburg, according to an article appearing in the *Pittsburg Headlight*, December 7, 1932. One, now extinct, was in Pottawatomie county opposite

Manhattan, and the other was in Mitchell county, the latter being renamed Tipton. An illustrated history of the Pottawatomie county Pittsburg was published in the *Westmoreland Recorder*, December 1.

The Alton Methodist church observed its fiftieth anniversary, December 1-4, 1932. The church was organized in 1882 by Rev. W. A. Saville. Names of other pastors were included in a brief history of the organization published in the *Alton Empire*, December 8.

Justice W. W. Harvey, of the Kansas supreme court, was the principal speaker at the annual dinner of the Shawnee County Old Settlers' Association held in Topeka, December 10, 1932. A list of persons present at the reunion was published in the *State Journal*, December 10.

"Frontier Cheer Distinguished First Wichita Yuletide," was the title of a feature article published in the *Wichita Sunday Eagle*, December 11, 1932. A cottonwood was used as a Christmas tree, and gifts were simple homemade articles. Meat for the feast consisted of buffalo, prairie chickens, quail and venison.

Present-day employment of prominent State House reporters of yesteryear were reviewed by Burt Brown in a *Topeka State Journal* feature published December 14, 1932.

"Early Christmas Celebrations in Northwest Butler County," was the title of a half-page feature article published in the *Potwin Ledger*, December 15, 1932. J. M. Worley, the contributor, was Potwin's first editor. He arrived in the city in November, 1887, and founded the *Messenger*, January 1, 1888.

"Two Legislators of Old 'Pop' Days Still Are Active," was the title of an Associated Press news story appearing in the *Topeka Daily Capital*, December 19, 1932. Reps. W. H. Ryan, Girard, and James F. Malin, Lewis, are veterans of the nineties reelected to the 1933 legislature.

Kansas Historical Notes

Salina will celebrate its seventy-fifth birthday anniversary in March, 1932. The Saline County Native Daughters have voted to erect a marker to the pioneers, and will also publish a history of the Salina schools, written by the late Jennie V. Bartlett, pioneer teacher.

Celebration of the sixtieth anniversary of the founding of the Friends Kansas yearly meeting and of the building of the old Quaker meeting house in Lawrence was observed October 6, 1932, in conjunction with a meeting of the 1932 Friends yearly meeting.

The annual meeting of the Dickinson County Historical Society was held at Abilene, October 11, 1932. Kirke Mechem, secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society, discussed the work of the state organization.

Dr. W. A. Sharp, a Topeka Baptist minister, delivered the dedicatory address for the boulder marking the site of the old Pottawatomie Indian mission school on the Wanamaker school grounds west of Topeka, October 21, 1932. Thomas Amory Lee, president of the Kansas State Historical Society, Kirke Mechem, secretary of the society, and Dave Wallace, gave short talks. The monument was erected by the Topeka chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution.

A pioneer monument was unveiled in Denison circle, Manhattan, by the Riley County Historical Society, November 12, 1932. A tribute to Dr. Joseph Denison, first president of Bluemont college (now Kansas State College), and to other pioneers was paid by Dr. J. T. Willard, vice president of the college, at the dedicatory services.

The National Old Trails Road Association has asked cities and counties along the route of the Santa Fe trail in northeast Kansas to assist it in marking the trail on U. S. Highway No. 50, which follows in the general direction of the famous road.

A new Pawnee Indian house location was reported discovered near Scandia, recently. Scrapers, flints and pottery have been uncovered.

Rush county old settlers met at Rush Center, October 19, 1932;

Dickinson county old settlers convened in Enterprise, October 20, and Clark county pioneers met at Ashland, November 17, for annual reunions.



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NOTE.—Articles in the *Quarterly* appear in chronological order without regard to their importance.

Ferries in Kansas

Part 1—Missouri River—Continued

GEORGE A. ROOT

PORT WILLIAMS was the next settlement above Iatan. The town was incorporated by the legislature of 1855,¹¹¹ and was located about two miles northwest of present Oak Mills and about eight miles below Atchison, at a big bend in the river,¹¹² which has since disappeared. A hand ferry had been established to this point from the Missouri side about 1854, by Jake Yunt, who did quite a thriving business. This primitive mode of transportation soon gave way to steam in order to keep up with the rush of settlers. The town never attained any great size, but was quite well known over the country, its ferry no doubt being accountable for this. It "had its town bullies, and fights were of frequent occurrence. . . . It was common for farmers to go to Port Williams every Saturday afternoon to witness the fights and drunks."¹¹³ According to W. J. Bailey, the place was probably named for William Johnson, owner of the claim and cabin called "Fort Williams," and called Port Williams after steam boats and ferryboats began to land.

In all probability the earliest ferrying carried on in territory embraced in present Kansas, of which there is written or printed record, was begun in the fall of 1818. In October of that year the first United States military post west of the mouth of the Kaw river was established on an island in the Missouri river a few miles below present Atchison. This island was given the name "Isle au Vache" by the French and was known to Americans and traders as "Cow Island." The following year the Long Expedition spent some time on this island. Keel boats, first brought up the Missouri river with supplies for the new outpost known as "Cantonment Martin," were the crafts made use of by the garrison stationed there for the better part of a year. The post was located on the upper part of the island about opposite Iatan, Mo., and probably on the west side of the

111. *General Statutes, Kansas, 1855*, p. 823.

112. A map of Atchison county, published in the *First Biennial Report of the State Board of Agriculture, 1877-'78*, p. 100, shows the large bend of the Missouri. Before 1903 the river had cut through on the Kansas side, almost eliminating the bend and bringing the channel of the river through the southeastern part of the county.—Ogle, *Atlas of Atchison County*, 1903.

113. Ingalls, *History of Atchison County*, pp. 100, 101.

island, that site being selected on account of the abundance of large timber close by.¹¹⁴

Sumner, about five miles up the river from Port Williams, had the next ferry. This town, not far from Cow Island, was located at a point on the river known as the "Grand Detour" to the French trappers, and was laid out by free-state men, becoming a rival of Atchison. During its palmy days Sumner had a daily newspaper and a number of commodious buildings. John J. Ingalls, of Atchison, was numbered among its residents during its infancy. During the early sixties the town began to decline, its population drifted away, and many years ago the last vestige of the town disappeared. Prior to 1858 Sumner depended on the ferries of neighboring towns, but that year Messrs. J. W. Morris, Cyrus F. Currier and Samuel Harsh were granted a twenty-year license for a ferry across the Missouri at this point. The act also prescribed that no other ferry should be established within two miles of the present limits of the city. The following rates were made a part of the law:

Each foot passenger, 10 cents.

Each horse, mare, gelding, mule or ass, with or without rider, 25 cents.

Each two-horse team, or one yoke of oxen, loaded or unloaded, with driver, 75 cents.

Each additional horse or ox, 10 cents.

Each single horse and carriage, 50 cents.

Cattle, except those attached to wagons or sleds, 15 cents.

Swine or sheep, 5 cents.¹¹⁵

This ferryboat plied between Sumner, Atchison and the Missouri side, enjoyed a good patronage during the first few years, and probably lasted about as long as the town.

Atchison, three miles above Sumner, was a natural trade terminal. Roads radiated from there to the north, west and south. One led to Doniphan, one to Hiawatha, one to Leavenworth. Others led to Monrovia, Grasshopper Falls, Pardee, Indianola, Tonganoxie, Lawrence, Lecompton, and Superior, in Weller (now Osage) county. It was the starting point for the Pony Express during most of the time of its existence. The Holladay Overland Stage line and the Butterfield Overland Despatch had headquarters here and ran their stage lines from this place. During the latter fifties and the early sixties an immense freighting business was carried on from this point, and the ferries did their full share in bringing outfits and freight across the river for transportation to the far West. Some

114. Letters of John O'Fallen to Gen. T. A. Smith, dated October 18, 1818, January 3, and July 7, 1819, from copies of original MSS. in Missouri State Historical Society, Columbia.

115. *Laws, Kansas*, 1858, pp. 67, 68.

idea of this freighting business, the firms engaged, numbers of men and stock employed and pounds of merchandise transported, may be gleaned from the following in the *Atchison Union* of July 23, 1859: "D. W. Adams & Co., 709 wagons, 900 men, 6,429 oxen, 41 horses, 627 mules, 3,019,950 lbs. merchandise. A. S. Parker & Co., 245 wagons, 268 men, 2,806 oxen, 1,000,140 lbs. merchandise."

The ferries had no opposition in local river trade until 1875, when the bridge across the Missouri was opened for traffic.

George M. Million started a ferry opposite Atchison about 1850. He was of German descent, and had formerly lived in Cole county, Missouri. As early as 1841 he had occupied the present site of East Atchison as a farm, in the vicinity of Rushville. At that time the bottom land east of Atchison was covered with tall rushes and was known as Rush Bottom. During winter Million cut wood which he hauled to the river bank and sold to steamboats in summer. Two miles above Million's place was "Manley's landing," where freight for Rushville was loaded. Million accumulated money and in the late forties operated a store, trading with the Indians for furs. During the California gold rush his ferry did a thriving business with the emigrants. In May, 1854, when the Kansas-Nebraska bill passed, and Kansas was thrown open for settlement, Million "squatted" on the present townsite of Atchison, building a log shanty. Later he sold his squatter right to the Atchison Town Company. Million's flatboat ferry was followed by Port Lamb's horsepower ferry.¹¹⁶

George M. Million, Lewis Burnes, Daniel D. Burnes, James N. Burnes,¹¹⁷ and Calvin Burnes were granted a charter by the legislature of 1855 to maintain a ferry at Atchison over the Missouri river, and have exclusive privileges for a period of twenty-five years.¹¹⁸ The landing place on the Kansas side was at the foot of Atchison street. After obtaining their charter the company executed a bond for \$1,000 for the faithful performance of duties. Rates of ferriage adopted were:

Two-horse wagon, or wagon and one yoke of oxen (loaded), \$1.

Same, empty, 75 cents.

116. *Atchison Daily Globe*, July 16, 1894.

117. The Burnes family was one of the prominent and wealthy families of Missouri. James Nelson Burnes, one of the incorporators of the Atchison ferry, was a native of Marion county, Indiana, where he was born August 22, 1827. He was a lawyer, capitalist and a Democrat. He was a "booster" in his community. He financed and built the Chicago & Northwestern railway from Eldon, Iowa, to Leavenworth and Atchison in 1870-'71, and during the same years he started construction of railroad bridges across the Missouri river at both places. In 1873 he removed to St. Joseph. He was elected to congress in 1882, and while serving his fourth term, while on the floor of the house, was stricken with paralysis, his death occurring January 25, 1889.

118. Andreas, *History of Kansas*, p. 376.

One additional pair of horses, or oxen, 25 cents.

Loose cattle or oxen, 10 cents per head.

Sheep and hogs, 5 cents per head.

Foot passengers, 10 cents.

One horse and buggy or other vehicle, 50 cents.

Two-horse carriage or buggy, 75 cents.

A man named Alcorn was operating a horse ferryboat on the Missouri at Atchison in 1856, and the Challisses, who were operating a rival ferry and boat called the *Red Rover* at this date, purchased a three-fourths interest of Alcorn, paying \$1,600 for his franchise, and took over the business.¹¹⁹ In 1857 William L. Challiss, Luther C. Challiss and William E. Gaylord took over the franchise and license of the Atchison steam ferry. The following advertisement of the new ferry firm appeared in the Atchison *Champion* early in June:

"To KANSAS EMIGRANTS: The Atchison Steam Ferry is now in full operation. Having received our new commodious boat, we are fully prepared to cross wagons, horses, cattle, footmen, etc., at any time without delay.

"Atchison being situated in Kansas on the great western bend of the Missouri river opposite Bloomington, Buchanan county, Missouri, is the best crossing, the nearest and most convenient point to all the territory north of the Kansas river. Persons going to the southern part of the territory will also find it the best place to cross the Missouri.

"The country surrounding cannot be surpassed, and the outlets leading to and from Atchison to any point in the territory, are better and nearer than from any other point. It is due west of Hannibal, on the parallel line running through the center of Kansas, bordering on the Missouri river, and is the most adjacent point to the fertile country on the Stranger, Grasshopper, Vermillion, Big Blue, and Kansas rivers. It is the best starting point for all emigrants, to California, Oregon and Salt Lake; the great government road from Fort Leavenworth running only four miles west of the town.

"The boat being new, and built after the most approved model, capable of carrying 150 head of cattle at a crossing, together with our determination to give it strict attention, persons may depend on being accommodated at all times.

"Atchison, June 1, 1857.

W. L. CHALLISS & Co., *Proprietors.*"

There appear to have been some complaints against the original proprietors of this ferry, and the county commissioners attempted to pass a resolution forfeiting their license. The proprietors objected on the ground that as they had received their charter from the legislature it was not at all probable that the court of commissioners could take it away. The ferry under different management continued in operation until the magnificent railroad bridge was built across the Missouri in 1875, when the old gave way to the new order

119. Atchison *Daily Globe*, July 16, 1894.

of things. This ferry had been in operation before Atchison was laid out.¹²⁰

The following regarding the Atchison ferry is condensed from an account in the Atchison *Daily Globe* of July 16, 1894:

"In the fall of 1856 Doctor Challiss went to Evansville, Ind., and contracted for the building of a steam ferryboat. This was completed in November and started for Atchison. In December it was frozen up in the Missouri river at Carrollton, Mo., and left in charge of a watchman. The crew was made up of old acquaintances of Doctor Challiss in New Jersey, and these he brought to Atchison in two stage coaches hired for the purpose.

"On February 7 of the following year Doctor Challiss started down the river on horseback after his boat, accompanied by George M. Million, Granville Morrow and John Cafferty. There had been a thaw, and a rise in the river, and when the men reached the vicinity of Carrollton they learned that the boat had gone adrift. They followed it down the river, hearing of it occasionally, and finally came up with it in sight of Arrow Rock. The boat had grounded on a bar, and a man was in possession claiming salvage. Doctor Challiss caught the man off the boat, took possession, and settled with him for \$25. A story was circulated that there had been smallpox on the boat, and it narrowly escaped burning at the hands of people living in the vicinity.

"Doctor Challiss went on down the river, and met his family at St. Louis. When the steamer on which they were passengers reached Arrow Rock, the captain was induced to pull the ferry boat off the sand bar, and within four days it arrived in Atchison. This boat was named *The Ida*, for Doctor Challiss' oldest daughter, who became the wife of John A. Martin, editor of the Atchison *Champion*, colonel of the Eighth Kansas regiment, and governor of the state for two terms. *The Ida* was brought up the river by George Million and Granville Morrow, pilots, and John Cafferty, engineer.

"Granville Morrow was the captain when it began making regular trips as a ferry, receiving \$50 a month. During the last years of his service he received \$125 a month. The ferry business was very profitable; a hundred dollars a day was no unusual income.

"In 1860 Doctor Challiss built a larger ferry at Brownsville, Pa., and called it the *J. G. Morrow*. When it arrived at Atchison the government pressed it into service and sent it to Yankton with Indian supplies. "Bill" Reed was pilot and Doctor Challiss captain. A quick trip was made to within seventy miles of Yankton, where the pilot ran the boat into a snag, and sunk it. The boat cost \$25,000, and nothing was saved but the machinery. This was afterwards placed in the ferry *S. C. Pomeroy*, which was operated there until the bridge was completed. . . . After this the *S. C. Pomeroy* was taken to Kansas City, where it sank during a storm."

Samuel C. Pomeroy owned a one-quarter interest in the *J. G. Morrow* and *S. C. Pomeroy* and the wreck of the *Morrow* cost him \$5,000.

The ferryboat *Ida* hauled the locomotive "Albany" across the

120. Andreas, *History of Kansas*, p. 376.

Missouri river in April, 1860. This engine was to be used on the Marysville or Palmetto & Roseport railroad, the first railroad to be built west of the Missouri river. On May 23, 1861, the *Ida* was reported to have arrived at Leavenworth, bringing the Atchison military company, "All Hazard," which immediately went into encampment at that place. During the early days of the Civil War a close watch was kept on those leaving Atchison on ferryboats. Those departing without permission were arrested. The *Ida* was taken to Leavenworth on completion of the Atchison bridge, and was in service there many years.¹²¹

The steamboat *William Osborn*, used for a ferryboat at Atchison in 1866, was built at Brownsville, Pa., and reached Atchison May 9, 1866, with 150 tons of rails for the Atchison & Pike's Peak railroad. It took forty-four days to make the trip from Brownsville to Atchison.¹²²

Henry J. Adams, son of Franklin G. Adams, a resident of early Atchison, recalls the ferry operating there during his early boyhood days. In a statement written at request of the author, he says:

"I well remember the old steamboat ferry at Atchison in the late sixties. My young mother, Harriet Elizabeth Adams, usually did her morning shopping at the wagon market on the south side of Commercial street, about where the Byram hotel stands. If the ferryboat was about to land, we children used to clamor to be taken down to the 'levee,' or boat landing, to witness the wagon teams, horsemen and live stock scramble down the gang plank from the boat to the sloping stone coping which continued up from the water's edge to the Commercial street level. Then it was an exciting performance to see the transfer mule and his heavily loaded dray scramble up this incline. If the mule made a slip everyone was in luck if the load in going back landed against the boat railing. If the dray did not so land, the poor mule was likely to provide a feast for the big river catfish.

"My recollection is that the usual ferryboat was nearly all deck and built a little wider in proportion than the usual river boat, and surrounded with a stout railing, tall enough to hold a horse and tight enough to keep in a bunch of shoats. Towards the middle, extending back, was the engine house and office, with room on the deck in front for three teams to stand side by side crosswise of the deck, with room for cattle and horses, or a wagon or two, in the space along the side of the engine room. The Missourians supplied our village market with much of the fruit and vegetables. They drove up from an early boat to the market and backed their wagons against the street side, made their teams comfortable, and were ready to wait on the trade with anything from live chickens to sweet potatoes, apples or pawpaws."

The next ferry up the river was at Doniphan, about three miles

121. Atchison *Daily Globe*, July 16, 1894; *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 12, p. 38; v. 14, p. 140.

122. *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 9, p. 312.

above Atchison. The town was organized in 1854 and located on the site of an ancient Kansas Indian village, where Bourgmont, the French explorer, established his headquarters in 1724. A trading post on the opposite side of the river had been established some years earlier by Joseph Utt, and this may have influenced him in selecting this point for a town. During its palmy days Doniphan had a population of about 1,000, had a weekly newspaper, and was quite an important political center, being midway between the mouth of the Kansas river and the Kansas-Nebraska boundary line. The Leavenworth *Herald* of March 13, 1858, in speaking of Doniphan and its surroundings said: "Smith's bar lies one mile above the town and extends completely across the river, which makes Doniphan the head of navigation for heavy-draught steamers. There are four natural roads leading out into the surrounding country. . . . A steam ferry has been provided for." The territorial legislature of 1855 passed an act providing for the location of a road from Doniphan to Kelly's ferry, in the northeast part of the county.¹²³

For some time in the 1850's John Landis¹²⁴ operated a ferry between Doniphan and Rushville, Mo. In 1855 he was granted a charter by the territorial legislature to operate a ferry on the Missouri with a landing place on the west side at the town of Doniphan. The charter granted exclusive privileges within the limits of the town as far as the claim of said lands extended.¹²⁵ This ferry, according to the Leavenworth *Herald*, March 3, 1855, "had a good ferryboat."

Landis' ferry operated between Doniphan and Rushville, Mo., before the above charter was granted, and according to one of the territorial papers, had a good ferryboat.¹²⁶

Palermo is about five miles above Geary City and fifteen miles above Doniphan, at the mouth of Wolf creek. The town was established in 1854-1855, and boasted one early-day paper—the Palermo *Leader*, founded in 1858.

Two ferries for the new town were authorized by the legislature of 1855. One charter was granted to Loren S. Meeker, Richard

123. *General Statutes*, Kansas, 1855, p. 976.

124. John Landis was a native of Kentucky, born in 1827. He moved to the Platte Purchase in Missouri in 1842, and in 1854 to Doniphan county. Later he removed to Norton county, where he was shot and mortally wounded by one of a band of regulars and died two days later.—Lockard, *History of Norton County, Kansas*, pp. 37-41.

125. *General Statutes*, Kansas, 1855, p. 789; George J. Remsburg, letter to author.

126. *Herald*, Leavenworth, March 16, 1855; George J. Remsburg, letter to author.

Hubble and John W. Mockbee for a term of fifteen years,¹²⁷ and the other charter to John Stearwalt, his heirs or assigns, to keep a ferry across the Missouri river opposite Palermo for a period of twenty years.¹²⁸ The above ferries were to be regulated by Doniphan county, were for local needs only, and may not have lasted long.

Two years later the legislature of 1857 authorized F. M. Mahan and Job V. Kimber to operate a ferry across the Missouri river from Palermo for the term of fifteen years. Ferry charges were fixed by the county court of Doniphan county, and any charge made or extorted more than the rates fixed by the court was to create a forfeiture of all their privileges under the act.¹²⁹

The next year Barney H. York, George K. Sabin and Frederick W. Emery, members of the Palermo City Company, were given authority by the legislature of 1858 to operate a ferry across the Missouri river at the city of Palermo for twenty years. Their charter provided that no other company should establish a ferry within two miles of the present limits of the city of Palermo, and also listed rates of ferriage as follows:

Single passengers, 10 cents.

Each horseman, 25 cents.

Two-horse or ox team loaded, \$1.25.

Two-horse team or ox team, unloaded, \$1.

One-horse carriage or buggy, 50 cents.

Each additional horse, mule, ass, ox, cow or calf, 15 cents.

Each score of sheep or swine, \$1.

Lumber, \$1.50 per 1,000 feet.

All other articles 10 cents per 100 lbs.

Persons crossing at night may be charged double fare.¹³⁰

St. Joseph was about eight miles above Palermo by the river. As early as 1826 Joseph Robidoux, of the infant village of St. Joseph, had a flatboat ferry in operation, for the convenience of his employees as well as for the Indians who wished to visit his trading house to swap pelts and robes for various commodities kept by the trader. "The landing on his (east) side was about where Francis street struck the river, and the road led from there southwest to the agency ford of the Platte river, where it forked, one branch leading to Liberty, Clay county, and the other to the Grand-river country."¹³¹

127. *General Statutes, Kansas, 1855*, p. 780.

128. *Ibid.*, p. 781.

129. *Laws, Kansas, 1857*, p. 160.

130. *Ibid.*, 1858, pp. 65, 66.

131. *History of Buchanan County and St. Joseph, Mo.*, (Cris L. Rutt, compiler), p. 79.

St. Joseph was one of the most convenient towns on the Missouri river for the departure of overland emigration and traffic, and for a number of years following the discovery of gold in California the city and ferries did a big business. Beginning with the spring of 1849 the rush for California began. There was one continuous line of wagons from east to west, as far as the eye could reach, moving steadily forward. Some wagons were drawn by cows; other gold seekers were afoot, taking their worldly goods in handcarts. There were two ferries at St. Joseph at this time, and they must have been kept busy. This rush continued unabated until about the first of June, 1850, when it eased up a little, although belated gold hunters passed through for months afterward. St. Joseph offered advantages to the emigrant and adventurer which no other river town possessed. Prices were a trifle lower than charged at Independence at the time and this must have had its influence in deciding whether to start westward from St. Joseph or Independence.

"During two and one-half months, from April 1 to June 15, 1849, the number of wagons that crossed there was 1,508, and averaging four men to a wagon would make 6,032. At Duncan's ferry, four miles above St. Joseph, 685 wagons crossed; at Bontown, Savannah and the ferries as far as the Bluffs, 2,000. This is a total of 4,193 wagons. About 10,000 crossed at Independence, making a total of 27,000 persons. There were about eight mules or oxen to each wagon, giving a total of 37,544 head of stock."¹³²

A California-bound emigrant in 1852 describes crossing the Missouri at St. Joseph during early May. He had arrived at that point the evening before.

". . . We soon unloaded our goods and camped upon the plain just below the town. The whole neighborhood for miles around was full of emigrants, tents here and tents there, the white covers of wagons and tents looked as though they had been prepared for a grand army. And indeed they had been, for here were armies of men, with a goodly sprinkle of women and children. The city of St. Joe is much the gainer by the emigration. Thousands of dollars are spent here annually by those who cross the plains, it being one of the principal points where the emigration leaves the river. We here bought one yoke of oxen, a span of mules, and many other 'fixins,' and made preparation for starting over the plains. There were hundreds of wagons waiting their turn for crossing the Missouri, and there were several boats busy, and among them a steam ferryboat. But their capacity for carrying all the custom that presented itself was too small, and as a consequence there were many teams ahead of us in their turn.

"We supposed ourselves now ready for the trip and did not wish to remain any longer than possible; were in quite a hurry to get off. After casting about

132. *Ibid.*, p. 87; *History of Buchanan County, Missouri*, pp. 202, 203, 208.

endeavoring to see what was best, by accident came across a small flat [boat] which the owner was willing to hire, as he said, on reasonable terms. We got the boat, and now commenced the tug of war. 'Twas not Greek meets Greek, but the strife lay between the Saxon and the mule, for as fast as we got one devilish brute on board and our attention drawn towards another, the first would jump overboard and swim ashore, to the great delight of the many who were looking on. After several turns of the kind, and finding that we advanced but slowly in our endeavors to freight the boat by the single addition, we concluded to drive them all in together 'pell-mell.' In this we succeeded admirably, for in they went, and we put up the bars to keep them there. A shout of victory followed the putting up of the railing. A victory was gained over the stubborn mule, and the order given to cast off, but before the order could be executed, the fiends in mule shape took it into their heads to all look over the same side of the boat, and at the same time, and the result was the careening of the boat so much to one side that it scared the little devils themselves, and they all, as with a common consent, leaped overboard again. Three times three cheers were given by the crowd. So much fun could not pass unnoticed, or without applause. Finally the mules were got on board and secured in proper places, the lines cast off, and the raffle made. This was our first trip. The next the oxen were to be ferried. We had had so much trouble with the mules that it was but reasonable to expect a quiet time with our cattle. In this, however, we were disappointed, for the oxen seemed to have caught the disaffection from the mule, and were, if possible, more stubborn than the sulkiest of them all. How, or what length of time it took us to get the horned tribe on board my memory does not now serve me. Suffice it to say that we got them all on board and landed them safely in the Indian territory of Nebraska. The balance of our party was soon got over and we encamped for the day to 'fix up things'—for here is a general camping ground for emigrants and as it is upon the verge of civilization, anything forgotten can be obtained by recrossing the river, which privilege we availed ourselves of until we supposed everything that was in anyway necessary to our journey was got."¹³³

Julius C. Robidoux had the first licensed ferry in Buchanan county,¹³⁴ Missouri, across the Missouri river at Rattlesnake Hills, in or near present St. Joseph of to-day. This license, issued May 7, 1839, cost eight dollars, one-half being for state purposes and the balance to the county. The county court fixed ferriage charges as follows:

For each fourwheeled carriage drawn by four horses, oxen or other animals, \$1.50.

For each two-wheeled carriage drawn by two horses, oxen or other animals, \$1.

For each man and horse, or mule, 25 cents.

For each footman, 12½ cents.

133. Copy of manuscript of John H. Clark, in possession of author.

134. *History of Buchanan County, Missouri*, p. 167.

For each led horse, mule, or ass, 12½ cents.

For each head of cattle, 10 cents.

For each head of hogs or sheep, 3 cents.

Ebenezer Blackiston established a ferry at St. Joseph in the early 1850's, but as the history of his enterprise is so closely interwoven with that of the town of Elwood it is given later on. Other ferries no doubt operated from St. Joseph, but data concerning them have not been located by the writer.

The *Wathena Reporter*, August 15, 1867, contained the following:

"The St. Joseph and Elwood Ferry Company have received from the city council of St. Joseph, the exclusive enjoyment, for three years, of the right to transport passengers, vehicles, &c., across the river to Elwood in Kansas. The following is the tariff to be charged by the company:

Foot passengers, 5 cents.

Man and horse, 20 cents.

Led horse and stock, same as now established.

Other horses and vehicles, 50 cents.

Hucksters, 50 cents.

Other two-horse vehicles, 75 cents.

Four-horse vehicles, \$1."

St. Joseph and Elwood were the greatest terminal points in their section, and their ferries did an immense volume of business up to the time of the completion of the railroad bridge across the river from Elwood. This bridge was started in July, 1871, and opened for traffic May 20, 1873.

Elwood, the first town above St. Joseph, and distant about one mile by river, was laid out as Roseport in 1856, the name being changed to Elwood the next year in compliment to John B. Elwood. The site of the town had long been the landing place of ferries operated from St. Joseph. The town at one time threatened to become a rival of St. Joseph, and had a population of about 2,000. It was a good outfitting point for traders and trappers, and was the starting point in Kansas of the east end of the California road, and the first station of the Pony Express on the west side of the Missouri river. It was the most natural terminal point in northeast Kansas, and roads radiated from there to the principal towns in that section. The St. Joseph, Atchison & Lecompton stage line passed through the town and reached Wathena, Palermo, Geary City, Doniphan, Atchison, Winchester, Hickory Point and Lecompton, connecting at Lecompton with lines to Topeka, Grasshopper Falls, Fort Riley, Lawrence, Kansas City, and at St. Joseph with the railroad for the east.¹³⁵ St. Joseph men had faith in the future of Elwood and

135. *Elwood Free Press*, July 30, 1857.

organized a company to build a railroad to connect Elwood with Marysville. Work started in 1859, and ten or a dozen miles were graded. Six miles of track was laid, and the first locomotive—"The Albany," used from Boston to the Missouri, was landed at the Elwood ferry on April 23, 1860, by the ferryboat *Ida*, and was pulled up the bank by enthusiastic citizens. The next day a half dozen flat cars were brought across the river and the opening of the first section of the first railroad in Kansas was celebrated.¹³⁶

In the fall of 1852 Henry Thompson established a trading post on the west bank of the Missouri, opposite St. Joseph, operating a ferry for his own convenience, and profit in addition. In 1855 the territorial legislature granted a fifteen-year charter for his ferry. In 1856 the Roseport Town Company, consisting of Richard Rose and a few St. Joseph capitalists, bought 160 acres of land of Thompson for about \$10,000 and laid out the town of Roseport. How long Thompson operated his ferry has not been learned by the writer.¹³⁷

Capt. Ebenezer Blackiston, of St. Joseph, also ran one of the earliest ferries to this point, operating a large flatboat which was worked by hand. In 1852 a steam ferryboat called the *Tidy Adala* was substituted for the old primitive affair. This boat is mentioned a number of times in the Elwood papers between 1857 and 1861.

By 1855 Blackiston had formed a partnership with one Robert Jessee, a prominent resident of Buchanan county, who had served as one of the county judges from 1850-1852. With the meeting of the first territorial legislature Messrs. Jessee and Blackiston applied for a charter for a ferry and were granted privileges for a landing on the Kansas side on land owned by Blackiston, and to employ the use of a steamboat or flatboats.¹³⁸

In 1857 Blackiston contracted for the building of a new ferryboat to take the place of the *Tidy* (as it was called for short), in order to accommodate the demands of the public as his ferry was then said to be crossing more than all other ferries put together.¹³⁹ In 1858 the Pike's Peak travel was at its height and the ferry did a rushing business, carrying hundreds of wagons across. This year Blackiston advertised that his new steam ferryboat would carry twelve or fifteen wagons at a load, and loose cattle in proportion; that it was capable of making the trip in two minutes. The landing

136. *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 12, p. 38.

137. Gray's *Doniphan County History*, p. 23; *General Statutes, Kansas, 1855*, pp. 787-789.

138. *General Statutes, Kansas, 1855*, p. 793.

139. *Elwood Free Press*, November 5, 1857.

was at the foot of Francis street.¹⁴⁰ By the last of June, 1859, the rush was over, Blackiston reporting about forty teams a day, with an average of five persons to a team crossing at that time, this making 200 arrivals daily.¹⁴¹

Blackiston was the leading spirit in the ferry business out of St. Joseph and to Elwood, and in 1859 he and his associates were granted a new charter by the legislature for the Elwood ferry. The following year that body amended his charter as follows:

"That Ebenezer Blackiston, his successors or assigns, shall not be compelled to land their boats at any point above Second street, of said city of Elwood, and they shall not, at any time during running hours, which shall be from sunrise till dark, tie longer at said landing than ten minutes, unless necessarily detained in receiving or discharging freight or passengers, or from unavoidable causes."¹⁴²

The *Tidy* was now getting old and out of date, and about the middle of the year was retired from regular service. The *Free Press* of July 30 stated that the little craft was fairly engaged in the wood and lumber trade. "This week she cleared on the first trip, consuming only a single day, \$90. She will be a great assistance to the river trade in this vicinity. Success to the *Tidy*." Just how long the boat ran we are unable to say. The next mention of the *Tidy* is the following from the *Free Press*, of September 29, 1860:

"Eight years ago the *Tidy Adala* steam ferryboat of 'ever so many' horsepower, puffed majestically up the Missouri river, and took its place in the great transit route between St. Joseph and the east end of the California road, Capt. Ebenezer Blackiston commanding. Old inhabitants say that the citizens of St. Joseph were frantic with joy at her arrival, and smiled with grim content on the old flatboat which had '*chassezed*' across the Big Muddy to the entire satisfaction and the profit of Ebenezer for years before. But every dog must have its day, and the principle applies equally to ferryboats. For years the *Tidy* stood up to its 'regular' work, and puffed and blowed like a land speculator, crossing and recrossing our raging waters. She was well stoked, carefully piloted and had a good horseshoe nailed on her stubby bow. But, though horseshoes can beat witches, they stand scarcely the slightest show against the snaggy perils of our river navigation. The *Tidy* got rusty and old, and old-fashioned for the fastidious tastes of later days, and was a year since relieved from service by a large craft, with a big engine and two smokestacks, rejoicing in the name of *Ebenezer*. Since then the *Tidy* has been rather a loose character, engaging in all manner of desultory service. She grew old and decrepit, and a week since while being hauled on a dry dock obstinately broke her cables, slipped back into her muddy element, and rolled over, a poor, miserable, wrecked one-horse ferryboat. We are sorry for

140. *Ibid.*, June 5, 1858.

141. *Ibid.*, June 25, 1859.

142. *Laws, Private, Kansas*, 1860, pp. 279, 280.

the *Tidy*. She had done good service, and much. She bore on her decks the explorers—God—'Em— (the reader will fill in) who first found the site of our city, and founded its present greatness, and she has been too closely identified with us to escape with a less obituary. May she rest in peace."

No doubt there were other ferries operating from St. Joseph to the Kansas shore at this time close enough to afford lively competition for his ferry, for Blackiston advertised in a local paper that the St. Joseph and Elwood ferry had reduced ferriage rates to half price as follows:

Footmen, 5 cents.

One horse or mule, 15 cents.

One yoke of oxen, 15 cents.

One yoke of oxen and wagon, 40 cents.

Loose cattle, each 7½ cents.

He also called attention to the fact that this was the largest and best boat ever in use on the Missouri river for ferry purposes, and made trips once in fifteen minutes from sunrise to sunset.¹⁴³

In 1859 the Elwood city authorities became alarmed at the inroads the Missouri was making on the city's water front and took steps to curb this erosion. Two large piers or jetties were built out into the river to deflect the current away from the bank, which was thought sufficient to prevent further trouble. This year Elwood received quite an addition to its population, many of the wage-earning classes living in St. Joseph removed to Elwood, attracted by cheaper rents and lower taxes. The *Free Press* of October 8 said:

"If the ferry ran earlier in the morning and later in the evening, a majority of the mechanics of St. Joseph would live on this side of the river. Enough have already come to occupy every dwelling that could be obtained. Of the fifty dwellings put up this year, not one is now vacant. Several more are going up, but not enough to begin to meet the demand."

The wisdom of requiring the ferry to remedy the hours of arrival and departure finally roused the city council to action, and an ordinance was passed, late in October, regulating the ferry, and "provided that the ferryboat shall leave for its first trip at 6½ o'clock in the morning and leaving St. Joseph on its last return trip at 7 o'clock in the evening . . ." Whether the ferry proprietors eventually complied with the provisions of the ordinance we have no knowledge, but the following in the *Free Press* of November 12 indicated it was not very rigidly observed: "The 'time table' contained in the ordinance we published last week suited the owner of

143. Elwood *Free Press*, June 29, 1859.

the ferry and a majority of the council. The people might be still better suited if the ferry left the river bank at the time indicated."

This ferry had the distinction of crossing one visitor in 1859 who later became a world-wide figure—Abraham Lincoln, then on a visit to Kansas during his first campaign for the presidency. Hon. D. W. Wilder, in a letter to the secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society, dated December 3, 1902, stated that Abraham Lincoln, Mark W. Delahay and he, who were in St. Joseph at the time, "all sat in the dirt waiting for the ferryboat." They crossed the river and that evening Mr. Lincoln spoke to an audience packed in the dining room of the hotel at Elwood and spent the night in the town.

In 1860 from fifteen to twenty teams a day crossed the river at this ferry during June. About 400 Mormons arrived in St. Joseph the latter part of the month, on their way to Salt Lake City, all having to be ferried across the river.¹⁴⁴ There was much immigration to Pike's Peak and the regions farther west. This was the year of the great drought and the ferry crossed many large droves of stock which were being rushed to market daily owing to a scarcity of feed, prompting a local paper to remark: "At this rate there will be corn enough to feed all we have left." The same authority stated that "A herd of 500 cattle crossed the ferry on Thursday, going east. One got his leg fast in the apron of the boat, fell overboard and could not be extricated. The ferrymen were finally obliged to cut off his leg with an ax, and the poor ox paddled ashore and was soon made beef."¹⁴⁵

The winter of 1860-'61 closed leaving the ferryboat in rather a dangerous position. As the ice cracked up in February a sudden rise lifted the boat out into deep water, broke its moorings and carried it down stream to a point below the wreck of the *Gaines*. Mr. Blackiston, after some effort and trouble, got it back to its place in safety.¹⁴⁶ The boat was somewhat damaged and required about a couple of weeks of repairing before it was got into running order. During this interim the primitive flatboat was made use of. The *Free Press* of March 2 no doubt voiced the sentiment of the people when it said: "We doubt not that everyone will be rejoiced at bidding adieu to the old flatboat and skiff. A number one ferryboat is a little ahead of an old scow, or even the ancient *Tidy Adala*—peace to its ashes."

144. *Ibid.*, June 30, 1860.

145. *Ibid.*, October 27, 1860.

146. *Ibid.*, February 16, 1861.

Early in the spring that year the streets teemed with emigrants and freighters, some of whom were bound for the interior of the territory and others for Pike's Peak. Freightage to Denver increased, the streets being filled with "prairie schooners, all heavily laden, and destined for Colorado. Emigration, however, was not as heavy as the previous year."¹⁴⁷

In the latter part of July, following, there was a change in ownership in this ferry. A poster announced that it would henceforth be under the superintendence and direction of Wilson & Co. A mention of the change in proprietorship in a local paper stated that the "Wilson is of the A. Beattie & Co. banking house, and the company, we presume, is the old proprietor. May it benefit by the change."

In 1862 the *Ebenezer* was taken over by the military authorities and converted into a gunboat.¹⁴⁸

Lack of data regarding subsequent ownership of this ferry prevents giving a complete history. A St. Joseph paper in August, 1866, stated that—

"Capt. William Ellsworth, of the St. Joseph and Elwood ferry, carried across the river on Thursday afternoon 863 head of cattle, and reports that there is still a large herd, in number over 850, in the corral awaiting transportation across. The business of this line has been very large during the past four weeks—about 5,000 cattle being transported across the river at that point."¹⁴⁹

Records of the Elwood Ferry showed that 8,000 head of cattle were ferried across the Missouri river in about sixty days during June, July and August, 1866.¹⁵⁰

Just how late the St. Joseph & Elwood ferry operated we have not discovered, but probably it ran up to the time of the bridging of the Missouri. The following from the *Wathena Reporter* of August 15, 1867, is the last mention we have found of this notable ferry:

"The St. Joseph & Elwood Ferry Company have received from the city council of St. Joseph the exclusive enjoyment, for three years, of the right to transport passengers, vehicles, etc., across the river to Elwood, in Kansas. The following is the tariff to be charged by the company:

Foot passengers, 5 cents.

Man and horse, 20 cents.

Led horse and stock, same as now established.

Other horses and vehicles, 50 cents.

147. *Ibid.*, April 13, 27, 1861.

148. *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 9, p. 301.

149. *Leavenworth Daily Conservative*, August 19, 1866, citing the *St. Joseph Herald*.

150. *Ibid.*, August 24, 1866.

Hucksters, 50 cents.

Other two-horse vehicles, 75 cents.

Four-horse vehicles, \$1."

Elwood possibly had two ferries that operated in 1858. That year D. S. Lusk, the Elwood Town Company, and their associates, were authorized to operate a ferry at the city of Elwood and opposite or nearly opposite the city of St. Joseph, Mo., for a period of twenty years. No other ferry was to be permitted within one mile of the city limits of Elwood. As no further mention has been found of this enterprise, it is more than likely it was not a very long-lived concern.¹⁵¹

Wathena landing, approximately three miles above Elwood, probably was the location of the next ferry to the north, though definite information is lacking. On January 26, 1867, William H. Smallwood,¹⁵² W. B. Craig, William P. Black, G. W. Barr, W. M. Ferguson and William H. Bush were granted a charter for the Wathena & St. Joseph Ferry Company. According to the charter it was proposed to run a ferry on the Missouri river commencing at the northwest limits of the franchise or charter granted to Ebenezer Blackiston by the legislature of 1859, and amended in 1860, which granted privileges between Elwood and St. Joseph. The new franchise was to extend up the river to the north line of fractional sec. 15, T. 3, R. 22, in Doniphan county, and the company was to run a ferry across the river starting at a point between said bounds and landing at or near St. Joseph. The company was capitalized at \$20,000, shares \$100 each; the principal office being at Wathena. This charter was filed with the secretary of state January 31, 1867.¹⁵³

The *Troy Reporter* early in February, 1867, stated: "We understand a ferry is to be established the coming season from Wathena landing to St. Joseph." This ferry, according to Frank G. Drenning, a Topekan and former resident of Wathena, was in operation during the early nineties.

According to the *History of Buchanan County, Missouri*, Duncan's ferry was located about four miles above St. Joseph. No further mention of this ferry has been located by the writer.

Whitehead, about two miles north of Wathena landing, had the next ferry. James R. Whitehead had been a trader at that point

151. *Laws, Kansas*, 1858, p. 60.

152. William H. Smallwood was born in Kentucky in 1841 and came to Kansas in 1854. He was secretary of state from 1871-1875. He removed to Duluth, Minn., where he died in 1919.

153. *Corporations*, v. 1, pp. 282, 283; v. 2, p. 12.

before the settlement of the territory. Later a town sprang up, named for Mr. Whitehead, which was incorporated in 1855. That year the legislature granted him a license to operate a ferry with landing at the town and exclusive rights for a mile above and a mile below the town.¹⁵⁴ In 1859 the name of the town was changed to Bellemont, though there was some talk of giving it the name of Oxford.¹⁵⁵ The town has long since disappeared, and a map of that locality thirty years later marks the location as "Belmont Bend."

On July 2, 1855, the *Kansas Free State*, Lawrence, published a list of post routes recently established in the territory, one of which ran from Whitehead to Highland, Iowa Point and on to Story's Landing on the Missouri river, a distance of forty miles.

Just how long Mr. Whitehead operated the boat we are unable to state. Joseph Penney, a young man, became a subsequent owner of the ferry and business. Early in March, 1860, he had the misfortune to lose his boat while on a trip up the river. The *Elwood Free Press* of March 17, that year, gives the following account of the accident:

"Bellemont Ferryboat.—About a week since the St. Joseph and Bellemont ferryboat struck a snag in the bend of the river above Bellemont. Her speed forced her high on the snag and so firmly that all efforts to float her were in vain. Since that time the river has fallen considerably, and though well sparred, she hogs badly and it is thought will be a total loss. She is partly insured. The boat is, we learn, now owned by Joseph Penney, Esq., an enterprising man and a gentleman, to whom the loss will prove a severe one."

Whether Mr. Penney salvaged the boat or not we have not discovered. At any rate, he was operating a boat during the following fall.

Misfortune seemed to pursue the proprietor, for the following year he met with another accident. The *Free Press* of August 10, 1861, printed the following:

"The ferryboat recently plying between St. Joseph and Bellemont was lost on Monday last. She had not been running since last fall, and was lying at our levee for repairs. While the boat hands were at dinner some person entered her hold and tore away the copper cylinder of her well hole, allowing a large body of water immediately to rush in. When the crew returned she had so far settled that water was pouring in through her dry seams. The Elwood ferryboat attempted to drag out and drop her on a bar in shoal water, but when she reached the current of the stream she became unmanageable and soon sank. She now lies in about fifty feet of water, in the middle

154. *General Statutes*, Kansas, 1855, p. 773.

155. *Elwood Free Press*, June 25, 1859.

of the current. The boat will be a total loss—no insurance. She was owned by Joseph Penney, Esq., and valued at ten thousand dollars.”

The Belmont Kansas Steam Ferry Company was granted authority by the legislature of 1868 to run a ferry from Bellemont to Frenchville, Buchanan county, Mo., for a period of twenty years. This company was capitalized at \$5,000 with fifty shares of \$100 each. Francis Lajoie, Louis Weiscamp, A. J. Haskell, Constant Pourier and John Gerardy were the incorporators.¹⁵⁶ A second charter was granted the above company February 10, 1870, by the secretary of state.¹⁵⁷ Whether this ferry operated continuously during the succeeding years we are unable to state, no further mention having been located.

Early in February, 1881, the Bellemont Ferry and Transfer Company was granted a 21-year charter by the secretary of state to maintain a ferry and railroad transfer across the Missouri river at Bellemont, for the purpose of transferring railroad cars and engines, wagons, teams, stock, footmen and general merchandise. The limits and boundaries of their grant commenced where the line north of sec. 15, T. 3, R. 22 E., in Doniphan county, intersects the Missouri river, and thence down the right or west bank of the river for four miles. The principal office was to be at Bellemont. The lands and property owned by the company was listed as worth \$25,000, with capital stock at \$25,000, in fifty shares of \$500 each. Robert Tracy, D. C. Sinclair, S. N. Johnson, Joseph Hayton, all of Troy, Kan., and Obe Craig, St. Joseph, Mo., were the incorporators. Their charter was signed February 7, 1881, and filed with the secretary of state, February 8, 1881.

The next town on the Missouri above Bellemont was Boston, Mo.¹⁵⁸ At this point Peter S. Roberts was authorized by the legislature of 1855 to keep a ferry opposite the town of Boston for a term of fifteen years.¹⁵⁹ This location was about ten or eleven miles above Whitehead (Bellemont) and near present Amazonia, Mo.

Another ferry was started on the Kansas side of the river in 1867 in this vicinity, which is in the northeast corner of Burr Oak township, Doniphan county. On February 11, that year, J. W. Young,

156. *General Revised Statutes, Kansas, 1868*, chapter 23.

157. *Corporations*, v. 2, p. 292.

158. “The town of Boston was located in Andrew county, Missouri, in Lincoln township, and was first laid out in 1842 on the Missouri river by William Caples and his brother. The town was platted in 1849 under the name of Nodaway City. In 1851 the name of Nodaway City was officially changed to Boston, to correspond to the name of the post office which had been established some time previous under that name.”—*History of Andrew and De Kalb Counties, Missouri, 1888*, pp. 171-174.

159. *General Statutes, Kansas, 1855*, p. 784.

John Hutchinson,¹⁶⁰ Thomas B. Ree, F. Garner, and H. Lyday formed a corporation known as the Columbus¹⁶¹ & Amazonia¹⁶² Ferry Company, for the purpose of operating a ferry on the Missouri river, commencing at the boat landing opposite the town of Columbus and extending down the Missouri river to the lower end of Sand Slue Island, their ferry to run across the river starting at a point within said bounds and to have a landing at or near the town of Amazonia in Missouri. The capital stock of the company was \$5,000, divided into five shares, and the principal office of the company was to be at Columbus, Doniphan county. This charter was filed with the secretary of state, March 29, 1867.¹⁶³ Mrs. Mary M. Holston, of Burr Oak township, wrote of her experiences in Doniphan county for the *Troy Chief*, in 1916, stating that her father on March 1, 1855, crossed the Missouri river at Amazonia on a flatboat steered with oars.

Kelley's ferry was probably the next crossing point above Columbus, and, according to Geo. J. Remsburg, was operating in the fifties. This ferry was located at the upper end of Burr Oak bottom, in the northwest corner of Burr Oak township, about ten miles northeast of Troy and seven miles west of Amazonia. A territorial road was established from the town of Doniphan to this point in 1855.¹⁶⁴

Iowa Point, about fourteen miles up the river from Amazonia, was the next point of crossing. In 1855 John S. Pemberton and Harvey W. Foreman¹⁶⁵ were authorized by the territorial legislature to keep a ferry across the Missouri river and have a landing on the west side on land reserved and secured to the board of foreign missions of the Presbyterian Church by a treaty with the Iowa Indians. This reservation had been purchased by John S. Pemberton and Harvey W. Foreman, and they laid off the town of Iowa Point. Their ferry was to have exclusive privileges on the river for a distance of one mile up and one mile down from the town of Iowa Point.¹⁶⁶

160. John Hutchinson was a native of Vermont, born in 1830. He came to Kansas in 1854, and later was appointed secretary of Dakota territory. He removed to Chicago, and died in 1887.

161. Columbus City, Doniphan county, incorporated 1858, by Thomas McCulloch, Henry Wilson, Robert Hays and nine others. Named for Columbus McCulloch, son of Thos. McCulloch. This site was on secs. 20, 21, T. 2, R. 22, Burr Oak township, twelve miles north of Troy, and once boasted a population of 300.—*Laws, Kansas*, 1858, p. 325; Andreas, *History of Kansas*, p. 473; Holland, *Directory of Kansas*, 1866.

162. Amazonia, Mo., was laid out in 1857, adjoining Nodaway City on the east, the two eventually becoming one town.

163. *Corporations*, v. 1, p. 313.

164. *General Statutes, Kansas*, 1855, p. 976.

165. Harvey W. Foreman was employed in the Indian Service as farmer for the Sac and Fox Indians on their reserve during the 1850's and 1860's.

166. *General Statutes, Kansas*, 1855, p. 782.

In 1858 a ferry company was organized at Iowa Point, with H. Foreman as president, and a steam ferry was put in operation on the Missouri river. At this time Iowa Point was the second largest city in the territory and led its rival, Leavenworth, in a business point of view. Several wholesale houses were in operation, and their sales extended to points more than one hundred miles away, a long distance in those days. The town built up rapidly. A brickyard was started by Joseph Selecman, and brick was substituted for wood in almost all buildings erected from that time on. With the breaking out of the war and the starting of towns farther back from the river, the town began to decline, and when in 1862 the great fire destroyed the best part of the town, its fate was sealed.¹⁶⁷

Another ferry was projected for Iowa Point in 1858, the legislature that year authorizing W. D. Beeler, C. M. Williams,¹⁶⁸ William B. Barr and R. M. Williams¹⁶⁹ to operate a ferry across the Missouri river at the town for a term of fifteen years, and with privilege of an exclusive landing place for one mile up and one mile down the river.¹⁷⁰ The company operated under the name of the Iowa Point Steam Ferry Company and in 1860 had its charter amended by the legislature by striking out the word "steamboat" and inserting the words "steam or flatboats" so as to read as follows: "The said company shall have power to purchase and run steam or flatboats, at Iowa Point," etc.¹⁷¹ Further history of this enterprise has not been located.

The next ferry above Iowa Point was on Rush Island, about three miles up the river. The legislature of 1860 authorized John H. Utt and W. D. Beeler¹⁷² to keep a ferry across the Missouri river, at a point on Rush Island, opposite Forest City, Mo., with the privilege of landing on the main shore above said island, in Doniphan county.

167. Andreas, *History of Kansas*, p. 490.

168. C. M. Williams came to Kansas in 1855 when he was nineteen, settling at Leavenworth. He worked for a time on a ferry on the Missouri, running from Weston, Mo.

169. R. M. Williams was a native of Ohio, born in 1829. He removed to Kansas in 1854, settling at White Cloud. He served several times in the legislature.

170. *Laws*, Kansas, 1858, p. 62.

171. *Laws*, Private, Kansas, 1860, pp. 280, 281; Andreas, *History of Kansas*, p. 490.

172. Wm. D. Beeler was one of the earliest settlers in Kansas. He was born in Ohio, but was reared in Indiana. He removed to Missouri when but a young man, locating at Greene City, near Springfield, where he married. He once held the office of sheriff of Holt county. Early in 1855 he went to Iowa Point, where in connection with C. M. and R. M. Williams he established a store under the firm name of W. D. Beeler & Co. In the fall of 1858 they closed their store at Iowa Point and removed to White Cloud. Mr. Beeler was a member of the Leavenworth constitutional convention in 1858, and in 1861 served one term as sheriff of Doniphan county. He then returned to his farm, and later was engaged in the sawmill business in White Cloud. He died March 14, 1870.

No other ferry was to be established within one mile of the above-named points. Rates of ferriage as established by the act were:

Two-horse or ox team loaded, \$1.

Same, unloaded, 75 cents.

One-horse buggy or carriage, 50 cents.

Each additional horse, mule, ass, ox, cow, or calf, 15 cents.

Each score of swine or sheep, \$1.

Each sheep or swine less than one score, 10 cents each.

Freight—merchandise or lumber, not in teams, loaded and unloaded by the owner thereof, at the following rates; lumber, \$1.50 per 1,000 feet.

All other articles, 10 cents per 100 lbs.

Persons crossing at night may be charged double fare.¹⁷³

No further mention of this ferry has been found.

By the provisions of a treaty concluded at Fort Leavenworth, September 17, 1836, between the United States and the Iowas, Sacs and Foxes, and other allied tribes, the Sacs and Foxes and Iowas were settled on their new reservation west of the Missouri river in what is now Doniphan county, Kansas. Among other items promised these Indians, the government agreed "to furnish them with one ferryboat."¹⁷⁴ As those Indians were settled on their new reservation within the next twelve months, it is likely their ferryboat was put in operation during the year 1837.

White Cloud, about seven miles up the river from Iowa Point, boasted one of the few steam ferryboats on the Missouri in Kansas, and one of the best of its class along the river. On April 18, 1858, Joshua Taylor purchased a small side-wheel steamer and started from Wellsville, Ohio, with the intention of establishing a ferry at White Cloud. His arrival at that point on June 3 was greeted by the firing of anvils by an enthusiastic crowd and a reception on the levee. Mr. Taylor shortly formed a partnership with J. W. Moore, naming their ferry the White Cloud Steam Ferry and their boat the *White Cloud*. During the immigration to Pike's Peak and the far West their ferry enjoyed a good business. Following the drouth of 1860 this patronage must have fallen off considerably, for during August, 1861, the proprietors made a special effort to encourage passage over their ferry, offering to cross all teams going from Kansas to Missouri to mill and returning, at a considerable reduction from usual rates, if paid in cash; or, they offered to receive flour in payment at the regular ferriage rates, figuring the farmers would be the gainers by availing themselves of this chance. Messrs. Taylor and Moore operated the boat until the spring of 1862, when

173. *Laws, Private, Kansas, 1860*, pp. 280, 281.

174. *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties*, v. 2, pp. 468, 469.

they sold it to Ozias Bailey,¹⁷⁵ who ran it until 1867, when it met with an accident common to all Missouri river boats, and was so badly wrecked as to render it unfit for further service. Mr. Bailey had formed a partnership with C. W. Noyes, and in May, 1868, Messrs. Bailey and Noyes built a new boat, giving it the same name as its predecessor.¹⁷⁶

Another reorganization of the ferry must have taken place early in 1870, when the White Cloud Steam Ferry Company was granted a charter, M. L. Noble, C. W. Noyes, J. W. Moore, George L. Moore and D. M. Emerson being incorporators. The company was capitalized at \$20,000, shares numbering twenty in all. The corporation was to exist for twenty years, with principal office at White Cloud. Steam was to be the motive power of the new ferry, which was to operate between the city of White Cloud and the opposite shore or bank of the Missouri river, in Holt county, Mo. This charter was filed with the secretary of state, February 3, 1870.¹⁷⁷ Some time in May, 1871, John H. Lynds¹⁷⁸ bought a one-fourth interest in the ferry and took charge of it. In 1874 a new company was organized. On January 30 that year C. W. Noyes, J. W. Moore, John H. Lynds, D. M. Emerson and Daniel Todd became incorporators of the White Cloud City Ferry Company. The new company was capitalized at \$10,000, divided into ten shares. Steam was to be used, and the charter was to run for twenty years. This charter was filed with the secretary of state February 2, 1874.¹⁷⁹ In the fall of 1878 Mr. Lynds sold a one-half interest—he having previously bought from time to time the remaining interests—to David Bailey. In 1881 Mr. Lynds bought back his one-half interest, thus making him sole owner. In all Mr. Lynds was connected with the White Cloud ferry for forty-one years, retiring

175. Ozias Bailey was born in Salem, N. H., in 1810. He came to Kansas in 1856 and settled at White Cloud in 1857, and was elected president of the White Cloud Trust Land Company. For several years he was engaged in the mercantile business. Mr. Bailey was one of the public-spirited citizens of the town.—*Weekly Kansas Chief*, Troy, April 6, 1916.

176. *Weekly Kansas Chief*, Troy, May 5, 1932.

177. Corporations, v. 2, p. 257.

178. John H. Lynds was born in 1844, in Illinois, and came to Kansas in 1857, locating at White Cloud. In 1862 he went to St. Louis and engaged in steamboating, chiefly on the lower river. He gradually worked his way up to a good position on the boat. On a voyage down the river, between St. Louis and Cairo, the steamer caught fire and burned to the water's edge, many lives being lost. He saved himself by clinging to a floating wheelbarrow, by which he reached shore. He is probably the only man on record who wheeled himself from the middle of the Mississippi river on a wheelbarrow. He soon after abandoned the river, and returned to White Cloud, where he engaged in the livery business. In 1871 he bought from Noyes & Moore a one-fourth interest in their White Cloud ferryboat, and their entire interest later. In 1887 he built a ferryboat at Jeffersonville, Ind., called the *Roy Lynds*, and after running it for two years sold it to parties at Lexington, Mo., and then built at White Cloud, the *Harry Lynds*, which is the ferryboat now running.—*Kansas Weekly Chief*, Troy, November 23, 1893.

179. Corporations, v. 5, p. 527.

from the business in 1912, when his boat, the *Harry Lynds*, struck a snag and went to the bottom. This ferry has had a long and interesting history and this sketch no doubt has failed to note all the changes in ownership up to the time the last boat operated from White Cloud. The following-named boats (perhaps others) saw active service during the life of this ferry: The *White Cloud*, *Roy Lynds*, *Winona*, *Harry Lynds*, *White Cloud Belle*, *Jewell*, *Nancy Lee*.¹⁸⁰

A flatboat ferry was operated at White Cloud for a number of years by a Tennessean named Stonecyphers.¹⁸¹

A letter from Firth Dodd, editor of the *White Cloud Globe*, of July 23, 1932, regarding ferries of White Cloud, says:

"The last ferryboat to be operated here is now piled up on the river bank, where it was pushed out of the water by an unusually heavy run of big ice when the river broke up in the spring, three or four years ago. It was the *Nancy Lee*, owned and operated by Joe Gormley, and brought here from Rulo, Neb. It is now a wreck, with the engine and everything taken off. Before that Gormley operated the *Jewell*, a boat rebuilt by George Nuzum and operated by him until his death. The first *Jewell* came down the river owned by a man named Lemon. He operated it here during the World War.

"The reason there is no boat here now is because of a drainage ditch across the river in the Missouri bottom. This ditch empties into the river a mile or two below here. When it rains the lower end of the ditch overflows, flooding the bottom land opposite this town. Roads become impassable and this has put the ferry business 'on the bum' as far as we are concerned. There are no roads on the other side passable in wet weather. This traffic now goes to Rulo, Neb., which is near the head of the drainage ditch and consequently does not come in the flooded district. The farmers on the lower ends of this ditch suffer greatly.

Respectfully, FIRTH DODD."

"P.S. Gormley lives here now."

Since receiving the above letter, White Cloud has secured a new ferry. The new enterprise was projected about the middle of October, 1932, by Henry L. Olson. The boat, called the *Betty L*, was built in Omaha last June. It is 24 feet wide, 65 feet long, and powered by a modern gasoline motor. It carries seven cars at a time. A new gravel road leads to the river, and the landing at White Cloud is at the stockyards landing. The landing on the opposite side of the river, which had to be constructed, is but one mile from the highway. The *Globe-Tribune*, of October 20, says this is the best ferry White Cloud ever had.

This is the last ferry location on the Missouri river before reaching the Nebraska-Kansas boundary line.

180. *Weekly Kansas Chief*, Troy, illustrated Doniphan County, April 16, 1915, p. 112.

181. Gray's *Doniphan County History*, p. 37.

The First Book on Kansas

The Story of Edward Everett Hale's "Kansas and Nebraska"

CORA DOLBEE

OF THE numerous publications occasioned by the Kansas-Nebraska act, and the westward movement it instigated, the first, the most authoritative, and the longest was the 256-page study, *Kansas and Nebraska*, by Edward Everett Hale, compiled in the summer of 1854, and published September 28, 1854, by Phillips, Sampson & Co., Boston.¹ The first extant allusion to the book occurs in an advertisement in the Boston *Evening Transcript*, July 11, 1854:

KANSAS AND NEBRASKA

In Press

THE
HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY
OF
THE TERRITORIES OF KANSAS AND NEBRASKA
WITH AN ACCOUNT OF
THE NATIVE TRIBES
AND
The Emigration now in progress thither
with a map

Prepared with the assistance of the officers of

The Emigrant Aid Society,

From unpublished documents, and from the travels of the French voyagers Lewis and Clarke, Pike, Long, Bonneville, Fremont, Emory, Abert, Stevens and others.

By EDWARD S. HALE²

To be comprised in one volume, duodecimo, and published under the sanction of the Emigrant Aid Society.

The work will be issued in August.

Price, in muslin, 75 cents; in paper covers, 56 cts.

Orders from the Trade respectfully solicited.

PHILLIPS, SAMPSON & Co.
Publishers.

1. *Daily Tribune*, New York, September 26, 1854. Adv.
2. Edward S. Hale is a misprint, of course, for Edward E. Hale.

On the following day, July 12, M. D. Phillips,³ of Messrs. Phillips, Sampson & Co., wrote Mr. Hale of the business arrangement, in reply to an earlier offer by him.⁴

"Rev. E. E. Hale:

"DEAR SIR—We'll do the Nebraska. The illness of our Mr. Sampson & the financial storm now passing over the country has compelled some delay in replying to you. You speak of a specific sum for the M. S.—map & copyright—or of a 15 per cent on the retail price of the work.

"This we infer is optional with us.—Before making our election, we shall of course want your terms—*i. e.*, the price for the outright purchase.—When you give us this we'll advise you of our decision at once.

"We announced it in the *Ev'g—Transcript* today & shall tomorrow do the same all over the Northern creation.—It must be in two kinds of binding—cloth & paper.—Cloth for the thoughtful house reader & paper for those residing in cars.—(Without any joking, though—what myriads of 'young America' literally live in these fair carriages.) These are the emigrating men, and the men at any rate to help swell the great aggregate of emigrating enthusiasm,—and the boys must run through all the cars with them.

"It can be stereotyped in 10 or 15 days if you will always be at home & read the proof in the *ev'g* & let me return it in the morning—They can do about 25 pp. a day—& this would do it in 10 days.

"We agree with you that it sh'd be out at once,—and we ought to have the map Lithographing now. Truly yours, PHILLIPS, SAMPSON & Co."

The extent of the "northern creation," as far as we have evidence in Kansas to-day, did not reach beyond New York and Washington. The advertisement, just as it appeared in the *Boston Transcript*, was published in the *Boston Commonwealth*, July 18-20, 22, 24, 25, 27 and 28; in the *New York Daily Tribune*, July 15, 22 and 29; and in the *National Era*, Washington, D. C., July 27, August 3, 10, 17 and 24. In all contemporary newspapers and magazines Messrs. Phillips, Sampson & Co. advertised their publications extensively, but the issues of the papers named are the only places in which the writer has found notice of *Kanzas and Nebraska* in the summer of 1854.

The immediate occasion of Mr. Hale's undertaking the book is not a matter of available record. The question of slavery had long interested him. A northerner in fact and in sympathy, he had been in Washington during the winter of 1844-1845, as minister of the

3. The letter of July 12 bears the company signature, "Phillips, Sampson & Co." only; but it is in the handwriting of the letter of August 21, 1855, bearing the personal signature of M. D. Phillips.

4. Correspondence of Edward Everett Hale in Archives Department, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka.

Unitarian Church,⁵ and witnessed the procedure of congress for the annexation of Texas by joint resolution. In anger he had gone back to Boston on March 3, 1845, to carry out what he believed to be the true policy of the Northern states.⁶ He gave his first days there to the writing of "an eager appeal for the immediate settlement of Texas from the Northern states," calling the sixteen-page pamphlet *How to Conquer Texas before Texas Conquers Us*. Although no one outside the circle of his immediate friends and the proof readers ever read the pamphlet, published at his own cost, and no man went or proposed to go to Texas as a result of his effort, Mr. Hale was convinced of the wisdom of his proposed solution for the social condition of the time.

A sermon, *Christian Duty to Emigrants*, delivered by Mr. Hale before the Boston Society for the Prevention of Pauperism, May 9, 1852, also emphasized the need for some agency to care for and place properly the foreign emigrants as they reached the shores of the United States.⁷

"We do not ask alms for them. God has provided the western prairie, white with the harvest, waiting for them to reap it. He has reared the forest which will build their cheerful cabins; it waits for them to fell it. If only from the shore where they landed, to the earth begging them to subdue it; or to the wheels which will rust, if they do not attend them; or to the waters which fall idly, if they do not labor with them; if only between that supply and this demand, you will come in between to lead the laborer to the harvest! . . . We ask you to treat them as accessions, to an amount incalculable, to the country's wealth . . . while these strangers bring to the country all their manly strength, of which other nations have taken the cost of maturing."

In 1852, the sermon stated, the annual emigration numbered about 400. In New York there was only a labor exchange or an intelligence office to care for the emigrants; in Boston the business was handled by the city and the state administrations. Although the sermon was addressed to a society for the prevention of pauperism, the speaker believed the direct danger of undirected emigration was not so much of pauperism as of enlarging too fast the body of mere muscular laborers in the United States, and he showed, by specific

5. Mr. Hale ministered to this church from October 1, 1844, to March 3, 1845. He was invited to remain there as permanent minister, but "I knew perfectly well that there was to be a gulf of fire between the North and the South before things went much further; and I really distrusted my own capacity at the age of twenty-three to build a bridge which should take us over." He left the day before Mr. Polk's inauguration, "too angry to be willing to stay."—E. E. Hale, *Memories of a Hundred Years*, v. II, pp. 142, 145.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 151, 153.

7. Sermon in files of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Copy used here.

illustration, how through guidance skilled labor could be supplied to existent need.

Not only on the question of slavery, then, but on the question of emigration, too, Mr. Hale had already entertained definite ideas for nine years, when, in the spring of 1854, people of the North became widely interested in colonizing the new territories with free men,⁸ and Eli Thayer, founder of Mt. Oread Institute for Young Ladies and a member of the legislature for the city of Worcester, called upon the legislature of Massachusetts in March to organize the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company.⁹

"It was a plan which proposed to meet the South on its own terms, familiarly known as 'squatter sovereignty.' It authorized a capital of five million dollars in establishing settlements at the West. The charter was rushed through both houses of the legislature at once, and was signed by Governor Washburn on the 26th day of April, 1854. . . . On the 4th of May the petitioners accepted the charter. . . .

"Mr. Eli Thayer was a near neighbor of mine in Worcester, and as soon as I knew of his prompt and wise movement I went over to see him, showed him my Texas pamphlet, and told him I was ready to take hold anywhere. He was very glad to have a man Friday so near at hand. There was enough for all of us to do. We called meetings in all available places, and went to speak or sent speakers wherever we were called for."

That is Mr. Hale's own story of his first association with the Emigrant Aid Movement, as he published it in 1902. A letter from Mr. Thayer to Mr. Hale, written from Oread, May 3, 1854, describes his first assigned duty.¹⁰

"There is an Emigrant Convention in the city to-day at which I expected to be present for the purpose of unfolding (by request) the purposes of the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company. My health is such that I do not dare to venture out in such weather and therefore wish that you would appear for me. If you can do so, I will inform you of what it was my purpose to speak. The explanation requisite must not occupy more than fifteen minutes."

To this letter, in Mr. Thayer's own illegible handwriting, is attached a note in Mr. Hale's plain script, January 8, 1889.

"This letter . . . relates to the first meeting of emigrants for Kansas in the spring of 1854. I went and gave them their encouragement and instruction. It was in the town hall of Worcester. There were perhaps a hundred people—all or mostly over."

The Daily Spy carried an account, a column and a quarter in length, of the meeting, attended by delegations from numerous

8. *The Daily Spy*, Worcester, Mass., March 13, 27, 1854. Photostatic copy used.

9. Hale, Edward Everett, *Memories of a Hundred Years*, v. II, pp. 154, 155.

10. Correspondence of Edward Everett Hale.

towns, within a radius of one hundred miles.¹¹ Approximately half of the report reviewed Mr. Hale's exposition of the proposed plans of operation of the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company, to be organized on the morrow, and the delegates' satisfaction in the plans. The meeting, however, was not the first meeting of emigrants in the spring of 1854, as Mr. Hale's note of January 8, 1889, states.¹² The convention of May 3 was but an adjourned meeting of an earlier convention called in March for April 18 and held on that day in the police court room in Worcester with forty or fifty delegates in attendance, representing twenty towns in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut.¹³ At least one preliminary meeting had preceded the meeting of April 18.¹⁴ Mr. Thayer's letter of May 3 is, nevertheless, the earliest record preserved, among the official papers of the Emigrant Aid Companies, of the work of the company with emigrants. The convention of April 18 had passed resolutions rejoicing in the proposed incorporation of an "Emigrant's Aid Society" and agreeing to encourage every feasible plan "for the establishment of the institutions of freedom and the prohibition of slavery in the national domain."¹⁵

Mr. Thayer, in writing in 1889 of the formation of the company, noted the same enthusiasm in Mr. Hale that Mr. Hale's own statements show.¹⁶

"Indeed the very first man to express confidence in its success and his own readiness to work for it with all his might, was Rev. Edward Everett Hale, one of the signers of the protest [of the clergy to congress]. True to his pledge, he immediately began to write a book minutely describing the territories of Kansas and Nebraska, showing their many attractions, the way to reach them, and enumerating the Emigrant Aid Companies already formed."

The protest of the clergy to congress, March 1, 1854, against repeal of the compromise, had been signed by three thousand clergymen of New England, of whom Mr. Hale had been one. If, as Mr. Thayer suggested, Mr. Hale in his book was following out his pledge made there—the protest had ended ". . . and your protestants, as in duty bound, will ever pray,"—his affiliation with the movement began two months before the Emigrant Aid Company was chartered, and the immediate occasion of the book, *Kansas and Nebraska*, was the fulfillment of that pledge.

11. *The Daily Spy*, Worcester, Mass., May 4, 1854.

12. A later article will develop the background of this movement more fully.

13. *The Daily Spy*, Worcester, Mass., March 21, April 19, 1854.

14. *Ibid.*, March 24, 1854.

15. *Ibid.*, April 19, 1854.

16. Thayer, Eli, *A History of the Kansas Crusade* (Harper, 1889), pp. 124, 125.

Other evidences of his interest in the political situation of the territories and in the emigration thither were continual in his correspondence of the spring. To his brother Nathan he wrote on March 17 of being "much riled at Douglas's language regarding me among others"; on March 22 and 25 to his father and his brother Charles, of a "stereotyped map of Nebraska, etc.," in the *New York Independent*, he would like his father to print in the *Boston Advertiser*; on April 5, to his father, of an article on emigration to Kansas, with quotations from John M. Forbes, for publication in the *Advertiser*; on May 11, again to his father, urging the father's attendance at the meeting of the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company on the morrow at Revere House to arrange subscriptions to stock, outlining some of the proposed policies of the company, and concluding, "I think I have never had anything so much at heart before."¹⁷ In June he was the recipient of letters about the same general question from Edward Everett, who was friendly to the cause but reluctant to enter actively into its support because of his years;¹⁸ and from Charles W. Elliott in New York three letters about the charter in New York and Connecticut and meetings for Mr. Thayer to address in Hartford, New Haven, and Springfield.¹⁹ His mind had no rest from thought of emigration westward and its importance; no time to make record of the exact origin of conception and plan for his extensive study of the newly organized territories that was to constitute his book.

Although the different publications of the advertisement, from July 11 to August 24, stated the book was "in press," remarks in the text itself indicate Mr. Hale did most, if not all, of the actual writing in August. On two widely separated pages, namely pages 18 and 129, he says he is writing on August 1, 1854.²⁰ The manuscript shows that the pages of this portion were prepared consecutively in the numbered order.²¹ Since the physical feat alone of putting one hundred and eleven pages of this book on paper in

17. Hale, Edward E., Jr., *The Life and Letters of Edward Everett Hale* (Little, Brown & Co., 1917), v. I, pp. 250-254.

18. *Ibid.*, pp. 251, 252.

19. Correspondence of Edward Everett Hale.

20. Hale, Edward Everett, *Kansas and Nebraska* (Phillips, Sampson & Co., Boston, 1854), pp. 18, 129.

21. The manuscript of *Kansas and Nebraska*, almost in entirety, was in the collection of Massachusetts and New England Emigrant Aid Company papers sent to the Kansas State Historical Society at Topeka by the family of Edward Everett Hale, and is now on file there. The manuscript of chapters I-VII is complete with the exception of pp. 230-232, being in the book pp. 147, 148. The manuscript paging for chapter IX follows a different order, being numbered b9-b18, which corresponds to pp. 219-232 of the book. Page b10 is gone, but for it is substituted a 10-page report of "Eli Thayer for the committee," covering pp. 220-229 of the book. For the first 3¼ pages and the last fourteen of the book there is no manuscript at all.

a single day would have been impossible, the reader concludes that "August 1" is not an exact date in the second entry, but an approximate date chosen for general reference. The date of the preface, written apparently after the book itself was complete, was August 21, allowing twenty days for the composition of the book. According to Mr. Hale's own computation, in a letter to his brother Charles, August 10, 1854, he spent far fewer than twenty days at the task: "I have not written to Boston this week because I was writing Kansas at the rate of forty-three pages a day and dreaded the sight of pen and ink."²²

Edward E. Hale, Jr., in editing this letter, added the explanation that "Kansas at the rate of forty-three pages a day" meant the book *Kansas and Nebraska*. In the manuscript of *Kansas and Nebraska* there were altogether 335 pages; all of chapter VIII, with the exception of the headings given to the different sections, was a printed copy of the Kansas and Nebraska bill. In a few other places clippings furnished the copy of quoted passages. Most of the manuscript, however, is in Mr. Hale's own handwriting. At his own declared rate he should have completed the book before August 10, if the "forty-three page" days were successive days.

But what is *Kansas and Nebraska* that its author could have compiled it so fast? The printed title page explains in part:

KANZAS AND NEBRASKA:
THE
HISTORY, GEOGRAPHICAL AND PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS,
AND POLITICAL POSITION OF THOSE TERRITORIES;
AN ACCOUNT OF THE
EMIGRANT AID COMPANIES
AND
DIRECTIONS TO EMIGRANTS
BY
EDWARD E. HALE
WITH AN
ORIGINAL MAP FROM THE LATEST AUTHORITIES.

This title page apparently evolved with the book from a plan that itself took shape as the author assembled his material. The

22. Hale, Edward E., Jr., *Life and Letters of Edward Everett Hale*, v. I, p. 255.

first draft, as it was preserved in the manuscript, described the book thus:

KANSAS AND NEBRASKA

The History, & Geography of These territories;
with some account of the native tribes,—climate and natural production.

From original documents in possession of the

EMIGRANT AID COMPANY

and from the travels of the French Voyagers, Lewis & Clarke, Pike, Long, *Fremont*, *Emery*, *Abert* & Bonneville, *Abert*, *Fremont*, *Emory*, *Abert* and Others. [Names set in italics were marked out in original manuscript.]

Mr. Hale's idea at first of the inclusions of his study was as uncertain as the order of the names of his authorities. Here he would draw from the documents in possession of the Emigrant Aid Company, presumably of Massachusetts, but at the time he did not plan to give an account of its work. In another draft of the page, also with the manuscript, he planned an account of the "emigration now in progress" to the territories, to be "prepared with the assistance of the officers of the Emigrant Aid Company."

The history, the geography, and the map were common to all three versions. Although the Emigrant Aid movement had recognition in each, it was not until the printed version appeared that the nature and purpose of that recognition were evident. First the Emigrant Aid Company, evidently of Massachusetts, was to allow the author use of its original documents on the territories; second, its officers were to assist; but third and finally, the author was himself to give an account, not of one company, but of the companies, and also to include directions to emigrants. The "Emigrant Aid Companies" of this last draft included, besides the company of Massachusetts, the Emigrant Aid Company of New York and Connecticut, referred to in the letters of Chas. W. Elliott to Mr. Hale, June 5 and 27 and July 5, 1854,²³ and organized July 18, 1854,²⁴ and to the Union Emigration Society of Washington, D. C., organized "by such members of congress and citizens generally as were opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and to the opening of Nebraska and Kansas to the introduction of slavery."²⁵ One of the author's last additions to his plan was presentation of the political position of the territories; and as his book progressed he

23. *Vide ante* footnote 19.

24. Hale, E. E., *Kansas and Nebraska*, p. 230.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 231.

no doubt found that he had consulted too many sources to give credit to all on the title page, and therefore transferred to the preface such assembled acknowledgments of authorities as he chose to make. The last form of the page omitted all mention of the native tribes, given prominent position among the first topics to be treated, yet the book itself gave ample space to their history and political position in the territories.

Although the book consists of nine chapters, the subjects it discusses group themselves under five headings: history, geography, development, political position, and emigration. In a sense the whole book is but a history of the section opened as the territories of Kansas and Nebraska on May 30, 1854; but the first two chapters treat particularly of the earliest explorations and of the tribes of Indians dwelling there, both those called "native" and those known to have been immigrants.

In a seven-page chapter Mr. Hale first traces briefly the discovery of the regions now under discussion; he cites the reports of Father Marquette and Father Dablon of the expedition of 1670-1673, as it appears in Shea's *History of the Mississippi*. The expedition of La Salle in 1681 and 1682 he reviews in the words of Father Membre and the continuation of the journey to the Canadian frontier after 1687 by six of La Salle's party, in the words of Father Douay, both also quoted in Shea's history. He analyzes the claims of La Hontan in 1689 to his discoveries along the Missouri. To the French scheme of 1717 for emigration and exploration he attributes the discovery of Kansas. From the time the French officer, M. Dutisne, reached the Osage villages, in 1719, he "was exploring the territory of Kansas."²⁶ Mr. Hale fails to cite the special sources used in his account of the French expedition.

The forty-three page discussion of the Indian tribes that had occupied the territories since the region was known to man gives bare facts of name, origin, history, language, habits and state of civilization. It elaborates a little more in reviewing the smaller tribes removed thither by governmental treaties. It then launches into somewhat detailed accounts of the characteristics of the tribes whose position at the time offered anything of special interest, beginning with those in the northern part of Nebraska and speaking in succession of those farther south. It gives a summary, "anything but agreeable," of their long and indolent careers of poverty and misery, and remarks that the only success of the Indian agencies

26. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

has been in breaking up the tribe system entirely and substituting the labor and responsibilities of civilized men. It includes general estimates of the population of the tribes, and ends with a statement of the Indian lands recently opened for settlement by treaties just made with the Omahas, Ottoes and Missourias, Sacs and Foxes of the Missouri, Kickapoos, Iowas, Delawares, Weas, and Piankashaws.²⁷ In his preface Mr. Hale stated that the sources of this sketch of the Indian tribes were the treatise of Mr. Gallatin, the spirited sketches of Mr. Catlin, the journal of Mr. Parkman, and the notices of travelers.²⁸ Most of the text is a paraphrase or summary of the subject without exact references to special sources. Once, in the middle of the chapter, a three-and-one-half-page quotation of a visit to the "Ogillalah" lodges is attributed to Mr. Parkman. The long account of the Mandans, he says, is mostly digested from Mr. Catlin's narrative;²⁹ and he supports the contention of their possible Welsh origin by citation of Southey's preface to his poem *Madoc*.³⁰ Mr. Gallatin is his chief authority on language;³¹ but on the vocabulary of the Dacotahs he cites the study of the Rev. S. R. Riggs.³² He refers to the reports of the superintendents of the missions, Mr. Johnson and Mr. Meeker, and he alludes to the opinion of three agents by name, Mr. Vaughn, Mr. Robinson, and Mr. Manypenny.

Chapters III and IV discuss the geographical and physical characteristics of the two territories, the one being devoted theoretically, as the titles would indicate, to Nebraska and the other to Kansas. As matter of fact most of the first chapter does describe Nebraska, there being but one or two parts of the account that include Kansas or a part of it; but the second chapter, two and one-half times as long as the first, treats as frequently of some part of Nebraska as of Kansas and often considers the two together. Mr. Hale had never visited the region.³³ He was therefore dependent for his information upon the writings of the travelers and explorers who had; and their accounts had been made before the vast region was divided into two territories.³⁴ They had treated the territories as

27. *Ibid.*, pp. 59, 60.

28. *Ibid.*, p. V.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 43.

30. *Ibid.*, pp. 31, 43.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 31.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 48.

33. Twenty-five years later Mr. Hale visited Kansas. *The Life and Letters of Edward Everett Hale*, by Edward E. Hale, Jr., vol. II, p. 283, includes a letter by Mr. Hale to Mrs. Hale, written from Lawrence, Kan., September 12, 1879.

34. For the boundaries of the two territories as divided by the congressional act of May 30, 1854, see the map used by Mr. Hale in *Kansas and Nebraska*.

one, and he, in citing and quoting them as authorities, travels back and forth with them constantly from one territory to the other. The section of Nebraska that he treats of along with Kansas is for the most part, moreover, the section lying south of the Platte river, a section many of the features of which are similar to the features of northern Kansas. The courses of their rivers, the divides between them, the valleys along them, the elevations and the depressions, the soil and its geological formation, the vegetation and the crops, the native animals and the chances for domestic sustenance are all matters the numerous explorers had noted, and Mr. Hale uses some one's observations on every point once or several times in the course of the two chapters. In each he is lavish with quotations and almost always here he is careful to cite his authorities.

In the chapter on Nebraska he gives credit to Lewis and Clark, Governor Stevens, Captain Bonneville as edited by Irving, Major Cross, Colonel Frémont, a nameless but "intelligent writer in the *New York Tribune*" of no date, the Reverend Mr. Parker, who in 1835 described the Nebraska prairie, and a nameless explorer and writer of a private letter noting the firs and pines of the upper Platte. With one exception the authorities for all borrowed material of this chapter are evident to the reader, though three of them are nameless, and the reference source of only one is cited; the exception is the unmentioned author of a one-and-three-quarter-page description of a journey into Nebraska from Council Bluffs.³⁵ From the paper and type of the clipping attached to the manuscript copy of the chapter the reader suspects it, too, came from the *New York Tribune* in which the article of the "intelligent writer" above appeared, but he cannot be positive.

So, in the beginning of the next chapter, when Mr. Hale refers vaguely to "the writer already quoted," the reader finds himself asking "but which writer?" For the most part, however, Mr. Hale gives authority for all his material here, yet he seldom cites the exact source where he found it. Colonel Frémont is his most constant reference, and he quotes him again and again in passages from one to four pages long; of the forty-eight pages in the chapter, virtually twenty-four consist of scattered accounts from Colonel Frémont's official reports. Parkman's travels contribute a sketch of the Arkansas, near Pueblo, and a description of the basin of the Kansas. Colonel Emory is another reference on the Arkansas and on trees

35. Hale, E. E., *Kansas and Nebraska*, pp. 70, 71; MS., p. 125½.

in eastern Kansas. As authorities on geology Colonels Frémont and Emory share honors with a Professor James, a Prof. James Hall, Captain Stansbury, Jessup's MS. Report, and *Long's Expedition*, vol. I, pp. 137-139. Private letters contribute fascinating pictures, especially of the valley of the Kansas—no one called the river "the Kaw" then. Among these writers were Father Duerinck,³⁶ superintendent of the Catholic Mission among the Pottawatomies; a nameless person from Indiana; another nameless person, "a gentleman" who had written his impressions on July 6, 1854, and who was probably Dr. Charles Robinson; and again a nameless person, "a most intelligent gentleman who has traveled over all parts of America," who quotes entries from his diary of 1849 enroute to California, and who, from this description and from the more tell-tale evidence of the back of the printed clipping of his letter attached to the manuscript copy of the book, was most likely Dr. Robinson also.³⁷

Chapters III and IV that thus describe the natural features of Nebraska and Kansas are the most readable chapters in the book. They make the most complete pictures. They seem, as one lays the book aside, to have been the best written. Yet in them is little original composition, no original observation, and only the original thought necessary to link together nicely recorded impressions of other persons who have been and seen for themselves. In selection at least the author has been the artist here.

Although on August 1, 1854, the proffered date of composition of *Kanzas and Nebraska*, Mr. Hale asserts there was nothing deserving the name of a town in either state, he devotes a short chapter, chapter V, to stations, military, trading, and missionary posts, and the projected cities in Nebraska and Kansas. He locates each place, gives its history, and tells something of its known purpose and use. The statements are meager but informative. Colonel Frémont is his acknowledged authority on Fort Kearney, supplemented by "the return of last autumn," the return evidently being a government report. A letter of the spring, of no given authorship, furnishes a page and one-half of quoted description of Fort Leavenworth. A government report of the winter before provides a page quotation

36. Father Duerinck, S. J. Mr. Hale refers to him as "Mr. Duerinck."

37. Hale, E. E., *Kanzas and Nebraska*. Back of MS. page 197; the back of the newspaper clipping bearing this letter on the front, says: "The following letters . . . copied from the Worcester Spy, are said to be from the pen of Dr. Charles Robinson, of Fitchburg, who visited the territories in 1849." It seems quite probable, though of course not certain, that the letter quoted is one of this group. In the spring and early summer of 1854, Doctor Robinson was in Kansas in the interests of the Emigrant Aid Company and in 1849 he had crossed the region on his way to California.

on the development of Fort Riley. The author cites no sources for his knowledge of the other forts, the post offices, the stations (or stopping places), and the missions. Obviously they have been the letters and the reports of explorers, however, that he has had opportunity to read.

Chapter VI is a general survey of routes of travel through the region. It is both a history and an exposition of recommendations. It reviews all the courses of all the known explorers, compares them as to nature and use, and evaluates their importance. Regarding "the territory of Kansas, from its position," as "the great geographical center of the internal commerce of the United States,"³⁸ Mr. Hale pronounces the emigrant track along the valley of the Nebraska and through the "South Pass" to Oregon and California and the Santa Fé trail to New Mexico the greatest; and he indicates that "it is by some modification of the one or the other that almost all the projects for a Pacific railroad propose to cross the continent."³⁹ He tells with care just where each route touches Kansas and suggests different approaches in each territory to the emigrant route along the Nebraska. The sources of his information are again numerous, including Gregg in his *Commerce of the Prairies*, Colonel Frémont, Lieutenant Emory, Captain Stansbury, and the Secretary of War. Virtually half the chapter consists of quotations, three and one-half pages being taken from the last report of the Secretary of War, the same from Lieutenant Emory, and two pages from Lieutenant Frémont and Captain Stansbury, each. Though the sources are several, Mr. Hale admits their insufficiency to help him do more than "hazard a guess" as to the greater feasibility of one course or a part of a course over another.

Chapter VII, which reviews the political history of the region now to be organized as territories, is the most spirited portion of the book. The opening statements suggest the vein of the author's treatment.⁴⁰

"Up to the summer of 1854, Kansas and Nebraska have had no civilized residents, except the soldiers sent to keep the Indian tribes in order, the missionaries sent to convert them, the traders who bought furs of them, and those of the natives who may be considered to have attained some measure of civilization from their connection with the whites. For a region that has had so little practical connection with the political arrangements of civilized states, this immense territory has had a political history singularly varied."

38. Hale, E. E., *Kansas and Nebraska*, p. 139.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 141.

40. *Ibid.*, p. 162.

Mr. Hale passes over the early political history in rapid survey, devoting brief paragraphs to the sovereignty of France, of Spain, of France in turn. Purchase by the United States and subsequent division and organization occupy two more paragraphs. The expeditions of Lewis and Clark, 1804-1806, of Lieutenant Pike in 1806, and of Major Long in 1820, crowd another half page. At the beginning of the fourth page Missouri is seeking admission to the Union and Mr. Hale's creative hour is come. Visiting the copious contemporary files in the library of the Antiquarian Society for materials upon "the great Missouri debate," he steeped himself in the political lore and enthusiasm of 1818-1820, and returned to his manuscript to revive the period in spirit and in fact. He tells one story of Southern pride, another of Northern hardness. He reproduces Mr. Otis' wit. He laments the failure to preserve all speeches, especially of Clay. He cites arguments; he quotes clever addresses and equally clever replies. Seventeen pages in all he devotes to the "misery debate." The account is very readable and marks the climax of the chapter in interest.

Mr. Hale's purpose, as he says twice, is to show how alike were the times, the questions at issue, and the arguments of 1818-1820 and 1853-1854. In his own time it has so often been said that the excitement on the question regarding slavery in Nebraska and Kansas is unparalleled; it is his purpose to show "how precisely appropriate the various speeches preserved are to the recent discussion."⁴¹ Then and now the same type of "incidents occurred every day which showed the deep-seated excitement and irritation of the public mind at the North and at the South."⁴² He sees only two important differences between the principles advocated then and those so recently upheld. First, no Southern statesman then attempted the defense of slavery as a permanent institution. Second, opponents of the extension of slavery then interpreted article I, section 9, of the constitution, to oppose emigration of slaves from state to state.⁴³ His review closes with quotation of the Missouri Compromise, provision for settlement of the territory north of 36° 30' in the Louisiana purchase, not included in the state of Missouri.

The chapter notes the terms of the boundary treaty with Spain, saying that inspection of the map will show that some parts of Kansas have since been added under the arrangements by which

41. *Ibid.*, p. 170.

42. *Ibid.*, p. 166.

43. *Ibid.*, pp. 170, 171.

the United States acquired Texas and New Mexico (if his allusion here is to his own accompanying map, the parts referred to are included but not indicated). He regards as remarkable the act of June 7, 1836, by which the triangle between the Missouri and the west line of the state of Missouri was ceded to that state, the act passing congress without any opposition, though it was a distinct violation—and the first violation—of the compromise. He makes rapid survey of government removal of Indians east of the Mississippi to the land west, supplementing the long account of the Indian tribes in chapter II. In the last seven and one-half pages he relates compactly the later history of the Nebraska bill, summarizing motions and dates from its introduction in the senate December 14, 1853, to its passage in the modified form of the Kansas and Nebraska bill May 25, 1854, and its signature by the President May 30. His own statement best explains his cursory treatment of the bill:

"Its general character and many of its details are too familiar to readers of the present day to need repetition now, and a proper account of it for the pages of history would require more space, and a closer analysis of the motives and actions of living men, than can properly be given to such matters in this work."⁴⁴

Why he fails to trace the evolution of the bill is not suggested; he must have known of the proposals for territorial disposal of slavery that had occupied congress at intervals since 1820, and he probably knew of the earlier bills for organization of Nebraska that had been before congress from 1844 to February 2-March 3 of 1854. Nor was he unaware of the plans for building a railway to the Pacific—in chapter VI he had reviewed proposed routes—and in comment elsewhere⁴⁵ he indicated he realized the commercial advantages of such enterprise, even using it as argument for the settlement of lands in Kansas contiguous to the route.⁴⁶ Like many others of his contemporaries he apparently did not recognize "the commanding influence of the railway plan over the establishment of territorial government."⁴⁷ It seems a little odd now that to one of Mr. Hale's discernment the political significance of this movement was not at once evident; in congress it was a dominant motive,⁴⁸ although it was, of course, kept out of the discussion and so

44. *Ibid.*, p. 185.

45. Hale, Edward E., *Memories of a Hundred Years*, v. II, pp. 115, 116.

46. Hale, Edward E., *Kansas and Nebraska*, p. 237.

47. Beveridge, Albert J., *Abraham Lincoln* (Houghton, 1928), v. II, pp. 168-171.

48. Hodder, Frank Heywood, "The Railroad Background of the Kansas-Nebraska Act," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, v. XII, No. 1 (June, 1925).

out of common public attention. The press, however, in the East and the Middle West, made emphatic note of it from time to time. Mr. Hale was quite as concerned in providing for emigrants westward as in securing to freedom the land they should there occupy, and he recognized the importance of railroads in the development of their new communities, but neither in 1854 nor in any other year of his long life did he allude to the railway issue as a political factor in the organization of the territories of Kansas and Nebraska.

Chapter VIII consists of an "accurate copy" of the bill itself, published here because "so few have read 'the Nebraska act' of which so many have talked."⁴⁹ The source of the accurate copy is not clear in the manuscript, where we find a printed version of the bill, exclusive of sections 19-36. In the manuscript of *Kansas and Nebraska* the bill is cut apart by sections and pasted to sheets of letter paper. Apparently Mr. Hale had some trouble in procuring the bill, for on August 10 he wrote to Nathan as follows:⁵⁰

"I cannot get the Nebraska Act, but have a clue to that *National Era* which I am to have to-day. I am sick of the whole thing, and it really seems as if my hand quailed at writing."

The "whole thing" of which he is "sick" is his task of rapid composition, evidently, and not the bill. All he wrote in this chapter were the headings he supplied for the different sections, each being labeled by the topic it treated. Sections 19-36, inclusive, treating of the organization of the territory of Kansas, were omitted, "being word for word the same as sections two to seventeen," which outlined the organization of Nebraska. The source of the printed copy of the bill in the manuscript is not available now. The print and the paper are not the print and the paper used by the *National Era* of 1854. The copy evidently was furnished by Nathan and is so alluded to among chapter divisions and paging notes of the manuscript, including the substitute sections of the bill quoted in chapter VII.

In his preface Mr. Hale suggests that he included chapter IX on emigration to give such hints to emigrants as would aid them in the immediate settlement of Kansas.⁵¹ The chapter does give such hints, but to the later student of Kansas history it furnishes more significant matter in its review of emigration and its exposition of motive and plan of the emigrant aid companies. The belief

49. Hale, Edward E., *Kansas and Nebraska*, p. IV.

50. Hale, Edward E., Jr., *Life and Letters of Edward Everett Hale*, v. 1, p. 255.

51. Hale, Edward E., *Kansas and Nebraska*, p. IV.

commonly held almost from the first seems to have been that the companies operating in Kansas had but one or possibly two purposes. The one, that of keeping Kansas free, was popularly repeated and generally supposed to be the primary purpose. The other, that of money making, has been the suggestion of students quick to question altruism, and the implication has always been that such motive of gain was neither admitted nor legitimate. Mr. Hale's treatment does not disavow either motive but presents each in a new light in relation to the general cause of emigration with which, as he understands, the very idea of slavery is incompatible.

Occasioned equally by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and by the need of organization of western emigration, his discussion emphasizes the advantages of Kansas as an emigrant center. He points out the natural attractions of the territory, the fertility of its soil, the nature and the value of its crops, its natural resources, its water power, its contiguity to all overland routes, and its consequent ready market; all these are greatly in its favor, but most of all is the situation that will draw across its boundaries whatever roads are built westward. Along through routes of travel emigrants ever settle and make their homes.

Reasons for organizing emigration to this favored central territory, he says, have been two: first, to secure to Kansas a fair proportion of western emigration, to secure for the principle of "squatter sovereignty" a fair trial, and to make sure that the institutions of both territories be digested by settlers of every class; second, the need "on pure grounds of humanity" to provide for the immense pilgrimage from Europe, hitherto uncared for. Both considerations, Mr. Hale asserts, guided Mr. Thayer to seek a charter for the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company. The report of the committee submitted by Mr. Thayer and printed in the midst of this discussion by Mr. Hale indicates that in return for its service to emigrants, the company would have two rewards—the one in the high satisfaction of having become founders of a state; the other in sharing in "an investment which promises large returns at no distant day."⁵² Since time has revealed that the investment

52. Although this report bears the signature, "Eli Thayer, for the committee," it was the work of Mr. Hale. In a letter to his father, May 11, 1854, he says: "Mr. Bullock, Mr. Thayer, and I were requested to draw up the Corporator's address to the public, which I have just now been putting in form."—In the *Life and Letters of Edward Everett Hale*, by Edward E. Hale, Jr., v. I, p. 253. In 1897, Mr. Hale said again: "This report of the Emigrant Aid Company was drawn by myself. I had the advantage of the fullest conference with Mr. Thayer, and it is evident that I used his brief above in the preparation of the report."—Edward Everett Hale, in *New England in the Colonization of Kansas*, a reprint of Chapter XI of *The New England States*, p. 84. (The "brief" by Mr. Thayer was some hastily-thrown-together suggestions. The committee to make the report consisted of Eli Thayer, Alexander H. Bullock, E. E. Hale of Worcester, Richard Hildreth and Otis Clapp of Boston.—*Kansas and Nebraska*, p. 220.)

yielded no returns in kind, and present-day scholarship has been inclined to discredit the claim of the emigrant aid companies to a rank of importance in the founding of the state, it is interesting now to have these original avowals of purpose and frank admissions of anticipated rewards.

Although both Mr. Hale and the committee name the securing of a fair trial for freedom in Kansas as their first motive, and place their trust in the character of Northern and of foreign emigration as their last assurance of success, each gives equal consideration to the commercial advantages, for both the emigrants and the company. Each presentation recognizes the particular needs of the great foreign emigration that neither the United States government nor any other established agency is prepared to meet. In proposing to provide for it, both Mr. Hale and the committee are guided by altruistic and business motives. Each has long desired to protect the European immigrant after his arrival, and if in the proposed plan the company makes capital of the recognized need, it is at the same time financing the undertaking itself in a way that to each seems both legitimate and praiseworthy. The material aid the companies would be able to render both northern and foreign immigrants makes up the bulk of the discussion, and the service they may incidentally render the cause of freedom in Kansas slips into secondary consideration.

The motives had evidently borne about the same relationship to each other in Mr. Hale's mind from the first. On May 11, 1854, in writing to his father to ask him to attend the meeting of the corporators of the company on the morrow, to arrange subscriptions to stock, he had indicated his attitude.⁵³

"It is no mere charity scheme, but one in which business men, I think, will interest themselves. . . . They want to secure your hearty coöperation if the scheme pleases for an examination, and I think would be glad to make you President of the Company.

"You know how it has interested me as the means of helping these Irish and German people west without suffering.

"There are two hundred thousand of them and others going west this summer. If twenty thousand only of them go into Kansas, that is made a free state forever. . . .

"I think I have never had anything so much at heart, and I only wish I were a business man that I might move in it openly."

As noted before, Mr. Hale's first hope of insuring political freedom to western territories through northern immigration dated back to 1845. His proposal then for the more southern territory was not

53. Hale, Edward E., Jr., *Life and Letters of Edward Everett Hale*, v. I, pp. 252-253.

essentially different from the later plan for Kansas. The motive and the means were the same; the emphasis, in 1845, however, was upon the motive and in 1854 upon the means. The earlier study evolved a theory; the later offered a practicable, working plan.⁵⁴

As chapter IV is the most readable and chapter VII, in part, the most spirited, chapter IX is the most original, being entirely Mr. Hale's own composition. Even the ten-page report, submitted by "Eli Thayer, for the Committee," was Mr. Hale's own work.⁵⁵ The only "hints" to emigrants the chapter includes are the directions of this report.⁵⁶ A brief account of the work of the company as finally organized under private articles of corporation follows.⁵⁷ Plans for the Emigrant Aid Company of New York and Connecticut, with Eli Thayer as president, were said to be similar. The chapter outlines the work of the numerous "leagues" auxiliary to the companies, describes the nature of the service of the Union Emigration Society of Washington, and tells of the rapid and extensive emigration into the territory independent of any organization. It interprets the congressional act of 1854 to establish "the offices of surveyor-general of New Mexico, Kansas and Nebraska." It indicates the variety of occupations people may hope to find in the territories, recommends the westward route through Alton or St. Louis, and suggests the nature of educational and religious institutions to be established by the emigrants themselves. The last section is a kind of glorification of the opportunity Kansas offers to the emigrant, both native and foreign, to work, and so is a glorification of the cause of freedom he has opportunity there to serve, ending with prophecy of victory. It is a dignified and coherent exposition of the eastern plan for settlement of the territory of Kansas.

The frontispiece of the book is a "map of Kansas and Nebraska from the original surveys, drawn and engraved for Hale's History. Boston. Published by Phillips, Sampson & Company, 1854." The first extant correspondence about *Kansas and Nebraska* alluded

54. Writing long afterward of his interest in the annexation of Texas, Mr. Hale still had faith in the desirable effect of his theory, could it have been tried: "How certain it is that if the wave of free emigration could have been turned into Texas then, evils untold of would have been prevented. On the other hand, I am afraid it is as certain that human slavery would not have been abolished in the older states for another generation."—Hale, Edward Everett, *Memories of a Hundred Years*, v. II, p. 152.

55. *Vide ante*, footnote 52.

56. Appendix A, pp. 249-250 of *Kansas and Nebraska*, consists of a copy of the constitution of the Worcester county Kansas league which supplements these directions.

57. Hale, Edward Everett, *Kansas and Nebraska*, p. 229. Since the provisions of the charter did not satisfy all parties interested, the company organized under private articles of association, June 13, 1854, and functioned so until March, 1855, when the New England Emigrant Aid Company received its charter and absorbed the private company. The Worcester *Spy*, June 14, 1854, described the association as "a private company" organized "under joint articles," the property of the company to be "vested in three trustees who shall hold the same as joint tenants, subject to all the trusts and provisions of these articles."

to the map; "we ought to have the map lithographing now," Mr. Phillips wrote Mr. Hale on July 12.⁵⁸ On August 4 the publishers addressed the author again, saying, "with this you will receive 2d proof of map."⁵⁹ The title page described the map as "an original map from the latest authorities." In the preface Mr. Hale vouched once more for its authenticity: "The map is accurate as far as may be with our present knowledge of the country. It is compiled from more than twenty of the recent surveys made by government."⁶⁰ There is no available record now as to who drew the map. Neither the original sketch from which the engraving was made and which is now preserved with the manuscript of the book, nor the reproduction in the front of the book bears any identifying mark of the artist. W. C. Sharp, of Boston, was the lithographer.

Mr. Hale had been interested in the geography of the region prior to the compilation of the book about it. On March 22 and March 25 he had written his father and his brother Charles respectively of a good stereotyped "map of Nebraska, etc.," which had appeared in the *Independent* and of which the management would sell the block for two dollars. He then commissioned his brother to buy the block for his father to use in the *Boston Advertiser* along "with an article which I am to write on the present position of the question."⁶¹ He had no doubt the map was accurate.

The map in *The Independent* was a "map of the states and territories in their relation to slavery."⁶² It was drawn by George Colton. It showed in white the states in which slavery was prohibited by fundamental law; in black lines, the states in which slavery was fully recognized; in shaded lines, the territories where the question of slavery or free soil was yet an open one. The map made a most effective visual appeal. It revealed the extent of the question more graphically than any description in words; yet the accompanying legend defining the boundaries of the territory as outlined in Douglas' second bill also made colorful portrayal of the country involved, emphasized its important geographic relation to the rest of the states, and compared the anticipated dangers of the introduction of slavery into these newly organized territories with the effects of the institution in the states where it had become fully recognized. Although the map was of general nature, it was accurate,

58. *Vide ante*, p. 140.

59. Letter of Phillips, Sampson & Co. to Edward Everett Hale, in the correspondence of Edward Everett Hale.

60. Hale, E. E., *Kansas and Nebraska*, p. V.

61. Hale, Edward E., Jr., *Life and Letters of Edward Everett Hale*, v. I, pp. 250, 251.

62. *The Independent*, New York, March 16, 1854. Photostatic copy used.

as the legend asserted, with the exception that the southern boundary of Kansas was placed at $36^{\circ} 30'$, whereas the second Douglas bill had fixed the line at latitude 37° .

Just what the sources were for Mr. Hale's own map is now something of a puzzle. He preserved no record of the "more than twenty recent surveys by government." Interpretation of his phrase would seem at first to depend upon the qualifying "recent." The surveys that were most deserving of the attribute, however, those authorized by congress in the amendment to the army appropriation bill for 1853-1854 as additional sections 10 and 11,⁶³ were not begun until the spring of 1853, and were not fully reported upon and officially published until 1855.⁶⁴ First instructions to the leaders of each of the four expeditions conducting these surveys called for reports to be laid before congress the first Monday of February, 1854. Complete reports of all four surveys were delayed, but Gov. I. I. Stevens, exploring the route near the forty-seventh and forty-ninth parallels, Capt. A. W. Whipple, the route near the thirty-fifth parallel, and Lieut. R. S. Williamson, the route near the Sierra Nevada and Coast range, all made preliminary reports that were published in house document 129, 33d congress, first session. These copies of the preliminary reports, however, issued in 1854, probably appeared too late for Mr. Hale's topographer to have used them in published form.⁶⁵ They must have been available to him,⁶⁶ nevertheless, else he could not have included in his map, as he does, the entire line of the Stevens survey for a Pacific railroad route, 1853. The Secretary of War, Jefferson Davis, had himself made a review of the undertakings in a senate document, December 1, 1853;⁶⁷ but his account was brief and general, giving a sketch of the country to be explored, evaluating information already obtained to determine the routes to follow, and noting the instructions to each officer in charge of an expedition. It gave none of the results, though, of the surveys, but

63. *Congressional Globe*, 32 Cong., 2 sess., 1852-1853, pp. 798, 799.

64. *Pacific Railroad Reports, Senate Exec. Docs.*, 33 Cong., 2 sess., No. 78, vols. I-XII.

65. The title page of the four volumes of this document bears the publication date of 1854. In the text of volume I, however, appears a letter bearing the date of February 27, 1855, indicating the volumes were not ready for circulation until 1855, too late to have been used for the Hale book.

66. *The National Intelligencer* for Monday, February 6, 1854, noted in the senate proceedings of the day that "the president of the senate laid before the body a communication from the Secretary of War transmitting copies of all reports of engineers and other persons employed . . . to ascertain the most practicable and economical route for a railroad from the Mississippi river to the Pacific ocean, which was ordered to be printed and referred to a select committee." In brackets there followed an explanation, evidently from the communication itself, of the incomplete and partial nature of the reports and the consequent impossibility of judging the relative merits of the different routes. This form of the report may have been accessible to Mr. Hale and his topographer.

67. *Senate Documents*, 33 Cong., 1 sess., pt. II, pp. 16-28.

with it Mr. Hale was familiar, for in his text he quotes verbatim two passages of the report⁶⁸ and elsewhere notes the order of the Secretary of War to Captain Gunnison to explore the region of Colonel Frémont's expedition of 1848-1849.⁶⁹ In April of 1854 Governor Stevens was in Washington to make his report in person to the Secretary of War.⁷⁰ The information of that report Mr. Hale's topographer must have seen, but how is not now clear.

If the adjective "recent" be given loose interpretation, and if the topographer had access to the official government files in Washington, he could have consulted "more than twenty surveys" in making the map for *Kansas and Nebraska*. In the period the territory had been known to white men, there had been a few more than twenty official surveys. In a *Memoir* to accompany the map of the territory of the United States from the Mississippi river to the Pacific ocean, Lieut. Gouverneur K. Warren, of the Corps of Topographical Engineers, U. S. A., in 1859, made "a brief account of each of the exploring expeditions since A. D. 1800," with a description of accompanying maps when maps were made.⁷¹ Study of the memoir reveals the possible sources used. Since from the first of these explorers Mr. Hale draws subject matter for his discussion, it seems not at all unlikely that his topographer drew from them, too, or at least consulted them, in making the map. Indeed he must needs have seen not only the first map but well-nigh all the other maps between it and his own to have had a total of "more than twenty" government surveys for authority.

The *Memoir* compiled by Lieutenant Warren was not published until 1859. On March 1, 1858, however, in the preface, the author tells that his "work has been in progress during the past four years," so that it is possible the maker of the Hale map had the benefit of some of Lieutenant Warren's criticisms of the different maps. In his preface Lieutenant Warren pointed out that "the maps used in the compilation have been mostly made from reconnaissances, and but few possess very great accuracy. The geographical positions are therefore rarely determined absolutely, or even relatively, with certainty, and new surveys are constantly making slight changes

68. Pages 17-18 of Secretary Davis' report, *Senate Documents*, 33 Cong., 1 sess., part II, appears in Mr. Hale's *Kansas and Nebraska* as pp. 142-145.

69. Cf. Secretary Davis' report above, p. 20, and Mr. Hale's *Kansas and Nebraska*, p. 151.

70. Albright, George Leslie, *Official Explorations for Pacific Railroad, 1853-1855* (University of California Press, Berkeley, 1921), p. 78.

71. Warren, Lieut. Gouverneur K., *Memoir*, to accompany the map of the territory of the United States from the Mississippi river to the Pacific ocean, to accompany the reports of explorations and surveys for a railroad route, War Department, 1859.

necessary.”⁷² In the text he pointed out the mistaken trends of mountain ranges and river sources in the map of Lewis and Clark; the elementary but basic principles of topography and hydrography of Humboldt’s map of Spain; incorrect river sources and singular representations of mountains in Rector’s and Roberdeau’s map, described, nevertheless, as “the most correct map of the country now extant”; the confusion of the Canadian and the Red river and the first right representation of the Black Hills of Nebraska as a north and south range by Major Long; the elaborateness but lack of topographical skill in the work of J. C. Brown; the correct representation of the hydrography of the region west of the Rocky Mountains, although the geographical positions are not accurate, in the maps of Captain Bonneville; the wrong location of the union of the Cimarron river with the Arkansas near Fort Atkinson, in the map of Lieutenant Steen; the representation of New Orleans and St. Louis as both being in longitude 90° 25’, in the topographical bureau map by W. Hood; the value of the survey of C. Dimmick between Old Fort Scott and Fort Smith, never replaced to date; the erroneous listing of the Bitter Root as a source of the Salmon river, in the map of Captain Hood; the use of the barometer to determine the elevation of interior country by Mr. Nicollet, making his map “one of the greatest contributions . . . to American geography”; the usefulness of the map in Gregg’s *Commerce of the Prairies*; the value to travelers in spite of its inaccurate geographical positions, of the map by Charles Preuss in 1846 of the Frémont route from Missouri to Oregon, 1843-1844; the tracing in the map of Captain Pope of a tributary of the Arkansas, probably the Big Sandy, to the source formerly attributed to the Smoky Hill Fork; the similarity of the routes of Messrs. Beale and Heap, Captain Gunnison, and Colonel Frémont (1853-1854); and the availability to J. R. Bartlett of the observations of the United States and Mexican Boundary Commission in the making of his map of 1850-1853.

Any or all of this criticism may have been available to the maker of the Hale map; the points of it, at least, for the most part the maker heeded. The Black Hills in the map are a north and south range; the Big Sandy is a tributary of the Arkansas, and the Cimarron joins the Arkansas east and south of Fort Atkinson. Although the map shows only the Frémont route for a Pacific railroad, the text discusses the mountain passes explored by Colonel Frémont

72. *Ibid.*, preface.

and Captain Gunnison and describes the recommendation of each.⁷³ The portion of southwestern Kansas bounded on the east by 100° west longitude, on the south by 37° north latitude to the 103d meridian, thence west to the Rocky Mountain range by about 38° north latitude, on the west by the Rocky Mountain range, and on the north by the south bank of the Arkansas, the Hale map places within the boundary of Kansas in accordance with the findings of the United States and Mexican boundary commission and the terms of acquisition of Texas and New Mexico.

The reason for the inclusion of the Frémont route for a Pacific railroad instead of the Gunnison and for labeling it the Frémont route was probably the availability of some accounts of the Frémont expedition. On June 13, 1854, Colonel Frémont wrote a letter to the editors of *The National Intelligencer* "communicating some general results of his recent winter expedition across the Rocky Mountains for the survey of a route for a railroad to the Pacific."⁷⁴ This report he offered in anticipation of a fuller report with maps and illustrations which it would necessarily require some months to prepare. The eastern part of this route extended from the mouth of the Kansas river on the Missouri frontier to the valley of Parowan at the foot of the Wahsatch mountains, between latitudes 38° and 39°. Having been over this route from Sierra Blanca to the Missouri frontier four times before, he summarized the features and connected the expedition with the route explored in 1848-1849 from the mouth of the Kansas river to the valley of San Luis. From the Sierra Blanca to the Grand river the routes of Colonel Frémont and Captain Gunnison were nearly identical; from the latter point Colonel Frémont, in 1853 and 1854, continued farther south.⁷⁵ The map of the official explorations for Pacific railroads by George Leslie Albright shows that the Frémont route from Fort Riley to the Frémont route pass, south and a little west of Pueblo, was almost the same as that of Gunnison in 1853, from Fort Riley, through Bent's Fort to Fort Massachusetts.⁷⁶ Mr. Albright also traces the history of Colonel Frémont's different explorations of the railroad route.⁷⁷ The third Frémont expedition, he says, was, according to Thwaites in his *Rocky*

73. Hale, Edward Everett, *Kansas and Nebraska*, pp. 151, 152. The findings of Captain Gunnison were evidently known in detail to Mr. Hale, although he notes the fact that Lieutenant Beckwith's report of the expedition had not been published.

74. This letter was reprinted as *Miscellaneous House Document*, No. 8, 33 Cong., 2 sess. (1855.)

75. Warren, Lieut. Gouverneur K., *Memoir*, p. 75.

76. Albright, George Leslie, *Official Explorations for Pacific Railroads*.

77. *Ibid.*, p. 39, footnote.

Mountain Explorations, page 239, for the purpose of finding the shortest and best route for a railroad to San Francisco Bay; if it was for such purpose, Mr. Albright adds, it was under the private instructions of his father-in-law, Senator Benton. His fourth expedition, 1848-1849, primarily for the exploration of a central route, and also without government support, had failed in the San Juan mountains in Colorado. After the government surveys were ordered in 1853, Frémont in August, with funds of his own and Senator Benton's, planned a fifth expedition to complete the objects of the former. Mrs. Frémont, in her *Memoir XV*, says it had been intended her husband should lead one of the government surveys of 1853, but as no name appeared in the bill, the Secretary of War appointed Gunnison. Some of the Frémont reports were given government publication.⁷⁸ On the fifth expedition F. W. Egloffstein was the topographer as far as the Mormon settlement.⁷⁹ Because of this government aid and government recognition given the Frémont explorations, they no doubt seemed themselves to be official, and were so regarded by Mr. Hale and his topographer.

In spite of its dependence upon the numerous authoritative sources, the Hale map, which is itself merely an outline map, has many inaccuracies, owing in part at least to the inaccuracies of the sources. The most conspicuous are the courses of the mountain ranges. From 45° north latitude the entire Rocky range follows a slightly northeastern course; only the chief range is indicated, and it is confined to 112°-111° longitude instead of being shown from 118°-110° as it should be. Frémont's Peak, located almost rightly near parallel 43° and meridian 110°, is placed in the main range instead of in the Wind River mountains where it belongs, the main range here being given too northwesterly a line; and the Wind River mountains, which are a northwesterly range parallel with the main range between latitudes 42°-44° in longitude 109°-110°, are on this map a west and east to northeasterly range between latitudes 43° and 44° in longitude 104°-109°, being confused apparently with the Sweetwater range. Although the Black Hills follow a north and south line, they extend from about latitude 44° to 54°, whereas they are a short range reaching from about latitude 44° to 45° 30'. The

78. The expedition of 1842 appeared as *Senate Document*, No. 243, 27 Cong., 3 sess.; the second, as *Senate Document*, No. 174, 28 Cong., 2 sess.; the third, as *Miscellaneous Senate Document*, No. 148, 30 Cong., 1 sess.; the map of Charles Preuss, 1846, of this third Frémont expedition from Missouri to Oregon, as *House Committee Report*, No. 145, 30 Cong., 2 sess.; the fifth as represented in footnote 74, and the fourth was connected with the fifth.

79. Mr. Egloffstein joined Lieutenant Beckwith in 1854 to aid in his explorations along latitude 41°.

topography of the rest of this northwestern region that in 1854 was a part of the Nebraska territory, is even more uncertain. No others of the numerous mountain ranges are represented on the map at all.

The rivers follow curious courses. The Big Horn, which is given approximately correct headwaters in the Wind River mountains, is made the chief source of the Yellowstone river on the map; and the Wind river, which is now known to flow in a southeasterly course into the Big Horn, follows, on the map, a northeasterly course into the Little Big Horn. The headwaters of the Missouri are in north latitude 44° and 45°, longitude 109° to 112°, instead of latitude 45° and 46°, longitude 111° to 114°; and Great Falls is in latitude 48° and longitude 110°, whereas it belongs in latitude 47° 30' and longitude 111° 30'. The union, however, of the Yellowstone and the Milk river with the Missouri is approximately right. The Bitter Root river is not named on the Hale map and perhaps not shown, but the Salmon river to the west of the mountain range is made to abut the range on the west directly west of an unnamed river abutting it on the east so that it seems probable the Hale map followed here the erroneous idea of Captain Hood that the Bitter Root was a source of the Salmon.

In southeastern Nebraska and in Kansas geographical positions are much more accurate on the Hale map. Rivers and forts are about the only markings. The more important rivers have about the same headwaters and the same courses as in modern maps. A few exceptions are noticeable. The Little Nemaha, which follows a course markedly southeasterly, and the Great Nemaha, which after the union of its two forks is also southeasterly, follow on the Hale map courses almost due east. Although in the text, in a passage quoted from an unnamed source,⁸⁰ "the Republican and the Smoky Hill forks are said to take their rise in the Rocky Mountains and unite to form the Kansas river in almost latitude 39° and longitude 96°," the map reveals the rise of each in the plains east of the mountain range and the union in latitude 39° and longitude 97°. The Arkansas, which crosses the southern line of the state just east of longitude 97° crosses on the Hale Map, at a point just west of 96°. The Cimarron, which unites with the Arkansas in latitude 36°, longitude 96° 15', unites, on the Hale map, in latitude 38°, longitude 97° 30'. This point, although 200 miles east of Fort Atkinson, may be the union marked in the map of Lieutenant Steen and noted by

80. Hale, Edward Everett, *Kansas and Nebraska*, p. 86.

Lieutenant Warren as wrong. The right location of the union is more nearly 300 miles southeast of the fort.

Mr. Hale was probably more aware of the meagerness of his map than of its inaccuracies. In interpreting the rights of settlers he alluded to the law providing for the survey of Kansas and Nebraska that had passed congress late in the session of 1854 but which would "scarcely begin before late in the fall of 1854."⁸¹ That survey, had it already been made and its results been available, would have enabled him to locate on his map some of the places and streams he talked about but did not represent—Elm Grove, Council Grove, Walnut Creek post office, Big Timbers, Great Bend, Wolf river, the Little Blue, Grand Island, Bijou, the Vermillion, and the various Indian missions. One other provision of the map, that of leaving five inches of blank paper on the end bound in the book, making the entire map visible when open, no matter at what page the book itself may be open, is the most convenient feature of the map.

A point of relatively small importance but of considerable interest to Mr. Hale in the publication of his book was his chosen spelling of Kansas. The first allusion to it occurs in a letter to his brother Charles, without exact date, but belonging to the early summer of 1854:⁸²

"We have canvassed that and still spell it with a 'z.' I think you will find that the territory of Arkansaw was organized under that spelling, but the public changed the matter before it was a State."

On August 18 Mr. Hale wrote his brother Charles on the matter a second time.⁸³

"I will write an article explaining why I spell Kansas with a z. Will you print it and give a general order to spell so. I will make the *Register*, and I think the *Tribune*; my book will spell so, and, I hope the Emigrant Company. I hope it is not too late to change it, or rather to settle it."

In the preface to *Kansas and Nebraska* Mr. Hale explains his choice as a matter of accuracy.⁸⁴

"In that view I have held to the spelling of Kansas, of most of the travelers and of the Indians department, in preference to Kansas, the more fashionable spelling of a few weeks past. There is no doubt that the z best expresses the sound, that it has been almost universally used till lately, and that it is still used by those most familiar with the tribe and the river which have, time immemorial, borne this name. Kansas, too, will soon be a state. Its name then will, at best, too much resemble the name of Arkansas, which was,

81. *Ibid.*, pp. 235, 236.

82. Hale, Edward E., Jr., *Life and Letters of Edward Everett Hale*, v. I, p. 254.

83. *Ibid.*, p. 260.

84. Hale, Edward Everett, *Kansas and Nebraska*, p. V.

in fact, derived from it.⁸⁵ To keep them by one letter more apart is to gain something."

In the text, discussing the Indians in the territory, Mr. Hale tells more of the origin of the different forms of the name.⁸⁶

"Around the forks of the Kansas river, is the hunting ground of the Kansas tribe, from whom this river and territory have their names. This name is spelled by different writers in many different ways. Cansas, Conzas, Konsas, Kansas, and Kanzas, are the most frequent."

Mr. Hale's reasoning was sound enough, but the public did not accept and follow his chosen spelling at all generally. By late autumn he felt it necessary to secure aid if he would establish his chosen way as custom. To G. W. Brown he wrote both of the tendency of the day and in fuller explanation of his own usage:⁸⁷

"I hope I am not too late to beg you to turn a cold shoulder on the careless fashion of spelling Kanzas with an s after the n, which I see is coming into vogue. It is all wrong. A Boston paper to-day says that Kanzas is an abbreviation of Arkansas. This is preposterous. Let us take for our new state high ground from the very beginning, as it is the true ground. The Arkansas Indians broke off from the Kanzas Indians but a few years before the French first explored the valley of the Mississippi. They enlarged our name. We never took theirs nor the fag end of it. Kanzas has an antiquity and may as well claim it.

"The earliest history of Louisiana, in French, spells the name Canchez—giving the sound in question the very hardest sound of which the French language is capable."

Before Mr. Brown published the letter in the *Herald of Freedom*, January 6, 1855, he had written "Friend Hale" on December 27, 1854, of the already accepted western spelling with the s.⁸⁸

"I regret that I had not received your letter in time for publication,⁸⁹ but it now is quite unseasonable.

"The spelling of *Kansas* seems to have become almost established by usage, and I think it would be impossible in the West to change it now. All the papers in the territory, with the many along the border to which my attention has been called, are in the habit of spelling it with an s. Congress sent out the bill in the same form, and for me to attempt a change—although convinced of the force of your argument—would seem wholly impracticable. I shall give the public the benefit of your ideas on this matter."

When on January 6, in the first issue of his paper thereafter, Mr. Brown did give the public opportunity to read Mr. Hale's views, he added his own editorial comment.

85. *Ibid.*, p. 57: "The Arkansaw Indians, an offshoot from the Kanzas, struck the French as such fine men, that they called them 'les Beaux Hommes,' supposing that to be the meaning of their name."

86. *Ibid.*, p. 52.

87. *Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, January 6, 1855.

88. In correspondence of Edward Everett Hale among the official papers of the Emigrant Aid Company.

89. In an earlier issue of the *Herald of Freedom*.

"The argument of our friend sustains his position as to the spelling of Kansas; and yet the popular will has charge of the matter so fully that it appears to be beyond the power of the *literati* to change the result. Congress in the enrollment of our territorial bill, set an example which has been followed by the different heads of departments, and the newspaper press—with very rare exceptions—in all parts of the country. The five presses in the territory are also with the majority, and the orthography of Kansas at this time seems as firmly established as that of any state in the Union."

So apparently it was, although a few eastern publications continued to spell the name with a *z* into 1856. The *Quarterly Journal* of the American Unitarian Association abandoned it after the annual report of the treasurer, May 27, 1856. The Boston *Transcript* and the *Daily Chronicle* used it into the summer and the Springfield *Republican* continued it into the fall. Many of the contemporary publishers, even when writing of *Kanzas and Nebraska*, referred to it always as *Kansas and Nebraska*. Mr. Hale himself had some difficulty in remembering to use his preferred spelling in the book, as the manuscript reveals. Frequently he had to change the *s* to a *z*; the first two drafts of the title page even read *Kansas and Nebraska*. To the modern casual reader the spelling of the name is the most noticeable and most memorable feature of the book.

Such in summary-review is *Kanzas and Nebraska* that its author compiled at the rate of forty-three pages a day. His son described it, in 1917, as "little more than a compilation;"⁹⁰ and to the modern reader so indeed it seems and is; a compilation, moreover, in which some of the signs of haste are obvious. Attached to the book, for instance, in a separate Appendix B, is a six-page description of the valleys of Smoky Hill and the Kansas rivers in the form of a letter from George S. Park, published by the Emigrant Aid Company too late to be given a place in the text. Its full subject matter would have been an addition to the text, chapter IV, on the geography of Kansas, but it would have been somewhat out of proportion even to the other long quotations already incorporated in the text. More deliberate preparation of the manuscript would have permitted a digest or summary treatment of the substance. All the way through the text as it stands there is too continuous dependence upon quotation as it is, too little of the author's own explanation in proportion.

Comparison of the printed pages with the manuscript reveals more evidences of haste. Written for the most part in Mr. Hale's own clear and meticulous script, on letter paper of two sizes, it was, nevertheless, clean, easily read copy for the printers to follow. Evi-

90. Hale, Edward E., Jr., *The Life and Letters of Edward Everett Hale*, p. 258.

dently, though, it was his first copy and the changes he had found necessary were made on the manuscript there. Pages 17 and 18, for instance, of the manuscript, page 17 of the book, were crossed out, and rewritten as they now appear in the printed text. All of page 14 of the manuscript, page 11 of the book, was scratched out and rewritten on the back of the same sheet. Now and then additional passages or whole paragraphs were written on the backs of sheets and marked for insertion in the text; such passages are found in the manuscript, page 241, and in the book as the last paragraph of page 152; in the manuscript, page 288, and in the book the middle paragraph of page 183. Sometimes longer extra insertions were marked by half numbers, as 114½, 123½, 125½, 126½, 185½, and 220½, to care for additional material; corresponding to these numbers in order are the following book pages where they belong: 60, 66-67, 70-71, 72, 117-118, and 180. Manuscript page 178 carried an insertion of six pages numbered A1 to A6, covering pages 106-109 of the book. The manuscript is written on one side of the sheet only, with three exceptions: page 274 of the manuscript is found on the back of page 273, 279 on the back of 278, and 283 on the back of 282. These passages, appearing in the printed book, from page 174 through 180, belong in the chapter on political history and consist of quotations and Mr. Hale's own summaries of political happenings.

Extensive changes in the printed book from the manuscript readings are few. The chief occurs toward the end of chapter II, where in the manuscript in a different handwriting, with the initials "N. H. Jr." attached, three footnotes are supplied. In the manuscript these appear on pages 96, 108, and 114½-115, corresponding to pages 50, 56, and 60 of the book respectively. The initials are evidently those of Nathan Hale, an older brother of Edward Everett Hale, who probably read proof and who procured for his brother the copy of the Kansas-Nebraska bill used in chapter VIII. The book retains only the footnote of "N. H. Jr." on page 56—"as this book is passing through the press, it is understood that these treaties have been ratified"—but it omits his personal notation, "Here I inserted footnote. N. H. Jr." Page 115 of the manuscript ends, "It is probable that these treaties will be ratified before this book is published." Attached is a footnote by Mr. Hale himself which reads, "Here I said, in text, 'it is understood that these treaties were ratified by the senate at the close of the session just finished, although the official promulgation had not been made when this sheet was prepared for publication.'" This note, in different-colored ink, was probably

added to the manuscript long after the book was printed, for on page 60, where the passage occurs, there is no footnote in either Mr. Hale's or his brother's writing. Incorporated in the printed text, however, without any explanation at all, is all of the sentence above beginning with "It is understood. . . ." The statement, thus couched as the proof was read, became the new conclusion of chapter II.

Occasionally there were changes in sentence construction. In the manuscript of the preface, sentence 2 of paragraph 5 embraced by use of participial phrases what now appears in three sentences. In the manuscript, page 90, there was a penciled insertion of "Missouri" at the end of a sentence which in the book, page 51, line 5, became "and west of the Missouri." A sentence on manuscript pages 126-126½ reading, "The French name La Platte was given it to designate its French name, La Platte, from its great width," was corrected and shortened in the book, page 72, line 6, to "The French name La Platte designates its great width." The clause, "so immense is the extent of the prairie country," of the manuscript, page 128, became in the book, page 73, "so immense is the prairie country."

Usually the differences between the manuscript and the book readings were briefer and less troublesome, but they were sufficient in number to have added to the bill for author's corrections:

MANUSCRIPT READINGS.

Page.

Preface—state

8—1681 and 2

69—150 feet

68—connexions

85—2250 souls

120—North East

138—Kansas

148—Vol. I, pp. 137. 8. 9

160—smoky Hill . . . Kansas

165—Eastern Spurs

185—Desert

228—Lt. Fremont

241—traders route

265—Mr. King's speech. . . . It
contains . . .

b 11—Mr. Mons. H. Grinnell

95	}	&
98		
151		
166		

BOOK READINGS.

Page.

IV—states

11—1681 and 1682

37—one hundred and fifty

37—connections

44—two thousand two hundred
and fifty souls

64—north-east

80—Kanzas

90—Vol. I, pp. 137-139

96—Smoky Hill . . . Kanzas

99—eastern spurs

112—desert

146—Lieut. Fremont

152—traders' route

168—Mr. King's speeches. . . .
They contain . . .

229—Mr. J. M. S. Williams

50	}	and
51		
91		
99		

Besides these lesser changes were a few of mechanical nature such as the insertion of quotation marks on page 92 of the book, omitted from page 153 of the manuscript; and the making of new paragraph divisions, as on page 72 of the book which printed as two paragraphs what appeared in the manuscript, page 126½ as one; or as on page 163 of the book, which did the same for material placed in one paragraph in the manuscript, page 256; or as on page 81 of the book, which united in one paragraph what constituted two in the manuscript, page 139. For the omission of quotation marks in the book from page 139, paragraph 2, through page 138 and from page 140, paragraph 2, around material which in the manuscript, pages 218 and 220½ respectively, is obviously taken bodily from a newspaper, there is no explanation in either manuscript or book.

Although *Kanzas and Nebraska* is "little more than a compilation," the compilation was itself no small feat for two summer months. Begun some time after the publisher's agreement of July 12, the book was in press by September 20⁹¹ and was published on September 28. Collection of materials from the many different sources was itself something of a task; selection and arrangement of them required care; and the copying of virtually all of them in longhand was a nervous as well as a physical strain. Though Mr. Hale may have "written" at the rate of forty-three pages a day, he could not have kept up the speed many consecutive days unless, of course, he had selected and arranged all his material in advance, but that he could hardly have done. The presentation does not suggest such foresight. His letters and manuscript notes, moreover, record some of his difficulties in procuring materials. The small letter sheets he used for much of the manuscript permitted a greater output for those parts than for others of the 335 pages. Cessation in August of most of the advertisements of the book, begun so prematurely by Phillips, Sampson & Company on July 11, suggests unexpected delay.

Not until late September was the advertising revived. Then on September 26 the New York *Daily Tribune* carried again the advertisement of July, with the additional line, "Published This Day, Sept. 28," and with the price of the paper-bound copy given as 50 instead of 56 cents. On September 27 the Boston *Evening Telegraph* repeated the form of the *Commonwealth* advertisement of July. On September 30 and October 2, G. S. Wells, a bookseller of New York,

91. *Evening Transcript*, Boston, September 20, 1854.

advertised *Kansas and Nebraska* in the *New York Tribune*, and on October 12, 19 and 26 in the *National Era* in Washington. In Worcester the review of the book in *The Daily Spy*, September 26, said the book was for sale at William Allen's bookstore, but it was not advertised then or later among Allen's new books. On September 27 John Keith & Company, also of Worcester, however, listed it in their *Bulletin of New Books* in *The Daily Spy*, and from September 29 through November 28 they carried the title among their regularly advertised books in the same paper. Although in July the publishers spoke of announcing the book "all over the northern creation," their advertising of September, when the book was ready for circulation, seems to have been considerably curtailed. The only elaborate advertisement the writer has found was that of the *Boston Evening Telegraph*, October 7 and 14, 1854. Four and three-quarters inches long, in heavy black type, somewhat exclamatory in form, and markedly antislavery in tone, it was conspicuous among book announcements of the day.

WHICH SHALL WIN

The intense interest felt throughout
the country with regard to the settlement of
our youngest territories

KANSAS AND NEBRASKA!

Has already begun to be manifest in the tide
of emigration settling westward. The fair, virgin
soil is free to all, and the hardy pioneers are
to bear on their shoulders the destinies of those
embryo states. Throughout the

NORTHERN HIVE

Which is again to swarm with thousands
of gold gleaning bees, there is already the
bustle of preparation.

To meet the universal demand for reliable
information respecting the geography, climate,
soil, and probable productions of the new
territories, a volume has been prepared by

REV. EDWARD E. HALE,

containing all that is desirable to be known.
It is accompanied by an accurate and comprehensive
Map of the Territories.

This work, so opportune, so complete, has
been received with uncommon favor.

The whole of the first edition was exhausted on the very day of the publication, without supplying all the advance orders received.

New edition nearly ready.

Price in muslin 75 cents; in paper 50 cents.

The sponsor of this propaganda-colored venture is unknown, for it did not bear the name of publisher or dealer or friend. It is of interest, though, as indicating that the advance advertisements of the book had brought the desired sales. Statement of Charles Hale in a letter to his sister Susan, September 24, 1854, substantiates this suggestion:⁹² "I suppose you know Edward's book is published, and the whole first edition sold at once with good promise of continued demand."

One other advertisement of the book followed, that of November 4, evidently in the *Boston Journal*, just after the new edition was published. Matter-of-fact in nature and modest in tone, it, too, appeared without the name of the sponsor, who, nevertheless, described the book as invaluable to persons desiring the latest information upon Kansas derived especially from "the correspondence of the Emigrant Aid Society" and having an accurate map.

The first review of *Kansas and Nebraska* seems to have appeared in the *Daily Advertiser*, managed and edited by the Hale family.⁹³ Who wrote the review, copied by the *Evening Transcript*, September 20, 1854, the papers do not reveal.⁹⁴

"It appears to us well adapted to that object [of giving authentic information on the territories] by combining in a narrow compass, and in a tangible shape, a great amount of information scattered through many, many volumes of travels and documents, and placing it before the reader in a methodical form."

In a letter from Edward Everett Hale to his brother Charles, September 20, 1854, the day of the *Transcript* reprint, responsibility for the review is placed upon the brother:⁹⁵ "I am heartily obliged for the notice of *Kansas*; whether I ever see the book itself seems more doubtful." The book itself did not appear officially for eight more days.⁹⁶

92. Letter from "Charlie" to "Susie" September 24, 1854, in correspondence of Edward Everett Hale.

93. *The Daily Advertiser*, Boston, published by Nathan Hale, Sr., had in the late spring of 1854 been taken over by two of his sons, Charles and Edward Everett. Charles became the managing editor and Edward Everett helped on the editorial page.—*Cf. Life and Letters of Edward Everett Hale*, by Edward E. Hale, Jr., v. I, p. 254.

94. *Evening Transcript*, Boston, September 20, 1854.

95. Hale, Edward E., Jr., *Life and Letters of Edward Everett Hale*, v. I, p. 260.

96. *Vide footnote 92.* The letter from Charlie to Susie, September 24, said the "book is published." The word "published" here appears to have been a mistake for "printed." Since the *New York Tribune* of September 26 gave the date of publication as September 28, the writer of this article supposes the publishers did not release the book for circulation until the latter date.

On September 26 and 27, respectively, the editors of *The Daily Spy* and the editor of *The Daily Transcript* of Worcester, Edward Everett Hale's home town, had seen advance copies of the book. *The Daily Spy* reviewed the contents and said that the book admirably supplied the need of a complete history of the territories. It also commended the author.⁹⁷

"Mr. Hale is a clear, judicious, and practical writer, and is admirably fitted, by his experience and the constitution of his mind, to write just the book needed by those who intend to settle in the territories. We heartily commend his book to the public."

The editor of *The Daily Transcript* singled out the instructions to emigrants as the best that had yet appeared.⁹⁸

"It reflects great credit upon the author, by the patient and thorough investigation which marks the various researches, and the authentic sources, from which he has drawn such abundant material, render the work of double interest and of more especial value."

The New York *Tribune* analyzed the method more.⁹⁹

"Mr. Hale, whose taste and ability for statistical and historical research are well known to the community in which he resides, has made an assiduous study of everything relating to the history, geographical and physical characteristics, and political position of Kansas and Nebraska, and has here set forth the fruits of his labors in a compact and readable form."

*The Atlas*¹⁰⁰ and *The Congregationalist*,¹⁰¹ like the other papers, noted the seasonableness of the book and emphasized its value to emigrants to the new territories. *Putnam's Monthly* said it was "not a political tract but a practical work on the geography, history, and resources of the new Canaans of our confederacy . . . full and reliable."¹⁰² *The Quarterly Journal* of the American Unitarian Association considered the singular nature of the task of writing such a work.¹⁰³

"It is no small service to a good cause to supply, at a few weeks' notice, a valuable book, which exactly meets a pressing exigency; and it is a proof of no small courage, industry, and command of resources, to be able to render that service with promptitude and ability. Great credit is due, on both accounts, to the author of this book, who has done much to give immediate impetus to a noble cause of philanthropy."

Northern reviewers were all in praise, in a moderate but sincere tone.

97. *The Daily Spy*, Worcester, Mass., September 26, 1854. Copy used.

98. *The Daily Transcript*, Worcester, September 27, 1854.

99. *The Daily Tribune*, New York, October 3, 1854.

100. *The Atlas*, Boston, October 17, 1854.

101. *The Congregationalist*, Boston, October 27, 1854.

102. *Putnam's Monthly* (November, 1854), v. IV, p. 564.

103. *Quarterly Journal*, American Unitarian Association (January 1, 1855), v. II, pp. 208-209.

From Washington came critical comment in lighter vein, playing upon the commonly heard names of Kansas and Nebraska.¹⁰⁴

"If there be any faith due to the proverb that 'a hair of the same dog cures his bite,' those who have had their nervous excitabilities worn down and their sense of hearing deadened by the daily repetition of those names for almost a year—soft and sweet and euphonious though they be—will find a pleasant recuperative remedy by taking up this volume. In it they will see these twin sisters of the West with new faces, with features not so harsh and repulsive as they appeared in the paintings exhibited at the Capitol during the last session by the rough speechifying limners of that ilk. Here the coloring is drawn from nature, not from distorted imagination. Their prairie oceans, their beautiful streams, their shady forests, and savage denizens, and wild herds are all fairly depicted. Nor is the darker side of the picture hidden from view. The arid plains, where neither tree, nor shrub, nor blade of grass for hundreds of acres, can find soil enough to sustain a root; where no water bubbles up to greet the eye of the thirsty emigrant; where no fuel can be found to light the fire by which to prepare his daily food; where neither rock nor hillside shade invites him to repose his wearied limbs; all these, too, are delineated with the pencil of truth.

"Mr. Hale has honestly compiled his history from the most reliable sources extant. Indeed we believe he has not failed to consult every traveler who has ever written a line upon the subject of that extensive region of our country. . . .

"With all his predilections for that particular *ism* to which he confesses himself attached, Mr. Hale has managed to make this chapter on political history of the new territories extremely interesting. He has hunted up many anecdotes from the molding documents of a past generation, which revive in our memories many agreeable and some unpleasant incidents, but has fairly stated the sayings and doings of the most conspicuous actors and speakers on both sides of the vexed question, the 'misery debate,' as the wags called it, of 1820."

Weary of endless ill-judged comment that as propaganda had underestimated or overestimated the features of the territories, the reviewer of the *National Intelligencer* wrote appreciatively of Mr. Hale's study. Of the reviews discovered his is the only one that seems to have been deliberately designed for Southern as well as Northern readers.

In Kansas there was no recognition of the book until the spring of 1855. On February 10, under a column heading "General Intelligence," excerpts were made in the *Herald of Freedom* "from 'Kansas and Nebraska' by E. D. Hale." The source, of course, was *Kansas and Nebraska* by E. E. Hale. The parts copied were taken from chapter VI, "Routes of Travel . . . The Pacific Railroad

104. *National Intelligencer*, Washington, December 20, 1854.

. . . Navigable Rivers."¹⁰⁵ On April 21, quite as though the copy of the book had just arrived, the editor of this same paper, under the title, "History of Kansas," acknowledged receipt of "the nicely bound volume" of *Kansas and Nebraska* with which, "through the politeness of Rev. E. E. Hale, of Worcester, Mass., we are favored."¹⁰⁶

"As the pioneer history of the great West, abounding with a vast amount of matter which is very difficult to procure through any other channel, it will be a standard work, and invaluable to the future historian of Kansas. The volume contains many inaccuracies, of course, as is the case with all new publications of a similar character; but these will be readily corrected by the intelligent reader, and a revised volume will add many important incidents which have transpired subsequent to its original preparation. The map, which at present is a mere outline, will be dotted with towns, villages, and cities. We hope friend Hale will pay Kansas a visit during the present season, and prepare a new volume for publication. Another work of the kind is much needed."

The criticism in this review is the most adverse published comment upon the book by contemporary writers the author of this article has found. In Kansas, in proximity to the contemporary facts, inaccuracies were apparent, but the editor did not take the trouble to note them. What interested him more was having the history of Kansas, subsequent to its organization as a territory, included in a new edition of this first "history" of the prospective state. Of so little impress was the criticism, however, that the New Haven *Daily Palladium*, in noting the review, said, "The *Herald* certifies to the merits of Rev. E. E. Hale's . . . *Kansas and Nebraska*;"¹⁰⁷ Kansas was too remote from Connecticut for errors to be visible.

One other contemporary article, that of *The Methodist Quarterly Review*, said that the information was general rather than special, but added that "a minute knowledge of the country has yet to be acquired."¹⁰⁸ This review also frankly hoped that the book might "contribute its share to nullify the plan of the present American government to spread slavery over the vast territory, covered by what is known as the 'Nebraska Bill.'"

105. The passages copied were from pp. 139-141, 145, 146, 148, 149, 151-153, and 156-161.

106. *Herald of Freedom*, April 21, 1855. Attempts had been made to get the book to Kansas before. G. W. Brown had ordered a copy from Boston in the fall but it was stolen en route. Mr. Hale had evidently announced he was sending a copy, for on December 27 Mr. Brown wrote him, "The Desc. of Kansas and Nebraska has not been received. Should have been glad to acknowledge receipt of copy."—Letter of G. W. Brown to E. E. Hale, December 27, 1854, in correspondence of Edward Everett Hale.

107. *Daily Palladium*, New Haven, Conn., May 7, 1855.

108. *Methodist Quarterly Review*, 4th series (January, 1855), v. VII, p. 135.

The only specific adverse criticism of Mr. Hale's work that survives occurred in a letter of Charles H. Branscombe, one of the Kansas agents for the Emigrant Aid Company, to Mr. Hale, February 2, 1855.¹⁰⁹ A long twenty-five-page article on the significance of the Emigrant Aid Movement, written by Charles Wentworth Upham and published in the *North American Review*, January, 1855, had praised *Kansas and Nebraska* as a source book for the emigrant and attributed credit for conception of the whole emigration enterprise to Mr. Hale.¹¹⁰

"It is natural that Mr. Hale should have had his attention specially called to this subject. The Kansas and Nebraska emigration movement is the fulfillment and realization of one of his early and cherished visions. He tried to save Texas to freedom by the same instrumentality, and urged an organized emigration to that region in a pamphlet entitled, *A Tract for the Day: How to Conquer Texas, before Texas Conquers Us*—published in 1845."

The Upham article in the *Review* then praised Mr. Thayer for his part in the movement, making use, partly in paraphrase and partly in quotation, of an account in the London *Times* and of other material from another unnamed source. The sketch gave a colorful picture of Mr. Thayer "to whose energy, enthusiasm, and powers this emigration movement is mainly owing, and by whom it is in great measure superintended and conducted."

This division of credit between the two men is the point to which Mr. Branscombe takes exception in his letter.

"I have been much surprised in reading your work on Kansas and Nebraska, and also in reading Mr. Upham's review of it, that neither has awarded to Mr. Thayer the honor of having originated the plan of organized emigration which is efficiently used by the Emigrant Aid Company.

"Your book seems to make Mr. Thayer secondary and subordinate to a general public sentiment, and Mr. Upham makes him secondary and subordinate to yourself in this movement.

"Now in relation to the first position, that of the book. I know it to be incorrect, for I know that it has been a gigantic work on the part of Mr. Thayer to arouse public sentiment and to guide it into the line of practical action. . . . Mr. Thayer has been and now is the *caput acque princeps* of all efficient action in the premises.

"Now in relation to the other point. Will you be so kind as to inform me, whether you as the review claims, are the originator of this plan of organized emigration or of *any plan*. I am aware you wrote a tract advocating emigration to Texas, but did you originate and develop any *plan*? Are you the author of the Stock Co.? of the Leagues? of the officer of Master of Emigra-

109. Letter of Charles H. Branscombe to Edward Everett Hale, February 2, 1855, in correspondence of Edward Everett Hale.

110. *North American Review* (January, 1855), v. 80, pp. 91-116. The article as printed is unsigned, but a letter from Virginia Barney, assistant editor of the *North American Review*, to the writer of this review, May 21, 1932, states that the author was Mr. Upham.

tion? of one or all of these or of none of them? If you are rightfully in the position, which works of an enduring character assign to you, then Mr. Thayer does you an injustice by not disclaiming the honor given him in the daily and weekly papers and the conversation of the people. . . .

"Your reviewer denies Mr. Thayer the *honor* emphatically—but gives him credit for energy and perseverance as a subaltern. In this extract from the *London Times* he omits the part which makes Mr. Thayer the *leader* of the movement."

Mr. Branscombe wrote his letter from Boston, where he then was in the interests of the Emigrant Aid Company. Mr. Hale's reply to him is not extant. On the following day, February 3, however, Mr. Hale, in Worcester, addressed a communication to the editor of the *North American Review*, disclaiming all credit for originating the movement. The letter was published later as a "note to article VI of the January number."¹¹¹

"DEAR SIR—The honor for originating the plan for emigration to the West, with the view of saving Kansas and the new Western states from the worst of evils, is one which will yet be regarded as among the most distinguished honors of this time. As your pages will be resorted to as history, I am anxious to put on record there the title of Mr. Eli Thayer to all this honor. He conceived the scheme, he arranged the working details of it, and by his comprehension and ingenious combinations so adjusted it, in the beginning, that to practical men it has always seemed an eminently practical affair.

"This statement is due from me, because, in your kind notice of my book on Kansas, there is an expression from which a careless reader might suppose that Mr. Thayer was working out suggestions of mine. Every one who knows the facts would ridicule this idea. I published in 1845 a pamphlet on Emigration to Texas, which no one read, and I could not induce any one to consider the idea. It contained no plan of operation. Although I never abandoned the fundamental idea of that pamphlet, I made no suggestion for carrying it out last year. Nor had I any plan to propose. Mr. Thayer had never seen nor heard of my pamphlet when he originated what I have no claim to—the comprehensive scheme, only now beginning to be realized, for organizing Western emigration."

Mr. Thayer may or may not have been disturbed himself by the implied division of credit for the plan; no positive statement of either attitude has come into the writer's hands. In 1889, in a *History of the Kansas Crusade*, when Mr. Thayer praised Mr. Hale for his early confidence in the undertaking and his willingness to work for it, he of course was indirectly assigning Mr. Hale a secondary place in the development of the plan.¹¹² At the same time, Mr. Hale, in his introduction to the book, surrendered again all

111. *North American Review* (April, 1855), v. 80, p. 548.

112. *Vide ante*, p. 143.

credit to Mr. Thayer: ¹¹³ "I should be sorry not to say, on all occasions, that to him the work owed its success and the nation owes all that grew from that success."

The success of *Kansas and Nebraska* was measured in two ways by contemporaries. For the publishers it was a financial failure; for the emigrant aid companies it was a practical help. The correspondence extant does not indicate the size of either printing of the book, but it does reveal the effects of the sale. In July, 1854, Mr. Hale had offered to sell the manuscript outright for \$300 or to take a fifteen per cent royalty on the retail price of the work.¹¹⁴ Phillips, Sampson & Company would have accepted the first terms save for the recommendation of Mr. Phillips.¹¹⁵

"My sole reason for resisting it was *not* for us—but because I *really* thought that there hung around it one of those *chances* that I did not want to see you throw away for so small a sum. . . . I did not make this ruling until Mr. Sampson told me he was satisfied we sh'd sell anywhere from 5,000 to 10,000 copies."

That the sale fell far short of even the lower figure of the estimate is evident in the \$218 royalties the company paid Mr. Hale in August, 1855. The letters between Mr. Phillips and Mr. Hale at the time indicate the sum was figured on the basis of ten per cent instead of fifteen per cent.

Both the author and the publishers had overestimated "the public interest in that new world." Neither had considered the cost of extensive advertising. Issuing the book shortly after two far more popular titles,¹¹⁶ the firm found itself under the high pressure of advertising from Maine to Kansas. Although Mr. Sampson had early begun to say, "If we advertise this so, we can't pay over 10 per cent," Mr. Phillips had asserted Mr. Hale would be reasonable about the matter and procrastinated in telling him "under the notion that the sale would come out strong enough to justify such an after consideration. But the sequel is as it is and it can't be any tizzer." Mr. Phillips assumed all blame, even for the small sale, but Mr. Hale was disappointed, saying he would not have put the time and work into the book for the \$218 had he foreseen the slight interest in the new territories. Under a false impression about the amount of the

113. Hale, Edward Everett, introduction to *A History of the Kansas Crusade*, by Eli Thayer, p. XI.

114. Letters from M. D. Phillips to Edward Everett Hale, July 12, 1854; August 21, 1855, in correspondence of Edward Everett Hale.

115. *Ibid.* Letter of August 21, 1855.

116. These titles were *Sunny Memories of Foreign Lands*, by Harriet Beecher Stowe; and *History of Cuba*, by Maturin M. Ballou.

loss on the book, Mr. Hale took the \$108¹¹⁷ difference between ten and fifteen per cent philosophically, volunteering to share the loss equally with the publishers. Afterwards Mr. Phillips went over the books again and found the loss of the company to be more than \$300, which the company, however, assumed without complaint as a risk of trade.¹¹⁸

Although within the year the promulgators recognized *Kansas and Nebraska* as a commercial failure, they regarded it from the beginning as first authority on both the territories and the Emigrant Aid Company. It was at once a history and a geography and a book of directions for Kansas and prospective Kansans. Mr. Thayer wrote that "the several hundred of the different kinds of societies, leagues, committees, and companies in the free states" kept it as "an invaluable handbook for emigrants. . . . It was of great service in our efforts to arouse the public to the importance of organized emigration."¹¹⁹ The day after the official publication, September 28, 1854, Doctor Webb submitted to the publishers an order from the German Kansas Settlers Association of Cincinnati, Ohio, for several copies.¹²⁰ Records of publishers and booksellers are not available to show the number of copies sold. Comments in advertisements and early reviews to the effect that the first edition was exhausted were probably references to printings rather than editions. There could hardly have been need of a second edition. The only person who wrote of the possibility was G. W. Brown, editor of the *Herald of Freedom*, of Lawrence. To western readers, with the scene of its setting at their doorsteps, *Kansas and Nebraska* had shortcomings not obvious elsewhere. Although the publishers boasted of announcing it "all over the northern creation," the book probably found its greatest number of readers in the East, where interest in the emigration movement was most manifest. There people talked about it and its subject matter; there reviewers wrote of it; there its author was known. Those who had already come West found the territories themselves all around them a more urgent and more authentic source of information and thought. The last of the business corre-

117. The figure, \$108, is evidently a mistake for \$109, which would have been the exact amount of the extra five per cent royalty of the original plan.

118. *The Herald of Freedom*, October 15, 1859, noted Phillips, Sampson & Company had recently failed with an indebtedness of \$240,000.

119. Thayer, Eli, *A History of the Kansas Crusade, Its Friends and Its Foes*, pp. 124, 125. Because of this official use of the book by the Emigrant Aid Company, it subsequently came to be regarded as a publication of the company; cf. Albert J. Beveridge's *Abraham Lincoln*, v. II, p. 300, footnote.

120. Webb, Thos. H., Letter of September 29, 1854, to Albert Oestreicher, in Letters (Letter Press copies) of Emigrant Aid Company.

spondence preserved was Mr. Phillips' letter of August 21, but not until December 18, 1855, did Mr. Hale find himself free of matters relative to the book. On that day he wrote to his brother Charles, "I have swept Kansas off my table completely."¹²¹

Copies of the book are easily available to-day. Second-hand book dealers list them at nominal prices. Only last year a friend picked up a copy in Bridgeport, Conn., for 10 cents. In Kansas now the book seems to be known little more than in the year of publication. Only a few of the older libraries have it, and frequently the older of the old settlers say they have never heard of it. *Kansas and Nebraska* was, nevertheless, the first and the most authoritative of the numerous books upon the new territory.

In 1917 Edward E. Hale, Jr., suggested the manner of his father's gathering of the material for *Kansas and Nebraska*.¹²²

"He read for it, or remembered, not only the account of Father Marquette and La Salle, but accounts much more recent and full of the charm of current interest. . . . Even nowadays *Kansas and Nebraska* is an interesting book, because it is so full of the intense feeling of the day."

The latter chapters of the book do reflect the feeling of the day; but they and all the others in the hastily prepared composition present more the subject matter that provoked the thought and stirred the feeling of the day. To anyone examining the book now Mr. Hale appears to have read for it and quoted far more than he drew from memory and paraphrased. His method, however, was in part that of the historian, in part that of the writer of popular appeal. He sought authority and usually gave due credit where he could; yet in his selection of materials, he seems to have chosen more to appeal to the reader than to treat his subject thoroughly. The copy for *Kansas and Nebraska* was prepared so quickly that Mr. Hale probably gave little thought to the method he pursued, yet it illustrates well two contradictory inclinations, that his son relates, guided him most of his life.

"He sometimes thought that he was meant to be an historical student rather than anything else . . . and he always had some sort of historical work on his hands. . . . The two historical principles which appear to have been most important in guiding his work seem, if not contradictory, at least hard to combine. One was . . . the importance of studying the original sources. The other . . . was the importance of being interesting to all sorts of people. This was most natural. We can hardly imagine such

121. Hale, Edward E., Jr., *Life and Letters of Edward Everett Hale*, v. I, p. 265.

122. *Ibid.*, p. 258.

a man studying the original sources without regard to people's getting the advantage of his studies. . . . A history had to be founded on the original sources, he held; but then, also, it had to be interesting, or it might as well not be at all."

In his numerous direct quotations in *Kansas and Nebraska*, Mr. Hale brought his sources to his very reader, but he also chose those quotations to interest as well as inform his reader.

History of Lynchings in Kansas

GENEVIEVE YOST

ON April 18, 1932, Kansas was shocked by the lynching of Robert Read, in Rawlins county. Not since April 19, 1920, twelve years before, when Albert Evans was hanged at Mulberry, Crawford county, had there been a lynching in Kansas.

The newspapers, in reporting the story, desired a list of previous lynchings in the state, and a record of about fifty was very hurriedly compiled in the library of the Kansas State Historical Society. This list, when published, aroused the interest of papers and individuals and brought in additional items. The *Russell Record* headed a front-page story in the following issue of its paper with the line, "Hey! Russell had a lynching, too."¹ Interest grew until it was decided to prepare a list of lynchings in Kansas which should be as complete as possible. Such a list is valuable, not merely for its numbers and dates, but, as this paper shows, because it reflects certain phases of the economic, social, and industrial development and growth of the state.

This list has been compiled through histories, newspapers, recollections of early settlers, and associations interested in the subject, including the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, the National Association of Advancement for Colored People, the Tuskegee Institute, and the Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching. While these institutions are interested mainly from the standpoint of race prejudice, they have contributed valuable assistance. All accounts, whenever possible, have been checked by contemporary newspapers as a final authority.

While this list is presented as being complete as possible, there probably occurred some not mentioned. Rumors and vague accounts of about two dozen not listed were found, but the information of time or place was indefinite. There is no reason to doubt that most of them did take place, but not enough data is available at present to warrant their inclusion in this list.

The lynch law, popularly spoken of as Judge Lynch, is the name for irregular punishment, especially capital, inflicted by private individuals independently of legal authorities. The working definition which compilers of lynching records have generally used is

1. *Russell Record*, April 21, 1932.

that "lynching has to do with individuals supplanting the law and acting in defiance of the law."² On this basis the general practice of compilers of lynching records has been not to include in such records persons put to death in what are commonly designated as riots. In a riot there occurs promiscuous killing of individuals, and in a lynching particular individuals are seized and put to death for alleged specified offenses. By the laws of some states a minimum of three persons may constitute a mob; by others, five.

The Kansas statutes have several definitions of a mob. Three persons may constitute an unlawful assembly. "If three or more persons shall assemble together with intent to do any unlawful act with force and violence against the person or property of another. . ."³

It requires five persons to constitute a mob for whose actions a city may be held legally responsible. Since 1868 cities have been liable for damages in consequence of the action of mobs within their corporate limits. In 1923 the legislature added a clause defining this mob: "*Provided, however, that the number of persons that shall constitute a mob under this act shall be five or more.*"⁴

In the section which defines lynchings the number is not stated. "That any collection of individuals assembled for an unlawful purpose, intending to injure any person by violence, and without authority of law, shall for the purpose of this act be regarded as a mob."⁵

The origin of the use of the word lynching to denote summary justice at the hands of a mob or an improvised tribunal is obscure. By some it is said to be from James Lynch Fitz-Stephen, warden of Galway, Ireland, who, about 1526, sentenced his son to death for murder, and to prevent a rescue by a mob executed him with his own hands without due process of law. By others the term is said to have had its origin in Virginia, where a farmer named Charles Lynch took his own way of obtaining redress for a theft by catching the culprit, tying him to a tree and flogging him. The popular conception of lynching and the method most often chosen is hanging, called in the vernacular a "necktie party," but it is not so limited. Offenders have been shot, beaten to death and burned at the stake with the same intention and the same result.

2. F. C. C. C. A., *Law and the Mob* (1925), p. 5.

3. *General Statutes*, Kansas, 1868, ch. 31, sec. 268.

4. *Laws*, Kansas, 1923, ch. 79, sec. 1.

5. *Laws*, Kansas, 1923, ch. 221, sec. 1.

The history of lynchings in the early days of Kansas must necessarily remain incomplete. We may suppose that it was as common, if not more so, in the first periods of the territory and state as later, and unfortunately complete records of these times are lacking. We look to the newspapers for such things, and while we find early papers in the eastern section of Kansas, they did not follow the people quite so rapidly to the western part of the state. Even the papers which existed could not collect news from so large an area as we of to-day expect. Communication was slow and uncertain, and many lynchings were not heard of three or four counties away. Sometimes rumors drifted over and we find a statement like this: "A gentleman from Franklin county said eleven horses were stolen, six men arrested, two shot, two hung and two dismissed."⁶ One might be reasonably certain that a lynching of some sort had occurred. Many an article in a good county history and many a reminiscence by a pioneer starts thus: "Back in the '70's . . ."

This vagueness is due partly to inability to get the facts, and is partly because a lynching did not cause so much consternation then as it does now. Lynchings were more common, the people accepted them as necessary punishments, and they were not impressed so forcibly on the mind and conscience as to-day. It is quite probable that many a person forfeited his life to a self-detailed jury, if not to a frenzied mob, whose death was never in any way recorded.

In some instances the criminal himself preferred that he go unnamed. One thief, when shot and dying, refused to give any information about himself, saying he came from a good family and preferred not to have the name degraded.⁷ In Johnson county "one unlucky thief lies two feet below the surface on Tommyhawk creek, whose name, place of residence and all else concerning him are unknown unless he gave such particulars to his executioners and, if so, they never told. As nothing concerning him was divulged for several years, the poor rascal's friends, if he had any, must have wondered not a little as to what had become of him. Another unlucky soul disappeared in the same vicinity in similar style, but his executioners were so reticent that no particulars could ever be obtained."⁸ Concerning the first man mentioned, the Olathe *Mirror* says: "It is rumored in town last Saturday that a horse thief had been caught and hung out on Tommyhawk creek. We can gather

6. Lawrence *Tribune*, June 18, 1864.

7. Horse thief shot in Wabaunsee county, Dec. 15, 1862.—*Kansas State Journal*, Lawrence, December 25, 1862.

8. Heisler & Smith, *Johnson County Atlas* (1874), p. 34.

nothing definite about the matter.”⁹ It was not always possible for the newspapers to give full information concerning a lynching, even though they desired to do so.

It is sometimes difficult to tell when a lynching is a lynching. Often a “neck-tie party” was accompanied by an impromptu court which considered itself, and was considered by the community, legal. In Coffey county “a mob held trial and asked those in favor of death to pass to the right of the building and those against to the left. Nine-tenths went to the right.”¹⁰ In Atchison in April, 1863, a mob took possession of the jail and courthouse for a week; they held court and tried each prisoner, with four or five lynchings as the result.¹¹ The people banded themselves into vigilance committees for the protection of themselves and their property, and death punishment by these committees was seldom considered illegal. In those days the squatters’ courts were as much respected and as effective as the government courts.

In the days of the 1860’s the slavery agitation made the difference between a lynching and a legal hanging quite often a matter of personal opinion and party affiliation. The Civil War in Kansas was characterized by guerrilla and bushwhacker warfare, and a hanging considered legal by one side was lynching by the other; accounts of this time depend upon which record or newspaper one reads. According to the accepted definition many of the massacres and murders perpetrated on the border of the state might be called lynchings. When a group of proslavery men massacred a free-state man they acted in accord with the sentiment of at least part of the town, who might call it supplanting the law, while the free-state men considered it acting in defiance of the law. John Brown’s massacre of the Doyle family on June 24, 1856, fulfills the technical requirements of a lynching; it consisted of more than five people, and he considered it punishment for the sacking of Lawrence on May 21 by the proslavery element. But it would be difficult for any nonpartisan person now to consider any act of John Brown’s a lynching. The Marais des Cygnes massacre on May 19, 1858, when five men near Trading Post, Linn county, were taken to a ravine and murdered is in the same class of border warfare. Neither side could be said to represent the sentiment of the community as

9. *Olathe Mirror*, May 31, 1866.

10. *Burlington Republican*, December 14, 1908.

11. *Kansas City Journal*, March, 1902; “Atchison County Clippings” (compiled by Kansas State Historical Society), v. 4, p. 50.

a whole, and both sides were inflamed by the hatred of the Border war.

An incident which illustrates the difficulty of distinguishing between lynchings and murder was the hanging on November 12, 1860, of Russell Hinds, a farmer living near Pleasanton, Linn county, who returned a runaway slave to his master in Missouri. Dr. C. R. Jennison, heading a party of free-state men, arrested him, quickly convened a court, sentenced and hanged him for this offense. It would be difficult to convince any southerner that this was a lynching and not a murder.¹²

On July 10, 1860, L. D. Moore was one of a party who lynched Hugh Carlin, a horse thief. On November 16, 1860, Jennison, with twenty-five men entered Moore's house and shot him in retaliation.¹³ This incident satisfies the definition of lynching, but it probably savors more of guerrilla warfare.

A recent account of an event of the war would call the following a lynching: "Col. C. R. Jennison, later in command of the fifteenth Kansas, captured Samuel Scott, one of the most notorious proslavery ruffians. Scott was hanged without ceremony, and his fate met with the approval of free-state leaders."¹⁴ While the free-state leaders considered it a lynching, very probably the proslavery faction called it murder or, at least, border warfare.

This doubtful status of lynchings during the Civil War period is shown very plainly by the contrasting opinions in a letter written at the time of a hanging and those in later accounts of the same event. On February 5, 1860, John R. Guthrie was hanged at Mapleton, Bourbon county. In the manuscript collection of the Kansas State Historical Society is a letter written by Alpheus H. Tanner which gives an interesting account of the affair.¹⁵

"Mapleton, K. T., Feb. 12, 1860.

"MY DEAR PARENTS: . . . Last Sunday night about 1 o'clock a man named John R. Guthrie was hanged about a mile and a half from here on the top of what is known as Tigret Mound. He was left suspended until Monday eve. His corpse was in plain sight from here as he hung. The proslavery's hung him for an alleged crime of horse stealing. They arrested him without authority or shadow of law and never gave him even a mock trial, as has

12. Tabor, "This Day in Kansas History" (volume bound by Kansas State Historical Society), p. 132; Leavenworth *Times*, February 12, 1928, in "Crimes and Criminals Clippings" (Kansas State Historical Society), v. 2, pp. 295, 296.

13. Andreas, *History of Kansas* (1883), p. 1070.

14. Tabor, "This Day in Kansas History," p. 132.

15. Alpheus Hiram Tanner was born in Ruggles, Ohio, July 28, 1836. He came to Kansas in 1857, living first in Pleasanton. In 1918 he lived on a farm in Bourbon county on the Osage river, near Mapleton.

generally been the case. The country is again in commotion. I know not what will be the result, the probability is that unless Montgomery takes the field again it will soon blow over and give them a chance to hang the next ones that gets in their way. . . —A. H. T.”

An account of this same event, as written in 1932 by C. E. Cory to the Historical Society, describes him as a horse thief:

“I know a story I think worth preserving of a Bourbon county execution without benefit of clergy, but it was not a lynching. I have had the story from a lot of people, including two eyewitnesses—not participants, of course. (?) Away back in the later territorial days, when Bourbon county was in the ‘region beyant the law,’ a young man named Guthrie was caught up near Mapleton riding somebody else’s horse. Everybody knows that at that time in those parts, horse stealing and nigger chasing and homicide were offenses in a class by themselves. The hard-headed and hard-fisted farmers thereabouts gathered in a hurry. But there were no courts that they respected or had reason to respect. What to do?

“Just across the river south of Mapleton in the Little Osage bottom is a little round hill about three hundred feet high shaped almost exactly like an overturned soup bowl. They adjourned to the top of that hill. There they elected a judge and a sheriff and a prosecuting attorney. They selected a jury and tried their man, who admitted his guilt. After the verdict and the proper sentence, the sheriff had no place to keep the man, so he executed the sentence at once by hanging him to the limb of a jack oak tree nearby. His body was buried where it was cut down. It is there yet.

“From what I have been told I am quite satisfied that that trial was quite as regular and formal as many cases in the regular courts of that day, though not sanctioned by the law.

“By the way, that hill is the same ‘pretty little hill’ where Lieut. Zebulon M. Pike ate the fried venison steak that September morning in 1806, as he notes in his journal. It is still called Guthrie mountain, and is one of the real beauty spots of old Bourbon.”¹⁶

With such conflicting accounts, who, seventy-two years after the event, shall dare to say whether this lynching was the justifiable punishment of a horse thief or the fate of a victim of border warfare?

While it is difficult to decide whether some of the events are lynchings or murders, there are a few which may be classed as lynchings and charged to border warfare. In Lawrence on August 22, 1863, the day after the Quantrill raid, Thomas Corlew was tried by a lynch court on the charge of having been a spy and hanged in a

16. Letter from C. E. Cory, June 31, 1932. Extract from *Expeditions of Zebulon M. Pike* (1895), v. 2, p. 396: “In about five miles we struck a beautiful hill, which bears south on the prairie; its elevation I suppose to be 100 feet. From its summit the view is sublime to the east and southeast. We waited on this hill to breakfast and had to send two miles for water. Killed a deer on the rise, which was soon roasting before the fire . . .” A footnote to this edition says, “Camp is in Bourbon county, somewhere in the vicinity of Xenia, Zenia, or Hay, a small place near a branch of the Little Osage.”

barn near the City Hotel at the north end of Massachusetts street. Mr. James C. Horton¹⁷ wrote concerning the event:

"I was there during the whole proceeding and went to one or two parties whom I thought might stop it, but to no avail. My recollection is that the jury did not find any evidence against him and so reported. His hanging was perhaps a natural outcome of the excited state of public feeling at that time, as Corlew was a Missourian and was said to have been acting with the proslavery men in 1856, but I think that many people in Lawrence regretted the occurrence and in ordinary, quiet times no such termination of a trial, even by a lynch court, would have been permitted."¹⁸

Since it is difficult to classify the massacres and murders of this period in a nonpartisan manner, most of them have been omitted from this list. The few which are given here as accepted lynchings are recorded as being caused by border warfare.

The guerrilla style of warfare of some of the authorized regiments on the border gave rise to groups of robbers and bushwhackers who carried on private enterprise under the anonymity employed by armies of both sides. The "Red Legs," organized by a group of men who did not wish to submit to the routine of the regular army, were employed in scouting, dispatch carrying and guiding and wore, as a distinguishing mark, leggings of red morocco. The desperadoes of the country soon learned to wear red leggings so that the blame for their depredations might be avoided. Owing to repeated complaints of this nature the organization was soon dissolved. Whenever possible distinction has been made between the legitimate forces of warfare and the thieves and bushwhackers operating under their name. Killing of disguised desperadoes has been considered lynching.

While extrajudicial punishment has been common in all countries and states, it has features which are sectional. This border warfare constituted a feature peculiar to Kansas and a few other states, since not every state was divided into factions with such intensive fighting within its borders. Because our states did not pass through the stages of their development at the same time, it is impossible to compare them by years. When Judge Lynch held court in California, in the stirring days of 1849, the eastern section of the country had passed through its formative period and was well organized.

But lynching was practically unheard of in New England at any

17. James Clark Horton was born at Ballston Spa, New York, May 15, 1837; came to Kansas and settled at Lawrence in March, 1857. He served in the house of representatives in 1874 and in the senate in 1875 and 1876. In 1878 he moved to Kansas City, where he died May 14, 1907.

18. James C. Horton, Kansas City, to Hon. George W. Martin, Kansas State Historical Society, May 22, 1905. Letter, in MSS. of Kansas State Historical Society.

time in its history, so far as its records show. The *Chicago Tribune* of April 6, 1931, makes this assertion: "States which have never had a recorded lynching include Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island and Vermont." The Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America limits it further: "There are only four—Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island and Vermont—where such an atrocity has not been recorded for any community in the commonwealth. In four others—Connecticut, Maine, New Jersey and Utah—there has been no recorded lynching since 1889." ¹⁹ Walter White, secretary of the National Association for Advancement of Colored People, also says: "Only four states of the Union have never been stained by a lynching—Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Hampshire and Vermont." ²⁰ Thus the escutcheon of two-thirds of New England, and New England only, is entirely clear. The *Lawrence Western Home Journal* of 1882 reprints a comment of the *Chicago Inter-Ocean* on an article on mob law written by Professor David Swing: "The slightest regard of crime throughout this country is alarming, and the professor's conclusion that in a few more years lynching will probably be the fashion in all the states west of New England rings like a prophecy." ²¹ Evidently, even in 1882, New England was considered immune from the epidemic.

Such a record must have a reason, and we find possible causes in several conditions. New England had few reasons for lynchings. Of the three main causes—murder, rape and robbery—two scarcely existed in New England as known in other sections. Rape by the negroes of the South and horse stealing in the West were two problems that New England did not have to deal with, so there remains only murder. The lives of the people in New England were plain and simple and ordered by rule and regulation. The settlements were close together, agriculture demanded only small farms and the people, recently come from a thickly-settled old country, desired contact with neighbors both for company and for protection. Many of the early settlements were made by well-organized companies under leaders and officers who, in many cases, supervised personal conduct to a minute detail. Few criminals escaped legal punishment. Justice was more surely pronounced and administered, and the people looked to the officials for punishment, having faith that

19. *Mob Murder in America* (1923), pamphlet, p. 5.

20. White, *Rope and Faggot* (1919), p. 230.

21. *Lawrence Western Home Journal*, May 25, 1882.

it would be forthcoming. Religion played its part, for the church was a strong influence in civil government, in making laws and in meting out punishment.

A large percentage of the New England settlers had come from England where lynchings occurred very seldom. At the time of a lynching in Leavenworth in 1902, this comparison was part of an editorial in the *Review of Reviews*: "But if the Leavenworth lynching had occurred in England, the ringleaders would certainly have been hanged and probably a hundred others put in prison for life, while the authorities who failed to take due precautions to guard their prisoner would not have escaped lightly." ²²

The attitude of England toward lynchings is again expressed by a letter signed "R. H.," written from England and published in the *Junction City Union* in 1867:

"In the most recent of the papers you have sent me, I have seen with pain the account of the application of lynch law to colored persons who were in prison. The only pleasant part of the matter is the shame and indignation that you and others in your state have for the violation of law. In our country, I am sorry to say, that any accounts of this kind from America are hailed with delight by a section of our people, as if they indicated essential feebleness and failure of republican institutions."²³

In the apprehension, prosecution, and punishment of criminals these early New Englanders found their chief source of diversion and amusement. They did not believe in lonely captivity but in public obloquy for criminals. The most exciting and stirring emotions in their lives came through these public exhibitions.²⁴ Sentences of whipping were usually to be carried out "on the next lecture day" when the crowd gathered. Such an attitude produced the stocks, pillories, whipping posts and ducking stools. The quick, effective lynching provided none of the exhibition of punishment as this section of the country wanted it.

The Southern states, of course, bear the unenviable record for lynchings, in the past and present alike, due to racial conflict. After the abolition of slavery it became an unwritten law in the South to punish by mob rule negroes charged with rape or assault or with the murder of a white person, and the custom is hard to forget. The study of lynchings in the United States to-day is chiefly concerned with the Southern states.

22. *Review of Reviews*, v. 23 (March, 1901), p. 263.

23. "R. H." letter headed Wigan, England, July 22, 1867, published in *Junction City Union*, August 17, 1867. R. H. is probably Richard J. Hinton, a free-state pioneer of Kansas and friend of John Brown. According to a biography by W. E. Connelley, in *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 7, p. 491, "some years after the close of the war he went on extensive travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa . . . commissioner of emigration in Europe, 1867."

24. Earle, *Stage Coach and Tavern Days* (1900), p. 214.

Aside from the South, it was in the West that lynchings flourished, and Kansas was of the early West. This West had a reputation for lawlessness that was, at least in part, deserved. This was partly because of the social conditions which prevailed during the period of development, and partly because many of the laws were not made for the existing geographical conditions and were unsuitable for them.

The nature of the country made settlements few and far between. In the early period the restraint of law could not make itself felt in the rarefied population. Territory extended faster than did effective government organization for the punishment of offenders, and men learned to mete it out themselves. Each man had to make his own law because there was no other to make it. It was but a step to individual enforcement of laws and punishment of offenders. The population had a high percentage of criminals who had fled from justice in other sections. Two lynched in Kansas for horse stealing were identified as sons of an ex-governor of Illinois, according to a Kansas City newspaper of 1910.²⁵

Perhaps the fact that human life was not considered very valuable made it hard to convict a man for murder, while at the same time it made the taking of life in punishment more casual. Men went armed and moved over vast areas with other armed men, and among them the six-shooter was the final decision in an argument. While the tales of "shootin' Dodge" and the rip-roaring cowboys who fired on any provocation doubtless exaggerate the number of men who lie on various Boot Hills, there can be no question that the continuous dangerous existence developed callousness to the taking of life. Under such conditions homicide did not entail the stigma that more thickly settled regions associated with it. Men were equal and each was his own defender. His survival imposed upon him certain obligations which, if he were a man, he would accept. Murder was too harsh a word for the final settling of an argument by gun play, but lynching was not too severe for offenders against the code of laws the men of the West respected.

Added to the lawlessness of the criminal code which grew out of the social conditions in the early days was a general disregard for civil laws which were wholly inapplicable and unsuited to the West. Congress passed laws which the settlers could not enforce in the prairie country, such as the water law, prohibiting all diversion of

25. Clipping, marked only "Kansas City, Oct. 1910," in "Sumner County Clippings" (compiled by Kansas State Historical Society), v. 1, p. 287.

water from a stream, making irrigation impossible; and the timber act, granting land free on condition that the grantee grow forests on it. When men could not abide by a civil law they came to lose respect for it, and this disrespect influenced their attitude toward other restraining factors, such as criminal and social laws.

The West was turbulent in the early days because there was no law. It was lawless in the later period because the laws were unsuited to the needs and conditions of the country.²⁶

The following study of the records of lynchings in Kansas from 1856 to 1932 reveals some interesting facts concerning prevalence and causes. These figures as here tabulated show the greatest number in 1860-1870, the period of the opening and early development of the state. In the decade of 1850 much of Kansas was still unsettled country, and in the fringe of settlements on the eastern border was a pioneer life of which we have now only a few contemporary records. In proportion to the population there was probably as much summary punishment of criminals as in later periods. The decade of 1860 saw the beginning of statehood with its civil laws and increased population. Emigrants from the north and south brought the Civil War, which produced the border warfare responsible for much of the lawlessness. More newspapers were printed and saved to give us a record of the time. From 1870 there was a steady decline in the number of lynchings for each ten-year period until 1900, when it remains at one for each decade after that, if we may suppose that the allotted lynching for 1930-1940 has already been produced in 1932. The number was still large in 1870, and would probably be larger if all of the records had been preserved, for that was the period of the cattleman in Kansas, and horses and cattle were favorite plunder for thieves and desperadoes. This was also the period in which men were hanged, but not always lynched, by the vigilantes, as will be discussed later. The gradual decline was due to a change in social conditions and the incoming civilization.

<i>Decade starting</i>	<i>1850</i>	<i>1860</i>	<i>1870</i>	<i>1880</i>	<i>1890</i>	<i>1900</i>	<i>1910</i>	<i>1920</i>	<i>1930</i>	<i>Total</i>
Horse stealing	13	54	26	....	....	....	....	....	....	93
Cattle stealing	1	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	2
Murder	2	23	13	21	14	3	1	....	....	77
Rape .....	....	7	....	3	2	1	....	1	1	15
Robbery	2	7	....	4	....	....	....	....	....	13
Border warfare .....	....	2	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	2
Misc. & unknown	1	2	....	1	....	....	....	....	....	4
Total	19	96	39	29	16	4	1	1	1	206

26. Webb, *Great Plains* (1931), pp. 498-500.

As we see, the crime in the West and in Kansas which most often brought lynching as a swift retribution was horse stealing. What the negro problem was to the South as a cause for lynching, horse stealing was to the West. One almost receives the impression that it was the principal industry of some communities. Probably it was a southern sympathizer who said that if the pedigrees of the horses on the eastern line could be given, most of them would say "out of Missouri by Jennison." Concerning Johnson county it was written: "In the line of farmers bordering on Indian creek it was estimated that no less than sixty horses, besides many head of cattle, were stolen one summer, and the proportion was nearly the same throughout the county."²⁷ An account of the breaking up of horse thieves in eastern Kansas says: "The line of operations extended from Kansas City to Omaha and perhaps beyond, with the stations in between for concealing horses."²⁸ Organizations were formed for protection, such as the Wild Cat Horse Guards, organized April 21, 1877, in Nemaha county. The members were owners of horses and mules, who had their animals appraised and enrolled, and if stolen received two-thirds of the appraised value from the company.

The National Anti-Horse-Thief Association, organized in Missouri in 1854, had more need of activity in Kansas than any other state. In 1911 over half of its 40,000 membership was in Kansas, the other half being divided among seven other states. At least three Kansans have been national presidents, and the *News*, a paper authorized by the Kansas division in 1901 and published at St. Paul, by W. W. Graves, was made the organ of the national society in 1902.

The situation occupied even the attention of the executive office, and in 1863 this message was issued by Gov. Thomas Carney:

"State of Kansas, Exec. Dept.,
"Topeka, July 29, 1863.

"The condition of Kansas, in one respect, is to be deplored. I mean the prevalence of robberies, and the too great disregard of law. This condition results, as I believe, not from any want of power to enforce the civil law, but from a want of what I may term central sources of information and [from] disconcerted action.

". . . The stealing of horses and other stock, though not so universally prevalent as formerly, is, I regret to say, still common in nearly all parts of

27. Heisler & Smith, *Johnson County Atlas* (1874), p. 20.

28. *Junction City Union*, August 15, 1868.

the state; and what is more unfortunate, the difficulty of detecting the robberies and arresting or subjecting the thieves to punishment is equally common.

"This may be accounted for, in part, by the fact that, in sparsely settled communities, horse thieves may perpetrate what would seem the most daring acts and enjoy comparative immunity from punishment, because they have *concert* among themselves, while the losers and local authorities have no such concert. . . .

"Every county has its sheriff. Suppose it were made the duty of such sheriff to furnish detailed information of the robbery so made (that is, of horses, their size, color, etc., and so of cattle and other property) to the sheriffs and local authorities of the central points, by the most speedy means of conveyance, mail or otherwise. . . . A concert of action like this on the part of the sheriffs of the different counties, aided by those who suffer, would go far, in my judgment, towards correcting the evil under which Kansas now suffers. . . .

"Were the legislature in session I should most earnestly recommend to that body the passage of a law making it the duty of the sheriffs of the different counties to furnish such information, with a suitable reward for such service. The effect of this would be to secure what we now so much need—*concert of action against thieves and robbers*. As it is, I would earnestly urge the sheriffs and the people of the several counties to adopt and enforce this policy as alike essential to private interests and the public good.

—"THOMAS CARNEY." 29

That there was an effort made to punish theft of live stock by legal proceedings is shown in the first territorial statutes of 1855: "Persons convicted of grand larceny shall be punished in the following cases, as follows: *First*, for stealing a horse, mare, gelding, colt, filly, mule or ass, by confinement and hard labor, not exceeding seven years."³⁰ This was enacted again as a part of the criminal code by the session of 1859.³¹ In 1870 this law was rewritten to include "neat cattle," an indication of the growth of the cattle industry on the plains.³² An amendment in 1920 shoved horses to second place and introduced a new clause in first place providing for "the stealing of any automobile, not less than five years and not more than fifteen years,"³³ indicating that the horse was no longer supreme.

While some horse thieves were brought to justice, many were not treated so kindly. For a horse thief there were seldom any extenuating circumstances and little time for explanation or prayer. Perhaps there were more attempts to steal a man's horse than there

29. *Kansas State Journal*, Lawrence, July 30, 1863.

30. *General Statutes*, Kansas, 1855, ch. 49, sec. 31.

31. *Laws*, Kansas, 1859, ch. 28, sec. 73.

32. *Laws*, Kansas, 1870, ch. 62, sec. 1.

33. *Laws*, Kansas, 1920, ch. 38, sec. 2.

were to steal his property or his life, for the cowboy and the pioneer valued their horses as they did their lives. Often, indeed, a man's horse meant his life. To the settler the horse was communication, transportation, and escape from danger, as well as his means of livelihood. When the horse and man first became associated together in Europe years ago there arose two traditions of horsemanship or horse culture—the one, that of a settled people with whom horses were but one of the incidents of life; and the other, the tradition of the nomadic people to whom horses were vital. Both traditions found their way to America and each its appropriate environment. The “civilized” culture came through Europe to England and found lodgment in the English colonies of the Atlantic coast; the nomadic horse culture came from the Asiatic steppes to Arabia, across northern Africa to Spain, and with the Spaniards to the pampas of South America and up to the plains of the United States.³⁴

Kansas, though settled in great part by people from New England, was so influenced by her location in the great plains that her use of the horse was of the second class. In the pioneer days settlements were few and distances between them were great. The telephone was not invented until 1876, wireless telegraphy and the radio were undreamed of; the horse was the primary means of communication and as such was glorified in the dashing Pony Express. Transportation was by horseback or by open or covered wagons drawn by horses. While automobiles have now replaced the horse to a great extent in all phases of work and pleasure and even pushed it from first place in the laws, no thief yet is recorded as being lynched for stealing the family Ford, or even the Rolls Royce, although in 1915 the Anti-Horse-Thief Association extended its protection to owners of automobiles as well as of horses.

On April 28, 1860, the first railroad touched Kansas soil³⁵ at Elwood, but not for many years could it take the place of the horse in transportation over the whole state. For both short and long distances, work and pleasure, the horse was supreme. In addition to being communication and transportation the horse also meant protection. The plains Indians were mounted, and to combat them the pioneer must be as well mounted. It is interesting that these were the only mounted Indians in the whole history of the moving American frontier, whether English or Spanish. The records of the woodland region do not reveal that the Indians who fired the cabins and

34. Webb, *Great American Plains* (1931), p. 56.

35. Elwood and Marysville railroad.

scalped the settlers were horse Indians. In the forest region the Indian went on foot, protected by the forests and the thick underbrush. In the West the open country and the horse gave the Indian the ability to strike suddenly and get away quickly, and either to follow and fight, or to flee, the settler must needs be mounted also. Thus was brought into being a new method of warfare known as "Indian fighting."³⁶

The horse was more important as a means of livelihood in Kansas than it was in the East. The great extent of level surface, the treeless land, and the subhumid climate changed the agriculture of small farms of the East to large stock-grazing and extensive wheat ranches of the West, and for these industries the horse was indispensable. Wheat was cultivated by horses, not by tractor. Cattle drives, round-ups, and herding—all parts of the cattle business to which horses were as essential as cattle—are well-known and popular subjects of fact and fiction to-day. A cowboy's pride, and often his wealth, was centered in his horse, and the attachment between the two was great. Considering the value of the horse to the early settler it is not surprising that men flared to anger quicker and dealt punishment more unhesitatingly and harshly to a thief of horses than to a thief of life or property.

Horses and cattle were the property of which the westerner could most easily be robbed. It is rather curious that the number of lynchings for cattle stealing is so small, for we know that cattle rustlers were a menace in the West. Only four lynchings for such robbery are recorded in this list, and two of those were men hanged in 1866 for cattle stealing and murder combined.³⁷ In April, 1863, thirty-four cattle were stolen in Butler county and driven 150 miles to Lawrence. Even the Indians hired to track them lost the trail at various places. When caught, the thief was put in jail.³⁸ Yet a man might be lynched for stealing only one horse. A cow thief was not nearly so bad in public estimation, for where a horse was life itself to the plainsman, a cow was merely property. And in cattle ownership the code of the West made a strange distinction between a cow and a maverick which the East could never understand. A branded cow was the private property of the man whose brand it bore; a maverick was public property and belonged to the man who could brand it first. The fact that

36. Webb, *Great American Plains* (1931), p. 58.

37. Joe and Sam Tippe, cattle robbery of Ralph Warner and murder of John L. Shannon, on April 29, 1866.

38. *Kansas State Journal*, Lawrence, April 23, 1863.

the maverick was the calf of the branded cow did not affect the situation very much, especially in the early days. There were few cattlemen who did not brand mavericks, but no cattleman considered himself a thief for having done so. Perhaps the distinction also made it hard to determine and prove a man a cattle thief.³⁹

Nevertheless, many organized bands of cattle thieves were punished, and many were instances in which the hanging was not considered a lynching. When rustling of both cattle and horses began seriously to threaten the profits of the cattle business, and when men discovered that the law was unable to cope with the situation, the vigilantes of the range appeared. These were bands of citizens organized to prevent the commission of crime, or to deal summary punishment in instances where the civil and lawfully constituted authorities seemed powerless to enforce the law. These alert, swift-riding posses gave a first offender a sharp warning to quit the country; on the second offense they hanged him to the nearest tree or shot him down if he pulled his gun.

These vigilance committees were bold with their punishment, and even issued warnings of their intentions in the newspapers: "Hunters may fire the grass on the Cherokee Strip, on the Kansas line, if they choose, but the cattlemen intend to hang all who do so."⁴⁰ During the Butler county war, which was a specific drive against horse thieves in Butler county, in 1870, the writer of a Butler county history recollects that an article appeared in the *Walnut Valley Times*, El Dorado, stating that: ". . . the horse thieves then infesting that country, and their friends, must go. That they had killed four on November 4th, and four on December 4th, and that they proposed to kill four on the 4th of every month thereafter until all were gone, and that any attempt to prosecute them therefor, meant death."⁴¹ This was signed, "798 Vigilantes."

These protective associations of cattlemen and of other groups were not authorized by the statute books, but so dependent were the citizens upon them that many death punishments they inflicted were hardly considered lynchings and so often escaped the records as such.

The vigilantes of 1860 have their present-day parallel in the county vigilance committees maintained primarily for bank robbery. They spring from the same causes as those of old—the inadequacy of the protective law and officers. The sheriff's authority is limited

39. Webb, *Great American Plains* (1931), p. 498.

40. *Breeder's Gazette*, Chicago, December 22, 1881, p. 82.

41. V. P. Mooney, *History of Butler County* (1916), p. 258.

to his own county; his facilities of men, money and time are often inadequate, and he has had to call upon private citizens to aid him in detection, pursuit and capture of criminals. Out of this situation has grown the vigilance committees of the present, which were planned at a meeting of fourteen state bank associations of the central states, including Kansas. They are organized and managed locally according to varied local conditions, but sponsored by the protective department of the Kansas State Bankers Association according to one central plan. In Kansas the number has grown from one in 1925 to ninety-five in 1932. They existed at one time in 103 of the 105 counties, with a total state membership of 3,900. Each consists of from fifteen to one hundred men, with an average of thirty in a county and are selected by the sheriff and bank officials and appointed by the sheriff for his term of office. The expenses, arms, ammunition, training and operation are financed by the banks; the men receive no salary. They are issued commissions as special deputy sheriffs. While the law recognizes only one kind of deputy sheriff and these are given the regular commission, they have an oral agreement that they are to act only in case of a major crime and are considered "special" deputies. They have the full authority of any deputy under the law. In pursuing a criminal the sheriff shoots only as a last resort and then at his own discretion and on his own responsibility. These special deputies have the same responsibility in bringing in a prisoner. They are bonded to the extent of \$7,500 against damages ordered by a court incurred in pursuit of their duty.

Any killing of a criminal by these committees could not be considered lynching. They differ from their earlier counterpart in two ways: they are entirely legal and nonsecretive. Although they are committees of citizens banded together for protection, as were the others, their legal authority and sanction come in the clause which permits a sheriff to commission deputies to aid him. While the status of the old vigilantes might vary, some being more legally organized than others, the status of these is the same over the state, since they are under one central plan. The former were often secret organizations; the latter are not, desiring all the publicity possible. They hold annual shoots in September at Fort Riley when they meet for practice and discussion. They are the old vigilantes with the veneer of legality necessitated by the advance of civilization.⁴²

42. Information supplied by W. W. Bowman, president, Kansas State Bankers Association, and Neill Rahn, formerly chief of the protective division and head of the state vigilance organization.

When conditions of the country eliminated horse stealing, as it did very definitely about 1877, murder was left as the main cause for lynching, and it holds first place continuously thereafter. Throughout the time from 1877 on, murder has produced over twice as many lynchings as other causes combined. Several cases which have been listed here under murder also include other crimes. Many cases have been accompanied by robbery, rape or torture, and the combination particularly incensed the people. They have been classed here with murder, as being the most hideous of the crimes.

Rape, which holds third place in Kansas as a cause for lynching, brings in the race problem, as here the ratio of negroes to whites is four to one. Again we find the number highest in the period of 1860, with only one less in the 1870's. In 1860-1870 five negroes and one white man were lynched for rape; in 1870-1880 one negro and five whites, the latter committing robbery and attempting murder. The seven men from 1880-1930 lynched for rape have been negroes, but in 1932 the victim again was a white man.

Of the entire number of lynchings only thirty-eight have been of negroes, with the ratio increasing in the later years. In the early days, when horse stealing caused most of the punishment, the negro population was not very great, and those who were here owned or could own very little property. The negro exodus from the South into Kansas from 1878 to 1882 increased the percentage in population, and their recognition as citizens established also their right to break the criminal and civil laws. In 1899 a negro mob lynched one of their own race for murder, when Charles Williams, a negro, was lynched by his people in Galena, April 27, 1899. The records also include a Mexican and an Indian. But the negroes form such a small percentage of the total lynched, a ratio of one negro to four and one-half whites, that the race problem cannot be considered an especially important factor in the state.

The statistics for the United States show that women have been lynched, but none has been found for Kansas. The *White Pine Cone* of Colorado, for January 25, 1884, contained this item: "Not many years ago a man and woman were arrested for murder in Lawrence and hanged from the Kansas river bridge. The woman showed more courage and shoved the man off and then jumped herself." No more information about this was found, and "not many years ago" was considered too indefinite for inclusion here, so Kansas as yet has no recorded lynching of women to her discredit.

Robbery holds fourth place, and there are comparatively few

cases where a man was lynched for robbery alone. Many of the cases have been accompanied by attempted murder, attempted rape, or torture, or were the culmination of a series of crimes which incited the wrath of the community. The most recent lynching for robbery occurred in 1884, when four men were killed following a bank robbery in Medicine Lodge. In addition to this crime these men had the reputations and records of desperadoes, although one—Henry Brown—after a career with Billy the Kid, was marshal at Caldwell, and another—Ben Wheeler—was his assistant.

One of the most prevalent crimes of to-day has as yet caused no lynchings. It is due more to our changing ideas of punishment and advance in civilization that we have not lynched bank robbers than it is to any scarcity of them. In numbers they seem to have taken the place of the horse thieves of the 1860's; and as has been stated, these are the two major crimes which have necessitated vigilance committees. The vigilantes disbanded after the cattle days were over and were remembered only in legend and fiction until called into being recently for this other crime which promises to become as serious as horse stealing was. While bank robbery is so extensive, we have not yet dealt with the bandits by lynching, so as a source of crime it does not appear in this list.

These four are practically the only causes which have evoked lynchings in Kansas. Two deaths during the Civil War times have been recorded here as lynchings and attributed to border warfare. Three have had to be listed with reason unknown. The only available account of the lynchings of two negroes in Wyandotte in 1866 gave no reason but simply stated that they were taken "from the calaboose and shot."⁴³

Doubtlessly, men were sometimes hanged when their guilt was not clearly established—one of the greatest dangers of, and arguments against, lynching. Mob action is usually inspired by emotional frenzy rather than calm reason and does not stop to weigh the evidence. A negro shot a Mr. Cox in Atchison in 1870, and a mob headed by Mike Clare hanged him. "Cox recovered and some believe the shooting was accidental. Clare left town and never came back."⁴⁴

There are also cases in which foul play has been disguised by the appearance of a lynching. Thomas Reynolds was found hanged in Geary county in August, 1868, with this note pinned to his cloth-

43. Andreas, *History of Kansas* (1883), p. 1232.

44. *Atchison Daily Globe*, July 11, 1929.

ing, "Beware, horse thieves, we know you now." He was not considered a suspicious character by his community and at the time of his death was known to have had money with him, so it was thought possible that he was robbed and murdered.⁴⁵ In December, 1885, in Caldwell, Sumner county, Frank Noyes, white, was found hanged, with a note in his pocket which accused him of house burning. It was known that he had several hundred dollars and public opinion was that he had been robbed and hanged as a blind. The jury gave a verdict of "hanged by unknown parties."⁴⁶

But in most instances there was no doubt that the right person was hanged, and in two cases the lynched man's victim even came to life to accuse him. Teahan shot Conklin while both were riding from Wyandotte to Kansas City, Mo. "Conklin put spurs to his horse and reached Kansas City without further harm and was cared for at the Gilliss Hotel." He returned to accuse Teahan, who was hanged.⁴⁷ In Leavenworth, in 1857, "Baize and Squarles slugged him (Stephens), robbed him and then threw him into the river for dead, but he came to, swam ashore, reported the incident to the police and had the men arrested, so there was no doubt as to their guilt."⁴⁸ The narrator of this lynching continues: "A funny little incident happened in connection with this affair. An Irishman was put in jail for getting drunk, and when the mob gathered and broke into the jail the Irishman became frightened and began to cry out, 'Faith, men! I am not the mon!' and kept on repeating it. Judge Samuel D. Lecompte made a speech trying to disperse the mob, but to no avail."⁴⁹

There have been a few instances where a criminal was strung up to be hanged and then released, though usually a determined and infuriated mob brooked no interference. In Lyon county a crowd met the sheriff at Rock Creek and took from him his German prisoner charged with murder of an Irishman. They were hanging him when the limb of the tree broke, letting him fall to the ground. The sheriff plead his case so well that the mob released the prisoner and the sheriff continued with him on his way to jail.⁵⁰

What did the people of the state as a whole think of the practice of lynching? If we may believe the newspapers as reflecting the at-

45. *Junction City Union*, August 29, 1863.

46. Freeman, *Incidental History of Southern Kansas and the Indian Territory* (1892), p. 384.

47. *Wyandotte Gazette*, December 23, 1865.

48. Frank M. Gable, *Leavenworth Times*, February 9, 1919.

49. *Ibid.*

50. *Kansas State Journal*, Lawrence, May 15, 1862.

titude of the people we receive the impression that, while they deplored lynching as an evil, they considered it a necessary evil. One of the earliest contemporary accounts is the article concerning Squarles and Baize in which the *Elwood Advertiser* says: "Though summary justice was meted out to the wretches, yet public opinion sanctions it as a necessity, and will effectually strike terror into the hearts of the many similar gangs who infest that city."⁵¹ In 1865 the *Wyandotte Gazette* parries the responsibility: "It is only when the laws of the land utterly fail to protect life and property that the people can be justified in taking the punishment of criminals into their own hands. Whether that time has arrived in Wyandotte is a question the people must decide for themselves."⁵²

"We have no censure to make in this particular case, but trust nothing of the like will become common."⁵³

"We deplore mob law under all circumstances, but if there ever was a case that was justifiable this is one of them."⁵⁴

"While the mob spirit, therefore, is to be condemned in unstinted terms, the lesson which its prevalence prevails is that the laws on our statute books must be more rigorously, more certainly, more severely executed."⁵⁵

We find such statements in the early years. They condemn the method, but hope for some good as a result.

How different is the comment of the *Olathe Mirror* in 1916. "Johnson county and Olathe feels its shame. It will take decades and decades—maybe never—to erase the blot put upon us by the exhibition of mob violence . . . Johnson county sorrows to-day and will for years to come over the shadow cast on her fair name."⁵⁶

In 1920 the *Mulberry News* is not quite so penitent. "The majority of the people of Mulberry do not approve of what happened here Monday. . . . Yes, it is regrettable . . . but surely it was justifiable."⁵⁷

In 1932 we have this attitude: "While the offense committed was a most dastardly crime, mob lynching cannot be countenanced, and every effort will be made to discover and prosecute the members of the mob. For a mob to take the punishment out of the hands

51. *Elwood Advertiser*, August 5, 1857.

52. *Wyandotte Gazette*, December 23, 1865.

53. *Seneca Mirror*, April 6, 1877.

54. *Lawrence Western Home Journal*, June 15, 1882.

55. *Wellingtonian*, Wellington, September 18, 1884.

56. *Olathe Mirror*, September 28, 1916.

57. *Mulberry News*, April 23, 1920.

of the constituted authorities results in a breakdown of government, and it cannot and will not be permitted to go unpunished in Kansas." ⁵⁸

In these statements is shown the changing attitude of the people. The social conditions which produced lynchings produced also a tolerance for them, and both vanished together. The extension of civil authority into the territory provided punishment of criminals, and its enforcement gave the people confidence to rely upon it. We like to think, also, that an advancing civilization yielded some influence against the practice. To a state which does not sanction capital punishment, death penalty by an extrajudicial method should be especially abhorrent. That which should not be done by legal action of a jury is worse when due to the frenzy of a mob.

Often there was at least a coroner's verdict, if not a jury's verdict, though some, we may believe, had not the formality of either. Usually the coroner reported that the victim "came to his death at the hands of unknown parties." One even went so far as to say, with what could hardly have been unconscious humor, "came to his death by strangulation, through his own exertions and assistance of parties unknown."⁵⁹ The coroner gave a verdict of suicide for the death of Newton Walters, in Columbus, in 1895, but he was thought to have been lynched for murder.⁶⁰ In 1866, in Nemaha county, one horse thief was shot while attempting to escape, and another was caught and hanged. The newspapers reported "both lost their lives by accident."⁶¹ Quite often there was no action against the crowd. The community, if not actually approving of individuals who took retribution into their own hands, at least declined to interfere.

When there was disapproval against the action, punishment of the mob usually went no farther than the verdict of the coroner or the jury. Rarely was there conviction or punishment of persons who participated in lynchings, owing largely to the sympathy of the jurors for their action. The vigilance committees, who concealed neither their actions nor their membership, acted with the backing of public opinion if not legal sanction. The members of a mob were seldom known or admitted, and no one wanted to know. Quite often the majority of the people of a community participated.

58. Atwood *Citizen-Patriot*, April 29, 1932.

59. Ellsworth *Reporter*, January 5, 1882.

60. Topeka *Capital*, April 4, 1895.

61. Atchison *Free Press*, March 24, 1866.

In the lynching of Bob Scrugg for murder, at Oak Mills in 1877, the "justice of the peace was one of the posse."⁶² At the lynching of a gang of five who attempted robbery, murder and rape in Ladore, 1870, it was said that "three hundred of the best citizens participated."⁶³

It is not surprising that citizens seemed to find immediate lynching more effective than court trial. Of four of the Netawaka gang of horse thieves operating in Nemaha county in 1877, the *Seneca Courier* says: "Manley was hung; Rourke plead guilty; Brown ran away, and Harl stood trial and is cleared."⁶⁴ Harl was tried in Atchison and acquitted. "The verdict seemed to give universal satisfaction and it is the general opinion that certainly the citizens of Nemaha county can have no reasons to find any fault with the verdict of the jury or the decision of the court."⁶⁵ But the citizens of Nemaha county did seem to find fault with the verdict. On March 29, the same paper remarked: "Since Harl was cleared we are ready to believe anything in the O'Brien horse-stealing case."⁶⁶ And on May 17: ". . . the horse-stealing case went wrong-end to."⁶⁷

"Within the last eight years there have been something like twenty murders committed in this county, and in no case has the guilty party been punished by due process of law."⁶⁸ This editorial concerning Wyandotte county in 1866 does not indicate confidence in punishment by court procedure.

Lack of respect for the courts and the juries is not even thinly disguised by the Junction City *Union* in 1868, in reporting the investigation of the lynching of Thomas Reynolds, which was reported at first in only a six-inch space. There was some indication of foul play in his lynching, and the coroner's jury dragged through several months.

"One man arrested for lynching Reynolds dismissed without provocation."⁶⁹ "Coroner's jury met last Monday to inquire into the death of Reynolds who, it appears, died some time in the history of Davis county. We understand it adjourned to meet again. We would suggest to the commissioners that they employ this outfit by the year."⁷⁰ "The inquisition met last Thursday.

62. Atchison *Daily Globe*, August 21, 1917.

63. Andreas, *History of Kansas* (1883), p. 826.

64. *Seneca Courier*, May 17, 1878.

65. Atchison *Patriot*, quoted in *Seneca Courier*, March 15, 1878.

66. *Seneca Courier*, March 29, 1878.

67. *Ibid.*, May 17, 1878.

68. Wyandotte *Commercial Gazette*, April 21, 1866.

69. Junction City *Union*, September 19, 1868.

70. *Ibid.*, October 3, 1868.

We could not find out what they done [sic] but learn they made no verdict. We would suggest that these owls (we allude to their wisdom) be employed to find out what became of our Democrat party . . ." ⁷¹ "The long agony is over. The mountain labored and brought forth a small sized rat. We publish below the verdict of the coroner's jury in case of Thomas Reynolds, deceased. The coroner's bill of costs came before the county commissioners on Thursday. It charges for seventeen days of actual service. A stupendous bundle of manuscript accompanied the verdict. This was the testimony and as it was taken in secret a great curiosity was evinced to see it. Portions of it are rich and entirely street gossip in its character. The question which bothered the commissioners was whether the bills should be paid, or how much of them. The final decision of the jury was that he was found suspended to the limb of a tree by part of his bridle rein, by some person or persons unknown to the jury." ⁷²

One would not believe that the Junction City *Union* had much respect for the coroner's jury.

Growing public sentiment against lynching was evidenced by acts of the legislature of 1903. Before this time there had been no legislation concerning lynching. Prompted, perhaps, by the lynching in Leavenworth in 1901 and by one in Pittsburg in 1902, the legislature of 1903 passed the following laws, as measures to prevent further occurrences:

"MOB AND LYNCHING DEFINED: AIDING OR ABETTING LYNCHING. That any collection of individuals assembled for an unlawful purpose, intending to injure any person by violence, and without authority of law, shall for the purpose of this act be regarded as a mob, and any act of violence exercised by such mob upon the body of any person shall constitute the crime of lynching, when such act or acts of violence result in death; and any person who participates in or aids or abets such lynching, upon conviction thereof shall be imprisoned in the state prison for not more than five years or during life, in the discretion of the jury.

"ACCESSORIES AFTER THE FACT IN LYNCHING. Every person who shall, after the commission of the crime of lynching, harbor, conceal or assist any member of such mob who participates in or who aids or abets such crime, with the intent that he shall escape detention, arrest, capture, or punishment, shall be deemed to be and shall be an accessory after the fact, and may be charged, tried and convicted and punished though such member be neither charged, tried nor convicted, and upon conviction thereof shall be imprisoned in the state prison not more than twenty-one years nor less than two years.

"PROSECUTION OF LYNCHING OFFENDERS. Any person accused of the crime of lynching or as an accessory after the fact may be prosecuted in the courts of this state by information filed and signed by the prosecuting attorney or attorney-general, based upon the affidavit of some competent and reputable person.

71. *Ibid.*, November 7, 1868.

72. *Ibid.*, January 9, 1869.

"JURISDICTION OF COURTS IN LYNCHING CASES. In case any persons shall come together in any county in this state for the purpose of proceeding to another county of the state with the view of lynching any person, or in any case any person or persons shall purchase or procure any rope, weapon, or other instrument in one county for the purpose of being used in lynching any person in another county, such crime of lynching, if committed, shall be and constitute a continuous offense from the time of its original inception as aforesaid; and the courts of any county in which such overt act has been committed shall have jurisdiction over the person of any member of the mob committing such overt act, and such person may be prosecuted in such county and punished for murder the same as if the lynching had occurred therein.

"LIABILITY OF SHERIFF WHEN PRISONER TAKEN AND LYNCHED. If any person shall be taken from the hands of a sheriff or his deputy having such person in custody and shall be lynched, it shall be evidence of failure on the part of such sheriff to do his duty, and his office shall thereby and thereat immediately be vacated, and the coroner shall immediately succeed to and perform the duties of sheriff until the successor of such sheriff shall have been duly appointed, pursuant to existing law providing for the filling of vacancies in such office, and such sheriff shall not thereafter be eligible to either election or reappointment to the office of sheriff: *Provided, however,* That such former sheriff may, within ten days after such lynching occurs, file with the governor his petition for reinstatement to the office of sheriff, and shall give ten days' notice of the filing of such petition to the prosecuting attorney of the county in which such lynching occurred and also to the attorney-general. If the governor, upon hearing the evidence and argument, if any, presented, shall find that such sheriff used reasonable effort to protect the life of such prisoner and performed the duties required of him by existing laws respecting the protection of prisoners, then such governor shall reinstate such sheriff in his office and shall issue to him a certificate of reinstatement, the same to be effective on the day of such order of reinstatement, and the decision of such governor shall be final."⁷³

Other sections of this article provide for assistance of the sheriff by bystanders; the removal of the prisoner to state prison or reformatory; and the aid of the militia.

Since the legislature seemed to realize that the sheriff and his deputies usually were powerless before a mob, it made the second clause of section 1007 a loophole providing for his reinstatement by the governor, if justified after an examination, and in the lynchings which have occurred since then the sheriff has been returned to office immediately. In a case in 1916 "friends got busy in his behalf and after four days had elapsed he was reinstated."⁷⁴ In 1932 he "filed his petition and after a secret court behind closed doors the governor reinstated him."⁷⁵

Several states have enacted laws designed to suppress lynchings.

73. *Revised Statutes*, Kansas, 1923, ch. 21, art. 10, secs. 1003-1007.

74. *Olathe Mirror*, September 28, 1916.

75. *Atwood Citizen-Patriot*, April 21, 1932.

In Kentucky "the penalty for lynching shall be confinement or life imprisonment. The penalty for attempted lynching shall be confinement in the penitentiary for not less than two years nor more than twenty-one years." It also provides for the removal of a culpable officer, as do Indiana and Florida. North Carolina permits the judge of the court issuing the indictment to transfer trial of the case to another court without preliminary appearance of the defendant before him, which allows the accused to be taken into another court for safe-keeping and to be tried there without danger of being mobbed. Minnesota and Ohio have drastic penalties for lynchers and to prevent lynchings. West Virginia and South Carolina give representatives of the person put to death the right to sue in the courts for damages against the county in which the lynching took place, the maximum amount in West Virginia being \$5,000.

As administration of the criminal law is in the hands of the several states the federal government cannot deal with the participants of a lynching unless it occurs on government reservations. Efforts to secure enactment of federal legislation upon the subject resulted in the passage by the house of representatives on January 26, 1922, by a vote of 230 to 119, a bill that was known as the Dyer antilynching bill, introduced by the republican representative, Leonidas Carstarphen Dyer, from Missouri. This provided that culpable state officers and members of lynching mobs should be tried in federal courts upon the failure of state courts to act, with sentences of fines or imprisonment; it forbade and penalized any interference with an officer protecting a prisoner from lynching; it penalized an official who failed to do his duty in preventing a lynching; and it penalized a county or counties which failed to use all reasonable effort to protect citizens against mob violence, to the extent of \$10,000 recoverable in a federal court. There was much dissension over the constitutionality of the bill, on the point of usurpation of state rights by the federal government, but the supreme court was never called upon to decide. A debate before the committee on the judiciary, house of representatives, gave both arguments:

"There can be no question that the denial to persons of a class of the equal protection of the laws by officers of or under the state, charged with their equal enforcement, is the act of the state, and that the failure of the state through its officers to give the equal protection of its laws to a class must justify the intervention of the United States under the fourteenth amendment to carry out its guaranty of equal protection. . . . We hold it to be incontrovertible principle that the government of the United States may by

means of physical force, exercised through its official agents, execute on every foot of American soil the powers and functions that belong to it."

The minority report set forth the unconstitutionality of the law:

"This proposed intervention of the federal government directed against local power, supplanting and superseding the sovereignty of the states, would tend to destroy that sense of local responsibility for the protection of person and property and the administration of justice, from which sense of local responsibility alone protection and governmental efficiency can be secured among free peoples. . . . As a precedent, this bill, establishing the principles which it embodies and the congressional powers which it assumes to obtain, would strip the states of every element of sovereign power, control, and final responsibility for the personal and property protection of its citizens, and would all but complete the reduction of the states to a condition of governmental vassalage awaiting only the full exercise of the congressional powers established." ⁷⁶

Thus the growing attitude against lynching in Kansas was part of the trend over the whole country. While the newspapers revealed it in their editorial opinions, they also reflected it in their treatment and presentation in the news columns. In the territorial days and even in 1870 a lynching might be told in four or five inches on the back page of the paper. When Johnson and Craig were lynched in Ellsworth in 1867, the nearest newspaper, the *Junction City Union*, in Davis (Geary) county, told the story in five lines.⁷⁷ The same paper in 1868 gave six inches without headlines, on an inside page, to the lynching of Thomas Reynolds in its own county.⁷⁸ In April, 1869, the *Leavenworth Times and Conservative*, a four-page daily, related the lynching of George Thompson, in its own city, in twelve inches on the back page. In 1874 the *Wellington Press*, a weekly, told the story of the lynching of four men in six inches, though devoting two columns to the chase and arrest of the same and another gang of horse thieves.⁷⁹ By 1916 a lynching had reached the front page, with the *Olathe Mirror* giving two columns to a news article and editorial.⁸⁰ Two and a half columns on the front page were given to a lynching by the *Mulberry News* on April 23, 1920. By 1932 the event was blazoned in a full-page headline used by the *Atwood Citizen-Patriot* to start a front-page double-column story which was continued in one and a half columns on the fourth page. From five lines in the local news in 1867 the

76. M. N. Work, *Law vs. The Mob*, 1925, pp. 4, 5.

77. *Junction City Union*, October 5, 1867.

78. *Ibid.*, August 29, 1868.

79. *Wellington Press*, July 30, 1874.

80. *Olathe Mirror*, September 28, 1916.

newspaper space-value of a lynching has grown to a full front-page headline and double column in 1932.

Why were lynchings in the early days dismissed with a sentence or two? We find this especially true in the papers of the 1860's when men were hanged for horse stealing. Hanging a horse thief seemed to be a rather matter-of-fact incident, a punishment which a man should expect if he were caught in that vocation. They were often desperadoes with other crimes on their records, and the country as a whole desired to be rid of them, even by drastic measures. Often, too, they were men who had come to the West alone and did not leave families to create sympathy. When horse stealing disappeared in the '80's, with it went an attitude toward lynching which had approached nonchalance. In the following decades when a greater percentage of lynchings were for murder, the murder plus the hanging aroused stronger sentiment. The growing civilization which made lynchings less common at the same time gave them more news value.

It is also in great part due to the changing styles of journalism that a lynching now is given in many more words and details. The early newspapers contained very little local news, most of the space being filled with advertisements, "telegraphic" national news, and clipped matter. An issue of the Leavenworth *Daily Conservative* for June 10, 1862, contained sixteen columns of advertisements, four and one-half on the front page; six and one-half columns of national and telegraphic news; and one and a half columns of local news—a percentage of six and one-fourth for local news. While the early papers might have Associated Press facilities, organized in 1865, to give them national news, communication among their neighboring counties was slower and less certain, and the "local items" and "personal news" which fill our town weeklies and even city dailies were not the fashion in newspaper circles. They filled the front page with plate or advertisements and put local news on the inside or back page. Practically nothing rated headlines, because headlines were not used. The papers of the middle and late 1800's were dignified in appearance. The papers of to-day reflect the era which produces them. These "ballyhoo years," as Frederick L. Allen calls them in his *Only Yesterday*, have produced the publicity agents with their knack of associating their cause or product with whatever happens to be in the public mind at the time, and of concentrating upon one tune at a time.

"They discovered—the successful tabloids were daily teaching them—that the public tended to become excited about one thing at a time. Newspaper owners and editors found that where a Dayton trial or a Vestris disaster took place they sold more papers if they gave it all they had—their star reporters, their front-page display, and the bulk of their space. They took full advantage of this discovery. . . . Syndicate managers and writers, advertisers, press agents, radio broadcasters, all were aware that mention of the leading event of the day, whatever it might be, was the key to public interest. The result was that when something happened which promised to appeal to the popular mind, one had it hurled at one in huge headlines, waded through page after page of syndicated discussion . . . was reminded of it again and again in the outpouring of publicity-seeking orators and preachers, saw pictures of it in the Sunday papers and in the movies, and (unless one was a perverse individualist) enjoyed the sensation of vibrating to the same chord which thrilled a vast populace."⁸¹

While Allen was writing of the large dailies, the small-town weeklies have been influenced in proportion by this trend toward sensationalism, and have tended to play up an important event in headlines and details. The decline of lynchings and a growing intolerance for them, together with a different journalistic style, are responsible for the changed attitude and presentation by the newspapers.

Figures on lynchings in the United States for the years 1882-1927 show that Kansas ranked 18th of all states, with fifty-five to her discredit.⁸² Chronological tables in the appendix say fifty-one occurred before 1904, four from 1904 to 1908, one from 1909 to 1913, one from 1914 to 1918 and two from 1919 to 1923.⁸³ The Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching in their pamphlet, *Lynchings and What They Mean* (1931), indicate on a map that eight lynchings occurred in Kansas from 1900 to 1931—two in Bourbon county, two in Crawford county, one each in Johnson, Leavenworth, Shawnee and Stafford counties. That they have not given names and dates in each case makes it more difficult to check.

Some of those given by other associations have been omitted from this list as incorrect, since no accounts of them were found in contemporary local newspapers. As an example, the Tuskegee Institute lists a Doctor Herman, negro, lynched in Topeka on May 13, 1901, for "race prejudice." The Topeka *Capital* for that week indicates that Doctor Herman left town but was not lynched. They also list an unnamed white man lynched in Stafford, Stafford county, on May 8, 1919, which the local newspapers fail to record.

81. F. L. Allen, *Only Yesterday* (1931), pp. 189, 190.

82. White, *Rope and Faggot* (1929), p. 239.

83. *Ibid.*, p. 255.

Three, giving information of date and name, but with place unknown, have been omitted. So these figures will differ from those compiled for the state by other associations, perhaps being fewer, but with the hope of being accurate and authentic.

Several associations, mainly in the South, are making active campaigns against lynching, stressing additional legislation for the protection of prisoners, more certain punishment of criminals, methods of preventing and dispersing mobs, efforts to secure court trials and convictions of participants in mobs, and the growth of public opinion against lynchings through churches, educational institutions and the press.

There has been a notable decrease, with occasional exceptions, in the number of persons lynched since the turn of the century. While the number is declining in the United States as a whole, it is doing so more rapidly in some states, including Kansas, than in others. Northern and Western states have almost completely abandoned lynching since the passing of frontier conditions. Only the Southern states more or less regularly resort to the practice. Perhaps if data for later years only were considered, Kansas would rank better than eighteenth among the states.

LYNCHINGS IN KANSAS, 1850-1932.

(Giving date, name, place and alleged crime.)

1850-1859

1. In 1850's Six horse thieves. Rising Sun, Douglas county. Horse stealing.
2. Dec., 1856 Partridge; unknown man. On Pottawatomie creek, southeastern Kansas. Robbery.
3. Aug. 1, 1857..... Baize; Squarles. Leavenworth, Leavenworth county. Murder.
4. 1858 Shaw; Johnson. Island in Marais des Cygnes river (Franklin county). Horse stealing.
5. Spring, 1858 Theodore Royer. Shannon, Anderson county. Horse stealing.
6. Apr., 1858 Claywell. Burlington, Coffee county. Horse stealing.
7. Aug. 5, 1859..... John Squires. Leavenworth, Leavenworth county. Horse stealing.
8. Aug. 12, 1859..... Wilson. Atchison, Atchison county. Horse stealing.

1. Moore, Ely, Jr., "Story of Lecompton" in *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 11, p. 478.
2. *Leavenworth Herald*, December 6, 1856.
3. *Elwood Weekly Advertiser*, August 6, 1857.
4. Andreas, *History of Kansas* (1883), p. 605.
5. Johnson, W. A., *History of Anderson County* (1877), pp. 114, 115.
6. *Burlington Republican*, December 14, 1908.
7. *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Leavenworth, August 6, 1859.
8. *Ibid.*, August 13, 1859.

1850-1859

- 8a. Nov., 1859 William Hugh. Emporia, Lyon county. Cause unknown.
 8b. Nov., 1859 Price. Hulls Grove, Jefferson county. Cattle stealing.
 8c. Dec. 27, 1859..... A. F. Bishop. 110, Osage county. Horse stealing.

1860

9. Feb. 5, 1860..... John R. Guthrie. Mapleton, Bourbon county. Horse stealing.
 9a. June 9, 1860..... John Johnson. Black Jack, Douglas county. Horse stealing.
 10. July 10, 1860..... Hugh Carlin. Bourbon county. Horse stealing.
 10a. July 28, 1860..... Joseph Gilliford. Council Grove, Morris county. Horse stealing.

1861

11. Mar. 27, 1861..... Isaac Edwards. Topeka, Shawnee county. Murder of an Indian.

1862

12. May, 1862 Mexican. Lyon county. Horse stealing.
 13. June 9, 1862..... Two soldiers: 2d Ohio cavalry and 10th Kansas. Marmaton, Bourbon county. Rape.
 14. Oct. 1, 1862..... Jack Dixon; Stephen Branch. Manhattan, Riley county. Horse stealing.
 15. Dec. 15, 1862..... C. Mincer *alias* Charles Spencer; unknown horse thief. Wabaunsee county. Horse stealing.

1863

16. May 18-23, 1863..... Alexander Brewer; William Sterling; Porter Sterling; Daniel Mooney; Henry (Pony) McCartney; Edward Gilbert. Atchison, Atchison county. Robbery and torture.
 17. June 3, 1863..... James Melvin; William Cannon. Highland, Doniphan county. Horse stealing.
 18. July 26, 1863..... Scranton. Manhattan, Riley county. Horse stealing.
 19. Aug. 22, 1863..... Thomas Corlew. Lawrence, Douglas county. Border warfare.

8a. *Topeka State Record*, Nov. 5, 1859.

8b. *Ibid.*, Nov. 12, 1859.

8c. *Ibid.*, Jan. 7, 1860.

9. A. H. T. [Tanner], letter to parents, February 12, 1860, from Mapleton, K. T. (Manuscript in Kansas State Historical Society vault.)

9a. *Topeka State Record*, June 9, 1860.

10. Andreas, *History of Kansas* (1883), p. 1070.

10a. *Topeka State Record*, July 28, 1860.

11. *Kansas State Journal*, Lawrence, March 28, 1861.

12. *Ibid.*, July 10, 1862.

13. *Leavenworth Conservative*, June 12, 1862; *Junction City Union*, June 1, 1862.

14. *Manhattan Express*, October 4, 1862.

15. *Kansas State Journal*, Lawrence, December 25, 1862.

16. *Atchison Daily Champion*, May 23, 1863.

17. *Kansas Chief*, White Cloud, June 4, 1863.

18. *Topeka State Record*, August 5, 1863.

19. James C. Horton, letter written May 22, 1905, in Kansas City, Mo., to G. W. Martin. (MS. in Kansas State Historical Society.)

1864

20. 1864 Warren, negro. Garnett, Anderson county. Murder.
21. Feb., 1864 Stevens; Stevens' son. Stanton, Miami county. Horse stealing.
22. Feb., 1864 Stevens' son. Ohio City, Franklin county. Horse stealing.
23. Feb., 1864 Five horse thieves. Jefferson county. Horse stealing.
24. May, 1864 E. H. Wetherell. Riley county. Cattle stealing.
25. June 16, 1864..... James Stevenson; Charles Wilson. Stanton, Miami county. Horse stealing.
26. June, 1864 Two horse thieves. Franklin county. Horse stealing.
27. Aug. 14, 1864..... George D. Bennett. Wathena, Doniphan county. Horse stealing.
28. Oct. 8, 1864..... Goisney. Marysville, Marshall county. Murder.

1865

29. Feb. 27, 1865..... Miles N. Carter. Seneca, Nemaha county. Murder.
30. April, 1865 William Bledsoe; Jacob Bledsoe. Greenwood county. Horse stealing.
31. Dec., 1865 Walker. Oketo, Marshall county. Robbery.
32. Dec. 18, 1865..... John Tehan Bartholomew. Wyandotte, Wyandotte county. Murder.
33. Dec. 26, 1865..... Carl Eden. Holton, Jackson county. Border warfare.

1866

34. 1865-1866 Two negroes. Wyandotte, Wyandotte county. Unknown.
35. Jan. 16, 1866..... Thomas McElroy. Marysville, Marshall county. Murder.
36. Mar., 1866 Two horse thieves. Nemaha county. Horse stealing.
37. Mar., 1866 Howard; Howard. Spring river (county unknown). Horse stealing.

20. Johnson, *History of Anderson County* (1877), p. 120.
21. Andreas, *History of Kansas* (1883), p. 606.
22. *Ibid.*
23. *Ibid.*
24. Junction City Union, May 14, 1864; Manhattan Independent, May 23, 1864.
25. Lawrence Tribune, June 17, 1864.
26. *Ibid.*, June 18, 1864.
27. "Illustrated Doniphan County," supplement to *Weekly Kansas Chief*, Troy, April 6, 1916, p. 233.
28. Andreas, *History of Kansas* (1883), p. 918; Forter, *History of Marshall County* (1917), p. 435.
29. Andreas, *History of Kansas* (1883), p. 945.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 1119.
31. Atchison Daily Free Press, January 8, 1866.
32. Wyandotte Gazette, December 23, 1865.
33. Atchison Free Press, February 3, 1866.
34. Andreas, *History of Kansas* (1883), p. 1232; Wyandotte Gazette, April 21, 1866.
35. Atchison Free Press, January 22, 1866.
36. *Ibid.*, March 24, 1866.
37. Wyandotte Gazette, March 24, 1866.

1866

38. Mar. 7, 1866..... Strong; horse thief. Ft. Scott, Bourbon county. Horse stealing.
39. Apr., 1866 Two horse thieves. Humboldt, Allen county. Horse stealing.
40. Apr. 13, 1866..... Newt Morrison. Wyandotte, Wyandotte county. Murder.
41. Apr. 29, 1866..... Joe Tippie; Sam Tippie. Monmouth, Crawford county. Murder.
42. May, 1866 Gulp. On Verdigris river, Wilson county. Horse stealing.
43. May 1, 1866..... Charles Quinn. Leavenworth, Leavenworth county. Murder.
44. May 13, 1866..... Peter Baysinger. Monticello, Johnson county. Horse stealing.
45. May 26, 1866..... Horse thief. Tomahawk creek, Johnson county. Horse stealing.
46. June, 1866 John House; H. Long; Billy Jones. Pleasant Grove, Greenwood county. Horse stealing.
47. Summer, 1866 Elias Foster. Mound City, Linn county. Murder.

1867

48. Feb., 1867 Wm. P. Myers; James Myers; George Myers; Edwards; Gillett. Baxter Springs, Cherokee county. Horse stealing.
49. Feb. 3, 1867..... Jack McDowell. Morris county. Horse stealing.
50. Mar. 21, 1867..... Eli Mackey, negro; Jackson Mackey, negro; Harry Van, negro. Ft. Scott, Bourbon county. Murder and robbery.
51. May 29, 1867..... John Moran, negro; Daniel Moran, negro; John McGorman, negro. Bartlett's mill, Geary county. Rape.
52. June 13, 1867..... Daniel Webster, negro; Tom Van Buren, negro. Wyandotte, Wyandotte county. Murder.
53. June 13, 1867..... Negro. Shawneetown, Johnson county. Rape.
54. Oct. 3, 1867..... Charlie Johnson; Charlie Craig. Ellsworth, Ellsworth county. Horse stealing.

38. *Atchison Free Press*, March 10, 1866.

39. *Atchison Weekly Free Press*, May 12, 1866.

40. *Wyandotte Gazette*, April 21, 1866.

41. Andreas, *History of Kansas* (1883), p. 1119.

42. *Atchison Weekly Free Press*, May 19, 1866.

43. *Leavenworth Conservative*, May 2, 1866.

44. *Olathe Mirror*, May 17, 1866.

45. *Ibid.*, May 31, 1866; Heisler & Smith, *Johnson County Atlas* (1874), p. 34.

46. *Leavenworth Conservative*, June 8, 1866.

47. Mitchell, *History of Linn County* (1928), p. 327.

48. *Junction City Union*, February 16, 1867.

49. *Leavenworth Conservative*, February 7, 1867.

50. *Wyandotte Gazette*, March 30, 1867.

51. *Junction City Union*, June 1, 1867.

52. *Wyandotte Gazette*, June 22, 1867.

53. *Ibid.*, June 22, 1867; *Olathe Mirror*, June 20, 1867.

54. *Junction City Union*, October 5, 1867.

1868

55. "Latter part of 1868".. Indian half-breed. Chetopa, Labette county. Murder.
 56. Aug. 22, 1868..... Thomas Reynolds. Geary county. Horse stealing.
 57. Dec. 14, 1868..... Negro. Ellsworth, Ellsworth county. Rape.

1869

58. 1869 Three negroes, 38th infantry. Ft. Hays, Ellis county. Murder.
 59. Apr. 29, 1869..... George Thompson. Leavenworth, Leavenworth county. Murder.
 60. May 5, 1869..... Enoch Reynolds. Sheridan, Sheridan county. Murder.
 61. May 12, 1869..... Fitzpatrick. Ellsworth, Ellsworth county. Murder.
 62. June, 1869 Tesse; Clark Odell. Shawnee, Johnson county. Horse stealing.
 63. June 7, 1869..... C. H. Houston. Wyandotte county. Horse stealing.
 64. June 26, 1869..... William Beagle. Shawnee, Johnson county. Horse stealing.

1870

65. 1870 John Pierce. Jacksonville, Neosho county. Murder.
 65a. Jan. 4, 1870..... George Johnson, negro. Atchison, Atchison county. Murder.
 66. May 11, 1870..... William Ryan; Patrick Starr; Patsey Riley; Richard Pitkin; Alexander Matthews. Ladore, Neosho county. Murder and rape.
 67. May 19, 1870..... Two horse thieves. Sedgwick county. Horse stealing.
 68. June 27, 1870..... E. G. Dalson. Iola, Allen county. Murder.
 69. Aug. 6, 1870..... John Sanderson. Junction City, Geary county. Horse stealing.
 70. Nov. 9, 1870..... George Booth; James Smith; Jack Corbin; Lewis Booth. Douglas, Butler county. Horse stealing.

55. Case, *History of Labette County* (1901), p. 68.

56. *Junction City Union*, August 29, 1868.

57. *Ibid.*, December 19, 1868.

58. Andreas, *History of Kansas* (1883), p. 1292.

59. *Leavenworth Times and Conservative*, April 30, 1869.

60. *Junction City Union*, May 8, 1869.

61. *Ibid.*, May 15, 1869.

62. Heisler & Smith, *Johnson County Atlas* (1874), p. 34.

63. *Wyandotte Gazette*, June 12, 1869.

64. *Wyandotte Gazette*, July 3, 1869.

65. Case, *History of Labette County* (1901), p. 68.

65a. *Atchison Champion and Press*, January 8, 1870.

66. Andreas, *History of Kansas* (1883), p. 826.

67. *Junction City Union*, May 21, 1870.

68. Andreas, *History of Kansas* (1883), p. 670.

69. *Junction City Union*, August 13, 1870.

70. Andreas, *History of Kansas* (1883), p. 1431; *Wabaunsee County Herald*, Alma, December 8, 1870.

1870

71. Dec. 1, 1870..... Mike Dray; Dr. Morris; Dr. Morris' son; William Quimby. Douglass, Butler county. Horse stealing.

1871

72. 1871 Jake Hanes; Guy Whitmore. Salem, Jewell county. Horse stealing.

1872

73. Apr. 11, 1872..... McCarty. Sumner county. Murder.
74. Aug. 15, 1872..... B. W. Harwood. Labette county. Murder.

1873

75. May-June, 1873 Cross. Norton county. Horse stealing.
75a. Aug. 23, 1873..... Three negroes. Elgin, Chautauqua county. Horse stealing.
76. Sept. 1873 John Keller. La Cygne, Linn county. Murder.
76a. Nov., 1873 Unknown. Fort Scott, Bourbon county. Horse stealing.

1874

77. July 28, 1874..... Tom Smith. Wellington, Sumner county. Horse stealing.
78. July 29, 1874..... Bill Brooks; Chas. (L. B.) Hasbrook; Charlie Smith. Wellington, Sumner county. Horse stealing.
79. Aug. 19, 1874..... L. L. Oliver. Caldwell, Sumner county. Murder.

1876

80. June 5, 1876..... Number unknown. Rossville, Shawnee county. Horse stealing.

1877

81. Mar. 31, 1877..... Charley Manley. Granada, Nemaha county. Horse stealing.
82. Aug. 20, 1877..... Bob Scruggs. Oak Mills, Atchison county. Murder.
83. Nov., 1877 Horse thief. On Osage creek, Bourbon county. Horse stealing.

1882

84. Jan. 2, 1882..... W. E. Graham. Ellsworth, Ellsworth county. Murder.

71. Andreas, *History of Kansas*, p. 1431.
72. *Ibid.*, p. 967.
73. *Ibid.*, p. 1495.
74. Case, *History of Labette County* (1901), p. 69.
75. Andreas, *History of Kansas* (1883), p. 1063.
75a. *Junction City Union*, August 30, 1873.
76. *Border Sentinel*, Mound City, September 19, 1873.
76a. *Kansas Daily Tribune*, Lawrence, November 16, 1873.
77. *Wellington Press*, July 30, 1874.
78. *Ibid.*
79. *Ibid.*, September 3, 1874.
80. *Topeka Commonwealth*, June 14, 1876.
81. *Seneca Mirror*, April 6, 1877.
82. *Atchison Daily Champion*, August 21, 1877.
83. *Fort Scott Weekly Monitor*, November 8, 1877.
84. *Ellsworth Reporter*, January 5, 1882.

1882

85. Apr. 13, 1882..... Thomas Wooton. Wakeeney, Trego county. Murder.
 86. June 14, 1882..... Isaac Kind, negro; Pete Vinegar, negro; Geo. Robertson, negro. Lawrence, Douglas county. Murder.

1883

87. Feb. 1, 1883..... Charles Cobb. Winfield, Cowley county. Murder.
 88. Feb. 9, 1883..... Henry Smith, negro. Paola, Miami county. Rape.

1884

89. Mar. 21, 1884..... Samuel Frayer. Marysville, Marshall county. Murder.
 90. May 1, 1884..... Henry Brown; Billie Smith; John Wesley; Ben Wheeler. Medicine Lodge, Barber county. Robbery.
 91. Sept. 14, 1884..... Frank Jones. Wellington, Sumner county. Murder.

1885

92. Mar. 19, 1885..... Frank Bonham. Independence, Montgomery county. Murder.
 93. Apr. 30, 1885..... George Mack. Great Bend, Barton county. Murder.
 94. July 6, 1885..... John Lawrence, negro. Girard, Crawford county. Rape.
 95. Dec. 8, 1885..... Frank Noyes. Caldwell, Sumner county. House burning.

1886

96. Apr. 23, 1886..... Henry Weaver; Oliver Weaver; Philip Weaver. Anthony, Harper county. Murder.
 97. May 10, 1886..... Francis Lyle. Prescott, Linn county. Murder.
 98. Nov. 9, 1886..... Samuel Purple. Jetmore, Hodgman county. Murder.

1887

99. Jan. 30, 1887..... Richard Wood, negro. Leavenworth, Leavenworth county. Rape.

1888

100. June 27, 1888..... John Rigsby, negro; Wiley Lee, negro. Chetopa, Labette county. Murder.

85. *Wakeeney World*, April 15, 1882.
 86. *Kansas Weekly Tribune*, Lawrence, June 14, 1882.
 87. *Cowley County Telegram*, Winfield, February 8, 1883.
 88. *Ibid.*, February 15, 1883.
 89. *Marshall County News*, Marysville, March 28, 1884.
 90. *Medicine Lodge Cresset*, May 1, 1884.
 91. *Wellingtonian*, Wellington, September 18, 1884.
 92. *Independence Star and Kansan*, March 20, 1885.
 93. *Great Bend Register*, May 7, 1885.
 94. *Girard Press*, July 9, 1885.
 95. Freeman, *History of Southern Kansas* (1892), p. 381.
 96. *Harper Sentinel*, April 24, 1886.
 97. *Linn County Clarion*, Mound City, May 14, 1886.
 98. *Jetmore Reveille*, November 10, 1886.
 99. *Leavenworth Times*, January 30, 1887.
 100. *Chetopa Democrat*, June 29, 1888.

1888

101. June 27, 1888..... Wallace Mitchell. Syracuse, Hamilton county. Murder.
 102. June 28, 1888..... Chubb McCarthy. Minneapolis, Ottawa county. Murder.

1889

103. June 4, 1889..... Pat Cleary. Lincoln, Lincoln county. Murder.
 104. June 4, 1889..... Nat Oliphant. Topeka, Shawnee county. Murder.

1892

105. Sept. 14, 1892..... Hugh Henry, negro. Larned, Pawnee county. Rape.
 106. Nov. 29, 1892..... Commodore True, negro. Hiawatha, Brown county. Murder.

1893

107. Apr. 20, 1893..... Dana Adams, negro. Salina, Saline county. Murder.
 108. Aug. 20, 1893..... Silas Wilson, negro. Millwood, Leavenworth county. Rape.

1894

109. Jan. 14, 1894..... J. Green Burton; John Gay; William Gay. Russell, Russell county. Murder.
 110. Apr. 23, 1894..... Jeff Tuggle, negro. Cherokee, Crawford county. Murder.
 111. May 8, 1894..... Lewis McKindley; W. McKindley. Sharon Springs, Wallace county. Murder.
 112. May 12, 1894..... George Rose. Cottonwood Falls, Chase county. Murder.

1895

113. Apr. 3, 1895..... Newton Walters. Columbus, Cherokee county. Murder.

1898

114. June 13, 1898..... John Becker. Great Bend, Barton county. Murder.

1899

115. Mar. 28, 1899..... Henry Sanderson. Holton, Jackson county. Murder.
 116. Apr. 27, 1899..... Charles Williams, negro. Galena, Cherokee county. Murder.
 117. Nov. 2, 1899..... Wells, negro. Columbus, Cherokee county. Murder.

101. *Syracuse Democrat Principle*, June 28, 1888.

102. *Chetopa Democrat*, July 6, 1888.

103. *Kansas City Times*, June 5, 1889.

104. *Ibid.*

105. *Larned Weekly Chronoscope*, September 16, 1892.

106. Ruley, *History of Brown County*, (n. d.), p. 234.

107. *Salina Herald*, April 21, 1893.

108. *Leavenworth Times*, August 22, 1893.

109. *Russell Record*, April 21, 1892.

110. *Weir Journal*, April 27, 1894.

111. *Peoples Voice*, Wellington, May 11, 1894.

112. *Chase County Leader*, Cottonwood Falls, May 17, 1894.

113. *Topeka Capital*, April 4, 1895.

114. *Barton County Democrat*, Great Bend, June 16, 1898.

115. *Holton Recorder*, March 30, 1899.

116. *Columbus Advocate*, April 27, 1894.

117. *Ibid.*, November 2, 1899.

1900

118. Jan. 20, 1900..... Ed Meeks; George Meeks. Ft. Scott, Bourbon county. Murder.

1901

119. Jan. 15, 1901..... Fred Alexander, negro. Leavenworth, Leavenworth county. Rape.

1902

120. Dec. 25, 1902..... Mont Godley, negro. Pittsburg, Crawford county. Murder.

1916

121. Sept. 21, 1916..... Bert Dudley. Olathe, Johnson county. Murder.

1920

122. Apr. 19, 1920..... Albert Evans, negro. Mulberry, Crawford county. Rape.

1932

- 123.* Apr. 19, 1932..... Richard Read. Atwood, Rawlins county. Rape.

118. Fort Scott *Weekly Tribune*, January 25, 1899.

119. Topeka *Capital*, January 25, 1901.

120. Pittsburg *Headlight*, December 26, 1902.

121. Topeka *Journal*, September 21, 1916.

122. Mulberry *News*, April 23, 1920.

123. Topeka *Capital*, April 18, 1932.

* These figures are footnote numbers and not total lynchings. See page 192 for totals.

Kansas History as Published in the State Press

Fifty-years-ago items published regularly in the *Osborne County Farmer*, Osborne, under the heading "Ancient History in Osborne," are annotated by the editor and related with present-day facts.

The "History of White Cloud," by Mrs. M. E. Zimmerman, was published weekly in the *White Cloud Globe-Tribune*, commencing with its issue of January 30, 1931. The series ran, with a few omissions, until the middle of 1932.

A brief historical sketch of Wabaunsee and a cut of the old stone church which was built in 1861 were published in the August, 1932, issue of the *Wabaunsee County Truth*, Wabaunsee. Succeeding issues printed biographical sketches of pioneers and located points of interest on a city map of 1872.

Letters and interviews relating the experiences of old settlers of Cheyenne county have provided the *Bird City Times* with news items for a regular weekly feature under the heading, "Old Timer's Column." The series started with the issue of December 15, 1932.

The story of three pioneers who settled in Crawford county in 1868 was told by two descendants in the *Pittsburg Headlight*, December 20, 1932. The men, John Waggoner, Stephen Alberty and E. B. Holden, journeyed overland from Rolla, Mo., and took up their claims near the present town of Chicopee.

Butler county in 1869 was described by W. F. McGinnis, Sr., a pioneer, in a two-column article in *The Butler County News*, El Dorado, December 23, 1932. Other reminiscences of Mr. McGinnis were continued in succeeding issues.

The forty-fifth anniversary of the Padonia Methodist church was celebrated January 1, 1933. A history of the church appeared in the *Hiawatha Daily World*, January 4, 1933.

"Early Days of Baldwin Territory Are Recounted by Old Settler," was the title of a front-page feature article published in the *Baldwin Ledger*, January 5, 1933. Joseph Dexter, of Oak Valley, was the narrator. He came to Kansas from Illinois in June, 1855, and witnessed the burning of Lawrence in 1856 and in 1863. His father was a captain under Jim Lane.

A history of Sedgwick county, by Asa F. Rankin, is being published in the *Clearwater News*. The chapters and dates of publication are "Explorers," in the issue of January 5, 1933; "How Wichita Was Named," January 19, and "Old Boom Days Exciting Era," February 9.

"Scott County Historical Society Notes," regularly printed in *The News Chronicle*, Scott City, featured the first schools in Scott county, January 5, 1933; "District No. 9, the Old Friend School," by Matilda Freed, January 12 and 19; "The Texas Cattle Trails of Western Kansas," by J. W. Chaffin, January 26; the first deaths in Scott City, February 2; "Saddle-Days Souvenirs," from the narrative of Frank Murphy, who herded cattle over the Chisholm and Texas trails, a reprint from *Touring Topics* (Calif.), February 9 and 23; Pueblo Indian ruins in Scott county, March 2; "Kansas Prairie Fires," by J. W. Chaffin, March 9 and 16; Henry Hubbell, famous artist, who was an early-day sign painter in Scott City, March 23. Another article of historical interest published in *The Scott County Record*, Scott City, February 16, and not included in the *News Chronicle* series, is "Notes Concerning Early Days in Scott County by the Render Family."

The Southwest Historical Society of Dodge City recently compiled a résumé of sixteen Indian battles that were fought in western Kansas and vicinity during its early history. The list was published in the Dodge City *Daily Globe*, January 6, 1933.

Historical places of interest in Kansas were reviewed in three articles published in the *Wichita Sunday Eagle*, January 8, 15 and 22, 1933. Brief paragraphs describing the famous Kansas landmarks were printed.

Christ's Lutheran church, four miles north of Gaylord, observed its fiftieth anniversary January 15, 1933. A history of the organization was published in the Athol-Gaylord-Cedar *Review*, January 11. Rev. F. Schedtler was the first pastor.

Franklin Playter, 91, for many years a resident of Crawford county, at Girard and Pittsburg, died at his home southwest of Galena on January 11, 1933. The *Pittsburg Sun* of January 12 contained an obituary of Mr. Playter and stated that he platted and named Pittsburg and erected the first business building on the town-site.

Some of the early business enterprises of Summerfield were named in the fifty-sixth anniversary edition of the Summerfield *Sun*, January 12, 1933.

Frank L. Randolph's experiences in early-day Potwin were related in the Potwin *Ledger*, January 12, 1933. Mr. Randolph, who now resides in California, lived in Potwin from 1881 to 1888.

The sixtieth anniversary of the Winfield *Daily Courier* was observed January 13, 1933, with the issuance of a 24-page illustrated historical edition. Notes on the founding and incorporation of Winfield, history of the city's newspapers, a review of the first churches, first marriage, etc., the organization of a grange in the South Bend area, and a reproduction of a page of the first issue of the *Courier* which was dated January 11, 1873, were highlights of the edition.

Official records of Hamilton county provide C. W. Noell, register of deeds, with source material for a series of historical articles which are being published in the Syracuse *Journal*. Mr. Noell wrote of the organization of the county in the issue of January 13, 1933; early towns of the county were located and described, January 27, and the county seat war was discussed, February 24 and March 17.

The Baker Orange, student publication of Baker University, Baldwin, is publishing historical articles in observance of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the granting of the charter to the university. The series started with the issue of January 16, 1933.

Judge J. C. Ruppenthal, in his "Rustlings" column which has been published weekly in several western Kansas newspapers for the past few years, has contributed historical notes of considerable value to the state. In his column of January 18, 1933, he inquired for more information about a Mr. Matthews who was reputed to be the first permanent settler on Coal creek, Russell county, in 1869. He was answered in the Wilson *World*, January 25, by William Gaines, who recalled E. W. Matthews and the operation of his lime kilns in 1870.

Historical notes published in the Seneca *Courier-Tribune* include the origin of the name "Turkey" creek, by Joe Rilinger, January 19, 1933, and the location of the old townsite of Pacific City, by J. L. Firkins, February 20.

Kansas Historical Notes

Newly elected officers of the Kansas History Teachers' Association which met at the Pittsburg Kansas State Teachers College March 25, 1933, are: F. H. Hodder, Kansas University, president; S. A. Johnson, Kansas State Teachers College, Emporia, vice president; Fred L. Parrish, Kansas State College, Manhattan, secretary-treasurer, and Edwin McRaynolds, Coffeyville Junior College, member of the executive committee. Hodder succeeds O. F. Grubbs of the Pittsburg college as president.

At the December, 1932, election of the Cowley County Historical Society the following officers were reelected: Mrs. J. P. Baden, president; A. M. Rehwinkel, vice president; Mrs. Alfred Diescher, treasurer, and E. A. Wolfram, secretary and curator. The society was organized October 26, 1931, and reported thirty members enrolled at the close of 1932. A list of the year's accessions was published in the Winfield *Daily Courier*, December 13.

The Kiowa County Historical Society has 236 members enrolled on its scroll of charter members. The organization has placed a show case in the lobby of the courthouse at Greensburg for museum pieces.

Edna Nyquist, secretary of the McPherson County Historical and Archeological Society, has compiled a 184-page book entitled *Pioneer Life and Lore of McPherson County, Kansas*. The *Democrat-Opinion* Press, McPherson, was the publisher.

A Douglas County Historical Society was organized at Lawrence in March, 1933.

The Kansas Magazine was revived for the third time on January 29, 1933, with a notable array of Kansas authors, poets and artists contributing. R. I. Thackrey, editor, hopes to publish it annually. The magazine was established in January, 1872, under the editorship of Capt. Henry King and James W. Steele, with subsequent revivals in 1886, 1909 and again in 1933.

A testimonial dinner was given March 1, 1933, at Douglass, in honor of J. M. Satterthwaite, publisher of the Douglass *Tribune*. Mr. Satterthwaite, who was a member of the Kansas legislature for sixteen years, has just completed a half century as editor of the

Tribune. Prominent Kansas editors and state leaders were in attendance.

Kirke Mechem, secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society, addressed the Women's Civic Center Club of Hutchinson, January 27, 1933, on the work of the Society.

The fourth annual Kansas Day reunion of the Cheyenne County Pioneers of Kansas was held at Bird City, January 29, 1933.

Markers were erected in Council Grove and Dodge City February 22, 1933, locating the National Old Trails route which follows the general direction of the Santa Fe trail through Kansas. The route runs as U. S. highway 50 and 50N from Kansas City to Larned, as Kansas highway 37 from Larned to Kinsley, as U. S. highway 50S from Kinsley through Dodge City to Garden City, and as U. S. highway 50 to La Junta, Colo.

The Bethany College museum has been reassembled on the first floor of the Main building in Lindsborg. Formerly the collection was scattered in various buildings over the campus. Indian relics and fossils, representative of western Kansas "finds," are among the collections on display. Dr. J. A. Udden was the founder of the museum.

A private collection of southwestern historical relics is being brought together by Merritt and Otero Beeson at the Merritt Beeson home in Dodge City.

The road leading to the summit of Coronado Heights, three miles northwest of Lindsborg, has been improved this winter. The Lindsborg Historical Society is the lease-holder of this historic site thought to have been visited by Coronado.



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NOTE.—Articles in the *Quarterly* appear in chronological order without regard to their importance.

Two Minute Books of Kansas Missions in the Forties

I. INTRODUCTION

IF the church records here reproduced have no other significance they prove that keeping the red man in the straight and narrow path was a most arduous task in Kansas a hundred years ago. In the continuous effort of the mission fathers to fit an almost puritanical shoe to those restless feet there is something of pathos; and in the naïvete of their accounts of the attempt there is, let it be said respectfully, also something of unintentional humor.

When, for example, a solemn entry reads, "Enquiry was then made as to the general appearance of religion in Mr. Towsey and a general expression was that he was a disgrace to the church," there certainly can be no irreverence in a smile. Or when a committee is "appointed to labor with Jonas Littleman, and Sally Konkapot, it being understood that their conduct had been unbecoming a profession of godliness"; or when "Bro T Hendric and H Skeekett refuse to be reconciled with the church unless the missionaries cease to visit it," the decorum of religion surely may unbend for the moment in the presence of a more human emotion.

Although there are lighter moments for the readers of these minutes, the workers who penned them were painstakingly serious. The first set was recorded in one of the lined blank books of the period, 7½ by 12 inches, bound in heavy paper, now brown and brittle with age; the second consists of eight leaves which have been torn from a ruled account book of approximately the same size. Both were written carefully in ink. It will at once be apparent that these church clerks were sometimes stronger in faith than orthography, for the originals, now preserved in the archives of the Kansas State Historical Society, have been copied exactly and are here presented without correction in either spelling or punctuation.

The date of the first entry in the earlier book is April 5, 1841. This is ten years after the establishment of the first Baptist mission to the Shawanoe Indians in Kansas, which the records of the American Baptist Board of Foreign Missions show was in 1831.¹ The mission was located "three miles west of Missouri and about eight south of the Missouri river" in a tract of land granted to the

1. *Baptist Missionary Magazine*, v. XVI, p. 50.

Shawanoes, or Shawnees, by the terms of a treaty made at St. Louis, November 7, 1825. To this remote outpost came a small band of workers under the leadership of Johnston Lykins and his wife. In 1833 activities were extended, and a mission station was established for the Delawares² "north of the Kansas river near its junction with the Missouri."³ Ira D. Blanchard, who had some knowledge of the Delaware language, was employed as a teacher, and in 1835 was appointed a missionary to the tribe.

In January, 1840, Blanchard reported to the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions, "Our mission affairs were never so prosperous before. Our meetings are full. Last Sabbath all could not find seats. . . . Our school is full, so that we have been obliged to refuse many applications the last four weeks. Our present number is 16."⁴ In March of 1841 he writes that the Delaware chiefs oppose the gospel so that few or none attend religious worship, except those who are pious. "There is, nevertheless," he says, "the fullest evidence that the Lord is owning our unworthy efforts. Four are now waiting an opportunity of publicly avowing their faith in Christ and we have reason to hope that several more are not far from the kingdom of God."⁵

Records indicate that until this time, 1841, religious work among the Delawares had been carried on under the direction of the mission at Shawanoe. It is somewhat difficult, after nearly a hundred years, to follow the lines of demarcation between group activities, especially in view of the rather loose application of terms. Study of the records leads to the conclusion that a group numbering twenty-six, including Blanchard and his wife and Sylvia Case, a teacher, originally organized as the Delaware branch of the Shawanoe mission, desired to form a separate church. A letter from F. Barker, preacher at Shawanoe, to the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions, dated at

2. *The Annual Register of Indian Affairs Within the Indian (or Western) Territory*, published by Isaac McCoy, January 1, 1835, states that the Baptist mission for the Delawares was commenced in 1832. A Baptist missionary, Charles E. Wilson, spent a few weeks among them in the autumn of that year. However, entries in McCoy's private journal, owned by the Kansas State Historical Society, indicate that work among the Delawares was not instituted until 1833. McCoy writes, on February 12, 1833: "I have recently conferred with Mr. Lykins, and we have agreed, the Lord willing, to institute preaching and a school among the Delawares. A Mr. Blanchard has spent nearly a year and a half among them on his own resources, in the study of their language. . . . Mr. Lykins and he expect to visit those Indians in the course of a few days in order to a commencement of operations." On Feb. 26, 1833, he writes: "On Saturday, Sunday and Monday last Mr. Lykins and Mr. French made a visit to the Delawares, some 18 miles from the Shawanoe mission House, with a view of instituting preaching among them and the establishing of a school among them. They report the prospect as favorable, and Mr. Lykins has written the Board, proposing to hire a school teacher. . . ."

3. *Baptist Missionary Magazine*, v. XVIII, p. 139.

4. *Ibid.*, v. XX, p. 127.

5. *Ibid.*, v. XXI, p. 173.

Shawanoë, Indian territory, July 9, 1841, contains the following item:

"April 5. I have just returned from the Delaware station, (br. Blanchard's,) where I assisted in organizing a church, according to previous arrangement. It was a solemn service; in one sense painful, to have our brethren separated from us; in another sense pleasing, as we hope it will be for the advancement of the cause, and for our mutual good; and we know that in every important sense we yet are one. After service we proceeded to the water side. Three were baptized; two of them members of br. Blanchard's school."⁶

In the journal of Jotham Meeker ⁷ appear entries for June 3 and 4 as follows:

"3. The church met for business. Two of Br. Blanchard's scholars, Stockbridges, related their christian experiences, and were received by the church for baptism. Br. Pratt⁸ was appointed ch. Clerk, who wrote a letter of dismission for the members residing north of the Kanzas. One brother made a good deal of difficulty. May the Lord forgive him. 4. Lord's day. The brethren and Sisters who were yesterday dismissed were organized into a separate church. Br. Barker preached the sermon, and I gave the charge and prayer. A Delaware man then related his christian experience. I preached from 'The Lord's portion is his people.' Br. Barker then baptized the three candidates in the Kanzas river. I gave the right hand of fellowship; after which Br. B. and I administered the Lord's supper."

Thus the new church got under way. The following records of the organization show that faith was weak at times, and temptation strong, but zeal burned like a bright white flame.

6. *Ibid.*, v. XXI, p. 283.

7. Jotham Meeker, missionary-printer, came to the Shawanoë Mission in 1833, bringing a printing press on which were printed, subsequently, many small books containing hymns, selections from the Scriptures, and religious works, translated into Indian languages by Meeker and other missionaries. He removed to the country of the Ottawas in 1837 and founded a mission on the Marais des Cygnes river where the town of Ottawa now stands. His journal, owned by the Historical Society, covers a period of twenty-three years, 1832-1855.

8. John Gill Pratt was employed by the Baptist Missionary Society for work in the Indian territory immediately upon his graduation from Andover in 1836. In March, 1837, he married Olivia Evans, and two weeks later the couple left Boston for the territory, where they were to labor among the Shawanoës at the Shawanoë Baptist mission. They arrived May 11. Pratt had learned the trade of printing at the University Press, Cambridge, Mass., and on his arrival at Shawanoë took charge of the printing office. Pratt went to the Stockbridge Indians in 1844 and in 1848 took charge of the Delaware Baptist mission. He later acted as United States Indian agent to the Delawares.

II. CHURCH BOOK

Church Book

or

Book of records for the

Baptist Church

Constituted at the Delaware Bap. Mission

April 5th 1841

Brethren being presant from abroad on Saturday the third of April 1841 the subject of our separate organization was brought before us unitedly After much consultation it seemed that no reasonable objection could be presented against our proceeding in the matter without further delay The following letter of dismission being received was laid before the whole for further consideration

Delaware Bap Mission April 4 1841

At a meeting of the Potawatomie Baptist mission church held at the Ottawa Baptist mission Brethren & Sister Thomas T Hendrick Robert Konkaput Cornelius Charles Jonas Konkaput Henry Skeikett Cornelius Hendrick John W. Newcum, Hannah Konkaput Susan Hendrick, Dolly Doxtator, Cathorine Konkaput Phebe Skeikett Mary Hendrick, Sally Konkaput Mary Charles Mary Ann Doxtator Timoty Towsey Elisabeth Towsy Ira D. Blanchard Mary W Blanchard Sylvia Case, Hopehelase, Charles Joneycake, Rahpateetanksee, Betsy Hill Kliskoqha Betsy Zeigleer, Esther Fergusson asked to be dismissed for the purpose of forming themselves into a church of the same faith & order And whereas the church granted this request this is to certify that when such organization shall take place they will be no longer considered as members with us

In behalf of the Church

J. G. Pratt Clk

Also Brother Blanchard, Newcum, and Skeikett Having been apointed for that purpose reported the follow preamble constitution and covenant

Declaration

Of our views of Divine truth.

1st We believe

The Bible is true, that it contains the whole of God's revealed will, that it was written by men divinely inspired, that it is a perfect rule of faith and practice, and that it is the only guide through

this world of sorrow to the right hand of God where there are pleasures forever-more.

2nd We believe

in the existence of but one God, that He is the Creator and preserver of the universe, that all things are and were created for the glory of his name, that He only is worthy of adoration or worship, that he is revealed under the personal and relative distinction of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, equal in every divine perfection but performing distinct yet harmonious offices in the glorious work of man's redemption.

3d We believe

that man was created Holy, that he fell from that state by willful transgression of a Law of his maker; that in consequence of which all mankind are sinners; not by constraint, but willingly, being by nature destitute of all good and inclined to all evil; therefore justly under the curse of the Law for sin, subject of death, and all other miseries, spiritual, temporal and eternal.

4th We believe

that to redeem man from this curse, was the errand upon which the son of God appeared in our lower world, that for our sakes he became a man of sorrow and acquainted with grief, that he tasted death for every man, and thereby made an atonement for the sins of the whole world; that repentance, faith and obedience are the terms of his salvation.

5th We believe

that a congregation of baptized believers, who are associated by covenant, living in the faith and fellowship of the gospel; observing its ordinances, governed by its rules and exercising the gifts, rights and privileges invested in them by Christ, to be a Christian Church.

6th We believe

Christian baptism to be the immersion of a believer in water in the name of the Father the Son, and the Holy Ghost that it is pre-requisit to the privileges of a Church relation, and the Lord's supper. And that it is the imperative duty of all believers to be baptized.

7th We believe

that none ever have been or will be made partakers of the benefits of Christ's Spiritual kingdom, but those who are chosen in him unto salvation through the sanctification of the spirit and belief of the truth.

8th We believe

that nothing can separate real believers from the love of God, that a persevering attachment to Christ is the grand mark which distinguishes them from superficial professors, that a special providence watches over them, and that they are and will be kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation.

9th We believe

that the end of all things is at hand, that Christ is again to appear upon earth, that he is to be the Judge of the quick and the dead, and that an awful separation will then take place, a sentence of eternal condemnation will be awarded [?] to all whose robes are not washed and made white in the blood of the Lamb While they who have made Christ their Savior and friend by repentance, faith and obedience will be welcomed to all the Joys of Heaven, from whence they shall no more go out forever. Even so come Lord. Jesus Come quickly Amen.

Covenant

In the presence of God Angels and one another we do solemnly Covenant in the strength of our divine Master that we will exercise a mutual care, as members one of another, to promote the growth of the whole body in Christian knowledge, holiness and comfort; to the end that we may stand perfect and complete in all the will of God—That to promote and secure this object, we will uphold the public worship of God and the ordinance of his house; and hold constant communion with each other therein, that we will cheerfully contribute of our property for the support of the poor and do all that lies conveniently in our power, for the encouragement of a faithful ministry among us.

That we will not omit closet and family religion at home, nor allow ourselves in the too common neglect of the great duty of religiously training our children and those under our care, with a view to the service of Christ and the enjoyment of Heaven. That we will walk circumspectly before the world, in no way upholding or giving countenance to any of these things named by the Apostle in Gal. 5: 19-21. That we will conscientiously abstain from the use of all intoxicating liquors as a beverage, endeavoring so to recommend the religion of Christ by our lives as to win souls to him, remembering that God hath not given us the spirit of fear, but the power of love and of a sound mind; that we are the light of the world, the salt of the earth, a city set on a hill that can not be hid—

That we will frequently exhort, and if occasion shall require, admonish one another according to Matt. 18—in the spirit of meekness, considering ourselves lest we also be tempted remembering that as in baptism we have been buried with Christ & raised again in his likeness, there is henceforth a special obligation in us to walk in newness of life.

At our first Church and Covenant meeting after our organization as a separate body of believers in Christ from the Potawatomie Baptist Mission Church, held on the 24th of April 1841, at the house of Brother Thomas T. Hendrick in the Mohekunnuk Settlement Ind. Ter. Brother Blanchard opened the meeting by prayer, and other usual exercises that are generally required under such circumstances.

Proposition was brought forward, and laid before the brethren and sisters, for their consideration, which was that this Church ought to bear some certain name, under which it might be known and distinguished, the brethren unanimously voted that it should ever hereafter be called Deleware and Mohegan Baptist Mission Church

The next thing that was done at the said meeting, the said Church nominated and appointed Brothers Jonas Konkapot and brother Charles Jonycake to wait upon brother Towsey, to exhort and admonish him, for disorderly walk as a christian; and for neglecting his duty generally, in not attending to the ordinances of the Church of Christ, particularly in the branch to which he professes to belong, and that they shall be called upon to report at our next Church meeting.

The Brethren of this Church further agreed that they would patiently wait a little longer upon brother Pah-pa-ta-tauk-thy, before they would conclude to excommunicate him from this Church.

Resolution was taken by the brethren and sisters of this Church, that for the future, their church meetings should be held on Saturday previous to the last Sunday of each month.

Another resolution was taken by this Church, that no members of other denominations, should be received without giving a previous notice to the Church, to which they belong.

J. M. Newcom. (Church Clerk)

At a Church and Covenant meeting held at Brother Blanchard's house this 29th of May 1841, by the brethren & sisters of the said Mohegan and Deleware Baptist Mission Church, agreed unani-

mously by the brethren of this church, that Pau-pa-ta-tauk-tha be excommunicated from the Fellowship of this Church, and that he shall be notified of this dismission and that it is for his disorderly behaviour as a christian and member of this church——The Committee brother Jonas Konkapot and brother Charles Joney Cake, having heretofore been duly appointed by this Church to go and labour with brother Timothy Towsey, brought report to the Church at this meeting and stated that the said Timothy Towsey complained and found fault which was that a certain brother who had brought complaint before the Church against him had not taken the legal step agreeable to the gospel, and that in consequence of this failure, he declared to the said Committee that all their labour should be in vain and that his standing in the Church as a member should still remain as good and permanent as ever and that all their labour should be in vain——further resolution was taken by this Church, that the said Committee shall continue to stand as Committee in this case till the next Church meeting, and brother Blanchard was appointed additionaly to be one of the said Committee and to perform the duty that was required of them by the said Church and to make a report to the Church at the next Church meeting.

The constitution having been approved and adopted Bro Barker on Lord's day morning delivered an appropriate address to us from Ex The Lord said unto Moses why cryest thou unto me say unto the children of Israel that they go forward——after which Bro Meeker gave to us the charge and right hand of fellowship—

Bro John W Newcom was then unanomosly chosen to make record of the for going and to act as Clk of the Church while we shall sit in church capacity—

Bro J Meeker was invited to sit as moderator— Oportunity being given James Jack came before us requesting baptism and membership. We heard from him the reason of the hope that was in him and voted that he be received by us

Bro Blanchard moved & Bro Skeekett seconded that the church meet at Bro Thomas Hendricks on Saturday before the last Lords day in the presant Month—

The congregation having again collected bro Meeker addressed us upon the care of God over his people

We then repaired to the Kanzas and waited upon the candidates for baptism viz James Jack George W Hendrick Nancy Anthony the two latter having been received by us before organization while siting in capacity of P. B. M. Church right hand of fellowship was given them in behalf of the church by Bro. Meeker

This being done we came round the table of our crucified but risen Lord

By candle light held a special church prayer meeting—in which we trust the Lord was truly with us

At a Church meeting held at the House of Brother Charles Joney Cake by the brethren and sisters of the Delaware and Mohegan Baptist Mission this 27th day of June 1841, enquiries were made, concerning the labour of the sd. Committee, and they reported that the said Towsey had reconciled his brother, and had settled the difficulty which had heretofore existed [between] them. The report was accepted by the Church as a satisfactory report.

Church Meeting

June 27 1841

Meeting opened with prayer by br Barker The committee appointed to labor with br Towsey reported that br Newcom & br Towsey had come to an understandin between themselves—and the committee were discharged

No other business being before the church oportunity was given for any one to tell us of their desire to follow the Savior. Jane wife of our Br Charles Joney Cake presented a letter of recomendation from the Delaware methodest class & related to us the ground of her hope in Christ, we were all satisfyed of her interest in his atonement and voted that she be received for baptism Lords day. 28th After religios exursize repared to the water Intimation being there given that others were present who wished to follow in all the Lords appointed ways The Church waited to hear from them. John Connor & his wife presented themselves for Baptism Their relation being satisfacory the vote was unanimos for their reception The three candidates were then baptised by Br Barker We then assembled round the table of our Lord and commemorated his dying love

Church Meeting

July 23 1841

at Mohegan

Meeting opened with singing and prayer—Resolved that a committee of reconsilation be apointed to endeavor to harmonize any feelings of differance that may have grown out of a late neighborhood disturbanc occasioned by a vicious young man belonging to this place and that the committee consist of the following brethren Blanchard Newcom & Joney Cake & Corneleus Hendrick And Sisters Zeegler Towsey Ferguson & Mary Hendrick

Opportunity being given four related to us their love to christ and wish to be Baptised (Viz) Weh-hen-che-skondase Luttia-hing (Jones) John Hendrick & wife

No administrator being present meeting adjourned to meett at the Mission 2 weeks from to morrow

Adjourned Meeting

Aug 8 1841

at the Mission

The case of Brethern Cornelius Charles & Jonas Konkaput was brought before us Both had been guilty of intoxication the former was present & made confession to us—but it was thought that the honor of the cause required their suspension the latter to be requested to appear at our next meeting Both were suspended from communion and all other church privaleges Three of the candidates for baptism only were present (Jones being detained by sickness) they were waited upon by br Barker After which the Lords Supper was administered to us The season was rendered peculiarly sollem by the recent death of Br Robert Konkaput—

Church Meeting

Aug 28 1841

at the Mission

But few of the brethren being present it was proposed that attend to our church business tomorrow

Lords day after religious worship a door was opened for reception of members Sally Jonney Cake came befor us we herd her tell of her love to the Savior Resolved unanimosly that she be redeemed

Jonas Konkaput came before us and made his humble confession.

Church meeting

Oct 1841

at Stock

The committee appointed July 23 reported that the matter for which they were appointed were settled and were discharged

Communion dispensed with no administrator being present

Church Meeting

Nov 1841

at bro Charles,

The weather exceeding inclement and but few of the brethren present Solomon Journey cake appeared before the church preying for baptism No administrator being present no action was taken on the subject. Communion also dispensed with for the same reason

Church Meeting

Dec 25 1841

at Mohegan

Meeting as usual opened by singing and prayer, bro Jonas Konkaputs case again came before us after again hearing from him It was unanimously agreed that he be restored to church priviledges. The church being informed that br When-ge-skon-dase had been guilty of intoxication he was suspended from church priveleges and brothers Charles Journey Cake and Newcom were apointed to wait on him previous to our next meeting Communion again dispensed with because no administrator was present

Church Meeting

May 28 1842

at Mohegan

Meeting as usual opened with singing and prayer Brethren and Sister from abroad were invited to a full participation in the privileges and duties of the meeting.

The case of brother Cornelius Charles who was suspended at the August meeting for intoxication was again brought before us. After again hearing from him on the subject and his deep repentance being manifest upon the motion of bro Newcom seconed by bro Konkaput it was unanimously agreed that he be restored to his former standing in the church

Br Newcom asked leave to call the attention of the church to an affair that was settled at the church meeting June 27 1841 and gave briefly his reason for so doing which were satisfactory. Br Blanchard requested that before the church proceede to examine the case br Pratt be requested to fill his place as moderator which was granted, Br Pratt in the chair the case proceeded Br Blanchard stated that he had been with three others of the brethren to see br Towsey and that he had refused to hear anything from them and that he had cited him to appear at the meeting to answer to charges that would there be brought against him to which he returned nothing but raling. Br Newcom was then asked for proof of the statements he had made br Cornelius Hendrick stated that Mr Towsey had told him previous to the settlement that br Newcom had made confession and that was the way the difficulty was now being disposed His wife Sister Mary H. stated that she was present and heard Mr Towsey make the fore going statements Sister Betsey Zeeglear stated that Mr Towsey said in her presence

that Mr Newcom had written to br Blanchard and had carryed his own communication to him and got the matter hushed because he was affraid to have it go any farther. All this was at utter variance with the facts known to the committee Enquiry was then made as to the general appearance of religion in Mr Towsey, a general expression was that he was a disgrace [to the] church, that he was in constant habbit of lying and that he is and has been a sower of discord—Br Henry Skeekett motioned that the matter be postponed, got no second, br Jonas Konkakaput motioned that he be excluded without delay aleging as his reason that the church had already tolerated the case to its disgrace Br Cornelius Hendrick seconded the motion br H. Skeekett stated that the matter had got to a high pitch and that he should now be compled to come to the point said that things were charged upon Mr Towsey that were false that he had sought out one certain thing and it was not true Not saying what it was he was asked if the thing to which he alluded had been spoken of in the trial, He replied, "it has not The vote was then taken shall Timothy Towsey be excluded Affirmative eleven Negative five three of the five afterwards expressed approbation of this decision

Meeting adjourned by prayer

June 25 1842

Church met at
the Mission

Opened by singing and prayer. No business being before the church spent the evening in conferance singing and prayer

July 30 1842

Church Meeting
at br Charleses

Church met at bro Charleses according to appointment No business transacted much sympathetic feeling manifested in our conferance

Aug 27 1842

at Stockbridge

The church met at the time appointed—a division seems to be forming in our ranks which threatens much injury to the church After prayer it was agreed to spend a season in humileation and prayer before God in view of our condition

Sept 24 1842

Church meeting
at the Mission

Meeting opened as usual with singing and prayer Few of the brethren present Peter Hopehelase & John Jonney Cake presented themselves for membership the former was received and Bapt

Oct Meeting and

Nov " Passed
our bro Blanchard
being absent

Dec 24 1842

Church met
at the Mission

Had a precious season of conference and prayer. Those brethren who have not been carried away by our trials seem to be much humbled and well prepared for spiritual food Communion on Lords day

Jany 28 1843

at bro Charleses
Church Meeting

No business being before us spent the time in devotional exercise
Communion on Lords day

Feb 25 1843

Church Met
at Stockbridge

Opened by singing and prayer. The subject of our division came before the church. Brethren Barker & Pratt being present they were invited to a full participation in the meeting.

After much consultation Brethren Blanchard Barker & Pratt were appointed to look after these difficulties and to report to morrow

Lords day 26

The committee of yesterday made the follow[ing] report as the result of their efforts

They have succeeded in reconciling Cathorin Lyttleman and Mary Chemawkun to each other the former expressing herself satisfied with the confessions of the latter

Bro T Hendric and H Skeekett refuse to be reconciled with the church unless the missionaries cease to visit it These terms were

unanimously rejected by the Stockbridge brethren Br Cornelius Charles motioned that these two brethren be suspended and also the wife of the former she occupying the same ground The motion prevailed and the three were suspended.

The committee were not discharged but requested to continue labor

March 28

Church Met

at the Mission

Opened as usual by singing and prayer

The committee appointed at our last meeting begged further opportunity which was granted

No other business being before us spent the evening in devotional exercise Communion on Lords day

Apl 29 1843

Church Meetin

at the Mission

by consent of the members

Singing and prayers The committee still asked indulgence which was granted

Opportunity being given Isaac Skeekett and George Washington presented themselves for membership Being satisfied with their relation both were received and baptised

Communion on Lords day

May 28 1843

Church Meeting

at Stockbridge

The committee reported that they had continued their efforts without success No action of the church was taken

Bro Jonas Konkaput made confession of his having again been overcome by intemperance He was requested keep back from the communion till the church should be more entirely satisfied of his repentance

June 24 1843

Church Meeting

at the Mission

Church meeting
at the Mission
Nov 18 1843

Meeting opened with singing and prayer. The breatheren from abroad invited to full participation in the meeting Reference.

The committee appointed Feb. 25, 1843 were called upon for a final repor[t] Br Pratt from the committee stated the result of their protracted labors.

The church called for any information that any of the brethren or sister might be in possession of in the case. all the individual statements were corroborative of report of the committee That no hope remained of reclaiming the suspended members Br. Jonas Konkaput moved, "that the three suspended members(viz) Thomas Hendrick and wife and Henry Skeekett be excluded" Seconded by Br. Newcomb

Unanimously *voted that they be excluded.* Br Newcomb motioned that a committee be appointed to search out any brethren or sisters that may have become alienated from us Seconded by Br Cornelius Chemawkun unanimously voted in the affirmative Committee to consist of sisters Mary Chemawkun Sylvia Case and [illegible] Brethren Blanchard Pratt and Barker

Adjourned till evening

Evening meeting opened, singing prayer Br Cornelius Charles came before the church with confession for drunkenness. Subject waved till candlelight.

At candle light church resumed the case of br Charles confession. Motion by br Newcomb seconded by br Jamas Konkaput that the church forgive br Charles and accept his confession Vote carried unanimous

Br. Blanchard moved that br James Jack be suspended from the privileges of the church seconded by br Newcomb voted unanimous A committee to wait upon him to consist of brothrs Blanchard & Joneycake and Newcomb——Br Barker presented the subject of Br Blanchards ordination which was unanimously approved Covenant was read, and some remarks, and the meeting closed with devotional exsursises singing prayer etc

Lords day 19

Br's Pratt and Blanchard were ordained

Sermon by br Barker prayer and charge by Br Meeker Right-hand-of-fellowship by Br Barker.

Communion at the close of the exsursises

Church Meeting
At Stockbridge
Dec 30 1843

Meeting opened by singing and prayer Report of [committee] called for Committee appointed to labor with br. Jim Jack were not ready to report—Continued till next meeting

Br Pratt from the committee of enquiry reported labor with Washington Hendrick Without any satisfaction Motion by Br Cornelius Chemawkun to exclude seconded by br. G. Konkaput Vote in the affirmative unanimously prevailed Sister Case from the committee reported having vis[it]ed Sisters Doxtater & Catharine Kankaput & Skeekett Church were satisfied with the intelegence from Sister Doxtater—so far as it extended but the committee were requested to continue labor—Motion Made by br. J. W- Newcomb that Phebe Skeekett [sentence unfinished] Seconded by br Cornelius Chemawkun. Affirmative unanimously prevailed *and she is excluded*

The case of Sister Catharine Konkaput was considered as satisfactory after hearing from her in person, None of the Committees were discharged Sister Blanchard added to the committee of sisters

Saturday 28 1844
Church Meeting
At the Mission

Meeting opened as usual by singing and prayer. Brother cornelius Chemaunkun presented a petition from six of the brethren and Sisters at Stockbridge praying for a dismis[sion] for the purpose of organising into a distinct church of the same faith and order viz Jonas Konkaput Cornelius Chemawkun, Hannah Kunkaput Sally Konkaput, Katharine Konkaput Mary A Chemawkun Request unanimously granted.

No further business being before us spent the evening in devotional exersize

III. INTRODUCTION

First mention of the Stockbridge Indians in the territory west of the Mississippi appears in reports of the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions in the *Baptist Missionary Magazine* for the year 1840. The item is as follows:

“On the 6th of December [1839] a party of Stockbridge Indians from Winnebago Lake (Wisconsin territory,) arrived, with the design of making the Delaware country their future home. The Delawares have acceded to the proposition, and have located them below Fort Leavenworth. From eight to ten of these, including the principal chief, are expected to join the Delaware church,

two of whom have not before made a profession of faith in Christ. The native assistant is to labor among this tribe."

In the report for 1843 appears the statement that Mr. and Mrs. J. G. Pratt have been authorized to remove to Stockbridge, at the earnest and repeated solicitation of the Indians of that place. "He [Pratt] has," reads the report, "for some time, regularly ministered to them every alternate Sabbath. He will take the press with him; the Stockbridges gladly engaging to aid in the erection of a printing-office, school-house, etc., to the utmost of their ability." Some difficulties for the Stockbridges arose over the "singular alienation of the Delaware chiefs" and Mr. Pratt was prevented from locating among them for a time, but troubles were adjusted and mission buildings were commenced in the autumn of 1844. The following records, copied verbatim, show activities of the Stockbridge Baptist Mission Church constituted April 13th, 1845:

IV. CHURCH BOOK

RECORDS

The Stockbridge Baptist Mission Church, was organized, April 13th 1845. Present at the time, Brethren Jotham Meeker, Francis Barker, & Ira D. Blanchard.

At a meeting of members for organization previous to organization it was voted to adopt as ours the "Declaration of Faith," and "Covenant," as prepared by the Committee of the New Hampshire Baptist Convention.

At a meeting of the Church June 8, it was voted that the Church meet for Conference and Business on the 2d Saturday of each month.

Voted also to adopt the following Resolutions—*Resolved*—That we consider the habit of using intoxicating liquors, as a drink, to be sinful; and leads to fearful consequences, as the scriptures declare, no "drunkard shall inherit the kingdom of Heaven." We will abstain from the use of any, & all intoxicating drinks;—and consider those under censure of the Church, who use, or become intoxicated in the use of them.

Resolved—That we consider Marriage an ordinance of Heaven, and require all persons (members of the Church,) expecting to enter that relation, to be publicly united, according to the usual manner of performing that ceremony among professed Christians.

In consequence of sickness, and the absence of most of the members, no meeting of the Church occurred after the above date until

January 25th, 46 when a meeting was held at the House of Bro Jonas Konkapot—at which time Bro. Cornelius Charles from the Delaware Baptist Church, John G. Pratt, and Mrs. Olivia E. Pratt from the Putawatomie Baptist Church, presented Letters, and were received as members of this Church. J. G. Pratt Pastor

February 7th Church met at the House of Sister Hannah Konkapot, at which time Levi Konkapot and Jacob Littleman related their religious exercises, and requested admission to the Church. Voted to meet Feb 14th to decide on their Reception.—Adjourned—

February 14th Church met according to adjournment at the house of Pastor. After further hearing the above named individuals, and also listening to Mrs Josephine Littleman—It was voted, unanimously—that they be received as candidates for Baptis[m] and membership. After prayer Adjournment—

Sabbath Afternoon Feb 15th these persons were all baptized, in presence of a solemn and interested congregation.

March 7, 1846 Church met at the House of J. G. Pratt Door being opened for the reception of member[s] Mr. Joseph Henry Killbuck, and his wife; Eli Hendrick and his wife; and the widow Lydia Konkapot, related their religious exercises and were received as Candidates for Baptism and Membership. Mr. Thomas T. Hendrick, made formal confession of error, asked the privilege of a union with us. Church requested him to wait until another meeting to which he consented—Adjourned—

Sabbath morning March 8 the individuals received above were all Baptized; and in the evening, received the right hand of fellowship After which Church Commemorated the Suffering of our Savior, enjoying much of his presence, and much rejoicing in his favor.

April Church met at the House of Bro. Jonas Konkapot. After religious exercises voted to appoint second Sabbath in May as a season of religious worship, and to invite the Christian friends from Shawanoe and Delaware to be present

Also voted that at our meeting for business next week we will elect a brother to act for us as our Deacon.

Adjourned by prayer—

J. G. Pratt

Pastor

April

At an adjourned meeting held at the house of Bro. Thomas Hendrick, it was unanimously voted that Bro. Eli Hendrick be appointed to fill the office of Deacon of this Church—

Adjourned

J. G. Pratt, Pastor

May

Church met at Meeting House. No Business time spent in Religious exercises.

Adjourned

J. G. Pratt, Pastor

June

Church met at Meeting House—

Business—Bro. Cornelius Chemaunkun, having been reported to have violated the rule of Christian conduct was, after having been labored with suspended from Church privileges—He however acknowledging his impropriety and hoping before long to be again restored to fellowship—

Religious exercises followed—

Adjourned

J. G. Pratt, Pastor

July

Church met at Jonas Konkapot's

Business—Voted to appoint Bro. Jacob Littleman Interpreter.

Religious exercises followed—

Adjourned

J. G. Pratt, Pastor—

Church Meeting March 14,—1846

The services being opened by prayer and Singing—The case of Mr Thomas T. Hendrick was taken up, and he was received. Church Spent remainder of the evening in devotional exercises—

Adjourned—

J. G. Pratt, Pastor

August 22

Church Met at Meeting House

Business of the meeting to receive such persons as might be prepared, and were desirous of joining. After prayer—door being opened for such to speak, four individuals, manifested their wish to become members of the Church—viz

Jonas Littleman, Abigail H. Killbuck—

The Church after careful examination voted unanimously to receive them

The day following, being Sabbath, the above mentioned individuals were all Baptized, in presence of a numerous and solemn congregation. In the evening, the Lords Supper was administered, during which all seemed to enjoy a large measure of the Spirit's influence. There had been with us for several days, many dear brethren & Sisters from other Churches whose presence and exhortation had greatly encouraged and strengthened us. The evening closed the Series of meeting[s] and it was indeed a precious and refreshing season, spent with evident toke[n] of divine favor, and presence of his Holy Spirit—and will not soon be forgotte[n]

Adjourned

J. G. Pratt

Pastor

Church Meeting Sept. 12, 1846—

At this meeting Mrs Lucy Konkapot related to the Church her religious exercises; and requested the privilege of becoming a member of it—After proper consideration Church voted to receive her as a candidate for baptism and membership—Mrs Phebe Skigget was also received. On the following morning, Prudence Quinney, manifested to the Church while met for public worship a desire to unite, she was received; after which the ordinance of Baptism was administered to the two candidates—

Adjourned

J. G. Pratt

Pastor

Church Meeting Oct 9, 1846.

At this meeting, Church voted to remove the censure resting upon Bro. Cornelius Chemaukun, and restore him again to all the privileges of the Church.

After the evening had been spent in religious exercises, Mrs. Abigail Hendrick, with much feeling stated her convictions of duty to unite with the Church if thought worthy—she was received as a candidate for Baptism & membership.

Adjourned

J. G. Pratt

Pastor

Nov. 7, 1846—

Church meeting at meeting house.

At this meeting two persons were dropped from fellowship, on account of improper conduct. Other business was introduced but deferred until a future meeting. The names of the two persons dropped were

J. G. Pratt

Pastor—

Church Meeting Dec. 12, 1846—

Meeting opened as usual by prayer. The time was spent in conversation on several points of business, none in shape to be recorded was attended to—Spent a season in religious conference having reference to the sacrament to be administered to-morrow (sabbath)—

Adjourned J. G. Pratt

Pastor—

Church Meeting Jan. 9 1847

Meeting opened by prayer. It was resolved at this meeting that it was inexpedient to bear longer with Brethren Jonas Konkapot, and Cornelius Charles, and that the hand of fellowship be considered as withdrawn from them—in consequence of improper conduct[ct].

A Committee consisting of Brethren Jacob Littleman, & Levi Konkapot be appointed to labor with Jonas Littleman, and Sally Konkapot, it being understood that their conduct had been unbecoming a profession of Godliness.

Miss Jemima Dockstater related to the Church her religious feelings, and expressed confidence in Christ, and asked for admission to the privileges of membership; which, after careful examination was voted, in her behalf after she shall have been baptized—

Adjourned

J. G. Pratt

Pastor—

Church Meeting, Feb. 24, 1846

Meeting opened, as usual by prayer After which, business being introduced, Bro. Jacob Littlemen from a committee reported that three persons with whom they had labored were obstinate in wicked ways and requested to be released from their connection with the Church—The hand of fellowship was by unanimous vote accordingly withdrawn from Jonas Littleman—Sally Konkapot, and Lydia Konkapot.

Mr. Benjamin Towsy expressed to the Church an interest in religious truth, an intention [to] forsake sinful ways—an interest in a Saviour, and a desire to become a member with us of the Church of Christ—After careful examination he was unanimously received, as a candidate for Baptism & Membership.

J. G. Pratt

Pastor—

Note—On the following Sabbath Feb 28, Miss Doxstater, & Mr. Towsy were Baptised—and in the evening of the same day—Church celebrated the communion of the Lord's Supper—

J. G. P.

Church Meeting, March 13, 1847

At this meeting Church voted to withdraw the hand of fellowship from Cornelius Chemaukun, and to suspend from Church privileges his wife Mary C. for alleged improper conduct,—

Meeting adjourned,

J. G. Pratt

Pastor.

Church Meeting April 10, 1847

Time spent wholly in religious conference, there being no business.

J. G. Pratt

Pastor.

Church Meeting May 8, 1847

Church meeting at the house of Hannah Konkapot—At this meeting the church voted unanimously to Withdraw fellowship from all persons previously suspended for immoral conduct. They are therefore no longer regarded as under the watch—care and countenance of the Church—Religious Conference followed

Adjourned—

J. G. Pratt

Pastor

Church Meeting June 12, 1847

At the house of Sister Hannah Konkapot—Church voted to exclude Prudence Quinney for grossly immoral conduct—Spent remainder of the evening in religious Conference.

Adjourned—J. G. Pratt

Pastor

Church Meeting July 1849

At the house of Hannah Konkapot Time spent in Devotional exercises—

Adjourned

J. G. Pratt
Pastor

Church Meeting August 1847

At the house of the Pastor This meeting being on Sabbath evening was preparative for the Lords Supper which was immediately after administered

J. G. Pratt
Pastor

Church Meeting Sept 1847

At the house of the Pastor At this meeting Benjamin Towsy—and Phoebe skigget were excluded, for the sin of drunkenness—Devotional exercises followed.

J. G. Pratt
Pastor

Church Meeting Oct. 1847

At the house of Hannah Konkapot. No business—time spent in religious exercises

J. G. Pratt—
Pastor—

Nov. & Dec—Meetings omitted.

Church meeting, Jan. 1848

At this meeting Cornelius Charles, was restored to the fellowship of the Church. Mrs. Susan Charles was also restored. (formerly member of Delaware Baptist Church.)

Adjourned—

John G. Pratt
Pastor

Feb—1848

At this meeting no special business was transacted. Time spent in devotional exercises preparatory to the administration of the Lord's Supper on the Sabbath immediately following.

Adjourned.

J. G. Pratt
Pastor

No meeting was held at Stockbridge, until August 1, when the Church voted to disband & become merged in the Mission Church at Delaware; which was accordingly done at a meeting held at Delaware, Aug. 12; 13; 1848.

J. G. Pratt.

This church having met with a severe visitation,⁹ and parted with its former Pastor, was re-organized on the 12th of Aug. 1848. In doing this it was found necessary to enroll such names only as were known to be in good standing in this and the disbanded Church at Stockbridge. This step became the more important as the book containing record of the Delaware Church, appeared either to have been mutilated or intentionally neglected, as no entries appeared to have been made for several years. The list of members immediately following contains only such names of persons as are known to be in good standing in both Churches at time of re-organization.

List of Church Members
As revised August 12th, 1848

1848	John G. Pratt—Pastor		William Kaleb
August 29	Olivia E. Pratt—		Jenny Kaleb
	Charles Johnycake	Deceas'd	James Rain
	Sally Johnycake		Susan Killbuck
	Jane Johnycake	Deceas'd	Jacob Littleman
	Betsy Zeigler	Deceased	Hipelas
	Francis Pokelas		Hannah Hipelas
	Ar-nark-tun-dut		Macharch
Excluded	Wul-lun-da-nat-o'kwa		" Hipelas
	Eunice Eaton	Ex.	Nancy Konkapot
Deceased	Hannah Konkapot		Louisa Littleman
Deceas'd	Susan Charles		Mrs. Job Skicket
	Cornelius Charles		Cousin of Charles
	Eli Hendrick		Johnycake
	Sally Hendrick	1849	E. S. Morse
	Joseph Killbuck	August 1	
Dropped	" His wife		
	Abigail Killbuck		

9. The nature of this visitation is not disclosed by the church records.

Ferries in Kansas

Part II—Kansas River

GEORGE A. ROOT

THE Kansas river, the principal stream originating within the state, has a history dating back considerably more than 200 years. The river derives its name from the Kanza or Kaw Indians who resided near its mouth and along its course from time immemorial. It is formed by the junction of the Republican and Smoky Hill rivers, which unite at a point near Junction City. From there it flows in an easterly direction for about 240 miles to mingle its murky waters with that of the "Great Muddy," or Missouri.

This stream has been given various names by explorers and early map makers. One of the earliest references to the river was by Antonio de Herrary Tordesilla, historiographer to the King of Spain. Marquette mentions the Kanza in 1673. John Senex's map of Louisiana and of the Mississippi river, in 1719, calls it the "Great River of Cansez." D'Anville's map of 1732 calls it the River des Padoucas and Kansas. DuPratz's map of Louisiana, 1757, calls it the River of the Cansez, while a map of British and French settlements in North America, published in 1758, gives the stream the name of Padoucas river.¹

There is much fiction in early accounts of the river, one authority recording that it had been ascended for a distance of 900 miles, while an equally unreliable historian asserted that it was navigable for a like distance.

The valley of the Kansas had long been a highway to the buffalo hunting grounds on the great plains and to the mountains beyond. The Chouteaus and other early traders among the Indians had posts along the stream, and trappers and hunters used its waters to raft their pelts to markets on the Missouri river.

Thomas Say, of Long's expedition, Lieut. J. W. Abert, Col. John C. Fremont and others started up the Kaw valley on exploring expeditions to the far West. The earliest and perhaps the greatest tide of emigration to Oregon and California passed up the Kaw valley on the first leg of the journey. The river was only fordable during periods when there was a scarcity of rain, and for this reason ferries were a necessity and were established at an early date along its

1. Names from old maps and volumes in Kansas State Historical Society.

course. Being located at easily accessible points on the river, they became deciding factors in the location of territorial and state roads which were established by early legislatures.

The earliest Kansas law regarding ferries was passed by the legislature of 1855, and was designated as chapter 71. This act provided that no person should keep a ferry without a license, and that the county clerk should issue licenses, etc.²

Ferrying on the Kansas river dates back something over 100 years. Beginning with a ferry established within the limits of present Wyandotte county, the first ferry encountered above the mouth of the river was the one inaugurated by the Wyandott Nation, and was known as the Wyandott National Ferry. These Indians in 1843 purchased lands on the north side of the Kansas river, extending westward from its confluence with the Missouri, from their relatives the Delawares. Being hedged in, so to speak, by the two rivers, a ferry was put into operation, for their convenience, just above the mouth of the Kaw. Here a flatboat, operated by a cable and capable of transporting one wagon and team at a time, was the equipment first used by this ferry, while a small cabin was erected on the bank of the river as a shelter for the ferryman. The exact date when this enterprise went into operation and the name of the ferryman who first had charge of the boat have not been learned. However, the journals of Gov. William Walker throw considerable light on early ferry matters, there being numerous references to the subject. The following are extracts from the journal* entries:

"Jan. 27, 1846. Attended Council to-day but done very little of important business. Agreed to employ Tall Charles another year to keep the ferry.

"Feb. 10, 1846. Paid Tall Charles, ferryman, \$45, leaving him a balance due him for 1845 of \$55.00.

"July 7, 1846. C. G. G. and Peter Buck arraigned for violently taking the ferry boat from her moorings in the absence of the ferryman; the former fined \$5 and latter \$2.50.

"May 8, 1847. Attended the sale at the council room of the goods, chattels and effects of Nofat, deceased. Bought nothing. The company then proceeded to the ferry, hauled out and turned upside down the old boat for repairs. G. A. and myself assorted our lumber.

"Dec. 27, 1847. . . . Went to H. Jaquis's and spent a part of the day, the election of a ferryman being the principal topic of conversation, the candidates are D. Young, Tall Charles, Charles Split-The-Logs.

"Dec. 28, 1847. Council met at James Washington's. Proceeded to the election of a ferryman, and resulted in the election of D. Young.

2. *General Statutes, Kansas, 1855*, pp. 362-364.

* *Nebraska State Historical Society Collections*, 2d Ser., v. 3.

"Jan. 17, 1848. No ferrying, the river being frozen over.

"May 3, 1848. . . . Settled with M. Goodyear for lumber got for the use of the ferry by the council, \$27.50.

"June 4, 1848. Mrs. W[alker] and Sophia state that on their return from K[ansas City] they found at the ferry a dozen or more people waiting to cross, and among them was John Charloe, very drunk, and had been severely beat.

"Dec. 12, 1848. At 2 o'clock the joint meeting proceeded to ballot for a ferryman. After several ballots all the candidates were dropped except D. Young and Tall Charles and the final ballots on these two stood thus: D. Young, 16; Tall Charles, 7. Majority, 9 votes. Adjourned.

"July 28, 1849. . . . Attended a special election of ferryman, vice D. Young resigned; and George Steel was elected.

"Nov. 17, 1850. To-day the council and legislative committee met in joint session to elect ferryman for the year 1851 . . . when Isaac Brown was duly elected.

"Feb. 18, 1851. The Kansas river has about run dry; there not being water enough to float the ferry boat, and consequently no ferrying.

"In the evening learned that the ferry was now *passable*.

"Dec. 14, 1852. . . . Attended the joint meeting of the council and legislative committee and elected Nicholas Cotter ferryman for 1853.

"Mch. 9, 1853. Sent Dudley to K[ansas City], who shortly afterwards returned and reported that the ice above the ferry had broken loose and *stove in* the ferry boat and carried her off down the river, with a negro on board.

"May 26, 1853. Diable. Those *drunken vagabondish* ferrymen have lost the ferry boat. They say some one or two broke the lock last night and took the boat, no one knows where. This is provoking. The rascals have been drunk and lost the boat themselves. Now we have another *embargo*.

"May 29, 1853. Our ferry boat was found and recovered near Randolph.

"Dec. 20, 1853. Harriet and Baptiste set out for Kansas, but on arriving at the ferry found the floating ice so thick and running so rapidly the ferry boat could not cross. So they gave it up and came home. Mr. Dofflemeyer then proposed to Harriet that if she would go back with him, as he wanted to go over, he would venture with the ferry boat, and make the attempt to cross. They went and succeeded in crossing.

"June 5, 1854. Lost our ferry boat again.

"June 17, 1854. Heard of the recovery of the ferry boat.

"June 21, 1854. We have had no mail for nearly two weeks for the want of a boat to cross the river. Although the boat was caught at Richfield, about forty miles from here, yet our worthless council and still more worthless ferryman take no steps towards getting it bro't up again. A pretty set of fellows to want to maintain a separate government."

The above is the last entry in the Walker journals regarding the Wyandotte ferry. The record book of the Wyandotte Indian council, 1855 to 1871, contains several mentions of the ferry, concluding with its sale in 1856. There is a hiatus of a little more than a year

between the last ferry item date in Walker's journal and the first similar one in the Wyandotte records, which follows:

"Nov. 9, 1855. The council paid Adam Brown one hundred and eighty dollars for acting as ferryman for nine months.

"Nov. 13 to 22, 1855. Ferry expenses to Joel Walker, \$79.00. Ferry expenses to Northrup & Chick, \$22.15. John D. Brown for repairs on ferry house, \$35.00.

"Nov. 3, 1856. Silas Armstrong hire of flat boat, paid \$61.50. Thomas Smart for crying of ferry sale (paid) Silas Armstrong, \$5.00. National ferryman, J. H. Cotter, paid, \$199.54.

"Wyandott Council 1st Sept.

"Wyandott Council. 1856.

"Convened this day, present Geo. I. Clark, Silas Armstrong, John D. Brown, John Hicks & Peter D. Clark.

"The commissioners met the council this day and the chiefs and commissioners ordered the four acres of ground attached to the ferry³ to be surveyed and to be sold to the highest bidder on Monday the fifteenth (15th) day of the present month according to treaty of 31st January, 1856.

"Amount of Sam Parsons (surveying) account \$586.68.

"R. ROBITAILLE, Clerk.

GEO. I. CLARK, Principal Chief."

"Wyandott Council, 15 September, 1856.

"The Wyandotts council convened this day according to adjournment, full board of chiefs present, Geo. I. Clark presiding. In accordance with an article in the treaty between the U. S. government and Wyandott Indians in date of 31st January, 1855, and according to advertisements affixed in three public places in Wyandott, was sold the four acres of land attached to the Wyandott ferry, this day and adjudged to Isaiah Walker, the highest bidder, for the sum of seven thousand dollars, payable one-half, say three thousand five hundred (\$3,500) dollars, payable on the thirty-first of next October, and the other half, say three thousand five hundred (\$3,500) dollars, payable one year from said 31st October next without interest, and Charles B. Garrett becomes his security for the full fillment of the conditions of the sale. A plat of said lot of land has been made by Lot Coffman, Esq., one of the commissioners.

"There being no further business the Council have adjourned to the October next.

GEO. I. CLARK, Principal Chief.⁴

"R. ROBITAILLE, Clerk."

Another early mention of this ferry dating back to 1846 is the following by Louis H. Gerrard, in his *Wa-to-yah*, page 2:

"The Wyandotte is the nearest Indian tribe to Kansas [City]; and, one afternoon, Mr. Drinker and myself visited the agent, Doctor Hewitt. A walk of a mile, through woods on the river bank, brought us to the mouth of the Kansas, or Kaw, river, a stream ferried by a tall, good specimen of a full-blood Wyandotte, who received the toll with a look as if to say, 'Your money's

3. *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 15, map facing p. 158.

4. Wyandotte Indian Council Records, 1855-1871, MSS., pp. 41, 42.

no account, and I've a mind to toss you in the river for offering it'; our attempts at conversation failed."

In 1857 the ferry crossed the Kaw at a point near the cable line bridge of later date. It is said that toll charges for this year amounted to \$7,000 for crossing, and that charges were not exorbitant, but reasonable. This ferry continued to be used until 1863, when a pontoon bridge was built across the river near its mouth.⁵

A Kansan who used this ferry many years ago, wrote:

"We crossed the Kaw at Wyandotte. In those days there were no bridges, so we had to ferry over on one of those flat-bottomed scows such as are in use to-day for carrying sand from the steam dredges in the Missouri and Kansas rivers. A heavy cable was stretched across the river on which ran two pulleys from which ropes were attached to each end of the boat. When the ferryman was ready to start he wound the rear rope so as to head the boat up stream and the current would propel the boat to the opposite shore. This was a slow process, as only one team at a time could be carried, but was the best we could do in the Far West of fifty years ago."⁶

Just what disposition Isaiah Walker made of his ferry has not been learned. However, an advertisement in the *Western Argus*, of Wyandotte, April 7, 1860, stated that the ferry was running, Isaiah Walker & Co. being proprietors.

Mr. K. L. Browne, of Kansas City, Kan., in a letter to the author, dated July 12, 1932, stated that "Jack Beaton was the recognized operator of the ferry. He was not an Indian. Afterwards he went west with Tom Parks, who was killed by the Indians during the building of the Union Pacific railroad."

The following items relating to Wyandotte county ferry matters are extracts from the minute book of the city fathers of the City of Wyandotte:

"Oct. 12, 1856: Mr. Glick, on behalf of Mr. Steavens, made application for the payment by the town of the amount due him for services performed as ferryman on the free ferry across the Kansas river, he being unable to collect the same from the citizens by whom it was agreed to be paid. Petition laid on the table.

"July 14, 1859: Petition of L. Meyer and other merchants and business men of the city requesting the board to levy a tax on the steam ferry boat "Lizzie," or any other ferry boat running regularly between this city and Kansas City. Tabled.

"November 15, 1859: Resolved that Messrs. Walker, Judd and His Honor the Mayor, be appointed a committee to confer with Wm. H. Irwin & Co. with a view of establishing a ferry across the Missouri river.

5. Godspeed's *History of Wyandotte County*, pp. 359, 361.

6. Charles Raber, "Personal Recollections," in *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 16, p. 316.

"November 19, 1859: The committee appointed to confer with Wm. H. Irwin & Co. with regard to the ferry across the Missouri river reported that they had submitted the proposition of the board to Mr. Irwin which was that Wm. H. Irwin & Co. was to establish the ferry within thirty days after the 18th day of January, A.D. 1860 and to pay to the city ten per cent of the profits of said ferry and that Wm. H. Irwin & Co. accepted said proposition. On motion of Mr. White the report was received and the committee discharged. Whereupon it was on motion,

"Resolved, That the mayor be instructed to complete the contract between Wm. H. Irwin & Co. and the city with regard to the ferry across the Missouri river and submit the same to a vote of the people at an election to be held for that purpose on the 6th day of December, 1859.

[No record of an election in the minute book.]

"November 24, 1859: An article of agreement between the city of Wyandotte and Wm. H. Irwin & Co. was presented and ordered placed on file.

"November 24, 1859: A petition signed by Silas Armstrong, David E. James and William Wear, his attorney, for ferry privileges across the Kansas river was presented and read, whereupon on motion of Mr. Overton it was

"Resolved, That we hereby grant unto the Kansas River Ferry Company the privilege of moving their present rope ferry to or near the mouth of the Kansas river and grant unto them the privilege of landing at said point with a flat boat for the term of three years from the present time. Said ferry to be moved within twenty days from the present time.

"November 25, 1859: The mayor stated that the object of calling the meeting to be his veto of a bill passed on the previous day granting the privilege to the Kansas River Ferry Company the right to land on the Wyandott side at the foot of Minnesota avenue for the period of three years, and gave as his reasons for vetoing the same that from information he had derived since that the city had no rights themselves to a landing at that point and that they were giving away private property which they had no right to do and as the resolution now stood he could not approve it.

"November 29, 1859: Petition of J. M. Funk and others for certain ferry privileges to be granted to the Kansas River Ferry Company was brought before the meeting. Whereupon Mr. Overton moved that the company be allowed the privilege of landing on the levee on the Kansas river belonging to the city for the term of three years. Motion lost a majority of the whole board needed to carry over the mayor's veto.

"February 28, 1860: Petition of R. W. Clark, J. M. Funk, et al for ferry landing at the mouth of the Kansas river. On motion the above petition was referred to committee on ordinances with instructions to report at next meeting an ordinance in compliance with said petition.

"March 6, 1860: Committee on ordinances reported ordinance 20 relating to ferry landing on Kansas river. Upon the final passage was passed unanimously.

[Ordinance cannot be found.]

"April 10, 1860: Petition of Wm. H. Irwin for extension of time on ferry contract presented. On motion the time on said contract was extended from May 1, 1860, until May first, 1875.

"April 17, 1860: On motion Gen. W. H. Irwin was granted until the first of June, A. D., 1860, to procure ferry boat."

The Wyandotte City Ferry Company, operated by Silas Armstrong and associates, was granted a charter by the legislature of 1858 to operate a ferry across the Missouri river, with privilege of landing on either bank of the Kansas river within one-eighth of a mile above its mouth.⁷ Two years later this company was granted additional rights and privileges when the city council passed the following:

"ORDINANCE NO. 37.

"An ordinance granting Silas Armstrong, or his assigns, the privilege of landing a ferry boat on Kansas river.

"Be it Ordained by the mayor and aldermen of the city of Wyandotte, to-wit:

"Section 1. That Silas Armstrong or his heirs and assigns, if they have the lawful right to keep a public ferry across the Kansas river, at or near its mouth, shall have all the right this city has to grant, to a landing of their ferry boat at any place where any of the streets or avenues of this city, now made open, by any ordinance of this city, or resolution or motion, strikes or extends to the said river, for a period of three years from this date, unless the said place where said boat shall be located shall be wanted before that time for the purpose of constructing a bridge over said river at that point.

"Approved, Dec. 5, 1860.

GEO. RUSSELL, Mayor.

"Attest: THOMAS J. DARLING, City Clerk." ⁸

Willie Willis was granted a charter by the board of county commissioners of Johnson county, at a called meeting April 10, 1858, for a ferry on the Kansas river near the mouth of the stream and opposite the city of Wyandotte for the term of twelve months. This license cost Mr. Willis \$75, and he was authorized to collect the following rates of ferriage: Each footman, 10 cents; man and horse, 15 cents; loose horses, 10 cents; cattle, 10 cents each; buggy and one horse, 25 cents; two-horse wagon and horses, 50 cents; each additional horse, 10 cents.⁹

The next ferry upstream was about three miles from Wyandotte. This was known as the Santa Fé road ferry and was started in 1857 by Wyandotte interests in an effort to attract trade to that city from territory south of the Kansas river. In order to do this it was necessary to establish a free ferry and open a road from Wyandotte to the river. The point selected for the ferry was on the SE $\frac{1}{2}$ of S. 20, T. 11, R. 25, the road crossing the river a few rods below

7. *Laws, Kansas*, 1858, pp. 70, 71.

8. *Wyandotte Commercial Gazette*, December 8, 1860.

9. Johnson county, Commissioners Proceedings, 1858, p. 12.

the Argentine bridge of the 1930's, and continuing on to Shawnee, in Johnson county, where it connected with the old Santa Fé trail. This road did not receive official recognition until October 27, 1859, when it was regularly laid out and designated on the official plat as the "Santa Fé road." It reached the Kaw where Nineteenth street, Kansas City, now meets the river.¹⁰ This ferry soon gave way to a toll bridge.

At the 1858 session of the territorial legislature a company designated as the Wyandotte Bridge Company applied for a charter for a bridge across the Kansas river at a point not closer than two, nor more than six, miles from the mouth of that stream. One section of the act authorized and empowered the company to establish and maintain a free ferry across the river at or near the point selected for the erection of the bridge,¹¹ which was built that year.

Wyandotte was a natural center for roads from all directions. A road to the west from Wyandotte connected with the Fort Leavenworth-Fort Gibson road; one to the south connected with the Santa Fé road; another to the west intersected the Fort Leavenworth-Fort Riley road. These were the more important ones. Another, established in 1855, which ran from the Wyandotte ferry across the Kansas river, passing Joel Walker's, Charles Garrett's and Noah Zaines' claims and on to the Parkville ferry, was made a territorial road;¹² another, established the same time, ran from Wyandotte, via Jacksonville, to Ozawkie, the act requiring the commissioners who laid out the road to erect "finger boards" along the route where necessary.¹³ Another ran to Quindaro, Leavenworth and Atchison;¹⁴ another to Mound City, via the Wyandotte bridge, Aubrey, New Lancaster and Ballard's ford,¹⁵ and still another from Wyandotte, via Shawneetown, New Lancaster, Trading Post, Potosi and Barnesville, to Fort Scott, following the old military road as nearly as practicable.¹⁶

Up to 1858 the ferries took care of the commerce and traffic over these routes. By that time those of vision could see that bridges must supplant the ferries. That year a charter was secured from the legislature by the Wyandotte Bridge Company for a bridge over the

10. County clerk, Wyandotte county, Road Record A, p. 4.

11. *Private Laws, Kansas, 1858*, pp. 48-50.

12. *General Statutes, Kansas, 1855*, p. 972.

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 978-979.

14. *Laws, Kansas, 1860*, p. 588.

15. *Ibid.*, 1861, p. 249.

16. *Ibid.*, 1865, p. 144.

Kaw river, to be located within one mile from the mouth and which should not impede free navigation of the river.¹⁷ During the Civil War period there was not much bridge construction, and the toll bridges and ferries had things pretty much their own way.

After the close of the War the era of bridge building in Wyandotte commenced. On August 1, 1865, the Wyandotte Bridge and Ferry Company applied for a charter, which was issued, granting them the right of constructing and establishing one or more bridges or ferries, or both, over the Kansas river between the mouth of the river and the western boundary of the county, and also of operating a ferry or bridge in the Missouri river and opposite to and across the mouth of the Kansas river. This charter was filed with the secretary of state, September 29, 1865.¹⁸

In 1866, 1867 and 1872 bridges were built at Wyandotte, and also a number constructed later, no less than a dozen having been erected across the Kaw river up to the 1930's.¹⁹

Above Armstrong's another ferry was started by Quindaro interests and was known as the Eureka ferry, located on the SE $\frac{1}{4}$, S. 18, T. 11, R. 25. This ferry was inaugurated in an effort to share in the trade Wyandotte city was drawing from territory to the south of the Kaw river. Both towns surveyed and opened up roads through the Shawnee reservation. Committees were appointed by the two towns to confer and fix upon a point where a joint ferry for both could be established. The location suggested by Wyandotte was rejected by Quindaro as being too far east, and the location designated by Quindaro was rejected as being too far west. These locations were about a mile apart, and compromise was wrong in principle. This resulted in free ferries for both.²⁰ Exact date of starting the Eureka ferry has not been learned. On March 30, 1857, Aaron W. Merrill and Abelard Guthrie entered into the following written agreement:

"This agreement the 30th day of March A.D. 1857, between Aaron W. Merrill of the one part and Abelard Guthrey in behalf of the Quindaro Company of the other part, witnesseth: That the said Merrill in consideration of the covenants hereinafter contained, covenants and agrees to and with the said Guthrey for said Guthrey for said company, that he will keep the said company's ferry, called "Eureka" ferry, lately established on the Kansas river about four miles below Delaware ferry, and tow the said company's flat boat

17. *Private Laws*, Kansas, 1858, pp. 51-53.

18. *Corporations*, v. 1, pp. 44, 45, in Archives division, Kansas State Historical Society.

19. *Ibid.*, pp. 67, 68; *Wyandotte Gazette*, 1866, 1867, 1868.

20. *Kansas City Journal*, February 17, 1882.

across and ferry over all the teams and wagons, horses, cattle and mules and ferry across all persons coming to said ferry, and do all such ferrying free of charge to the persons coming and requiring to be ferried across said river. And that he will at all times provide sufficient help to do such ferrying of persons, horses, cattle, mules, teams and wagons and goods in expeditious and skillful manner, and that he will keep and protect the said companies boats and keep them in good repair at his own expense, except extraordinary repairs occasioned without his fault.

"And in consideration of the premises the said Guthrey promises and agrees that the company will pay to said Merrill for such services as aforesaid the sum of one hundred dollars per month so long as the said Merrill shall continue to do such ferrying, and bestow the care on said companys boats and keeping them in repair as aforesaid. The said Guthrey further agrees that the said company will furnish the said Merrill the said boats, namely a flat boat and a skiff in good repair. Also 2 picks and 2 shovels for the use of said ferry to be kept and used by said Merrill and to be returned to said company when he shall leave said ferry. The payments aforesaid to be made in cash every month.

"The said Merrill also agrees to cut out the road on the south side of the river and make it good and convenient for teams to pass up and down from the river to the bluff and bridge the stream in the ravine, and also on the north side up to where the ravine crosses the road and to make a bridge over the stream if needed.

"Either party to have the privilege to rescind this contract and agreement at the end of month by giving one week's previous notice to the other party of the intention to rescind said agreement.

"In witness whereof the parties have hereunto set their hands and seals the day and year first aforesaid in presence of

"ABELARD GUTHREY
"A. W. MERRILL."

On April 14, 1859, Merrill brought suit in the district court of the third judicial district in and for the Territory of Kansas, Wyandotte county, against Charles Robinson, Abelard Guthrie and Samuel N. Simpson under the name of the Quindaro Company, setting up this contract, alleging that he worked seven months thereunder and that he was paid but \$348.20, leaving a balance due him of \$357.80. The case is No. 24 on the Wyandotte county dockets.

The defendants answered claiming nonperformance on the part of Merrill and alleging that he neglected the business, failed to have sufficient help, did not cut out the roads, and that he charged, collected and pocketed monies from those who used the ferry, for all of which they asked damages of Merrill.

It took six years to bring the case to trial, but on October 2, 1865, a jury trial was had, seven witnesses were sworn, and the plaintiff was given a judgment against Guthrie of \$630.24. Guthrie appealed to the supreme court, where the case was reversed and sent back for

a new trial.²¹ October 8, 1867, the case was dismissed without prejudice and an execution issued against Merrill for costs.

In the spring and summer of 1857 the people of Quindaro built a road to Lawrence, laid out one to Osawatomie, and established a free ferry at what is now John H. Matton's place, with a view of competing for the wholesale trade of the territory; ²² another ran to Salina, via Lawrence and Topeka; ²³ another was laid out in 1860 and ran to Shawnee,²⁴ and another was laid out leading from Quindaro across Wyandotte county to the Kansas river. This was known as the Madison Corvett road, and the road plat on file in the Wyandotte county clerk's office shows it crossing the Kansas river in the SE $\frac{1}{4}$ of S. 18, T. 11, R. 25, at a point designated on the map as "the old ferry." This would be the location of the Eureka ferry, out of which grew the lawsuit with Abelard Guthrie for wages.

The Quindaro and Shawnee Bridge and Road Company was granted a charter by the legislature of 1860 to construct a bridge across the Kansas river at or near the crossing of the territorial road, located, or to be located, under an act to establish certain territorial roads, approved February 7, 1859; also to open and improve said territorial road by planking, macadamizing or turnpiking the same. Capital stock of the company was placed at \$70,000, with shares \$25 each. Construction work on the bridge was to begin within two years, and completion of the bridge was limited to five years. The company was authorized to establish and maintain a ferry across the Kansas river at or near the point selected for the erection of the bridge, and for that purpose was authorized to receive gifts, grants and donations from individuals or corporations. The act also provided that, upon the application of twenty persons living along the line of the territorial road, the commissioners should cause a strip of land to be laid off, not exceeding five miles in width, the road running as near as possible through the center of this strip. The commissioners were also instructed to have the proposition submitted to a vote of the taxpayers who resided on said strip, to ascertain their stand on the proposed subscription to the capital stock of the company, those living on the north side of the Kaw voting at Quindaro, while those to the south of the river voted at Shawneetown. If a majority of taxpayers voted in favor of the subscription,

21. Abelard Guthrie vs. Aaron W. Merrill, 4 *Kansas* 159.

22. *Wyandotte Herald*, July 6, 1876.

23. *Laws, Kansas*, 1860, p. 585.

24. *Ibid.*, 1860, p. 588.

the board was authorized to levy a tax and issue bonds payable in ten years, bearing interest not to exceed ten per cent yearly. The last section of the act provided that when the bonds should be issued by the commissioners, the owners of the said real property so taxed should be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of a stockholder, for every twenty-five dollars so levied; and as fast as any taxpayer should pay the sum of twenty-five dollars he should have issued to him a certificate of a share in the company.²⁵ It would be interesting to know the result of this road building project. Wyandotte newspapers in the Historical Society's collection for this period are not complete, and no mention of this election has been found.

The next ferry up stream was the Chouteau ferry. Just when this enterprise was started and its exact location have not been learned. In 1820 Francis and Cyprian Chouteau built a trading house near present Bonner Springs, known as the "four houses." Some years later, about 1825, they built new trading posts farther down the river for the purpose of trading with the Delawares and Shawnees. This new location was said by various authorities to be from four to ten miles from the mouth of the Kansas, these extremes of distance being reckoned by following the river or taking the most direct route by land. This site, however, was near and opposite the Indian village of Secondine, and present town of Muncie, but was on the south side of the river²⁶ and, according to Grant W. Harrington, has been "definitely located on S. 13, T. 11, R. 24, directly north of the town of Turner. John C. Fremont outfitted here in 1842 for his first exploring trip to the west." Franklin G. Adams, first secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society, in 1880 had an interview with Frederick Chouteau, who said that the trading houses were on the north side of the river.²⁷ Another authority, John C. McCoy, an old resident of Johnson county, Kansas, and later of Jackson county, Missouri, who, with his father, the Rev. Isaac McCoy, and other members of the McCoy family, surveyed many of the Indian reservations in Kansas and Oklahoma, places the trading houses on the south side of the river. Mr. McCoy in 1830 surveyed the western boundary of the Delaware reservation, stating that the survey was

25. *Private Laws, Kansas, 1860*, pp. 25-29. "County Clerk's record of Wyandotte county for this period not preserved. No record of an election. Road plat book fails to show any such road. Think it fell by the wayside."—Note of Grant W. Harrington to author, May 26, 1933.

26. R. I. Holcombe, *History of Vernon County, Mo.*, p. 164; Andreas, *History of Kansas*, p. 1254.

27. *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 8, p. 425.

begun on September 6 and completed late that year. He wrote: "Our party started from Fayette, Mo. . . . We passed up to Chouteau's trading house on the south side of the Kansas river and, crossing there, passed on to Fort Leavenworth."²⁸

Grant W. Harrington, of Kansas City, states that Charles Carpenter, an old resident of Wyandotte county, related to him that his parents in 1857 started from Wyandotte to Lawrence by boat, and that their boat grounded at Chouteau's ferry. Passengers were then obliged to leave the boat and complete their journey overland.

Unfortunately the history of this ferry has not been preserved. Aside from an occasional mention nothing else has been found. It is likely the ferry was operated at or near this trading house, and for that reason it is included here. In 1862 several members of the Chouteau family obtained a charter for a ferry to be located in the neighborhood of present Bonner Springs, the history of which will be found in its proper place in this article. In view of this new Chouteau ferry location it is likely the ferry near Muncie was abandoned.

In 1867 another ferry was established in this immediate vicinity, being located somewhere between the mouth of Muncie creek and a point due east from the town of Muncie. On June 8 of that year John Smith, William Rutledge, William Rawson, William J. Gault, Jeremiah H. Materson and Charles S. Glick were granted a charter under the name of the Muncie Ferry Company. This ferry was described as being on the "land of John Smith on the Kansas river, opposite sections 14 and 15, T. 11, R. 25 east." [Error as to range; should be 24.] Capital stock of the company was placed at \$500, with shares \$25 each. The principal office of the company was to be at the town of Muncie. This charter was filed with the secretary of state June 12, 1867.²⁹ No further mention of this enterprise has been located.

According to Grant W. Harrington old settlers recall that a rock landing was made for this ferry, and that the road leading down to it was known as the "Ferry road." Old residents of Wyandotte county say that the north and south road between sections 14 and 15, T. 11, R. 24, which now stops at highway 32, formerly extended south between sections 22 and 23 to the Kansas river to a ferry where the Shawnee Indians crossed, and that it was known as the "Shawnee ferry." This would bring it into the NW $\frac{1}{4}$ of S. 23, T.

28. *Ibid.*, v. 5, p. 302.

29. *Corporations*, v. 1, p. 350.

11, R. 24. Nothing has been found in print or on the maps to verify this.³⁰

The Grinter ferry, about eight and one-half miles west of the Kansas-Missouri boundary, was the next above Muncie. This was the earliest ferry established on the Kansas river. Moses Grinter, according to an account of a Grinter reunion,³¹ came to Kansas in 1828, and served for a time in the regular army at Cantonment Leavenworth. He was then appointed to operate a ferryboat across the Kansas river to provide a crossing for a military road to run from Cantonment Leavenworth to Fort Gibson. He arrived at his destination, the Indian village of Secondine, in January, 1831, selected a suitable location and started a rope ferry on the NW $\frac{1}{4}$ S. 28, T. 11, R. 24, near the eastern edge of the Delaware reservation as established after the coming of the Wyandottes. No complete scale of ferry charges has been located for this crossing. However, Mary Walton Blanchard, wife of Ira D. Blanchard, in charge of the Delaware Baptist mission, under date of December 11, 1836, wrote: "We are 16 miles from Shawnee and the Kaw is $\frac{1}{4}$ mile wide between us and the ferriage for a single person 50 cents and for a wagon 2 dollars."³²

In a letter of Rev. Isaac McCoy, in the Kansas State Historical Society archives, dated at Shawnee, Jackson county, Missouri, July 22, 1833, and addressed to Rev. Dr. Bolles, corresponding secretary and treasurer of the Baptist mission board, at Boston, is mention of a ferry of the Delawares, as follows:

" . . . A week ago yesterday I had expected to Baptize a Delaware at the Delaware Settlements, but I previously sickened and have been two weeks confined to my bed. After I was attacked with sickness we designed that Bro Burch should administer baptism, but the landing near us of a S. boat with Cholera on it so alarmed the Delawares, that they removed their ferry boat to prevent travellers from crossing to them. . . ."

The above item probably refers either to Grinter's or Toley's ferry.

The first location of the Shawnee Methodist mission was about three miles to the east, while the Delaware council house and Delaware mission were about one and one-half miles to the north. Grinter built a log cabin on the bank of the river, having cultivated lands in sections 20 and 21, a few rods to the north of the ferry. A few years later he married Ann Marshall, a Delaware woman.

30. Grant W. Harrington, statement, February, 1933.

31. *Kansas City Times*, September 26, 1932.

32. Pratt MSS., Kansas State Historical Society.

They raised a family of ten children, all of whom were born in this home. Moses Grinter was a native of Ohio, born about 1805, coming to this country from Kentucky when about 23 years of age.³³ He died June 12, 1878, and is buried at Grinter chapel, about three miles north of the ferry.

Delaware crossing was a noted one in preterritorial and territorial times, and was known under various names, such as Grinter's ferry, Military ferry, Delaware crossing, Secondine crossing, etc. Early military expeditions from Fort Leavenworth to Forts Gibson and Scott crossed the Kaw at this place, as did countless others along the old Santa Fé trail from Leavenworth to military posts and to points in the mountains.³⁴ A post office had been established at this point in 1849, with James Findley as postmaster. He was still in charge in 1854. There were two or three trading posts there at this time, also a government blacksmith shop for the Indians. Isaac Munday was in charge of this work, having been employed as blacksmith for the Indians as early as 1843, first at the Fort Leavenworth agency and later at the Kansas agency.³⁵

Up to 1842 the ferry was reached by Indian trails from both sides of the river, but that year a military road was laid out from Fort Leavenworth to the newly established Fort Scott. The road leading to the old Grinter ferry site is now known as the Defries road, and the old crossing can be reached by following highway 32 about a mile west of Muncie to its junction with the Defries road. Up the hill about one-fourth of a mile and on the west side of the Defries road is the old brick home of the Grinters. Mrs. H. C. Kirby, last surviving member of the Grinter family, definitely located the old ferry site. "The landing was right down there," she said, pointing to the right of the intersection of the Defries road with highway 32. "The blacksmith shop and the stores were on this side of the ravine. On the other side of the ravine was the Indian village of Secondine."³⁶

A plat of Shawnee lands of T. 11, R. 24, shows a road running from Grinter's ferry to the southwest across S. 29, crossing the NW corner of S. 32, the NE corner of S. 31, and connecting in that corner with a road reaching Toley's ferry.

In 1855 the territorial legislature established a road from West-

33. Census, Wyandotte county, 1860, p. 48, in Archives division, Kansas State Historical Society, lists Moses Grinter as 55 years of age, born in Ohio.

34. *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 7, pp. 203, 559, 573.

35. *New York Tribune*, June 28, 1854; *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 1-2, p. 253, v. 16, pp. 728, 829, 831, 832.

36. Interview with Mrs. H. C. Kirby by Grant W. Harrington.

port, Mo., via Captain Joseph Parks',³⁷ and the Shawnee manual labor school, to intersect the Fort Leavenworth road north of and near the Quaker mission farm by way of James Findley's to the Grinter crossing.³⁸

Percival G. Lowe, in his *Five Years a Dragoon*, relates many interesting incidents in connection with this old ferry.

Toley's ferry was the next one above Grinter's and about two miles distant. Just when this ferry started has not been learned, but it must have been soon after the arrival of the Delawares. Troops for the Mexican war crossed there in 1846. The ferry in 1854 was located on the SE $\frac{1}{4}$ S. 31, T. 11, R. 24, as shown on a plat of Shawnee Indian lands. The landing on the south side of the river was on land owned by the Toley family, while the landing on the opposite side of the river was on the same quarter section. Toley,³⁹ who operated the ferry, was a Shawnee Indian, and said to be quite intelligent. He was a leader in his neighborhood and was a member of Pascal Fish's church. Other members of the Toley family owned land about twenty-five miles farther west, in present Jefferson county. Henry Tiblow owned land less than three-fourths of a mile north of the ferry, and a north and south road running directly east of his farm led directly to the ferry.⁴⁰

The following, written by a member of Doniphan's expedition, 1846, probably refers to this ferry:

"The Shawnee and Delaware tribes of Indians have settled here. The Shawnees have fine farms, and are quite civilized people; the Delawares are a little behind them. Both tribes speak the English language more or less. They keep a ferry boat here, in which we crossed the river. The keeper of the boat said he had made four hundred dollars this season by the crossing of emigrants bound to Oregon. We purchased a beef steer of them for four dollars, paying for it ourselves, for Uncle Sam finds us no beef."⁴¹

A later mention of this ferry is found in the diary of Hugh Campbell,⁴² for 1857, who was a member of Col. Joseph E. Johnston's staff in surveying the southern boundary of Kansas, which relates having crossed the river on Toley's ferry.

37. Chief Joseph Parks was a member of the Shawnee tribe. He was once a resident of Michigan and is said to have enjoyed the confidence of Gen. Lewis Cass. In 1854 he owned land in the Shawnee reservation, described as the north half and the southeast quarter of S. 27, T. 11, R. 25. His name is included in a list of voters of Johnson county for 1857. His death occurred early in 1860, according to the *Topeka State Record*, February 25, of that year.

38. *General Statutes*, Kansas, 1855, pp. 973, 974.

39. This name is spelled variously, as Tola, Tula, Toola, Tooley, Toley, Tuley, etc.

40. *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 8, pp. 251, 255, 259; Shawnee Indian Reservation Lands in Kansas, Treaty of 1854, Plat of T. 11, R. 24.

41. Jacob S. Robinson, *A Journal of the Santa Fe Expedition under Colonel Doniphan*, p. 3.

42. *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 1, p. 108.

The following advertisement appeared in the *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Leavenworth, early in May, 1857, and ran for several months:

"TOOLEY'S FERRY

On the Kansas River,

And nearest route from Leavenworth to

Westport, and to the Shawnee Lands

On Cedar and Mill Creeks

"There is now in operation a good ferry boat at Tooley's, on the Kansas river, with attentive hands to cross persons with safety and promptness. A good boat will always be kept and no pains spared to accommodate the public. All persons crossing the Kansas river to or from the Shawnee lands, or from Westport and Kansas City to Leavenworth City and the northern portions of Kansas, will find this ferry the very best and nearest route.

"May 2, 1857."

Johnson county granted a license to this ferry in 1858, charging \$60 a year for the privilege.⁴³

In 1859 Charles Toley received from the legislature a charter for a ferry at or near the east line of S. 32, T. 11, R. 24, with privileges for a mile on each side of section 32, for a period of twenty years. A plat of Shawnee reservation lands of 1854 shows Toley's ferry location in the SE $\frac{1}{4}$ S. 31, T. 11, R. 24, the south landing being on land of Martha Toley. This site is about two and one-third miles above Grinter's. Mr. Toley in 1854 owned land in the NW $\frac{1}{4}$ of S. 32, bordering the river on the south, and William Toley had land in the NE quarter of same section. The nearest point to the river from the east line of this section is fully a third of a mile. Toley apparently, was seeking a new location by 1859 and must have moved his boats something over a mile down stream.

Theodore Garrett and forty others petitioned for a county road from Silas Armstrong's to a point near Delaware ferry, and thence by the nearest and best route to Toley's ferry. This petition was approved by the county commissioners, viewers were appointed and the road laid out. The field notes of this survey give distances by poles and claims, and this would indicate that at this time the "Toley" ferry was not over three-fourths of a mile above the Delaware or Grinter ferry.⁴⁴ No further history of this ferry has been located.

Keeler's ferry, about three-fourths of a mile above the location of Toley's ferry in 1854, was the next crossing on the river. In 1860 the legislature granted Charles G. Keeler authority to main-

43. Johnson County, Commissioners Proceedings, 1858, p. 28.

44. Road Records, Wyandotte county.

tain a ferry on the Kaw river where the range line divides ranges 23 and 24. This location is about one and one-half miles southeast of present Edwardsville, in Johnson county, and immediately north of the junction of the Southern Kansas branch and the main line of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe railroad. This act granted special privileges for one mile up and one mile down the river at this point for a period of ten years.⁴⁵ No further history located.

In 1858 I. May and fifty-five others presented a petition to the county commissioners of Johnson county asking that a license be granted to William Chouteau to run a ferry boat on the Kaw river, at or near the place known as Chouteau's ferry, and also asking that a road be opened from Olathe to the ferry, via Monticello, and that the road be continued on to Leavenworth city. Another petition was presented at this time by Jonathan Gore and thirty-seven others, asking that a license be granted to W. W. Cook to establish a ferry at the same point. After hearing the evidence it was moved that Mr. Chouteau and Mr. Cook should each choose a representative, these two to choose a third person, all three to examine the case and, if necessary, call to their assistance a surveyor, providing the interested parties agree to pay all costs, the said three parties to report to the board at its next regular term. It was moved that Mr. Chouteau be requested to get a license to run his ferry for three months, conditioned that if the case be decided against him that Cook shall refund to Chouteau a sum equivalent to what he paid for the remaining part of the term for which he procured a license. This Mr. Chouteau did, his license for the three months costing him \$12.50.⁴⁶ Under date of September 2, following, the committee to whom was referred the petitions of W. W. Cook and Francis Chouteau, asking for ferry licenses, made through Mr. Holmes the following report:

"Your committee appointed by the board of county supervisors of Johnson county, K. T., at Shawnee, on the 1st and 2nd days of July, 1858, on two separate petitions of Wm. W. Cook and Francis Chouteau, each asking for a license to keep a ferry on the Kaw river at the same place.

"Report that after an examination of the lines of the lands of each of the aforesaid parties to the ferry landing on the south side of the river that in their judgment Francis Chouteau has decidedly the better right to the ferry privilege at said point. Signed this 2nd day of Sept. 1858.

"WM. HOLMES,

"R. H. WILLIAMS,

"J. D. ALLEN, per WM. HOLMES."⁴⁷

45. *Private Laws*, Kansas, 1860, p. 272.

46. Johnson County, Commissioners Proceedings, 1858, pp. 25, 27, 28.

47. *Ibid.*, p. 47.

Mr. Cook evidently was persistent, for in February, 1859, a petition signed by A. Williams and fifty-two others was presented to the county commissioners asking that a license be granted to W. W. Cook to keep a ferry on the Kansas river on sections 34 and 35, T. 11, R. 23. This petition being considered by the board, the same was granted, the fee for a license put at \$50 per annum by the board, and a license was granted Mr. Cook for three months from the 22nd of February, 1859.⁴⁸

On March 15, following, R. H. Williams presented a petition from John Toler, asking that the license granted to W. W. Cook to run a ferry on the Kansas river, at or near sections 34 and 35, T. 11, R. 23, which license was granted on the 21st of February last, may be rescinded and the license granted to him. A petition was also presented by W. W. Cook asking that the license granted him might be continued. The bond of said Cook was also presented and approved by the board, and the petitions having been considered by the board were, on motion of Mr. Storrs, laid on the table.⁴⁹

On April 26, 1859, Francis Chouteau petitioned for a license to operate a ferry across the Kansas river north of Monticello. His petition was considered by the board, and on motion of Mr. Mahaffie it was ordered that the board appoint a committee to investigate the right of the ferry privilege, the committee to consist of three persons. This committee was authorized to employ the county surveyor and to meet on the ground on the 25th day of May, 1859, and be sworn in before entering upon their duties.⁵⁰ The report of the committee was spread upon the record.

To ascertain to whom a certain ferry known as Chouteau's ferry belonged, in short, whose land the road intersects the Kansas river at that place, the Committee set out its survey and then found that the road beaten from Olathe via Monticello to this ferry was three roads on the southwest quarter of S. 35 that lays on the river and so found for Chouteau. The board approved the report and granted to Chouteau a license to run a ferry on the said ferry privilege, and that he pay back to Cook the rate for the unexpired term of his license.⁵¹

The Chouteaus apparently sold or leased their ferry late in 1860, for on November 1 Stephen S. Stuart was granted a license for a

48. *Ibid.*, p. 102.

49. *Ibid.*, p. 116.

50. *Ibid.*, p. 138.

51. *Ibid.*, p. 147.

ferry at this crossing for twelve months dating from that time.⁵² Stuart was in charge at this place in 1863, and in his application the ferriage rates established were as follows: For each footman, 20 cents; man and horse, 50 cents; 1 horse wagon or buggy, 80 cents; 2 horses and wagon, \$1; 3 horses and wagon, \$1.30; 2 yoke of oxen and wagon, \$1.50; each additional span of horses or oxen, 50 cents; mules or cattle per head, 20 cents; sheep or swine per head, 10 cents.⁵³

This ferry was in operation in 1864, for which year they paid a \$40 license fee to Johnson county.⁵⁴

On December 23, 1862, Frederick Chouteau,⁵⁵ William Chouteau, Benjamin I. Chouteau, Francis Chouteau and John M. Owens⁵⁶ formed a corporation known as the Chouteau Ferry Company. The company was capitalized at \$1,000, with shares at \$20 each. The act stated that the ferry was to be located on the state road leading from Leavenworth to Fort Scott, where the same crossed the river at the NE $\frac{1}{4}$ of S. 35, T. 11, R. 23, of Johnson county, and is shown in Heisler & Smith's *Atlas*, page 8. This point is about three and one-half miles north of Monticello, and about one-half mile south of present Edwardsville, at what was called the Chouteau ferry. The south landing was on land owned in fee simple by Frederick Chouteau, and the landing on the opposite side of the river was on Delaware land. This charter was filed with the secretary of state January 8, 1863.⁵⁷ On May 15, 1863, the company filed with the state an amended charter, identical with the first, with the addition of Talbert Kelley as one of the incorporators.⁵⁸

An advertisement of this company appeared in the *Leavenworth Daily Conservative*, May 14, 1863, and mentioned that "the boat at Chouteau's ferry is now in good order and ready at all times to attend promptly to the wants of the traveling public." Just how long the Chouteau ferry operated has not been learned, but it is probable it ceased operations or was sold to other parties before the spring of 1867.

Frank L. Chouteau, resident of Monticello township, Monticello

52. *Ibid.*, p. 225.

53. *Ibid.*, Book B, p. 30.

54. *Ibid.*, p. 108.

55. F. Chouteau, age 55, farmer, owner of real estate valued at \$59,000, personal property, \$8,000, born in Missouri, is listed in the census of Johnson county, Kansas, 1865, p. 130.

56. John Owens was a white man who married a Delaware wife, and was adopted into the tribe. "Wild Bill" Hickok made his home with the Owens.—Heisler & Smith, *Atlas of Johnson County, Kansas*, p. 10.

57. *Corporations*, v. 1, pp. 204, 205.

58. *Ibid.*, v. 1, p. 5.

post office, Johnson county, is listed in the census of 1865, Johnson county, page 76, as a ferry proprietor. He was 24 years of age, listed as Indian by adoption, owned real estate valued at \$350 and personal property worth \$400. He was a native of Kansas, was married and had one child, one year of age.

"Road Record A," page 216, county clerk's office, Wyandotte county, gives a plat of the "Kouns road," which runs into Edwardsville from the north and extends south a half mile to the Kansas river at a point marked "Ferry." This is in the NE $\frac{1}{4}$ of 35-11-23. Later the "G. W. Galloway road" was laid out. It starts at the same point which it designates as the "Chouteau Ferry." In the petition asking for this road it is asked to have it start from "the Shoto ferry" on the Kansas river.⁵⁹

On March 25, 1867, the Campbell Ferry Company was chartered, D. G. Campbell, J. H. Gamble, L. S. Cofley, A. J. Campbell and Jonathan Gore being incorporators. The principal office of the company was at Monticello, Johnson county, and the ferry was to operate across the Kansas river at a place known as Chouteau's ferry, being at a point where the public highway leading from Monticello to Leavenworth City crosses the river, the exact location being described as the NE $\frac{1}{4}$ of SW $\frac{1}{4}$, S. 35, T. 11, R. 23E. The capital stock was \$500, in five shares of \$100 each. This location on the north side of the river is less than one-fourth of a mile south of present Edwardsville.⁶⁰

Less than a mile upstream was the site of the next ferry. As early as 1859 an effort was made to secure a ferry opposite Monticello. That year R. W. Catherson and ninety others petitioned the legislature for a ferry across the Kansas river.⁶¹ Apparently no ferry was established at that time. On January 19, 1863, a charter was secured by the Monticello Ferry Company, the incorporators being Stephen S. Stuart, Jacob Trembly,⁶² Sam Garrett,⁶³ Uriah Garrett and Elias Garrett. Capital stock of the company was \$5,000, divided into fifty shares. The company proposed to establish a ferry at S. 34, T. 11, R. 23E., for the town of Monticello. This charter was filed with the secretary of state January 24, 1863.⁶⁴

59. Wyandotte county clerk, Road Records, v. B, p. 62; v. C, p. 89.

60. Corporations, v. 1, pp. 314, 315.

61. *House Journal*, Kansas, 1859, p. 150.

62. Jacob Trembly, in 1874, owned land in S. 33, T. 11, R. 22, in Leavenworth county.

63. Sam Garrett, of Monticello township, was a white man, proslavery in sentiment, who married a Shawnee wife and was adopted into the tribe.—Heisler & Smith, *Atlas of Johnson County*, pp. 13, 44.

64. Corporations, v. 1, p. 2.

The corporation was reorganized late in 1864, to operate "as where the first franchise stated." Uriah and Elias Garrett, of the first organization, were succeeded by A. B. Bartlett and John K. Hale. Capital stock was reduced to \$1,200, with shares \$20 each. The new charter was filed with the secretary of state, December 24, 1864.⁶⁵ February 2, 1866 this company filed with the secretary of state a copy of resolutions of the company, defining boundaries of operation and giving the location of their ferry as being at or near the center of S. 32, T. 11, R. 23E., and claiming privileges one mile each way from center of section 32. It was signed by John K. Hale, secretary of Monticello Ferry Company.⁶⁶

A state road was established in 1865 from Olathe, following the county road to Monticello, thence on said road to the Kansas river, and crossing at or near the center of S. 32, T. 11, R. 23E.; thence following as near as practicable what is known as Waite's survey, to the city of Leavenworth.⁶⁷

Henry Tiblow operated a ferry at a point opposite the station of Tiblow, being on S. 32, T. 11, R. 23.⁶⁸ Perl W. Morgan, in his *History of Wyandotte County, Kansas*, page 320, in speaking of the village of Tiblow, now Bonner Springs, says: "For many years a ferry was operated by Henry Tiblow, a club-footed Indian and official interpreter for the United States. He lived in a log cabin which still stands on the west side of the city."

On September 5, 1863, Jacob Trembly and Stephen S. Stuart were issued a license, good for three months, for a ferry at this location, they paying for the privilege at the rate of \$40 a year. They were operating in 1866. Their scale of ferriage charges for 1864 were as follows: Man and horse, 25 cents; 1 horse wagon or buggy, 40 cents; 2 horse wagon or yoke of oxen and wagon, 50 cents; 4 horse wagon or two yoke of oxen and wagon, 75 cents; Additional yoke of cattle or span of horses, 25 cents; 3 horse wagon, 65 cents; Loose horses, mules or cattle, per head, 10 cents; Sheep or swine per head, 5 cents. Each footman, 10 cents.⁶⁹

In 1869 Thomas Dunfree and W. B. White were granted a license to operate the ferry at Tiblow station, where the Olathe and Leavenworth road crosses the river, paying \$10 for the privilege. Mr.

65. *Ibid.*, v. 1, pp. 90, 91.

66. *Ibid.*, v. 1, pp. 90, 91.

67. *Laws, Kansas*, 1865, p. 143.

68. Heisler & Smith's *Atlas of Johnson County*, p. 8, shows this ferry.

69. Johnson County, Commissioners Proceedings, Book B, pp. 62, 84, 228.

White apparently was in charge of the ferry from 1870 on, his last license being paid up to April 9, 1874.⁷⁰

Journal C, "Commissioners Proceedings of Wyandotte County," page 12, date of March 7, 1870, recites: "The board granted a ferry license to Wm. B. White to run a ferry across the Kansas river at Tiblow station, said White having given a sufficient bond to the state of Kansas, for one year from Feb. 1, 1870, which was filed."

Again on, page 89, under date of March 8, 1871, the following appears: "W. B. White was granted a ferry license to run a ferry at Tiblow station for one year from March 6, A. D., 1871, said White having given a good and sufficient bond to the county for the faithful discharge of his duties as ferryman."

The above two entries are the only records that can be found of the granting of ferry licenses over the Kansas river by Wyandotte county. Evidently 1871 saw the last of the public ferries across that stream in this county.⁷¹

As Leavenworth county embraced all territory included in present Wyandotte county up to the year 1859, it is likely other licenses for Kansas river ferries were issued by Leavenworth for Wyandotte county enterprises.

A member of the Tiblow family owned land in S. 31, T. 11, R. 24. His land is shown on a map of the Leavenworth, Pawnee & Western railroad and its connections in the Delaware reserve, which also shows a wagon road connecting with Leavenworth and Wyandotte. The *Wyandotte Gazette* of May 30, 1873, mentions that the ferry at Tiblow was still in operation.

Isaac Parrish,⁷² who owned land on the opposite side of the river and a short distance upstream from present Bonner Springs, was granted authority by the legislature of 1857 to establish a ferry across the Kansas river, at the crossing of the territorial road from Leavenworth to Peoria, in Franklin county. Steam was proposed

70. *Ibid.*, Book B, pp. 401, 489; Book C, p. 306.

71. Letter of Grant W. Harrington to author, Feb. 10, 1933; *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 7, p. 476.

72. Isaac Parrish was a proslavery resident of Monticello township, Johnson county. He was born in Virginia, and lived in Ohio and Missouri before coming West. After coming to the Indian country he was employed at the Shawnee Methodist mission for a number of years. He married a Shawnee woman and was adopted into the tribe. The census of Johnson county, 1865, lists him as 45 years of age, Indian by adoption, farmer, owner of real estate listed at \$11,520, and personal property worth \$2,845. His wife was named Virginia, aged 32, Indian, born in Kansas, and their family consisted of five children. The plat of Shawnee reservation land for T. 12, R. 23, shows land owned by Isaac and Asenath Parrish in the N $\frac{1}{2}$ of S. 5. The Parrish ferry was located about one-half mile north. The "Telegraph road" from Fort Scott to Fort Leavenworth was about one mile east of Monticello, crossed the east $\frac{1}{2}$ of S. 5 and ran on to the river. When the Shawnees removed to Indian territory, Isaac Parrish with his family removed and made their home with the tribe.—Heisler & Smith's *Atlas of Johnson County*, p. 11; census, Johnson county, 1865, p. 78; Plat of Shawnee reservation lands in Kansas.

as the propelling power, but the act provided that a flat boat might be substituted when the business did not justify the use of steam. This crossing was near the center of S. 32, T. 11, R. 23E.⁷³

On December 29, 1863, the Parrish Ferry Company⁷⁴ was incorporated, its projectors being Henry D. Smith,⁷⁵ Henry Tiblow, Isaac Parrish, Charles B. Garrett and Sam. Parsons. They were authorized to establish a ferry across the Kansas river, commencing at a point six chains above the center of S. 32, T. 11, R. 23. The landing on the south side of the river was on land owned by the incorporators, who had written consent of owners for landing on the north side. This location is in present Bonner Springs, on highway 7, and close to where the Leavenworth & Northwestern railroad crosses the river.

On January 5, 1866, Isaac Parrish, president of the Parrish Ferry Company, petitioned for a ferry license, which was not granted, it being within the bounds of an established ferry.⁷⁶

The next ferry above the Parrish ferry was at the town of De Soto, about six and one-half miles distant. At this point a twenty-year license for a ferry was granted by the legislature of 1858 to G. W. Hutchison, J. A. Finley, Brinton W. Woodward, D. W. Weir, A. D. Searl, James F. Legate, Henry Campbell, E. S. Lowman and Warren Kimball. Rates of ferriage prescribed by the act were as follows: Man and horse, 50 cents; one horse and carriage or wagon, 75 cents; two horses and carriage or wagon, \$1.00; four horses and carriage or wagon, \$1.25. Provided, the company may by by-laws, provide an addition to the above rates of not to exceed 50 per cent.⁷⁷

In 1858 the operator of the ferry at De Soto, for some reason or other, refused to take out a license. The sheriff of Johnson county was sent by the county commissioners to collect the fee, threatening to take legal steps to collect in case of refusal, yet promising to forgive all if the ferry owner took out his license and paid for such expense as the county had already been put to.⁷⁸ Evidently the operator refused to comply with the instructions of the commissioners, for Mr. R. Potter was instructed to make complaint and start an action against him in the name of the board.⁷⁹

73. *Laws, Kansas*, 1857, p. 165.

74. *Corporations*, v. 1, p. 10; Shawnee Indian reservation lands in Kansas, treaty of 1854, plat of T. 11, R. 23E., in archives of Kansas State Historical Society.

75. Henry Smith was born in Madison county, Kentucky, in March, 1819. He settled on Mill creek, present Johnson county, April 20, 1842. He was a resident of Lawrence in 1879.

76. *Johnson County, Commissioners Proceedings*, Book B, p. 185.

77. *Laws, Kansas*, 1858, pp. 54, 55.

78. *Johnson County, Commissioners Proceedings*, 1858, p. 36.

79. *Ibid.*, p. 49.

A Mr. R. Potter, of Lexington, owned a ferry, which must have been at De Soto, as Lexington was several miles from the river. He applied to the commissioners of Johnson county for a ferry license, which was issued, costing him at the rate of \$20 yearly. The commissioners fixed the rates of ferriage to be charged by all ferries operating in the county after July 1, 1858, as follows: Each footman, 10 cents; man and horse, 25 cents; loose oxen, cows, mules and horses, each 10 cents; loose swine and sheep, 5 cents; horse and buggy, 35 cents; two horses or ox wagon, 50 cents; and for each additional horse or ox attached to the team, 10 cents. For government trains drawn by six mules, \$1.30 each.⁸⁰

R. Potter's name does not appear in the early census returns of Lexington township.

Two years later the legislature of 1860 granted another ferry charter for De Soto, the incorporators including six of the nine incorporators of 1858, with the addition of J. A. Triley and Paul R. Brooks.⁸¹ Rates of ferriage prescribed by the new act were identical with those of the act of 1858.⁸² Whether the second company ever functioned we have no knowledge, but there seems to be a shadow of doubt, for the legislature of 1861 granted a fifteen-year franchise for a ferry at this town to Warren Kimball and George W. Fraim,⁸³ with exclusive rights for two miles up and two miles down the river.⁸⁴ This firm probably made a "go" of it this time. Two years later, in 1863, troops of a Kansas company under Capt. William Larimer crossed the river here while on their way to Camp Williams, near Fort Scott, and other camps, a rope ferry being in operation at this time.⁸⁵

On January 2, 1863, the De Soto Bridge Company was chartered for the purpose of bridging the Kaw at that point, but no bridge was built at that time. The next effort to obtain a bridge was made in 1867 by a joint stock company, known as the Leavenworth, De Soto and Fort Scott Bridge Company, which eventually built a Howe truss structure.⁸⁶

On November 19, 1858, a petition signed by W. Christison and

80. *Ibid.*, pp. 28, 29.

81. Brooks was for many years a prominent resident of Lawrence.

82. *Private Laws, Kansas*, 1860, pp. 267, 269.

83. Geo. W. Fraim, is listed as ferryman, he being 26, native of Michigan, and owning real estate worth \$250 and personal property worth \$600.—Census, Johnson county, 1860, p. 21.

84. *Laws, Kansas*, 1861, p. 33.

85. *Biography of William Larimer*, p. 211.

86. *Corporations*, v. 1, p. 3; *Leavenworth Daily Conservative*, Jan. 1, 1867; *Olathe Mirror*, Sept. 1, 1867.

twenty-six others was presented to the Johnson county board asking that a license be granted to Galatia Sprague, William Brown and Jesse Hodges to keep a ferry across the Kansas river at or near where the range line between Ranges 21 and 22 crosses the river. This petition was considered by the board and allowed.⁸⁷ This ferry location is about three miles upstream from De Soto. No further history located.

Pascal Fish's ferry was the next beyond De Soto, about nine miles by the Kansas river and seven by land. This was one of the early ferries on the river, being in operation when the Mexican War broke out. In 1846 a portion of Doniphan's expedition to Mexico crossed the river over this ferry. Lieut. J. W. Abert, that year, set out from Fort Leavenworth for a reconnaissance to San Diego and made his "Camp 4" at the ferry. Under date of June 29, 1846 he wrote:

"In the river we found two large flatboats or scows, manned by Shawnee Indians, dressed in bright colored shirts, with shawls around their heads. The current of the river was very rapid, so that it required the greatest exertions on the part of our ferrymen to prevent the boats from being swept far downstream. We landed just at the mouth of the Wakaroosa creek. Here there is no perceptible current; the creek is fourteen feet deep, while the river does not average more than 5 feet; and in some places is quite shoal.

"It was nearly 10 o'clock before all our company had crossed and was so dark that we could scarcely see to arrange our camp; so we lay down on the river bank and sent our horses out on the prairies to grass. We finished our supper at 12 o'clock and lay down again to sleep; but, worn out as we were, the mosquitoes showed us no compassion, and large hooting owls (*bubo virginianus*), as if to condole with us, commenced a serenade.

"The pure cold water of the Wakaroosa looked so inviting that some of us could not refrain from plunging beneath its crystal surface; one of the flatboats forming a convenient place from which to spring. . . ." ⁸⁸

Fish was a cousin to Tecumseh and the Prophet. He lived about a mile south of the river, on a road leading to Westport, Mo., and kept a tavern, located near the center of S. 8, T. 13, R. 23.⁸⁹

In 1856 an association of Germans was organized at Chicago, under the name of the Neuer Ansiedlungs Verein, for the purpose of making a settlement in the great west. In March, 1857, a location committee selected the site of Eudora. A tract of 800 acres was secured from the Shawnees, through Pascal Fish, their chief, who was to receive every alternate lot. The townsite laid off was

87. Johnson County, Commissioners Proceedings, 1858, p. 88.

88. Emory, *Notes of a Military Reconnaissance from Fort Leavenworth in Missouri to San Diego in California*, pp. 389, 390.

89. Connelley, *Doniphan's Expedition*, p. 142; J. Cooper Stuck's map of Douglas county, Kansas Territory, 1857.

named Eudora, in honor of the chief's daughter. The first house on the townsite was built by Mr. Fish, who ran a hotel known as the "Fish house". Eudora became an incorporated town February 8, 1859.⁹⁰

This ferry was in operation at Eudora during the fifties and sixties. Two ferrymen were employed, one named George Brown. The other, whose name has not been learned, kept a liquor shop and was indicted by federal authorities for selling liquor to Shawnee Indians in violation of United States laws.⁹¹

The Fish family must have continued the ferry business, for in 1860 Charles Fish was granted a five-year license by the legislature to operate a ferry which was to be located at or near the mouth of the Wakarusa, with exclusive privileges for a distance of one mile up and one mile down the river.⁹² The precise location of the ferry was on S. 4, T. 13, R. 21 E, at or very close to present Eudora. In 1864 a state road was established from Eudora, running in a northerly direction so as to intersect the road leading from Lawrence to Leavenworth at the nearest and most practicable point on the road; and, also, a road from Eudora, running south to intersect the Santa Fé road at Black Jack.⁹³ Another road was laid out from Eudora running south to the Santa Fé trail at or near Black Jack; another ran north from the Eudora ferry landing on the north side of the river, to intersect the Pacific railroad at the nearest and most practicable point,⁹⁴ and another road started from the Santa Fé road, near Black Jack, thence north through Eudora, crossing the river at Eudora ferry, thence north to the Lawrence and Leavenworth road, on the most practicable route.⁹⁵

A bridge across the Wakarusa, finished early in May, 1861, diverted much travel and traffic to the Fish ferry, where it crossed the river. This bridge, about 160 feet in length, was said to be the best and only really substantial bridge in the county at the time.

A charter was granted the Nevada City Town Company⁹⁶ by the legislature of 1858 to operate a ferry across the Kansas river, with special privileges for a period of ten years. Nevada was a post office early in 1856, P. H. McGee being postmaster. Beers' *Atlas of*

90. Andreas, *History of Kansas*, p. 353.

91. Original documents, Archives division, Kansas State Historical Society.

92. *Private Laws*, Kansas, 1860, p. 276.

93. *General Laws*, Kansas, 1861, p. 31.

94. *Laws*, Kansas, 1864, p. 204; Andreas, *History of Kansas*, p. 353.

95. *Laws*, Kansas, 1866, p. 226.

96. *Ibid.*, 1858, p. 57.

Douglas County, 1873, shows one J. McGhee owned lands bordering on the Kansas river in the SE $\frac{1}{4}$ of S. 31, T. 12, R. 21. The census of Douglas county, 1859, lists three members of the McGhee family as settling in that locality in May, 1855, there being a total of twelve in family of J. McGhee, five being minors. These McGhees were from Pennsylvania and Illinois, J. McGee being listed as 64 and native of Ireland. His real estate was listed for \$5,000, and personal property at \$300.⁹⁷ The ferry site was on the McGhee land, and the embryo town of Nevada, which never was more than a post office, was located at the same place. It was an intermediate point on a post route running from Leavenworth to the Sac and Fox Agency.⁹⁸

In 1855 the legislature passed an act naming commissioners to view, locate, and establish a territorial road from Leavenworth, by way of Franklin, to Bernard's store.⁹⁹ Bernard kept a store in Franklin county and traded with the Sacs and Foxes and other Indians in that neighborhood. A town sprang up at that location, called St. Bernard, which was at or near the site of Centropolis of later date.

Two years later the legislature of 1857 granted John M. Wallace a fifteen year privilege to operate a ferry on the Kansas river at the point where the above-named road crossed. The ferry was to be located within a mile of the crossing above mentioned, and ferriage rates were prescribed as follows: Foot passengers, 10 cents each; horse, mule, mare, gelding, ass, without a rider, 10 cents; with rider, 25 cents; two-horse team, loaded or unloaded, 75 cents; single horse carriage, 50 cents; each additional cow or ox, 15 cents; each swine or sheep, 5 cents; for all freight of lumber, merchandise, or other articles, not in teams, at the following rates: For each 1,000 feet of lumber, \$1 per 1,000 feet; for all other articles 5 cents [per 100 lbs.]

The act provided that the above rates should be amended by any succeeding legislature.¹⁰⁰ Exact location of this ferry has not been learned, but in all probability it crossed the river at a point about north of old town of Franklin, or slightly east. Franklin was laid out in 1855 or 1856 and was located on S. 10, T. 13, R. 20, about three miles southeast of Lawrence of that day and slightly north of

97. Census, Douglas county, 1859, MSS., 1860, pp. 48, 52.

98. *Laws*, Kansas, 1857, p. 58; *Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, Feb. 16, 1856.

99. *General Statutes*, Kansas, 1855, p. 965.

100. *Laws*, Kansas, 1857, pp. 162, 163.

the Wakarusa. A territorial fight, known as the "Battle of Franklin," occurred in this locality on the night of June 3, 1856.¹⁰¹

The next ferry up the river was "at or near the east line of Lot 2, S. 24, T. 12, R. 20 E." In 1858 William Burtzer received a charter from the legislature to operate a ferry at this point, with special privileges within one-half mile on each side for a period of twenty years.¹⁰² This location is not over one mile from the southwest corner of Leavenworth county, about two miles from Lawrence of that day, and approximately six or seven miles above Eudora. Perhaps this ferry site may be the location of the crossing for the road which ran from Leavenworth to Bernard's store, via Franklin.

Lawrence, distant about two miles from Burtzer's location, had the next ferry. John Baldwin in 1855 was granted authority by the legislature to maintain a ferry within the city, with exclusive rights for two miles from the town, for a period of fifteen years.¹⁰³ This was one of the noted ferries on the river, and during the time it ran did a thriving business. John J. Ingalls, of Atchison, who had occasion to cross the river at Lawrence while it was in use, has described it as a "swing ferry."

The following advertisement, the first of this ferry, appeared in the *Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, June 2, 1855:

"JOHN BALDWIN, FERRYMAN,

Has just completed his new ferryboat and holds himself in readiness to take passengers and teams over the Kansas river, opposite Lawrence, at all hours, on application, at the usual prices."

Another advertisement of this ferry appeared in a rival paper:

"BALDWIN'S FERRY

"Crossing the Kansas River at Lawrence

"The undersigned, having built a good and substantial ferryboat, would inform the traveling public, that they are prepared to carry over all passengers and teams who may desire to cross at this point. Travelers wishing to visit Lawrence from Leavenworth, Parkville or any other point on the Missouri river, need not be under the inconvenience as heretofore, of going out of the way, to cross at the Tecumseh, or Delaware ferries. We will always be at our post and ready to wait on all who may need our services.

"WM. N. and JOHN BALDWIN." ¹⁰⁴

A notice of this ferry given on the editorial page of the same issue of the *Free State*, says:

"Messrs. Baldwins have spared no pains to make their boat a substantial

101. *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 3, p. 313.

102. *Laws, Kansas*, 1858, pp. 59, 60.

103. *General Statutes, Kansas*, 1855, p. 773.

104. *Kansas Free State*, Lawrence, June 4, 1855.

and safe one. It is what has been greatly needed, as persons desiring to cross the river at this place with teams, have been compelled, until now, to go 20 miles above or 30 miles below. As Leavenworth on the Missouri and Lawrence in the interior, are the most noted towns in the territory, it is highly important, for the interest of both, and the convenience of the traveling public, that there should be a direct communication between them. The ferry at this place is one important step towards this, and we hope that the next one will be to make a better and more direct road to Leavenworth."

During 1855 C. W. Babcock entered into partnership with Baldwin, this arrangement lasting about two years. The management of the ferry, however, was left to Baldwin.¹⁰⁵

Robert Morris Peck, "Recollections of Early Times in Kansas Territory," in *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 8, p. 506, says:

"We crossed the Kaw river at Lawrence on Baldwin's ferry, a rickety flatboat, without guard or railing, capable of holding only one six-mule team, and pulled back and forth by means of a rope stretched between trees on opposite banks. The soldier men facetiously called it Baldwin's 'steam' ferry. The ferryman carried his 'steam' in a gallon jug; and our fellows 'did not do a thing' to that jug but drink all the whiskey and refill the jug with muddy Kaw river water while the old man was busy pulling the leaky old tub across. I expect Baldwin made some pious remarks about 'soger men' the next time he hooked his bill over the muzzle of that jug to take another 'snort,' but we didn't stay to hear his discourse."

Col. P. G. Lowe, of Leavenworth, in his *Five Years a Dragoon*, describes the Baldwin ferry as a flatboat run by pulleys on a rope stretched across the river and fastened to a tree on either side and propelled by the force of the current. He wrote:

"The boat was not large enough to hold a wagon and six mules, so the leaders were detached from the team and led around to a shallow ford higher up the stream where one might cross on horseback or with loose animals, but could not cross wagons. A Frenchman, married to a Delaware woman and living with the Delaware Indians on the north side of the river, built a boat and stretched a rope; and when I came along one day he met me two miles north of the ferry and wanted me to cross some of my wagons on his boat. I galloped on and found that he had made a good road and had a good boat that would carry a wagon and six-mule team, with room to spare; so I divided the train, going to the new ferry, about 40 rods below the old one myself with Mr. Lanter, an assistant wagonmaster, while Mr. Beery went to the old ferry. Just as the first wagon got on the ferry, I noticed that the old boat was on the south side and Beery was calling the ferryman. As we were about shoving off, the man who ran the old ferry called to me not to attempt to cross wagons on that [the new] ferry, if I did, he would cut the rope and send me down the river; and suiting the action to the word, he caught up an axe and started at a run for the big cottonwood tree where the rope was fastened. We were now in the stream and rapidly nearing the south bank. Standing on the front

105. Andreas, *History of Kansas*, p. 326.

of the boat with pistol ready, I warned him to stop, and if he attempted to cut the rope, I would surely kill him. The boat landed and he stopped within 10 feet of the tree. I ordered him back to his boat, at the same time asking him what he meant. He declared that the Frenchman had no charter to run a boat, hence no right, while he had a charter from the territorial legislature for fifteen years. On the other hand, the Frenchman claimed that the Delawares owned the land on the north side, and had just as much right to land on the south side without any charter as the other fellow had to land on the Delaware reservation, over which he claimed the legislature had no jurisdiction. I ended the controversy by telling the Frenchman to cross all the wagons he could, and that I would protect him. I told the old ferryman to get his boat in motion quickly or I would run it with my own men, and that the ferry which crossed the most wagons would get the most money. . . . I had the teamster of the first wagon drive close to the tree and told him to shoot anyone attempting to approach it. . . . Then I got aboard the old ferry and gave the ferryman one more chance to run his own boat, and just as I was about to let go, he and his man jumped on. He was sulky and threatened to report me to Colonel Cooke at Lecompton. I cut him off short with the answer that I did not care a ——— what he did, so that he lost no time with the ferry; and I told Beery to push things with the new ferry, while I stayed with the old one. All worked with a will, but the old ferry lost two trips to start with, and in the end the new ferry had six wagons the most. All, more than 70 wagons, were crossed in time to camp south of town before dark; whereas, without the new ferry half of them would have camped in the bottom north of the river. . . . I crossed many times afterwards, and each ferry worked its best for the most money. The Frenchman generally captured the best of it by two or three wagons. The Frenchman kept the approach to his ferry in perfect shape so that there would be no delays, and the old ferryman kept up the competition—result, a great saving in time and talk.”

The following, found among the papers of the Kansas State Central Committee, a free state organization, and turned over to the Kansas State Historical Society by James Blood, probably is a bill of the Lawrence ferry for services. It was included in a bundle of accounts marked “not allowed”:

Lawrence, August 26th, 1856.

War Department Dr. J. DeWitt

Aug. 26th	To horseman at 20cts.....	\$8.40
Aug. 28	Horseman 88 at 20 cts.....	17.60
Aug. 29 and 30 and 31	162 horseman.....	32.40
Sept. 2 and 3th	200 footman at 10 cts.....	20.00
Sept. 5 and 6th	300 footman at 10 cts.....	30.00
Sept. 8th	52 horseman.....	10.40
Sept. 8th	4 wagons at 50 cts.....	02.00
Sept. 9th	19 footman at 5 cts.....	00.95
Sept. 9th	1 waggon at 50 cts.....	00.50
Sept. 10th	8 waggon at 50 cts.....	04.00
Sept. 10th	19 horseman at 20 cts.....	03.80

Sept. 11th	94 horseman at 20 cts.....	18.80
Sept. 12th	72 horseman at 20 cts.....	14.40
Sept. 12th	11 waggons at 50 cts.....	05.50
Sept. 13th	10 waggons at 50 cts.....	05.00
Sept. 13th	12 horseman at 20 cts.....	02.40
Sept. 14th	11 horseman at 20 cts.....	02.20
Sept. 15th	1 wagon 9 horseman.....	02.30
Sept. 16th	19 horseman at 20 cts.....	03.80
Sept. 17th	27 horseman at 20 cts.....	05.40
Sept. 18th	1 wagon and 8 footman.....	00.90

\$191.95

Lawrence was an important road center, and numerous state and territorial highways either had their start from there or made the town an intermediate point. The old Oregon and California road passed through the county and city. The legislature of 1855 created a territorial road which started from Leavenworth, via Lawrence and on to Salem;¹⁰⁶ another, authorized in 1857, ran from Lawrence, via the Sac and Fox agency, to Burlington;¹⁰⁷ another, established in 1860, ran from Lawrence to Emporia via Clinton, Twin Mound and Superior.¹⁰⁸ Six roads were established by the legislature of 1861, as follows: one from Lawrence to Osawatomie; one from Lawrence to Paola; one from Lawrence to Wyandotte, by way of Eudora, De Soto, Monticello and Shawnee; another from Lawrence to the state line near Westport, Mo., via Franklin, Hesper and Olathe; and another from Lawrence to Osage City, Garnett, Iola and Humboldt; and one from Lawrence to Hiawatha,¹⁰⁹ this latter road, however, not being located until 1863, when the commissioners in charge of the work specified it was to run by way of Grasshopper Falls, Muscotah, Oskaloosa and Kennekuk.¹¹⁰ A road from Lawrence to Paola was made a state road in 1862.¹¹¹ A number of new roads were provided for in 1864; one from Lawrence to the north line of Bourbon county, in direction of Fort Lincoln, Osawatomie and Davis' Gap, near the Armstrong ford of Big Sugar creek and Mound City; another from Lawrence, by way of Baldwin City, Ohio City in Franklin county, to Garnett; another from Lawrence, via Eudora and Olathe to the east line of Johnson county, opposite Westport, Mo.; one from Lawrence to the north line of Bourbon

106. *General Statutes, Kansas, 1855*, p. 975.

107. *Laws, Kansas, 1857*, p. 168.

108. *Ibid.*, 1860, p. 585.

109. *Ibid.*, 1861, pp. 247-249.

110. *Ibid.*, 1863, p. 88.

111. *General Laws, Kansas, 1862*, p. 798.

county by way of Ottawa Jones' and Dutch Henry's crossing; one from Atchison, by Springdale, to Lawrence. The law specified that these roads should be not less than 60 nor more than 100 feet in width.¹¹² In 1865 three more were established, one running from Lawrence to Hiawatha; another from Lawrence to Neosho Rapids; and the next one from Lawrence to Fort Scott, via the new bridge on the Wakarusa, thence to New Haven, and crossing the Santa Fé road on the east line of the farm of W. P. Ramsey, thence on the east side of Ottawa creek, via Tomberlain's and Sower's, or as near as practicable, and crossing Ottawa creek at Copple's ford, thence on as straight a line as practicable to Ottawa, thence to Garnett, thence to Mapleton and Fort Scott.¹¹³ In 1866 a road was established from Lawrence, by way of Lecompton, to Tecumseh, while another ran from Leavenworth, by way of Big Stranger bridge, Berry's store on Tonganoxie creek and Nine Mile house on Ten Mile creek, to Lawrence.¹¹⁴ This was practically the last of the state roads laid out affecting Lawrence. There were many county roads laid out from time to time, but space prevents mention of them.

John C. Fremont passed through the site of Lawrence in the early 1840's. Capt. J. W. Gunnison also passed through on his ill-fated expedition in 1853. Horace Greeley was also an early visitor, when he came up the Kaw valley in 1859 on his westward journey. Albert D. Richardson, a visitor in the territory in 1859, crossed the river on the Baldwin ferry and gave an account of the crossing and an illustration of the ferry, on page 35 of his book, *Beyond the Mississippi*.

Early in April, 1861, streams of emigrant wagons wended their way through the city. They were usually loaded with the household goods of the family, sacks and boxes of grain and seed, and live stock. As soon as spring had fairly arrived, from 30 to 100 teams daily crossed at this ferry, many of them belonging to persons from southern Kansas counties who were on their way to or from Leavenworth and, according to a local paper, this travel gave some idea of the want of a bridge.¹¹⁵

While much trade reached Lawrence from surrounding territory via Baldwin's ferry and roads much of the travel did not stop in that city. An item from a Leavenworth paper copied into the

112. *Laws, Kansas, 1864*, pp. 204-209.

113. *Ibid.*, 1865, pp. 140, 142, 143.

114. *Ibid.*, 1866, pp. 224, 225, 227.

115. *Kansas State Journal*, Lawrence, April 11, May 9, 1861.

Journal, of December 11, 1862, says: "The travel between here and Lawrence was never so large as now. The receipts of the ferry at that place sometimes reached seventy-five dollars a day. A bridge there would add thousands upon thousands to our trade."

When ice broke up on the river each year that was an additional hazard to be reckoned with. On February 15, 1862, ice went out rather unexpectedly, and the ferry boat had a narrow escape from sudden destruction. A wagon that had been partly run aboard was destroyed by the rush of ice.¹¹⁶

The drouth of 1860 had its effect on the ferry business on the Kansas river. The "June rise," which river men talked about, had not manifested itself. During the early summer Indians who lived along the river said that the river had never been lower than it then was. Teams daily forded it a few rods above the ferry. The following winter moving ice for a time suspended operations of the ferry, much to the inconvenience of great numbers of teams encamped on the banks of the river. However, by hitching cattle to the boat on each side of the river, crossing was resumed. The operators of the ferry were frequently obliged to spend large sums and much labor in opening a way through the ice. Early in 1861 a local paper, in commenting on the situation, stated that few men have any idea of the amount of travel over the ferry at that place.¹¹⁷

James Baldwin, son of the original owner of the ferry, became one of the owners in the early '60's.¹¹⁸

Another ferry was projected for Lawrence early in 1861 when Caleb S. Pratt and Horace L. Enos obtained a charter from the legislature that year for the Lawrence Ferry Company. This act granted charter rights for fourteen years for a ferry site and for exclusive privileges for one mile up and one mile down the river. They were also granted the right to construct as many roads or ways to the ferry as was deemed necessary.¹¹⁹ No further history of this ferry has been located.

The levee was a popular and convenient site and served the needs of the community in other ways than strictly as a ferry landing. The *Journal*, of June 12, 1862, contained the following: "Last Sunday evening quite a number of our citizens assembled on the levee to witness the immersion of a couple of colored persons. The ceremony was well conducted and novel to many present."

116. *Ibid.*, Feb. 19, 1862.

117. *Ibid.*, 1861.

118. *Ibid.*, May 7, 1863.

119. *Laws, Kansas*, 1861, pp. 36, 37

The first move for a bridge at Lawrence over the Kansas river was in 1857, when the legislature granted a charter to the Lawrence Bridge Company.¹²⁰ No bridge was begun under this act. A new charter was obtained in 1858, which was amended in 1859, but nothing was done until 1863, when work started, and the bridge was finished late that year.¹²¹

By the early 1870's there developed a strong sentiment for a free bridge at Lawrence. The officers of the bridge company were asked to sell but apparently turned a deaf ear to the proposition. The income from tolls was evidently satisfactory to the bridge officials.

Dissatisfaction with the toll bridge grew as time passed, and in 1871 a steam ferry was put into operation to relieve the situation. This boat went into service about June, 1871, and almost revolutionized the transportation business at this point. Dr. Edward Bumgardner, of Lawrence, in an article on Lawrence ferries published in the *Journal-World* of May 30, 1933, has this to say of the steam ferry:

"Dissatisfaction became so great [with the toll bridge] that the city employed James C. Wilson to operate a ferry in competition.

"Mr. Wilson had the first portable steam threshing-machine engine that had been brought to this part of the state, and this was used to operate the ferry. Two great cast iron wheels were made at the Kimball Bros. Iron Foundry. These wheels, placed on opposite sides of the river, acted as pulleys to carry a continuous wire cable to which the ferryboat was attached. The toll in the ferry was fixed at 25 cents for a round trip, while the bridge company charged 25 cents each way. This ferry was satisfactory for a time, though Mr. Wilson had a serious accident in operating it.

"Once, in 1871, the wheel on the south side of the river became loose on its axle by the displacement of the key by which it was attached so that the cable would not run. Mr. Wilson rearranged the wheel and drove the key to place so as to make the wheel tight on the axle. At that moment his helper started the engine and Mr. Wilson's right hand was instantly cut off by being caught between the wheel and the cable."

The two items following not only give additional information but also furnish a graphic description of the new enterprise:

"The city of Lawrence has lately established a steam ferry which carries passengers and freight free. The engine which drives the boat is stationary. We do not understand the arrangements, but have been informed that the power is applied by means of an endless chain. The Lawrence experiment is a success. It has crossed six hundred teams in a single day. It carries six loaded teams and any number of footmen at a trip, and makes the trip in two minutes. This is much less time than it takes a team to walk across the bridge.

120. *Ibid.*, 1857, p. 148.

121. *Private Laws*, Kansas, 1858, pp. 41, 42; 1859, p. 23; *Kansas State Journal*, Lawrence, April 30, 1863.

The cost of this ferry, exclusive of the franchise, was five thousand dollars."—*Alma Union*, June 15, 1871.

"A small frame building on the left bank of the river containing a ten-horse power portable engine, from the driving wheel of which runs a band which passes over another wheel attached to a frame work. To this is also attached a grooved wheel, five feet in diameter, over which passes an endless wire cable, 1,370 feet in length. This passes also through three upright standards of heavy timber, at each end and in the middle, respectively, of the boat, on one side, thence over a grooved wheel in a frame upon the opposite bank, similar to that in the engine room. Upon a raised and covered platform on the boat sits the pilot, with his hand upon a brake, with which, alternately, he firmly holds the upper and lower strands of the wire cable, according to which side of the river the boat is to be drawn; this is the point of attachment of the moving force. A wave of the pilot's hand and the engineer turns on the steam, the driving wheel of the engine, together with the cable upon the grooved wheels on either bank, revolve and the boat shoots across the river in one minute, by the watch, much faster than a team would ordinarily trot across the rival bridge, if allowed to. The ferry will carry six heavy-loaded teams at a trip, besides several foot passengers. It has carried 728 teams and 3,200 foot passengers during one day's operation. It has crossed the river in the short space of forty seconds, although from one to one and one-half minutes is generally consumed at a trip. It makes from 250 to 300 trips per day. The expense of operating it, including the hire of three men, etc., is \$12 per day. Kimball Bros., of this city, who are the inventors of this improved ferry, have applied for a patent. . . ."—*Lawrence Republican Journal*, June 16, 1871.

This free ferry was cutting into the profits of the toll bridge company and something had to be done about it. In 1872 the bridge company obtained an injunction against the ferry, on the ground that it was a "floating bridge." The bridge company in the meantime had been obliged to reduce tolls to a minimum while the ferry was in operation, but as soon as the injunction had been obtained toll rates went back to former prices. The injunction suit was finally tried and resulted in favor of the ferry. All this time the campaign for a free bridge went steadily—if not merrily—on. It became a political issue in the spring election of 1873. A local paper, speaking of the toll bridge, said:

"It is an incubus that should have been removed years ago, and could have been, and would have been, had it not been for the fact that the bridge company had too many advocates in the city council, and county boards. . . . Public sentiment has been in favor of a free bridge for the past ten years, but the bridge company have so manipulated those in authority that this sentiment has not availed anything. . . . This monopoly . . . is taking from twenty to thirty thousand dollars out of our city every year, a good part of which is invested in Chicago real estate."¹²²

122. *Daily Kansas Tribune*, Lawrence, April 4, 1873.

This same authority exhorted the farmers and others who had occasion to cross the river with teams to patronize the ferry, because the charges were the same, and the ferry could not be run unless it was better patronized. The ferry's prices had been met by the bridge company, and it was presumed that in case the ferry was discontinued the toll rates would be raised to the old figure.¹²³

The steam ferry was doing a thriving business in the spring of 1873. A Mr. Morton had the contract for running it, and the following rates charged by him for crossing were certainly attractive to those having occasion to visit the opposite side of the river: 1 horse, 2½ cents; 1 horse and vehicle, 5 cents; 2 horses and vehicle, 5 cents; 4 horses and vehicle, 7½ cents. Foot passengers free. The fact that the bridge company was obliged to meet this rate in order to get any patronage¹²⁴ prompted a Marysville paper to remark that the ferry was "playing smash with the bridge company."¹²⁵ Another item from the same source was to the effect that "Lawrence is hot about her bridge affairs. She has a toll bridge that don't give satisfaction, and therefore a ferry has been established to connect her with the railroad on the north side of the Kaw."¹²⁶

The campaign of the *Tribune* for a free bridge brought on about the hottest fight staged in that city up to that time, and a mayor and council who, during the campaign, professed to be favorable to the free bridge proposition had been elected. Their apparent reluctance in taking action in the bridge controversy caused the Lawrence people to regard them as more favorable to the bridge company than to her own citizens. The *Tribune* asked why the city attorney had not done his full duty in regard to the injunction that had been obtained against the ferry, and added:

"It is a matter of surprise to us that any court could ever put on glasses with magnifying power enough to magnify a ferry boat into a floating bridge. . . . That floating-bridge dodge was pretty thin; but thick enough to put about \$20,000 of the people's money into the pockets of Babcock & Co. They can well afford to pay damages, and the city should make them to do it."¹²⁷

Within the next thirty days the *Tribune* suggested that the city council should appoint a committee to examine the bridge, and if it was found unsafe to have it condemned and abated as a common

123. *Ibid*

124. *Ibid.*, March 22, 1873.

125. *Marshall County News*, Marysville, March 29, 1873.

126. *Ibid.*, April 25, 1873.

127. *Daily Kansas Tribune*, Lawrence, April 9, 1873.

nuisance or have the approaches to it closed up so as to protect the lives and property of the unsuspecting crossers.¹²⁸

In the meantime the bridge company made an offer to sell the structure to the city, but at a price which the *Tribune* thought beyond its physical value, and this provoked a charge that the company was trying to sell the city a "rotten old structure" for three or four times what it was worth.¹²⁹

Late in May, 1873, the ferry was put out of commission by flood wood that came down the river as the result of a heavy rain on the night of May 20. Driftwood in such quantity lodged against the ferry cable that it was broken, and that route "closed for repairs, leaving no choice but to hazard crossing over on that rotten old bridge and pay the old prices for the risk incurred."¹³⁰

Acting on the *Tribune's* suggestion, a committee had been appointed to investigate the condition of the bridge, and at a special meeting of the council it reported that the bridge was unsafe.¹³¹ A few days later the council notified the bridge company of the findings of the committee. Notices were at once posted at each end of the bridge, warning the public of its condition, but as the ferry had been temporarily put out of commission, traffic across the bridge went ahead unabated.¹³²

Meetings were held to check the bridge situation up to the people, and at one of these the bridge company wanted the council to take the ferry off the river. This could not be done as the county commissioners had jurisdiction over that matter. Resolutions were passed at this meeting against making any arrangements with the bridge company by which tolls were to be collected; and it was voted that in case the company erected a new toll bridge and attempted to collect tolls the mayor and councilmen should immediately make the ferry free and run it until a free bridge could be had. This meeting placed the valuation of the bridge at not to exceed \$15,000.¹³³

The bridge company late in June issued a statement signed by C. W. Babcock, secretary and treasurer of the Lawrence Bridge Company, in which it was proposed to make the bridge free for foot travel, free for all city business, free for all public occasions, and

128. *Ibid.*, May 8, 1873.

129. *Ibid.*, May 29, 1873.

130. *Ibid.*, May 22, 1873.

131. *Ibid.*, May 23, 1873.

132. *Ibid.*, May 28, 1873.

133. *Ibid.*, June 20, 1873.

all public processions. Tolls on all wagons and buggy travel were to be reduced to 10 cents. Tolls were to remain at that figure until a final decision was rendered in the case then pending, (unless the county attorney should unnecessarily delay), or until the city should express a willingness to purchase the property at a fair price.¹³⁴

Desirous of quieting the public mind in regard to the condition of the bridge, the company called in two engineers, one a Mr. Sneed, of the Union Pacific railway, who made a thorough examination of the structure, and pronounced it unsafe.¹³⁵

During the summer, among other items printed about the old bridge, were the following:

"Condemned the Second Time.—The elephant attached to Robinson's circus could not be induced to cross the bridge. His keepers urged and scolded him, but in spite of all their efforts he refused to trust himself on Babcock's bridge, but went on the ferry readily. Mr. Robinson stated to some gentlemen in front of the Eldridge House that it was the first time in ten years that the elephant had refused to cross a bridge."—*Daily Kansas Tribune*, Lawrence, August 2, 1873.

"A flock of woodpeckers made a raid on the old Babcock bridge yesterday, but after punching the timbers in all the ways they could, they gave it up in disgust. They could not find what they were looking after—live grubs, the timber was too rotten to afford life to them."—*Daily Kansas Tribune*, Lawrence, August 29, 1873.

Early in September the company tacitly admitted the true condition of the bridge, and set to work making substantial repairs. A temporary bridge—pontoons—was constructed to serve travel while repairs were being made. About this time the *Tribune* was selected as the official city paper and, strange to say, the fight on the old bridge company suddenly ceased, though the paper did modestly claim the credit for having gotten the city the new structure.¹³⁶ This temporary bridge was quite well patronized, and the people were crossing nearly all the time.¹³⁷

The bridge controversy came to an end in 1879, the supreme court holding that the bridge company's charter had already expired and that they had no further control over the bridge or highway. This decision gave Lawrence the free bridge she had been wanting for years.¹³⁸

134. *Ibid.*, June 28, 1873.

135. *Ibid.*, June 29, 1873.

136. *Ibid.*, October 1, 1873.

137. *Ibid.*, October 30, 1873.

138. 22 *Kansas Reports*, pp. 438-443.

The following abridged account of Lawrence's last ferry is taken from a story written by Dr. Edward Bumgardner of that city, and published in the *Lawrence Journal-World*, May 30, 1933:

"The last ferry across the river at Lawrence was an emergency service operated by Gustave A. Graeber at the time of the 1903 flood, just thirty years ago. In the latter part of May, 1903, the heavy rains all over the Kaw watershed had so swollen the tributary streams that the river reached the flood stage about the 20th of the month and began overflowing the rich farm lands of the Kaw valley.

"On May 30, Decoration Day, it seemed that the highest possible level of water had been reached. The house of Will Parsons, a mail carrier, a quarter of a mile up stream, had floated down the current, struck the bridge, carried away a section, and interrupted communication between North Lawrence and the main part of the city south of the river. A small building with a sign announcing that it was the 'Salina Bakery' was stranded a short distance below the dam. The Bowersock mill had collapsed and disappeared down stream after sending up a great cloud of flour that covered with white a thousand spectators who were standing near the south end of the wrecked bridge.

"Gustave A. Graeber had made that day in a row boat what he thought was his last round trip to North Lawrence, and had gone home exhausted. No one else in Lawrence was as familiar with the Kaw, and no one had watched the development of this flood with more concern than 'Dolly' Graeber. He lived at that time, as he still does, on the bank of the river at the north end of Ohio street. The bank is rather high there, and Mr. Graeber's house stands some 15 feet above the grade of the Santa Fe railroad track which runs along the river between it and the Graeber home.

"To the astonishment of all and the dismay of many Lawrence people, the river rose four feet more that Saturday night. Through the night rockets were seen rising from an island in North Lawrence, the only spot not covered with water, where an undetermined number of the population were assembled. On Sunday morning above the roar of the raging waters the North Lawrence church bells could be heard, not calling the people to worship, but tolling a prolonged appeal for relief. Early in the morning 'Dolly' Graeber was besieged by excited citizens urging him to do something for the marooned people in North Lawrence. For awhile he demurred. . . . But, knowing that many human lives were at stake, he could not resist continued appeals.

"He got into his little boat and pushed out into the water. . . . After a hard struggle he reached the opposite shore and sized up the situation there. Hundreds of homeless people were huddled together, frantic in their desire to escape from their crowded and terrifying situation. So long as this was impossible, food and clothing were in urgent demand, and everybody had a message for some relative or friend on the south side. After an hour's survey of the situation, Mr. Graeber worked his boat up stream a short distance and braved the foaming waters for the return trip, which he accomplished successfully, landing near the Santa Fe depot, and reported to Mayor A. L. Selig and other anxious citizens.

"Mr. Graeber's task was now only outlined. The people in North Lawrence must be rescued as soon as possible, and in the meantime they must be pro-

vided with the necessities of life. It was before the days of electric and gasoline launches, but he thought of fixing up an antiquated launch which he owned and which was provided with a one-cylinder steam engine. The engine had never worked properly, but he determined to make it work now. As he was starting on his first trip a poppet valve went bad, and the engine was useless. A repair man, C. L. Rutter, quickly made a new valve and the engine began to function.

"Accompanied by L. L. Phillips, Mr. Graeber now made a trip with a cargo of food, wraps and medicines. This was the beginning of a service that he rendered for six weeks, until the waters had subsided and other means of crossing had been provided. A problem that had to be solved immediately was the preservation of order in the flooded district and the protection of such property as had not been destroyed by water.

"At the request of Mayor Selig, Company H of the First Kansas national guards was ordered out by Governor Bailey, and Capt. F. B. Dodds and 48 men of this company were transported by Graeber to the north side where they remained on duty for fifteen days.

"Government officials had been notified when the bridge went out, and a company of army engineers at Fort Leavenworth was ordered across the country with materials for constructing a pontoon bridge. They found it impossible to cross Mud creek for several days, so that they did not reach North Lawrence until the 10th of June. One platoon made camp on the north side of the river, while the remainder of the company were brought across in Graeber's launch and camped on the south side. On the third day after their arrival they completed a swinging ferry which was operated daily from five in the morning until one at night for about two months, until a Union Pacific construction gang had made such temporary repairs on the bridge as to make it passable.

"For full six weeks Mr. Graeber ran his launch as a ferry boat back and forth every hour of the day. For two weeks he received nothing but the grateful thanks of the people he served. During the additional four weeks he made a charge of fifteen cents for each passenger that he carried. He kept count of the passengers transported until the number exceeded 20,000, when he lost count, but he says he is confident that he hauled at least 25,000 in the six weeks; and during all that time he had no serious mishap. Several times there were accidents impending that would have been fatal, but no passenger of his was ever thrown into the water.

"On one occasion a sharp snag punctured the bottom of the boat, but it broke off in such a way as to partially close the rent and keep the boat from sinking immediately, and he reached shore with the boat nearly full of water. Now, at the age of 79, Mr. Graeber looks back with satisfaction to the record that he made thirty years ago without the loss of any passenger whose life was placed in his hands."

Hugh Cameron had the next ferry above Lawrence. The legislature of 1857 granted him a charter for a ferry across the Kansas river opposite fractional E. $\frac{1}{2}$ S. 14, T. 12, R. 19, with a ten-year privilege of landing on the north side of the river on the Delaware

reserve.¹³⁹ This ferry is shown on a map of Douglas county, Kansas, by J. Cooper Stuck, for 1857, and was approximately two and one-half miles up river from Lawrence. Cameron was a resident of Douglas county for many years, and was known locally as "The Kansas Hermit," this nickname having been given him for his solitary mode of living. He was in the federal army during the Civil War and had been brevetted brigadier general. He was a strong advocate of prohibition and equal suffrage, and wrote some of his views in verse. In his later life he was known for his many eccentricities, one of which was having his sleeping quarters in a long box which he had erected in the forks of a tree near his cabin.

The next ferry above Cameron's was John Harris', about five miles above Lawrence. Harris was granted a charter for a ferry by the legislature of 1860, the crossing to be located near the west line of S. 2, T. 12, R. 19 E., in Jefferson county. This act granted exclusive privileges for a distance of two miles on each side of S. 2 for a period of twenty years.¹⁴⁰ The landing on the south side of the river was a point slightly north and east of Horseshoe lake. This lake was formerly a part of the main channel of the Kansas river, which here made a big turn to the south and doubled back to the north, forming the lake when high water in an early day cut a new channel directly across the narrowest part of the loop, leaving the old bed cut off. This body of water was given the name of Lake View in modern times, and now belongs to a private club which has made it one of the pleasure and fishing spots of eastern Kansas. This ferry was located near another historic spot. The Kaw Indian agency in 1827 was located on the north side of the river opposite Horseshoe lake, near the village of Williamstown of present day. Daniel Morgan Boone, farmer for the Kaw Indians, had his farm close by.¹⁴¹

Douglas, two or three miles up the river, was the next point to have a ferry. The town was incorporated by act of the territorial legislature of 1855, John W. Reid, George W. Clarke, Chas. E. Kearney, Edward C. McCarty, Paris Ellison and M. W. McGee being its projectors.¹⁴²

These men were also granted a twenty-year charter for a ferry by the same legislature, with exclusive privileges for one mile up from the town and down the river to the eastern line of the town of Douglas.¹⁴³

139. *Laws, Kansas, 1857*, p. 162. 140. *Ibid.*, 1860, pp. 269, 270.

141. *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 4, p. 302; v. 9, p. 321.

142. *General Statutes, Kansas, 1855*, p. 854. 143. *Ibid.*, p. 778.

This ferry, if operated at all, must have been discontinued within a couple of years, for in 1858 Paris Ellison¹⁴⁴ was granted a charter at this location for a ten-year period.

The charter members of the first ferry company, in all probability, were proslavery men. M. W. McGee was a member of an early family of Westport, Mo., and was a member of the first territorial legislature. Geo. W. Clarke was an Indian agent, purser in the navy, register of the Fort Scott land office, and will be remembered by Linn county citizens as the leader of a band which raided that county. J. W. Reid was a proslavery man and was at the head of the 400 Missourians at the Battle of Osawatomie. He was also one of the generals in command of territorial militia when Lawrence was threatened by the 2,700 Missourians in 1856.¹⁴⁵

Douglas was about opposite the mouth of Grasshopper (Delaware) river. A post office had been established in March, 1855, which also served Lecompton, Andrew McDonald being the first postmaster. In September the post office was removed to Lecompton, its rival. A steam saw mill had been established by Messrs. Johnston, McDonald and White at Douglas early in January, and advertised good native lumber, one-inch thick, at \$3 per hundred. The firm pointed out that this lumber could be rafted down the Kansas river at nearly all seasons, and that they would run the mill day and night, if necessary, to accommodate the public.¹⁴⁶ Douglas received two votes for territorial capital when the members of the legislature were called on to make a selection. It received the votes of Messrs. O. H. Brown and G. W. Ward. Brown was from Maryland, aged 34, single and proslavery in politics, while Ward was a Kentuckian, aged 55, farmer, married, and also "sound on the goose."¹⁴⁷ The legislature this year ordered a territorial road laid out from One Hundred and Ten to the town of Douglas, via Glendale, and thence by the most practicable route to the most desirable point on the road leading from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Riley.¹⁴⁸

Douglas was one of three towns located between Horseshoe lake and Lecompton, the others being Benicia and East Douglas, the townsites almost adjoining. All three towns are shown on Whitman & Searl's map of Kansas, 1856, but have long since disappeared.

(To be Continued in November Quarterly.)

144. *Laws, Kansas*, 1858, pp. 55, 56.

145. *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 4, pp. 532, 533, 537.

146. *Kansas Free State*, Lawrence, June 4, 1855; Andreas, *History of Kansas*, pp. 309, 310; Colton's *Kansas and Nebraska*, p. 75; *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 3, p. 397; v. 7, p. 443.

147. *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Leavenworth, July 28, 1855.

148. *General Statutes, Kansas*, 1855, pp. 972, 973.

The Bull Fight at Dodge

KIRKE MECHEM

THE first and with perhaps one exception the only real bull fight ever held in the United States was staged at Dodge City on the fourth and fifth of July, 1884.¹ It was a genuine Spanish importation, via Mexico, featuring expert Mexican bull fighters and actual swording of the bulls. In defiance of the nation-wide protest which arose against this "barbarous celebration of our national holiday" the Cowboy Capital, as was its habit in those days, presented the spectacle as advertised and thumbed its nose at the clamor.

To A. B. Webster, a former mayor of Dodge City, goes credit for the town's unique sporting venture. It was while struggling on the horns of a dilemma presented by the necessity for concocting something new in the way of Fourth of July entertainment, that Webster was prodded by his inspiration. After a moment's consideration of the feasibility of the idea he made a hasty calculation of the expense involved and with characteristic frontier promptitude set out to sell his proposition to the town. Within an hour Dodge's business men had subscribed and paid in over \$3,000. By the end of the following day the estimated budget of \$10,000 had been raised.²

1. Under Spanish rule there were many bullfights, bull-and-bear fights, and similar spectacles in the Southwest. There are vague references to fights along the Texas and Louisiana borders at a later period. Despite the opposition of humane societies there have since been numerous attempts to introduce bull fighting in the United States. On July 31, 1880, a Spaniard held a steer baiting in New York City, "when," according to the *New York Semi-Weekly Tribune*, August 3, "Texas steers showed their docility and good breeding." Rubber caps were fitted on the horns and the matadors were not permitted to harm the animals. Henry Bergh, Jr., president of the American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, attended and stopped further exhibitions. In 1895 managers of an exposition at Atlanta, Ga., sold a Mexican village concession in the knowledge that bull fighting would be the principal attraction. Protests brought about a cancellation, although, according to the *New York Tribune*, October 9, 1895, bull fighters, bulls and horses were on their way from Mexico. Cripple Creek, Colo., shares honors with Dodge City for the only fights where bulls were actually sworded, so far as the writer has been able to discover. On August 24 and 25, 1895, three bulls were killed in the ring in a particularly brutal manner, in the presence of excursion crowds from Colorado Springs and Denver. Contrary to the procedure at Dodge City, no attempt, apparently, was made to secure animals that would fight. Docile Hereford bulls were cut to pieces trying to escape. (*Denver Republican*, August 26, 1895.) The Humane Society, much criticised, later stopped a fight one of the same promoters attempted to hold in Denver. At Omaha, Neb., on July 9, 1901, according to the *New York Tribune* of July 10, seven thousand attended a bull fight, attracted by the goading of a matador the preceding day, which, the Mexican fighters said, could have been prevented if they had not been prohibited from harming the bulls. On November 27, 1902, unarmed Mexican matadors gave a "pleasing" demonstration in Kansas City, Mo., following many protests. Kansas City *Star* articles of that week indicate that these same fighters had appeared in Wichita, St. Louis and other cities. There are many references in more recent years to "mild," "modified," "mock," "burlesque" and "bloodless" fights. (See *New York Times*: February 22, 1922; May 26, June 24, 29, August 17, 24, 1923; August 18, 19 and 20, 1924; February 24, 1925; January 4, 1926; and February 5, 1927.) In 1930 Sidney Franklin, famous American bull fighter, proposed to stage a fight in Newark. Because of his prominence the proposal drew criticism from all over the country and he was forced to give up the project. (*New York Times*, November 21 to 25, 1930.)

2. *Kansas Cowboy*, Dodge City, July 12, 1884. In this issue the *Cowboy* reprinted articles from the *New York Herald* and the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, both papers having sent special correspondents to report the fight.

Webster and his associates in the project of course had no motive other than a desire to make money. Certainly they would have scouted the imputation that any Spanish innovation was necessary to maintain Dodge City's notoriety as a two-gun metropolis. Yet, whether they realized it or not, Dodge in 1884 stood in need of just the sort of lurid publicity it immediately received when the bull fight was announced. The days of its lusty youth were slipping away, and the town was drifting perilously close to the shores of respectability. True, it was still the home of Bat Masterson, then advertised as the killer of thirty-two men, but the outside world was gaining the impression that it had turned pacifistic.³ In spite of its past reputation and the fact that it was still only a fringe on the outskirts of civilization men were hinting openly that Dodge wasn't as bad as it once had been. Mostly this was innuendo, but a few Eastern correspondents were making copy of the gossip. Indeed, in June of that year one of them boldly wrote:

"People in the East have formed the idea that Dodge is still the embodiment of all the wickedness in the Southwest, and that it is dangerous for a stranger to come into the town unless he has a strong bodyguard with him. The impression, however, is a false one. Dodge is a rough frontier town, and it is populated largely by rough people, but they are not at all vicious. They are open-hearted and generous. I would have less fear of molestation in this wild, western town than I would have on the side streets of Kansas City or Chicago late in the evening.

"Dodge is a typical frontier town. Cowboys and cattle dealers constitute the bulk of the population. Incidental to these are hosts of gamblers and saloonists. The yearly 'round-up' has not yet been completed. In May the cattlemen begin to drive in their cattle for the round-up, which lasts nearly a month. The drive this year probably numbered 450,000 cattle. Of these doubtless 100,000 will be shipped from here, the balance being driven on further. Dodge is a lively business town. The amount of freight received here over the railway is enormous, as this is the base of supplies for the immense country of which this is the centre."⁴

This was the sort of publicity that had begun to undermine the town's reputation. It was insidious, all this talk of cow hands and round-ups in terms of big business. The glamour of the ranges was fading, to be replaced by statistics. There were Kansas writers, even, who used similar language. The *Independent*, of a town as far west as McPherson, could say:

"Dodge City is not the town it used to be. A few years ago at early candle-light nearly every saloon was turned into a public gambling or dance house.

3. In February, 1933, H. B. Bell, of Dodge City, and D. W. Barton, of Ingalls, who knew Masterson well while he lived in Dodge City, both stated to the writer that Masterson may have killed three men, but neither was certain of more than one.

4. *Kansas Cowboy*, July 12, 1884.

The 'girls' came out from almost every nook and corner and solicited custom with as much effrontery as the waiter girls do for their counters at a church festival. It was trying on a man's virtue in those days. The cowboys, with a revolver strapped upon each hip, swung these wicked beauties all night and made the sleeping hours hideous with their profanity and vulgarity. This has been stopped. No cowboy is allowed to carry weapons, few dance halls are allowed to run, and gambling is only carried on in private quarters. The saloons are yet running in defiance of law, but prosecutions are pending against all of them."⁵

No doubt this newspaper man believed he was doing the town a service in thus calling attention to its conversion. As a matter of fact he was unduly optimistic about these ordinances which the city had recently acquired. Dodge had not reformed; it was merely becoming conscious, occasionally, of its sins. The conservative Eastern papers, for the most part, were under no illusions as to its sanctity, and when the bull-fight story was released they lost no opportunity to point a righteous finger at its iniquities.

The Cincinnati *Enquirer*, calling attention to the fact that Dodge was distinguishing itself by introducing the Mexican "sport" to American soil, stated that the town "was previously known to fame. It is only a few weeks," it commented, "since the gamblers held the place in a state of siege for a week. Some two years since the town marshal was threatened with death. He telegraphed his brother at Tombstone, 1,000 miles away, who rushed to his aid by the first train. The two barricaded themselves on the public square, and with Winchester rifles deliberately picked off their enemies whenever they appeared. When the Santa Fe railroad was first built through the place the festive sports used to amuse themselves by putting bullet holes through the tall hats of passengers on the trains; and even yet the depot platforms are decorated with recumbent forms of dozens of frisky cowboys, sleeping off the effects of the last night's debauch, each with his huge revolver and full cartridge belt strapped around him. When the prohibition law went into effect in other parts of the state, Dodge City defied the authorities and the saloon keepers made up a purse and sent it to the mayor with the legend: 'To be given to the widow of the first man who informs against a saloon keeper.' That interesting town might have sat for the original of John Phoenix's touching rural picture:

5. The McPherson *Independent*, July 9, 1884. The *Independent*, however, held no brief for Dodge City, for in its issue of July 2, 1884, it had reported: "At Dodge City last week an employee of the Santa Fe road entered complaint against the saloon keepers. As a consequence he got badly pounded, had one eye punched out, was arrested and fined \$50 for disturbing the peace, and while looking for a bondsman he was rotten egged. Dodge City is the banner antiprohibition city of Kansas."

“‘All night long in this sweet little village,
You can hear the soft note of the pistol,
And the pleasant shriek of the victim.’”

No matter what might be said to the contrary, this, after all, was Dodge of the Boot Hill as it still existed in popular imagination and as it was pictured by most Eastern news writers at the time of the bull fight. With some of the highlights toned down it was a passably good portrait. Nevertheless, the very fact that Dodge City's business men were willing to employ the spotlight in their effort to capitalize the town's gaudy atmosphere indicates that the "first fine, careless rapture" was passing. The Wild West show and the rodeo, glorifying the American cowboy and commercializing his exploits, were coming into their own.

That they were thus helping to officiate at the death of one era and the birth of another Webster and his fellow promoters, however, were wholly unaware. With matadors to engage, bulls to secure, and an arena to build there was no leisure for historical speculation. In order to handle the business affairs of the venture they organized the Dodge City Driving Park and Fair Association. H. B. (Ham) Bell was elected president; D. M. Cockey, vice president; J. S. Welch, secretary; and A. J. Anthony, treasurer. Webster was made general manager.

The first and most important job of the association was to engage "the genuine Spanish bull-fighters" who were to be the main feature and principal drawing card. This Webster was fortunate enough to do through a Scottish lawyer of Paso del Norte, one W. K. Moore, of the firm of Moore & Sierra. Moore not only engaged the troupe, but he came with them as their manager. Also he served as press agent. In this capacity he apparently came in immediate contact with the antagonism the fight had engendered, and one of his first tasks was to pour oil on the troubled waters.

A perusal of some of the advance publicity Moore prepared indicates how cannily he undertook to discredit charges that the fight would be a cruel and brutal exhibition. An interesting example is found in an interview which he gave to the Dodge City *Kansas Cowboy*, wherein he compares bull-fighting favorably with prize-fighting.

"Mr. Moore," said the *Cowboy*, "is a native of Scotland and has lived in Paso del Norte ten years. He is a professor in one of the Mexican colleges. He wishes to disabuse the prevailing opinion in the minds of the American people as to the nature of a bull

fight. He says that fight is not the proper word; that athletic exhibition would be more suitable. There is nothing barbarous in the proceeding. The bulls are not tortured, the only weapons of offense used by the men being small darts. The excitement and interest in the 'sport' (as termed by the Mexicans) consist principally in witnessing the skill and dexterity of the men in evading the assaults of the bull. Mr. Moore says it is an error to classify it with pugilistic contests. The governor of Chihuahua is a bull-fighter and can handle the lasso with as much skill as the most accomplished cowboy." ⁶

Apparently, however, Moore was not always consulted by the reporters. Contrasted with his assurance that the fight would be a gentlemanly and harmless "athletic exhibition" is another newspaper story stating that it was not unlikely that the fights of the 4th and 5th would result fatally to some of the matadors. This was ballyhoo of the most modern and approved style. The managers had advertised a blood-letting, and they knew what the crowds expected. But they felt they must make some effort to discredit the storm of disapproval their advertising had aroused elsewhere. Reports were being circulated that Governor Glick intended to stop the fight. This threatened to make serious inroads on the crowds expected from the East. The management knew that Glick proposed nothing of the sort, despite the pressure that was being brought to bear on him. Glick had friends in Dodge, and they reported the governor had said that if the fight could be held at another time he would attend. But they were afraid that promises of too much gore might prove to be a boomerang. There was, of course, in addition the unverified rumor that the mayor had received a telegram from the United States attorney's office saying that bull fighting was against the law in the United States, to which the mayor was said to have made the classic answer, "Hell! Dodge City ain't in the United States!" But this, too, if it occurred at all, was taken no more seriously than the Glick rumors.

While it is doubtless true that there was no danger of Glick's stopping the fight, he was subject to considerable criticism. Among those who protested most volubly was Henry Bergh, Jr., of New York. Bergh was president of the American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, and had had experience of bull fights before. In August, 1880, he had succeeded in stopping a

6. *Kansas Cowboy*, July 12, 1884.

bull baiting exhibition in New York City promoted by one Angel Fernandez.⁷

On the Fourth of July Bergh sent Glick the following telegram:

"In the name of humanity I appeal to you to prevent the contemplated bull fight at Dodge City this day. Let not American soil be polluted by such atrocities."⁸

On July 7 Bergh followed this up with a long letter of protest to the Governor:

"**SIR:**—While civilization is striving to extend its peaceful and benign influences over our prosperous and happy country, a spot within the boundries of your state suddenly invites notice, where humanity and public decency have been trampled under feet and the blood-red flag of barbarism substituted in their stead.

"Millions of our countrymen, learning through the Press that the birthday of the nation, for the first time in its history, has been stained and disgraced by a Spanish bullfight at Dodge City in the state of Kansas, will be reluctant to believe the report. While the banner of our nation was being elevated in every state, town and village in the land, amidst the thundering of artillery and the shouts of a prosperous and patriotic people, Dodge City alone stands up and announces to the world that henceforth the tastes and habits of the heathen and the savage shall be inaugurated upon its soil.

"It requires no great stretch of fancy to imagine the solemn protest which the founders of this great nation would offer could their voices, now silent in death, be heard again. Perhaps it would resemble the following, in all respects, except the feebleness of the language I employ:

"'Fellow countrymen, after years of toil and suffering we acheieved national independence for you and yours, along with an almost boundless domain which seems to be the special abode of everything which a bounteous Providence can bestow upon its children. To-day, one hundred and eight years ago, a government was declared whose principles are based on patriotism, humanity and progress. Up to the present time no act of that government has, by its own election, tarnished or subverted these heaven-born precepts.

"'In face of all these blessings, and upon a day consecrated to freedom and to progress, a portion of the young state of Kansas, ignoring all these benefits, elects to cast its lot among those few ignorant and effete states remaining in the world where a majority of the people still cling to the cruel and uncivilized pastime which you have to-day transplanted to your own soil.'

"Such, I say, might be the remonstrance of those noble founders of the republic who, dying, constituted yourselves and others the heirs of a nation, whose resources are boundless, whose people are educated, and to whom the ignorant and oppressed of the earth are looking for example and encouragement.

"The same telegram which sends this humiliating announcement into every home and schoolhouse in the land is intensified by the report, which it is sin-

7. See Footnote 1.

8. Telegram from Henry Bergh, Jr., New York City, to Gov. George W. Glick, July 4, 1884.—"Correspondence of Kansas Governors," Archives division, Kansas State Historical Society.

cerely hoped is false, that your excellency has extended your official sanction to this deed of retrogression, which strives to set back the hands of time to that period of the past when human government was content to stand still or move on only in the direction of cruelty, tyranny and superstition.

"That the rumor is as false as it is humiliating, is shared by every respectable man and woman in the land, I am certain.

"Americans, like all other people, seek diversion and amusement, but they are not willing to give over their country to the bloody and demoralizing scenes of the bull ring, a pastime which has, more than any other cause, corrupted and wasted the minds and energies of the Spanish race, until national stagnation and degeneracy are recognized in their shrunken territory, and loss of political influence in the councils of their sister states.

"In response to the universal sentiment of the people of thirty-eight states of our beloved country, laws have been enacted within them, and Kansas among the number, making cruelty to every living creature, however humble, a crime. As an evidence of the sincerity of this sentiment, your excellency may possibly remember the audacious attempt made a few years ago in this, the greatest city of the republic, to establish the degrading spectacles to which I refer, and how sternly and effectually it was rebuked and its authors sent back to their foreign homes, fully assured that America is not the soil where so foul and unhealthy a plant can flourish.

"The publication of the laws of Kansas, which I venture to here transcribe, along with an expression of your excellency's condemnation to this stupendous insult to your people and to every citizen of our country, would do honor to the high position you occupy and perhaps serve to recall the people of Dodge City back to that career of prosperity and power from which they have thoughtlessly suffered themselves to be diverted.

"*Laws of Kansas, 1879, chapter 81, section 264: Every person who shall maliciously or cruelly maim, beat or torture any horse, ox, or other cattle, whether belonging to himself or another, shall on conviction be adjudged guilty of a misdemeanor, and fined not exceeding fifty dollars.*"

"I have the honor to be your excellency's most obedient servant,

"HENRY BERGH,

"President of the American Society for the Prevention of
Cruelty to Animals."⁹

Governor Glick did not acknowledge this until a week later, and then he put an exceedingly soft pedal on the affair:

"My Dear Sir:—

"Your letter of July 7th is at hand. The bull fight to which you refer was rather a tame and insignificant affair, and while advertisements gave it some importance it had little or no importance at Dodge City or any place else. Your telegram in relation to the matter dated July 4th was received but not until after the performance had taken place.

"I am, my dear sir,

"Your obedient servant."¹⁰

9. Letter from Henry Bergh, Jr., New York City, to Gov. George W. Glick, July 7, 1884.—*Ibid.*

10. Letter from Gov. George W. Glick, July 14, 1884.—*Ibid.*

While Glick seemingly was unmoved by these and other protests and made no move to interfere, local opposition was not so easy to ignore. In Dodge City itself there were many who did not relish this new accession to the town's already lurid reputation. The minister of one of the churches publicly prayed that Dodge City might be relieved from this "stench in the nostrils of civilization." Nor was criticism confined within the church; some business men, even, while expecting to make money from the crowds, deplored the notoriety which they felt would hinder the future growth of the city.

However, neither Eastern sensibilities nor local delicacy weighed heavily upon the conscience of the Cowboy Capital. For the most part Dodge was enjoying the limelight without qualm or misgiving. It gloried in its sanguine past and was in no hurry to succumb to the soft amenities of civilization. It was getting a lot of fun out of this bull fight. It talked much and loudly about what was going to transpire, even though certain of its remarks were made with tongue in cheek. In the matter of the bulls, especially, Dodge injected a spirit of levity into the proceedings that would have been incomprehensible to any Spanish community on the eve of a serious bull fight.

These bulls the management had decided to secure locally. D. W. (Doc) Barton, said to be the first man to drive a herd of cattle from Texas to Dodge City, was given the contract. The grazing grounds were full of Texas herds containing bulls about whose fighting abilities and proclivities there was no question, and Barton's instructions were to choose them for their ferocity without fear or favor. Accordingly he combed the ranges with but one idea in mind, and that was to round up the most agile and pugnacious bovines the cattle country could produce. In the last week in June he delivered the twelve of his selection at the arena corral.

The public excitement aroused by the arrival of the bulls was exceeded only when the matadors put in their appearance a few days later. The citizens of Dodge were livestock connoisseurs, and after due inspection they were of unanimous opinion that these bulls were decidedly ugly customers. "By nature," stated one observer, "a Texas bull is all the time as mad as he can get." The mere presence of onlookers "was enough to bring them pawing and plunging against the corral fence till the boards bent like paper and the braces creaked with the strain."

Describing these bulls the *Ford County Globe* said: "As some

of them are liable to be numbered with the dead before our next issue, we deem it proper to give a short sketch of these noted animals, together with their pedigrees. These pedigrees are kindly furnished by the famous bull raiser and breeder, Brother Barton, of the great Arkansas river."¹¹

Number 1 on the *Globe's* list was "Ringtailed Snorter, the oldest and most noted of the twelve. He has been in twenty-seven different fights, and always came off victor. Pedigree: Calved February 29, 1883; sire, Long-Horns; dam, All Fire, first of Great Fire, who won big money in a freeze-out at Supply in 1882."

Iron Gall, Number 3, was "a famous catch-as-catch-can fighter, and very bad when stirred up." Pedigree: Calved March 25, 1880; sire, Too-Much Gall; dam, Gall, by Gally.

Of Klu Klux, Number 7, the *Globe* said, "He is a four year old, and next to Ringtail Snorter is the oldest noted fighter that will come to the front on next Friday. It is this animal that the bull fighters most fear, having laid out his man in Old Mexico, while playing 'four you see and one you don't.' Pedigree: Got by Frank, out of Healy-Boy, who was given a commission in 1878 in the Neutral Strip."

Number 8 was "Sheriff, an animal that was never tamed or branded but showed good points in his past go-as-you-please fights on the plains, and since then has captured several prizes in different parts of the country."

Numbers 10, 11 and 12, were Rustler, Loco Jim, and Eat-Em-Up-Richard, all two-year olds. "Boyce has been training Loco Jim for the past month," the *Globe* reported, "and he will likely get away with his man. These animals are all sired by Ringtail Snorter and are the coming heroes of the day." The other entries were Cowboy Killer, Lone Star, Long Branch, Opera, and Doc. It was said of the latter, owned by and named for Doc Barton, that he was "a splendid formed gentleman, with well-developed muscles, and there is no doubt but that he will do good work."

This published list of the names and pedigrees of the bulls, containing allusions to persons and incidents familiar to everyone in the range country, was typical of the cow town's semihumorous attitude toward its Spanish-Mexican entertainment. The cow hands had respect for their bulls, and it tickled their fancy thus to dignify them with proper names. There was considerable betting as to the havoc the bulls would make among the matadors. Public sympathy

11. *Ford County Globe*, Dodge City, July 1, 1884.

was not wholly on the side of the bullfighters. While the cattlemen had a certain admiration for anyone with the nerve to engage a maddened bull on foot, they felt that their four-footed entries were about to do battle for the honor of the cattle country and were entitled to proper recognition and support.

On the Sunday preceding the Fourth Manager Moore and the matadors arrived in Dodge. Their appearance raised the town's interest and excitement to a fever pitch. The skeptics were silenced; the promoters redoubled their optimistic preparations.

There were five of these bullfighters, all native Mexicans.¹² The chief matador was Capt. Gregorio Gallardo, a merchant tailor of Chihuahua. Gallardo was billed as the most noted of all the noted bullfighters of Old Mexico. Several Dodge City citizens remembered his having killed bulls in a ring at Paso del Norte some years before. He carried two swords, "used for dispatching purposes," with straight two-edged blades three feet in length. These, so Moore said, were made at Toledo, Spain. One of them, he claimed, was 150 years old and had been owned and used by Captain Gallardo's great-grandfather, once a professional matador of high degree in Spain.

The other members of the band were Evaristo A. Rivas, picador, inspector of public works in the state of Chihuahua; his son, Rodrigo Rivas, an artist by profession; Marco Moya, a professional musician from Huejuequillo; and Juan Herrera, a musician from Aldama.

The newspapers, especially, waxed enthusiastic over the arrival of the matadors. They were described in phrases worthy the ingenuity of the most up-to-date sports propagandist. "They are a fierce lot," exclaimed one writer, "and fear is an unknown sensation to them. They have followed this avocation from boyhood. They have had many narrow escapes from death and have been seriously wounded at times. They understand that the people want an exciting and dangerous fight, and they are ready to satisfy them. Some day, they all feel, they will come to their death in the bull pit, but they like the life and would not be satisfied to leave it. Yet they are as intelligent a party of men as any person would wish to meet. Their all-redeeming trait is that they cannot be forced to drink a drop of strong liquor."

This last touch may have been inspired by Manager Moore. In his efforts to give a tone of respectability to an affair which its critics stigmatized as a return to barbarism, Moore continued to

12. *Kansas Cowboy*, July 12, 1884.

lay as much emphasis on the reputations his charges bore as exemplary citizens as he did on their records in the bull ring. Possibly he still questioned the reception Dodge would accord after so much talk of gore.

On the morning of the Fourth, however, any fears Moore may have had were set at rest. Before ten o'clock it was evident that the fight would be a financial success. As the town filled up it made a bizarre and colorful spectacle. Cowboys from every section of the Southwest were on hand, armed and spurred, and tanned by the prairie sun and wind, prepared to crowd enough excitement into the two days to last through the next six months of monotony. They had money to spend, and they had no difficulty in finding places to spend it. Dance halls filled with girls and gaming places sprinkled with gamblers were running full blast. The saloons were doing a capacity business. In the Opera House, the Congress Hall, the Long Branch, the Lone Star, and the Oasis, milling throngs of cowmen rubbed elbows with the hundreds of visitors brought in by the Santa Fe from the East. Correspondents for metropolitan newspapers in search of atmosphere made the rounds and, if one may judge from their stories, found no lack of copy.

By noon Dodge was jammed by eager crowds awaiting the appearance of the grand parade which was to mark the beginning of festivities. Cow ponies lined the hitching racks along the streets and were picketed in every available vacant lot. Shortly before two o'clock Former Mayor and Manager Webster, with Manager Moore of the matadors, led the procession to the fair grounds. Behind them came the town dignitaries, followed by the famous cowboy band. Then, to the delight of the spectators, the bull-fighters passed in review. In their red jackets, blue tunics, white stockings and small dainty slippers, they seemed, in the words of a contemporary writer, "the perfection of liveness and quickness, and were heartily applauded as their dark handsome faces looked on the crowd gathered along the streets."

The arena, toward which all faces were turned after the parade, lay on a tract of forty acres between the town and the Arkansas river, which had been purchased and fenced by the association. Facing a half-mile track, an amphitheater with a seating capacity of four thousand had been erected. In front of the grandstand an eight-foot fence enclosed the arena proper, which was one hundred feet in diameter. At intervals along the fence eight light board screens, or escapes, were provided, where the bull-fighters could

take refuge when too closely pressed. West of the arena was the bull corral, connected with the main enclosure by a chute. Parallel with this chute was a wider passage through which the bodies of the victims would make their exit.

Before two o'clock the spectators began filing into the amphitheater.¹³ At least a third of the crowd, estimated at 4,000, were women and children. Since some of the ladies of the town were not remarkable for their sanctity a deputy sheriff had been detailed to draw a dividing line which should separate the *demi monde* from their more respectable sisters. The name of the frontier St. Peter assigned to this delicate task is lost to posterity, as are the social reverberations which must have accompanied some of his decisions. Immediately over the entrance gate the reporters and the band were seated, and at both sides sections were reserved for Dodge's leading citizens and their families. Opposite sat the cowboys and their ladies. The ambition of every cowpuncher, one writer reported, seemed to be to get a big fat girl and a high seat at the same time. "The wait before the appearance of the first bull," he wrote, "was filled with chaffing and calling of the usual kind, variegated with music by the cowboy band."

At half past two the work of driving the bulls from the corral into the pens opening on the arena was begun by Mr. Chappell, track horseman and tournament rider. He was assisted by bull-fighter Juan Herrerra, who wielded a red mantle when the animals proved unusually refractory. When the bulls were safely penned the tips of their horns were sawed off and the ends rasped smooth.

At 3:40 a bugle sounded the signal for the grand entry. Amid the enthusiastic cheers of the multitude the matadors and picadors, four afoot and one mounted, came into the arena. They had changed into their fighting costumes and their parade had all the color of a pageant. Gallardo was magnificent in a scarlet tunic and knee breeches, with a green sash and sable trimmings. Rivas was attired in a yellow tunic trimmed with red, yellow knee breeches, and a white cap surmounted by a pair of horns. The other two matadors were dressed in red and blue. The picador wore ordinary cowboy clothes. They circled the arena, made their obeisance to the officials, and awaited the appearance of the first bull.

13. The description here given is a composite of contemporaneous newspaper accounts. The reporters did not see the action in the ring with the same eyes, any more than do our modern sports broadcasters. Newspapers used were: *Kansas Cowboy*, July 12, 1884, in which the *New York Herald* and the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* stories were reprinted; the *Dodge City Democrat*, July 5, 1884; and the *Ford County Globe*, July 8, 1884.

The bugle sounded again and the first bull bounded into view of the crowd. He was a red, fierce-looking brute, and full of fight. As he passed through the door two decorated barbs were thrown into his neck, just below each horn. Infuriated by the darts, he charged madly at his tormentors. Gallardo attracted his attention and began to play him. Again and again, encouraged by the roars of the crowd, he drew the charges of the bull and deftly swerved him from his course with his mantle, escaping the rake of the horns by inches. After several of these preliminary passes Gallardo took refuge behind one of the escapes. The bull made a complete circle of the enclosure, then halted defiantly in the center of the ring and pawed the ground, covering himself with clouds of dust.

The other fighters now approached to display their skill. As they closed in the bull rushed, but the savage thrust of his horns met only thin air, and another festooned dart hung from his shoulders. Time and again he wheeled and charged, until his back and sides were decorated with a floating sea of colored streamers that reached from his horns to the end of his tail. The cow punchers forgot their girls and even the best citizens stood and applauded. The matadors were in their glory. Here was an animal worthy of their mettle; one that gave them an opportunity to exhibit all the tricks of their profession.

This bull was played for thirty minutes before he tired. Then Mr. Chappell was called on to lasso the bull and take him out. When the animal had been roped, the cow hands, anxious for a display of their own technique, set up a cry for Chappell to throw the brute. This he attempted to do, but the bull was too strong for him, and it was all he could do to pull the maddened animal into the chute. Here the bull made a desperate rush at Chappell, grazing his horse, and broke loose. Finally he was tied and restored to the pen, furious but unharmed.

When the second bull was released the spectators anticipated another display of brute ferocity and human agility. But they were disappointed; this bull proved to be a coward and ran from his assailants, and was soon driven out. The third was little better, merely providing some exercise for the fighters after they had covered his sides with darts. The fourth also had to be dismissed. The fifth had even fewer fighting qualities than his predecessors. He became entangled in one of the escapes and was whipped out by a cowboy who sat in the first row of seats, to the derisive laughter of the onlookers.

By this time the crowd wanted more action and began demanding that the first bull be returned. It had been announced that the last bull of the day would be put to the sword by Gallardo, and the cowboys wanted to see this highly advertised maneuver executed on an animal worthy of the swordsman's skill. Accordingly, the fighting red bull was lassoed and pulled back into the arena.

When Gallardo reentered the enclosure and the spectators saw him take the Toledo sword which was passed down by Manager Moore they understood that the most exciting episode of the drama was at hand. They were aware that Gallardo must repeatedly attract the rushes of the bull until the precise opening for the death thrust presented itself. This lightning thrust, as they knew, must be accomplished by one stroke made from directly in front of the animal as it charged, and must result in a clean-cut and instant death.

When the bull caught sight of the matador, therefore, a hush of anticipation fell upon the noisy crowd. As if it appreciated its perilous situation the brute charged at once and with redoubled fury. With a graceful sweep of his cape Gallardo deflected the animal's first rush safely past his side. The bull wheeled and flung himself again at the matador. Once more his horns found nothing more substantial than the elusive cape. Repeatedly he returned to the attack and Gallardo's escapes grew narrower and narrower. Then, suddenly, the crowd gasped in dismay and jumped to its feet. Gallardo was down. For an instant it seemed the fight was about to end in tragedy. But fortunately the accident had occurred at the entrance to one of the established escapes. At the moment when it appeared to the crowd that Gallardo was caught between the bull's horns and the high board fence he threw himself lengthwise on the ground at the animal's feet and crawled to safety behind the guard. The bull charged on the light boarding of the screen and almost tore it down; then, meeting no active resistance, backed angrily away.

Although Gallardo had received a slight bruise on his left thigh he immediately stepped into the open to renew the encounter. Bowing gracefully to acknowledge the plaudits of the spectators he signaled the band to resume the music for the swording. Then, with a pardonable touch of bravado, he slowly began walking directly toward the bull. Through bloodshot eyes and with lowered head the brute watched him approach. When the matador was almost upon him the bull charged. Poised, and with sword balanced

for the thrust, Gallardo waited, but at the last possible instant, not finding the opening he desired, was forced to deflect the bull's rush with his sweeping cape. Twice more he parried the furious onslaughts. But at the fourth attack came the opportunity he sought. Swiftly the blade struck home, bent, and then penetrated to the vital spot. The bull staggered a pace or two, stumbled to his knees, and then sank to the ground.

"Thus," reported the *Ford County Globe*, "ended the first day's bull fight in Dodge City, and for all we know the first fight on American soil. The second day's fighting, with the exception of the killing of the last animal in the ring, was more interesting than the first. . . . The matadors showed to the people of America what bull fighting really was. No one could see it and go away saying that it was not a genuine bull fight. It was not that tortuous or inhuman punishment inflicted upon wild animals as the term 'bull fighting' would seem to imply, save and except the single animal that was killed. The punishment, tortures or cruelty was even less than that inflicted upon animals in the branding pen."

In the face of strictures by an unsympathetic press, both in Kansas and the East, the *Globe's* statement expresses the reaction of Dodge City's citizens to their first and only bull fight. What the more inarticulate cowboys thought of this Spanish entertainment can only be a matter of conjecture. That they enjoyed themselves may be surmised from a news item which appeared in the *Larned Optic* a few days after the fight:

"Quite a number of our boys visited Dodge last week to see the bull fight. Some of them returned looking as though they had had a personal encounter with the animals."¹⁴

14. The *Larned Optic*, July 11, 1884.

The Robinson Rifles

GEN. WM. H. SEARS

IN 1887-1890 I was one of the instructors at the Lawrence Business College; also a part owner of the school. I organized a military department and had a large company of uniformed men, all students of the school. Taking advantage of a provision of the Kansas military law, I induced the governor to commission me as captain of the company as an independent company of the Kansas reserve militia and named the company "The Robinson Rifles," in honor of Ex-Governor Charles Robinson. When formally notified of this Governor Robinson presented the company with a beautiful silk banner; on one side being the flag of the United States and on the other the great seal of Kansas with the name of the company on it. This flag cost \$165, and the governor presented it to the company with appropriate ceremonies and speeches. This company became the best military organization in the state of Kansas. I secured arms from the state for the company, and we were regularly inspected with the regular national guard companies. We secured the use of the armory used by the Usher Guards, or Company H of the National Guard, and drilled there regularly every afternoon at 4 o'clock.

On one occasion the company marched from Lawrence to the home of Ex-Governor Charles Robinson, five miles northeast of Lawrence, followed by all the girl students in the Business College in express wagons, and there on the governor's farm we had target shooting and a picnic dinner. After the dinner we engaged in a sham battle on the lawn while the governor and his wife sat on the porch of their home and witnessed it.

When the legislature met in 1893 the Populist party, in combination with the Democrats, controlled the state senate, and the newly elected governor was a Populist—L. D. Lewelling, of Wichita.¹ The house was claimed by both the Republicans and the Populists; but the Republican secretary of state certified that the Republicans had a majority of ten, while the Populists proclaimed they had a majority of ten. When the new legislature met two rival houses were organized in the hall of the house of representatives. Douglas, of Wichita, was elected speaker of the Republican house, and Duns-

1. See, also, J. Ware Butterfield's "The Legislative War of 1893; Inside, Outside, and Back Again," in *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. VII, pp. 453-458, and W. P. Harrington's "The Populist Party in Kansas," *ibid.*, v. XVI, pp. 403-450.

more, of Thayer, was elected speaker by the Populists. For two weeks these rival houses conducted legislation, each ignoring the other; the two speakers sitting side by side at the speaker's stand. Finally the Populists took possession of the house and barred the doors so the Republicans could not get in. Then on the morning of February 15, 1893, the Republican house, headed by their speaker, Mr. Douglas, and their sergeants at arms, broke down the door of the hall of the house of representatives with a sledge hammer and rushing in they forcibly ejected all the Populists. Immediately Governor Lewelling ordered the National Guard to come to Topeka and declared martial law. National guardsmen were placed at every entrance to the capitol and no one was permitted to enter without a pass signed by the adjutant general, Col. H. H. Artz, who, of course, was a Populist.

When the news came to Lawrence that the Governor had called for troops and declared martial law, I sent him the following telegram: "I am competent to handle a company of troops or a larger body of men and I would be glad to organize a company and come to Topeka to help you uphold the constitution and the laws and to preserve order." In anticipation of a favorable reply, I assembled in my law office a few of my friends. At nine o'clock that night I received the following telegram from Topeka: "Come up with the boys in the morning.—L. D. Lewelling, Governor."

I immediately sent my friends out all over town to solicit recruits for my company, and by 11 o'clock I had 61 men enlisted. These were assembled in Jeffersonian Hall, on Eighth street on the south side near New Hampshire, the next morning at eight o'clock. There I lined up my company and asked all who had seen military service to take one step to the front. More than half of the men stepped forward. Then I formed the company in sets of fours; numbers 1 and 4 being the well-drilled men, and numbers 2 and 3, the undrilled men. I soon learned that the Santa Fe train for Topeka was two hours late; therefore, I had about three hours to train the men in the most important movements.

In the meantime the news got out in town that I was organizing a company to go to Topeka. Men who were opposed to my movement went to the Santa Fe ticket agent and asked him to refuse to sell me and my company tickets for Topeka. He at once declined and said that it was his duty to sell to everybody; then this self-appointed committee went to Bud Hindman, the sheriff of Douglas county, and asked him to organize a force of deputy sheriffs and put me and my

company under arrest and confine us in the Douglas county jail. The sheriff declined to act. Then this committee telephoned to Geo. T. Nicholson, general passenger agent for the Santa Fe railroad at Topeka and asked him to instruct the Santa Fe agent at Lawrence not to sell us tickets. Again a refusal was made. Then this committee telephoned to Mr. Douglas, speaker of the Republican house, with the result that he ordered 300 of his 600 armed sergeants at arms to proceed to the Santa Fe depot in Topeka and arrest my company when it arrived, and put it in the Shawnee county jail.

About nine o'clock, while drilling my company, Governor Lewelling called me on the long-distance telephone and asked me if I had organized a company and if I would bring it to Topeka. I told him my company was organized and I was drilling it, and would come to Topeka on the train which was two hours late. I said that his telegram, under the constitution and laws of Kansas, was equivalent to a commission and that he had full power to authorize me to organize a company, but that I wanted him to have a commission made out for me dated February 15, and delivered to me when I arrived in Topeka. I also asked him to instruct his ordnance sergeant to have uniforms, arms, and belts filled with cartridges laid out for me in the arsenal ready for my company when it arrived. All this the governor promised to attend to promptly.

I resumed drilling my company until about 10 o'clock, when again Governor Lewelling called me on the telephone. This time he told me that his spies had reported that the Douglas house had sent 300 armed deputies to the Santa Fe station in Topeka to arrest the members of my company and put them in the Shawnee county jail, and asked me, "How are you going to get here?" I told the governor not to worry, that I would be there.

After this conversation with the governor I continued to drill my company until it was time to go to the train. We marched to the Santa Fe depot and there I purchased tickets for Topeka for all my men. After boarding the train I called my officers around me: George O. Foster, now registrar at the University of Kansas, first lieutenant; my brother, Clarence H. Sears, second lieutenant; Frank O. Hellstrom, orderly sergeant; J. E. Miles, of Atchison, second sergeant; Percy Daniels, Girard (son of the Populist lieutenant governor of Kansas, Col. Percy Daniels, of the Seventh Rhode Island artillery in the Civil War), third sergeant; Otis S. Allen, fourth sergeant, and Wm. T. Dias, of Jefferson county, whose

father was one of Stonewall Jackson's foot cavalry, fifth sergeant. I repeated to these men what the governor had told me over the telephone. I assigned to each of these officers a proportionate number of the company, then I went through the train and instructed each man to obey his immediate officer until further orders.

As the train was approaching Topeka, I had the officers assemble their squads on the steps of the long train on both sides of it, and when they were about a quarter of a mile from the station in Topeka they jumped off the train. Each officer took his squad by a different street and they walked in scattered formation, like civilians, and all assembled, at the same moment, at the west end of the city library building, which stood in the northeast corner of the capitol grounds. When the train arrived in Topeka, the platform was packed with armed deputy sergeants at arms. I went out of the front door of the smoker on the left side of the train, ran around the engine and took a hack for the capitol. For a fee of one dollar the hackman drove his team at a gallop all the way. On arriving at the National Guard line that surrounded the capitol, I was admitted by the officer of the day on my commission signed by Gov. Lyman U. Humphrey, as captain of the Robinson Rifles, and still good under the constitution and laws of the state for eighteen months. I immediately reported to the governor in his office, informing him that my company would be ready for duty in thirty minutes. I then went into the adjutant general's office, put on my uniform, sword and revolver and ran to the city library building. There my company was just forming. We crossed the capitol grounds from the library building to the arsenal at double time. In less than thirty minutes we were uniformed, rifles loaded and bayonets fixed, and immediately marched to the governor's office. I formed my company in the hall in front of the executive offices and there Governor Lewelling received it and complimented the men upon their loyalty to duty and to the state, and said that he would have quarters assigned to us in the building in a few minutes.

While waiting to be assigned to quarters, a young man approached me wearing a red badge and inquired if this was the Lawrence company. I replied in the affirmative. He then said, "Come this way with your company." I believed he was a messenger from the governor. The executive offices, at that time, were in the east wing of the capitol. I followed the messenger with my company through the corridor and the rotunda until we reached the great stairway going up to the hall of the house of representatives. At

that time I really did not know where I was, as I had not visited the capitol for several years. We found the stairway barricaded with great telephone poles, the ends of the two lower ones separated from the wall on the stairs by about three feet. Our guide passed through this opening and we followed him in single file. Suddenly we found ourselves in front of the door of the lobby leading into the hall of the house of representatives. There I was confronted by Col. D. R. Anthony, of Leavenworth, Speaker *pro tem*. Hoch, afterwards governor, and Commissioner Green of the supreme court. Colonel Anthony said to me, "What company is this?" "This is the Robinson Rifles, independent company of the Kansas Reserve militia," I replied. Colonel Anthony then asked, "By what authority do you come here?" I replied, "By the authority of L. D. Lewelling, governor of Kansas." At this statement, the men confronting me and others who had assembled with them, seemed to be much excited. At that moment my orderly sergeant, Frank O. Hellstrom, whispered in my ear: "Captain Sears, this is the Douglas house, for God's sake let's get out of here!" Immediately I gave the order, "Company, about face! Forward, march!" The company, in reverse order, went rapidly down the stairs in single file and in a few minutes we were again lined up in front of the governor's office. The members of my company felt that this was a very narrow escape from capture by the 600 armed deputies of the Douglas house.

Very soon after this incident my company was assigned quarters in the corridor below the executive offices, the supreme court being on the south side and the state library on the north. Here I formed my company in line of masses four deep with the lieutenants in the rear, and addressed the men in these words: "If any members of this company feel that they have joined it under a misapprehension and would like to be released, I say to you now that you can step out of the ranks, go to the arsenal and leave your uniforms and arms there and go home. I guarantee no member of this company will ever criticize you for thus resigning, and not one of us will ever call you a coward. I await your decision." The men stood tense and silent for more than a minute. Not one of the company left the ranks; then my brother, Clarence, the second lieutenant, said in a deep voice: "Not a damn man!" This sententious, and slightly profane, statement brought a storm of cheers from the men and all pounded the floor with the butts of their rifles. Indeed, the cheering

and pounding of rifles made so much noise that the governor sent messengers to find out what was the matter.

At this point I must explain that five of my company of sixty-one men failed to appear for muster in Jeffersonian hall that morning. I never saw them to know them afterwards. Of the remaining fifty-six men, six were Prohibitionists, twenty-four were Republicans, and twenty-six were Democrats.

After the cheering subsided, I said, "I am proud of this company, and I shall now administer to you the most solemn oath ever administered to man, and that is the military oath." Every man raised his right hand and I read the oath to them and they all assented to it. Then I said to them: "I received an order from Governor Lewelling to bring this company to Topeka to assist him in upholding the constitution and laws of this state and in preserving order. He has given me a commission as captain of this company, dated yesterday; therefore, my authority is complete, under the constitution and laws of this state. I shall obey every lawful order given me by the governor, and I expect this company to obey my orders. You are now soldiers, and it is not for you to question the reason for orders; as Tennyson said in his famous poem, 'The Charge of the Light Brigade,'

" 'Theirs' not to make reply,
Theirs' not to reason why,
Theirs' but to do and die.' "

Following this brief address, the first platoon of my company, under Lieut. George O. Foster, remained in quarters; the second platoon, under Second Lieut. Clarence H. Sears, was assigned to protect the arsenal. On arriving at the arsenal Lieutenant Sears brought out the Gatling gun, which was a machine gun, and put an old sergeant of the regular army, who was in his platoon, in charge of it. I instructed Lieutenant Sears that if the great mob assembled in the streets, made an attack, he should turn this Gatling gun on the mob and instruct his men to act as sharp shooters and shoot only the men who had guns in their hands and were firing. My instructions were that not a shot must be fired by my men unless they were fired upon first.

The morning of the 17th I was made officer of the day and was in charge of the guard line. Early in the forenoon I was standing on the east steps of the capitol when a rush was made on the guard line. One of the guards was Coryell Faulkner. His father was a Civil War veteran, and at this time was superintendent of the

soldiers' orphans' home at Atchison. When the rush came, Faulkner ordered "halt" three times, but the attackers refused to obey and Faulkner leveled his rifle at them and pulled the trigger. The cartridge failed to explode. Afterwards I took the rifle from Faulkner's hands, a breech-loading Springfield, threw up the breech block and ejected the cartridge. An examination showed that the firing pin was bent so it did not hit the cap, and therefore the cartridge failed to explode. I said to Faulkner, "Did you attempt to fire on that mob?" Faulkner replied; "I was graduated from the military school at Mexico, Mo., and I was taught to order halt three times and if the order was not obeyed, to fire. I ordered halt three times and the mob failed to stop, so I pulled the trigger." I was deeply moved and shocked by Faulkner's statement, for I realized that if one shot was fired into that mob, which was composed of thousands of people crowding the streets near the capitol, a great battle would have been precipitated and no doubt hundreds would have been killed and wounded.

A few days after the "Topeka War" was over, I sat at a marble table in the parlor of the old Dutton house, in Topeka. Around this table sat Walter Costigan, editor of the *Ottawa Journal*; State Senators Baldwin and John W. Leedy, afterwards governor, and the famous Populist orator, Mrs. Mary Ellen Lease. I told the story of the rush on the guard line and exhibited the cartridge. All of them examined it. As Mrs. Lease held it in her hands, she said, "Because of this courageous, soldierly act of Coryell Faulkner, his father shall remain as superintendent of the soldiers' orphans' home at Atchison." That night there was a conference of prominent state leaders with Governor Lewelling in the parlor of the Throop hotel in Topeka. I came in a little late and the governor called me to him and gave me a seat beside him on a sofa. He immediately turned and put his hand on my knee and said, "Here is a young man that saved me from humiliation and disgrace, and possible assassination." For the second time I exhibited the cartridge that failed to explode, and after all had examined it I presented it to the governor. He accepted it and said, "I shall preserve this cartridge as the most important exhibit of the 'Topeka War.'" I have never seen this cartridge since.

To go back to the rush on the guard line, I must explain that I ran to the quarters of the first platoon of my company, Lieutenant Foster in command, and ordered him to move on a run with his men

with bayonets fixed and rifles loaded, to the first stairway west of the governor's offices and head off the mob which was headed for the hall of the house of representatives, every man loaded with provisions to feed the starving members of the Douglas house and the 600 deputy sergeants at arms. I accompanied Lieutenant Foster and we succeeded in cutting off about half of the mob before they got into the rotunda and pushed them back down the corridor past the governor's offices and down the steps at the point of the bayonet and on out into the street. All the time the line of bayonets was pushing them back, this mob was shouting and swearing, with white faces, but not one of them fired, though they were all armed with revolvers and guns. They knew that one shot fired at my company would release a storm of Springfield rifle bullets, and no man had the nerve to fire.

The only person injured in the rush of the mob on the guard lines was Doctor Pattee, who appeared to be near the guard line when the rush came and was struck over the head with a revolver and blood ran down his face. I witnessed this incident myself. Doctor Pattee was then living in Topeka. He now lives in Lawrence, and is the owner of the Pattee Theater building. I think he must have been an innocent bystander at that time.

By this time the feeling had become so intense at Topeka, and the partisan feeling and party lines were so tightly drawn, that the leaders on both sides realized that a violent outbreak was imminent. It was learned that many excursion trains were arriving in Topeka loaded with armed Populists and Democrats. All available arms and ammunition in every town in the state had been purchased by the rival parties and it looked as though we might have civil war at any moment. President Harrison wired the troops at Fort Leavenworth and Fort Riley to be prepared to move on Topeka at any moment. At this critical juncture, Col. O. E. Learnard, of Lawrence, then owner and publisher of the *Lawrence Journal*, now the *Journal-World*, urged the leaders of both parties to send for Ex-Governor Charles Robinson, the first governor of Kansas, then living on his great farm five miles northeast of Lawrence. This was done, and when the governor arrived a conference composed of the leaders of both parties was held in the old Copeland hotel, one block east of the capitol grounds. At this conference Governor Robinson pointed out that the only way to prevent civil war and bloodshed, which would be a lasting blight on the fair name of the state, was for the rival parties to come to some agreement; in other words,

make a treaty of peace. The governor suggested that both sides to the conflict agree to submit the whole controversy that had divided the house of representatives into two bodies to the supreme court for decision, and that both sides must agree to abide by this decision, whatever it might be. Governor Robinson's suggestion was adopted, and immediately the governor's order declaring martial law was recalled, and all the troops assembled were ordered home.

The adjutant general's office furnished me a transportation order, and I returned to Lawrence with my company, after a four-days' absence. When our train drew into the station at Lawrence I was surprised to find an enormous crowd assembled there. I formed my company in a hollow square on the platform and there we were welcomed home by appropriate speeches. A large push truck was used for a platform, and Jesse J. Dunn, of Garden City, a student in the university, presided. Some years later Dunn was elected chief justice of the supreme court of Oklahoma. Mr. Dunn introduced Ex-Governor Charles Robinson and he made the principal speech of welcome. He said, "Captain Sears, I charge you to preserve the muster roll of this company, for it is a roll of honor. This company responded to a call of duty and assisted the governor of the state in upholding the constitution and the laws and preserving order at Topeka." In responding to the address of welcome by Governor Robinson, I said, "I named this company the 'Robinson Rifles' in honor of Charles Robinson, the first governor of Kansas. As measured by his achievements, he is the greatest man this state has produced. We feel signally honored to have the governor present at our homecoming and are delighted with his words of welcome and commendation.

"I hold in my hand a printed circular showing that last Friday night a mass meeting was held at the armory in Lawrence, called for the purpose of showing disapprobation of my action in enlisting 'irresponsible men and boys under the name of the "Robinson Rifles" and taking them to Topeka to assist Governor Lewelling to trample constitutional liberty under foot.' 'Irresponsible men and boys!' Why, my friends, the best blood in the state flows in the veins of the members of this company. I see before me George O. Foster, of the University; Otis S. Allen, whose father is one of the justices of our supreme court; F. Percy Daniels, whose father was colonel of the Seventh Rhode Island artillery during the Civil War and is now lieutenant governor of Kansas; Fred A. Clarke, whose father is a distinguished citizen of Kansas and served a term as sheriff of

Douglas county; Charles Henry Lease, whose mother, Mary Ellen Lease, is a famous orator and now president of the Kansas State Board of Charities; and many other fine young men compose this company. No partisan consideration marked the action of the members of this company in joining it, because six members are Prohibitionists; twenty-four are Republicans; and twenty-six are Democrats. Good citizenship always rises above party considerations or factions. I am proud of the loyalty and good discipline exhibited by the members of this company, and I wish to say to Governor Robinson that we will preserve this muster roll as a roll of honor."

Headed by a band, I marched my company up town from the station, followed by a vast procession of citizens from Douglas, Jefferson, Leavenworth and Johnson counties. The sidewalks were packed with people and many were on the roof tops and at the windows. We marched into Jeffersonian Hall, and there I dismissed the company.

While we were absent from the city I was subject to abusive statements in the daily papers of the town, and for a time I suffered a social and business boycott. To counteract this I wrote a brief story in which I set forth the constitution and the military laws of the state; the telegraphic order from the governor to organize the company, and the commission I received from the governor as captain. The law and the facts were with me, absolutely, and when this story was published in the *Lawrence Journal* my old friends began to come back to me, and many of them apologized for refusing to recognize me or speak to me on the streets.

In recognition of my conduct in the Topeka legislative war, Governor Lewelling appointed me brigadier general of the Kansas National Guard, and before my term of service ended I was promoted to senior brigadier in command of the National Guard of the state.

I had grown up in the National Guard, had commanded two school companies and the "Robinson Rifles" in the Business College, and was also drill master of the Indian regiment at Haskell Institute for two years. While in command of the National Guard I was given a free hand by Governor Lewelling and put into effect the following reforms:

1. I established a system of target practice; provided the non-commissioned officers with target manuals and the commissioned officers with copies of "Blunt's Target Practice." A great quantity

of fixed ammunition had accumulated in the arsenal at Topeka, and I shipped most of this out to the companies. Sharpshooter and marksman badges were distributed to the men for efficiency at the rifle ranges.

2. When I took command there were four regiments of infantry in the state. I disbanded half of the companies and reorganized the balance into two regiments. The allotment of military supplies from the federal government was then sufficient to provide these two regiments with everything they needed, including overcoats, blankets and tents.

3. I organized a troop of cavalry, one platoon being at Lawrence, and the other at Baldwin, and they met for drill, part of the time at Lawrence, and part of the time at Baldwin, and when the weather was good and the ground fit, the two platoons met at Vinland for drill. The men furnished their own horses, for which a small allowance was made to them.

4. I established engineer, hospital and signal corps, and when these organizations were perfected the National Guard of Kansas was a complete, independent military force, comprising all arms of the service; for we had a battery of artillery with machine guns, one section being at Wichita, and the other section at Topeka.

5. I organized a school for the officers, numbering 125 men, and sent them to Fort Leavenworth with their tentage, blankets, fatigue uniforms and arms, and there they were drilled by regular army officers in the daytime and attended lectures given by army officers, in Old Sherman Hall, at night. Seven army officers, who were instructors in the post-graduate school at Fort Leavenworth, were our instructors. We found at this school the largest military library in the world, and we considered our instructors the best in the world. Before we left this school, through the solicitation of army officers, nearly every National Guard officer had subscribed to some military magazine and had purchased important books on military science. Some years later, while private secretary to Clara Barton, of the Red Cross, and at that time a member of her family, it came to me to entertain Lieut. Gen. Nelson A. Miles, and during our nearly two hours conversation I told him about the school for National Guard officers I had organized at Fort Leavenworth; whereupon General Miles said, "General Sears, I didn't know you were the man that organized that officer's school; but I made the details of the officers for your instructors. The regular army had been holding its right hand out to the National Guard for many years in vain, and you

were the first one to start a movement to bring us together." The *Army and Navy Journal* gave us a long story about the organization of this school, and immediately I received letters from nearly every adjutant general of the United States asking me for details about the school, with the result that in a short time there were National Guard officer schools organized in every state of the Union, except Nevada.

6. There had been no encampments of the National Guard in Kansas for seven years. The legislature had refused to appropriate money for camps. But I found the money and reestablished them. Each of the thirty-two companies in the National Guard were receiving annually \$300 for contingent company expenses. The company at Hill City paid only one dollar per month for an armory, and the captain had accumulated over \$600 in the bank, which he later returned to the state military fund. Other companies, that paid little for armory rent, blew in the surplus on balls and parties. I issued an order providing that each company would be paid the actual cost for armories and other necessary expenses. In a short time there was saved about \$6,000, and to this was added some \$3,000 more from a military fund, and these funds were used for reestablishing encampments. The officers and men served without pay at the encampments, and the city that secured an encampment furnished the wood for campfires, straw for the tents and, in one case, the bread and beef also.

In recognition of my work for the National Guard I have been accorded the honor of invitations to West Point commencements ever since 1926 and have attended five of them.

The officer's school that I organized at Fort Leavenworth was continued for four years prior to the war with Spain, with the result that the Twentieth Kansas, in the Spanish American War, which was composed largely of the officers and men of the two regiments of the National Guard of Kansas, made a fine record in the Philippines under the leadership of Gen. Wilder S. Metcalf and Gen. Frederick Funston.

Kansas History as Published in the State Press

Biographical sketches of Salina citizens have been published from time to time in the *Salina Journal* under the heading, "Why I came to Salina."

A Mennonite immigration in 1876 and the settlement established in Harvey county were described by C. C. Regier in an article entitled, "An Immigrant Family of 1876," which appeared in *Social Science*, Winfield, for July, 1932.

Short paragraphs on historical events of local and world-wide interest are prepared by Dr. Edward Bumgardner, of Lawrence, for regular publication in several newspapers of the Midwest under the heading, "Homeopathic Doses of History." The Lawrence *Daily Journal-World*, Iola *Daily Register*, Holton *Recorder* and the Valley Falls *Vindicator* are among the Kansas newspapers publishing the series which started August 1, 1932.

A story of the pioneers of Lookout valley was published serially in the Cedar Vale *Messenger* from November 8, 1932, to February 17, 1933. Pioneer reminiscences in this series were edited by O. D. Sartin.

Harvey county historical manuscripts, preserved by John C. Nicholson, have been published from time to time in the *Harvey County News*, Newton. Stories included in this series and their authors, if known, are: "Early History of the Formation of the County and Difficulties Encountered," Judge R. W. P. Muse, January 5, 1933; "Farming in the Early Seventies," John C. Johnston, January 12; "Early Days of Harvey County and Newton," February 2; "Burrton Township," W. L. D. Daily, February 9, and "Taking Claims, Improving Land and Other Happenings in Highland Township History," John C. Johnston, March 2.

"Wheat—the Crop of Early Centuries—Its Part in the County and State Development," by Mary H. Wires, was published in the *Harvey County News*, Newton, January 12, 1933.

A story of the founding of Victoria, Ellis county, and the introduction of black Angus cattle into this country, written by Alvin H. Sander, former editor of the *Breeder's Gazette*, was printed in the *Russell Record*, January 19 and 26, 1933.

Mrs. Margaret Steig, pioneer of Marshall county, was interviewed by Byron E. Guise for the *Marshall County News*, Marysville, January 20, 1933. Mrs. Steig came to Kansas in 1866 and settled northeast of Oketo. Other articles of Kansas historical interest appearing in this newspaper include a brief history of Blue Rapids, March 10; the experiences of William Campbell, a pony express rider, March 17; a history of the Marietta Grain Co., reputed to be the oldest coöperative grain organization in the state, March 24; the experiences of Hiram Lillibridge, Waterville pioneer, April 14; an interview with Mrs. A. J. Travelute, who has lived in Marysville since 1860, April 28; the experiences of Ed Lally, June 2, and a picture of the county sixty-six years ago as recalled by Mrs. Fred Brucker, June 16.

A "History of Waldo M. E. Church," by Mary A. Jain, was published in the *Waldo Advocate*, January 23 to February 6, 1933. S. P. Lantz was superintendent of the first Sunday school.

The story of the naming of Wagon Bed Springs was related by India H. Simmons in the *Dodge City Daily Globe*, January 25, 1933. "When the Rails Pushed West," naming many early-day characters and places figuring in the history of the Dodge City area, was another of Mrs. Simmons' contributions to the *Globe*. It was published in the issues of January 26 to 30.

Pioneers of Trego county were guests of the Wakeeney Locust club at a Kansas Day program January 20, 1933. Names of a few of these early-day settlers were published in the *Western Kansas World*, January 26. Brief biographical sketches of pioneers who still live in Trego county were printed in the issues of February 2 to March 9, and on February 23 over two columns were devoted to the experiences of O. A. Cortright.

The reminiscences of Mrs. E. O. Brooks (Sarah White), telling of her capture by Indians in 1868, were published in *The Kansas Optimist*, Jamestown, January 26, 1933. The article was written by Mrs. Carl Flitch, a daughter of Mrs. E. O. Brooks, and was read at a Jamestown Kansas Day program.

"Abram Brantley Holt, Nearly 86, Is Oldest Living Resident of Leon," was the title of a feature article appearing in the *Leon News*, January 27, 1933. Mr. Holt settled on Hickory creek in 1870.

"Kansas Day, 1861-1933," was the subject of A. H. Harris' recollections published in the *Yates Center News*, January 27, 1933.

Early-day experiences of B. S. Head were recounted in the *Cedar Vale Messenger*, January 27, 1933. Mr. Head's father settled in northeastern Kansas in the spring of 1855.

Cunningham's tornado of 1900 was described in the *Cunningham Clipper*, in a special article appearing in its issues of January 27 to February 17, 1933.

"Through the Years With Site of Old Wyandotte County Courthouse," was the title of an illustrated historical article featured in the "Yearly Progress Edition" of the *Kansas City Kansan*, January 29, 1933.

Riley county in retrospect was the keynote of a pageant presented as part of the Riley County Historical Society's Kansas Day program, January 28, 1933. A list of the early settlers attending the meeting was published in the *Manhattan Morning Chronicle*, January 29, and the *Manhattan Republic*, February 2.

A brief historical sketch of Omio, once a busy Jewell county city, was published in the *Topeka Daily Capital*, January 30, 1933. Omio was situated three miles south of Formoso.

The battle of Black Jack, which was described by Milton Tabor in his "The Story of Kansas," printed in the *Topeka Daily Capital*, January 30, 1933, led Asa F. Converse, in the *Wellsville Globe*, February 23, to publish eye-witness accounts by Robert Pearson and G. W. E. Griffith, participants in the battle.

John Starr Barnum, one of the three men who named Wichita, died in California January 29, 1933. According to the *Wichita Eagle* of January 31, Barnum, David Munger, the first postmaster, and a harness maker by the name of Vigus, gave the city its name.

Biographical sketches of Wilson county pioneers are being published from time to time in the *Wilson County Citizen*, Fredonia. The articles, which have been prepared by Mrs. Belle C. Lyon, mention the following citizens: Luther E. Greathouse, January 31, 1933; L. C. Collins, March 14; J. E. Daniel, April 4; J. W. Koonce, April 14, and Mrs. Annie Barrett, May 19.

Horse thieves operating in southern Kansas and the Indian territory over a half century ago were recalled by Judge T. J. Dyer in

the Alva (Okla.) *Daily Record*, January 31, February 1 and 2, 1933. Judge Dyer with his family settled near Elgin in April, 1870.

A brief history of the Santa Fe railroad was published in *The Tiller and Toiler*, Larned, February 2, 1933. The city's early-day fires were briefly reviewed also in this issue.

Sedgwick Congregational Church history was briefly sketched in the *Sedgwick Pantagraph*, February 2, 1933.

"Kansas," an address by J. H. Andrews, given at a meeting of the Humboldt Rotary Club, January 30, 1933, was published in the *Humboldt Union*, February 2. Mr. Andrews, who came to Allen county in 1867, related many of his early-day experiences.

"George Bunger Writes of Original Survey of Topeka and Southwestern," was the title of a front-page feature printed in the *Eskridge Independent*, February 2, 1933. Two surveys for the railroad from Topeka to Council Grove were made.

Names of old settlers of Kansas, and particularly of Reno county, who registered at the fourth annual Farm and Home Week held in Hutchinson February 1 to 4, 1933, were published in the *Hutchinson News* and *Herald* in their issues of February 2, 3 and 4. The four days of festivities are regularly sponsored by the Hutchinson daily newspapers.

"Col. Asa Kinney and the Wisconsin Colony," by Margaret Eastland-Ruppenthal, was published in *The Russell County News*, Russell, February 2, 9 and 23, 1933.

Pioneer days along White Rock creek were described by Mrs. Ellen M. Warren, of Courtland, in a series of articles printed in the *Belleville Telescope*, February 2 and 23, March 9 and 23, 1933. Andrew Glenn, a pioneer and member of the Excelsior colony, reviewed the history of that settlement for the *Telescope*, February 9 and 16.

A sixteen-page "Booster Edition" of the *Leon News* was edited by the Leon Methodist Episcopal Church, February 3, 1933. Histories of the various inter-societies of the church and letters from former pastors and pioneers were featured.

A copy of the first issue of the *Kansas Free State*, which was published in Lawrence in January, 1855, led a reporter to reminisce of early-day Lawrence in the *Daily Journal-World*, February 4, 1933.

Names of the known former students of Central Normal College, which flourished at Great Bend until 1902, were listed in the *Hoisington Dispatch*, February 9, 1933. Preceding a reunion of these former students, which was held at Great Bend June 10, a history of the college, by Rev. W. A. Sharp, of Topeka, was published in the *Great Bend Tribune*.

A letter from Wendell P. Hogue to Judge J. T. Cooper, of Fredonia, relating how the city looked to the writer in 1887 and 1888, was published in the *Wilson County Citizen*, February 10, 1933.

The robbery of the Medicine Lodge bank, May 1, 1884, and the part played by Caldwell "peace" officers were described in the *Caldwell Daily Messenger*, February 16, 1933.

A letter from Mr. and Mrs. W. R. Brown to Mr. and Mrs. R. D. Black of Summerfield, on the occasion of the Blacks' fiftieth wedding anniversary, was published in the *Summerfield Sun*, February 16, 1933. The letter revealed many names and places of historical interest in Marshall county.

Two members of the student body of eighteen which met for the opening assembly exercises of the Emporia Kansas State Teachers College (Kansas State Normal School) sixty-eight years ago are still living, according to information brought out at the Founders' day dinner, February 15, 1933. The *Emporia Gazette* of February 16, and the college *Bulletin* of February 17, printed historical notes on the college brought out at the dinner.

Reminiscences of pioneer Washington county residents who attended the courthouse corner-stone laying in 1886 appeared in the *Washington County Register*, Washington, in its issues of February 24 to March 17, 1933, in conjunction with ceremonies held when the corner stone for the new courthouse was laid March 11.

Panhandle cattle trails and their relation to Dodge City were discussed in two articles by A. W. Thompson, of Denver, Colo., published in the *Dodge City Daily Globe*, February 25 and 27, by courtesy of *The Cattleman* (Texas) and the *Clayton (N. M.) News*. A map showing cattle ranches on the old Tascosa trail accompanied the article.

"He helped to Haul the Guns to Defend Woodsdale From Attack," is the title of an article in the *Hutchinson Herald* of February 26, 1933, describing the activities of Arthur B. Campbell, of near Moscow, in the Stevens county seat warfare.

"Some Personal Glimpses of Early Kansas Editors," by William Allen White, was a feature of the March, 1933, issue of *The Kansas Editor*, published by the department of journalism of the University of Kansas, at Lawrence.

French settlers were the first to locate in the vicinity of present-day Burrton, according to historical records left by the late Judge W. L. Daily, of Burrton. He found that a French colony of ten families located on Turkey creek, in Alta township, in 1869. The Hutchinson *Herald* printed a brief account of this settlement in its issue of March 1, 1933.

"Pioneer Scraps," a column depicting the history of the founding of Wichita, appeared serially in the Wichita (evening) *Eagle* from March 1, to May 6, 1933. Mrs. George Whitney was the contributor.

Under the column heading "Early Day Recollections of Smith County Pioneers," the Athol-Gaylord-Cedar *Review* commenced a series of historical articles in its issue of March 1, 1933. Among the pioneers contributing were: C. E. Walker, in the issues of March 1, 15, 29, April 19, May 24; C. A. Cowan, March 8, 22, April 26; J. S. McDonald, April 5; Mrs. M. A. Gregg, May 10, and George L. Burr, Sr., May 17.

Philip Budenbender's experiences as one of the earliest residents of Spring Creek township, Pottawatomie county, were told in the Westmoreland *Recorder*, March 2, 1933.

Cawker City newspaper history was reviewed by the Cawker City *Ledger*, March 2, 1933. The *Sentinel*, founded in March, 1872, was the city's first newspaper.

Early-day life in the Greenleaf community was described by Anton Peterson in the Greenleaf *Sentinel*, March 2 to 16, 1933. Mr. Peterson settled in Washington county in 1869.

The sixtieth anniversary of the founding of the Christian Church in Jewell was observed February 26, 1933. A brief history of the church, which was read at the meeting by Mrs. Mary Rowe, a charter member, was published in *The Jewell County Republican*, March 3.

An interview with Judge W. P. Campbell, pioneer Wichitan, was published in the Wichita *Beacon*, March 5, 1933. Judge Campbell, who came to Kansas in 1869, compared the hardships of yesteryear with those of to-day.

"Comanche County Was Organized in a Fraud," was the title of a story appearing in the Dodge City *Daily Globe*, March 7, 1933. The article was inspired by an interview with F. A. Hobbie.

A six-column history of Independence was featured in the sixty-second anniversary edition of the *South Kansas Tribune*, Independence, issued March 8, 1933. Walter Krone, W. S. Sickels, Lyman U. Humphrey, W. R. Pratt, and Samuel Broughton, were among the pioneers who contributed reminiscent letters commemorating the occasion.

Newspaper history of Almena was reviewed by the Almena *Plaindealer*, March 9, 1933, commemorating its forty-sixth birthday.

Filings of declaratory statements of intention to claim government land for homesteads near Russell were discussed by Judge J. C. Ruppenthal in *The Russell County News*, Russell, March 9, 23 and 30, 1933. The first filing recorded near Russell was made in what is now Grant township in May, 1871.

Reminiscences of Sarah L. Jent as told to H. C. Jent were published in the Cedar Vale *Messenger*, March 10, 1933. Mrs. Jent settled near Elgin in 1878.

An old school-district treasurer's book for district 59, Washington county, formed the basis for a historical review in the Linn-Palmer *Record*, March 10, 1933. Names of former officers, teachers, and builders of school buildings were listed in the twenty-eight year record. The first entry was that of February 24, 1872.

The history of McPherson county's oil and gas fields was published by the McPherson *Daily Republican* in a special oil and gas edition March 13, 1933. The discovery well was brought in September 9, 1926. A brief historical sketch of the county was also featured in the edition.

"A Story of the Bender Tragedy," as written years ago by Charles Yoe, was published in the *South Kansas Tribune*, Independence, March 15, 1933.

Francis Henry Roberts' "Early Days in Oskaloosa" column in the Oskaloosa *Independent* recalled the city's first remembered earthquake, in the issue of March 16, 1933. No special damage was done except to chimneys.

Sketches of the lives of Republic county pioneers, events in the early history of Republic City and county, history of the city's

newspapers with letters from former editors, and write-ups of the churches and schools, were features of the sixteen-page fiftieth anniversary edition of the *Republic City News*, March 16, 1933. The *News* was founded in March, 1883, by Charles H. Wolfe.

The establishment of Lawndale, southwest of the present town of Cunningham, and an Indian scare of 1885, were described by Ed Stone in the *Cunningham Clipper* through the issues of March 17 to April 21, 1933.

A history of the First Presbyterian church of Fairport was reviewed in the *Paradise Farmer*, March 20, 1933. The church edifice, which was destroyed by lightning July 9, 1932, has been rebuilt, and the new building was dedicated March 12. Rev. S. S. Wallen organized the church September 18, 1887.

Biographical sketches of Mr. and Mrs. David Greep, Kansas pioneers, were published in the *Longford Leader*, March 23, 1933.

"Some Early History About Tribune and Its First Church Organization," by Mrs. Sidney Simpson, was printed in the *Greeley County Republican*, Tribune, March 23, 1933. Also, in its issues of April 20 and 27, the *Republican* continued the church history of the county with a detailed account written by T. P. Tucker, a pioneer.

A history of the Soldier Christian Church as read at the fiftieth anniversary meeting March 26, 1933, was published in the *Soldier Clipper*, March 29. The church was organized March 28, 1883, with fourteen charter members.

History of the clock in Topeka's old post-office tower, by Dwight Thacher Harris, appeared in the *Topeka State Journal*, March 27, 1933. It was installed February 28, 1884.

A column review of the activities of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Kansas territory was published in the *Lawrence Daily Journal-World*, March 29, 1933. Rev. William A. Goode preached the first sermon to the white settlers of the territory at Hickory Point July 9, 1854, according to Dr. Edward Bumgardner, the contributor.

The fifty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Ash Rock Congregational Church, Woodston, was observed March 26, 1933. The *Woodston Argus* of March 30, printed a history of the organization.

Names of Pawnee county cattlemen who have registered cattle brands with the county clerk were published in *The Tiller and*

Toiler, Larned, March 30, 1933. V. F. Wyman registered the first brand in the county, October 29, 1873.

The death of Mrs. Mary Durfey, widow of Jeff Durfey, March 23, 1933, was recorded by the *Osborne County Farmer*, Osborne, March 30. The Durfeys, according to the *Farmer*, were the first persons to be married in Osborne county.

"A Gawdy Picture Painted of Arkansas City in 1889," by D. F. MacMartin, was the title of an article published in the *Arkansas City Daily Traveler*, March 30, 1933. Mr. MacMartin made the run into Old Oklahoma from Arkansas City in April, 1889.

The reminiscences of Charles H. Barber, as told to Charles Rose, have appeared from time to time in the *Almena Plaindealer*. Mr. Barber, who was a former government Indian scout, told of a buffalo hunt with European nobility, in the issue of March 30, 1933; of an Indian ambush near present Atwood in which he was wounded by an arrow, in the April 20 number, and of the Pawnee Indian massacre near present Trenton, Neb., in the June 22 issue.

"Some History of Early Jewell City Cemeteries," by Lillian Forrest, was published in *The Jewell County Republican*, Jewell, March 31, 1933.

"Santa Fe's Early History a Story of Development," was the title of an address given by W. E. Greene, chief clerk of the railroad's Western division office, at Dodge City, recently. The address, which was printed in the *Dodge City Daily Globe*, April 1, 1933, told of the hurried construction through southwest Kansas to fulfill the land grant stipulation and the later development to California and to Chicago.

A history of the Grand Centre school, District No. 67, Osborne county, from 1878 to 1888, by H. P. Tripp, was published in the *Waldo Advocate*, April 3, 1933, and the *Luray Herald*, April 6. The school district was organized in May, 1878. Ida Calkins was the first teacher. The building of the log schoolhouse in this district was described by Mr. Tripp in the *Advocate*, May 15, and the *Herald*, May 18.

Topeka's oldest business firms were named by G. D. McClaskey in the *Topeka Daily Capital*, April 4, 1933.

Early Clay county history was briefly reviewed in *The Economist*, Clay Center, April 5, 1933.

Biographies of Tom Lovewell, government scout, and E. D. Haney, by Ella Morlan Warren, were published in the Belleville *Telescope*, recently. The sketch of Mr. Lovewell appeared April 6 and 13, 1933, and that of Mr. Haney, May 4. Other pioneer sketches printed in the *Telescope*, author not known, include: Sam Fisher, May 18, and the Family of William Osborne, June 15.

Historical sketches of Glen Elder and Mitchell county in the early 1870's have been published in the Glen Elder *Sentinel* during the past few months. The series of articles, written by Alonzo Pruitt, appeared under the following titles: "Ancient Glen Elder History," April 6, 1933; "Glen Elder's Early Schools," April 20; "Early Day Doctors in This Community," April 27; "Our Churches," May 18 and 25; "Personal Recollections of My Early Neighbors," May 25; "When Kansas Was Young," June 1 and "Cereals and Fruits," June 15.

A historical sketch of Harmony Church, by Mrs. Marion Bolin, was printed in the *Leon News*, April 7, 1933.

The history of the Kingman *Journal* was reviewed by the *Journal* April 7, 1933, commemorating the start of its forty-fourth year. The first issue appeared in April, 1890, with John A. Maxey as editor.

A brief history of the Methodist Southwest Kansas conference, by Rev. S. M. Van Cleve, was published in the Wichita *Sunday Eagle*, April 9, 1933. Biographies of C. E. Williams, W. R. Rolingson, Francis M. Romine, Samuel McKibben and Dudley D. Akin, five pastors who were members of the conference at its inception and who are still living, were included in this résumé.

Maplehill's history was reviewed in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Star*, April 9, 1933. The townsite was opened for settlement by George A. Fowler in 1887.

Cowley county history was sketched by L. A. Millspaugh before a meeting of the Cowley County Historical Society April 10, 1933. A résumé of his speech was published in the Winfield *Daily Courier*, April 11.

A biography of "Mother" Bickerdyke, for whom the state institution at Ellsworth was named, was printed in the Ellsworth *Messenger*, April 13, 1933. The Hays *Daily News* reprinted the article in its April 21 issue.

John H. DeVault, a pioneer Kansan, was the subject of a biographical sketch in *The Scott County Record*, Scott City, April 13 and 20, 1933. Martha Brock was the contributor.

"Back Trailing With Our Pioneer Women" was the title of a two-column story appearing in the *Cedar Vale Messenger*, April 14, 1933, in which the experiences of several Chautauqua county settlers were recounted.

"Rolla Will Celebrate Town's Twentieth Anniversary This Year," was the title of a brief historical sketch of the city published in *The Morton County Farmer*, Rolla, April 14, 1933.

A. P. Elder, a resident of Franklin county for seventy-five years, was interviewed by W. E. Gilliland for the *Ottawa Herald*, April 15, 1933. In the *Kansas City (Mo.) Star*, of April 16, Mr. Elder recalled Quantrill's raid on Lawrence, in 1863, which he witnessed from a nearby hill.

A triple lynching in Anthony forty-seven years ago was recalled by the *Anthony Times*, April 18, 1933.

A history of the Ladies Reading Club of Girard, by Mrs. Nora Vincent, was published in the *Girard Press*, April 20, 1933. The club was organized April 21, 1883. Mrs. Anna M. Leonard was the founder.

The reminiscences of E. W. Voorhis, of Columbia, Mo., and J. L. C. Wilson, of Washington, D. C., two Russell county pioneers, are appearing serially in the *Russell Record*. Mr. Voorhis' sketches entitled "Those Golden Days When Russell Was Made," began with the issue of April 20, 1933. "Way Back When," by Mr. Wilson, commenced June 22.

Biographical sketches of Mr. and Mrs. Patrick Sheeran, as told by a relative, were published in the *Chapman Advertiser*, April 20, 1933.

The genealogy of the Gove family, a member of which was Capt. Grenville L. Gove for whom Gove county was named, was reviewed in the *Republican-Gazette*, Gove City, April 20, 1933.

"Still Register Cattle Brands in Ford County," the *Dodge City Daily Globe* headlined in its issue of April 21, 1933. There are 455 different brands on record to date, says the *Globe*, with the first registered in 1878 by Fulton and Stevens.

A discussion of the Hamilton county-seat troubles was continued by C. W. Noell in the *Syracuse Journal* in its issues of April 21 and June 23, 1933. Special significance was placed on the Coomes precinct election fraud in the issue of April 21.

"The story of a Real Pioneer of Southern Kansas," was the title of an article by Rev. Wm. Schaefer relating the reminiscences of William Mies in the *Wichita Sunday Eagle*, April 23, 1933. Mr. Mies came to Kansas in 1874, settling near Wichita.

Elkhart history was briefly reviewed in the *Elkhart Tri-State News*, April 27, 1933. Elkhart was founded in the spring of 1913.

School history of Leon was traced in a twenty-page edition of the *Leon News* published April 28, 1933. The newspaper was edited by a high-school English class.

"The Story of the Old Home Town, Jewell City, Kansas," a detailed history compiled by Everett Palmer, is running serially in *The Jewell County Republican*, starting with the issue of April 28, 1933. The Jewell City Town Co. was organized May 28, 1870.

"Carrying Old Glory to Kansas," a column relating the life of Gen. Philip St. George Cooke, is appearing serially in the *Wichita (evening) Eagle*, commencing with the issue of May 1, 1933.

"A Little History of the Early Days of Kansas," by J. L. Garrett, of Dorrance, was printed in the *Grainfield Cap Sheaf*, May 5, 1933. Mr. Garrett's family settled west of Wilson in 1872.

Dedicatory services for Walnut's new Methodist Episcopal church building were held April 30, 1933. A history of the organization was sketched in the *Walnut Eagle*, May 5, commemorating the event.

Early Toronto history was told in a letter from J. T. Cooper published in the *Toronto Republican*, May 11, 1933. Mr. Cooper was principal of the city's schools in 1892.

Dedicatory services for the rebuilt Presbyterian church in Lincoln was held May 7, 1933. Both the *Lincoln Sentinel-Republican* and *The Lincoln County News*, in their issues of May 11, printed histories of the church in commemoration of the event. The Lincoln congregation was organized in 1873.

"Kansas History and Horses," was the title of an article appearing in the *Beloit Gazette*, May 17, 1933, extolling Kansas equines famous in turf history.

Historical facts about Norcatur were printed in the *Norcatur Dispatch*, May 18, 1933. The city was incorporated in October, 1901.

The sixtieth anniversary of the First Presbyterian Church of Hays was observed May 27, 1933. The church was organized by Rev. Timothy Hill and the first building was erected in 1879. Ministers who have served the church since its founding were named in the *Hays Daily News*, May 23.

A biographical sketch of Henry Sides, Civil War veteran and pioneer of Almena, was published in the *Almena Plaindealer*, May 25, 1933.

"Harvey County Pioneer Tells of Visit by the Notorious Jesse James in Early Days," was the title of an article relating the experiences of Nellie M. Young, of Halstead, printed in the *Harvey County News*, Newton, May 25, 1933. The visit to the home of the Youngs occurred in August, 1875.

Ferries operating across the Kansas river at Lawrence were discussed by Dr. Edward Bumgardner in the *Lawrence Daily Journal-World*, May 30, 1933. Gustave A. Graeber operated the latest ferry in the city as an emergency service during the flood of 1903.

Special historical articles commemorating the sixty-fifth anniversary of the organization of Girard Town Co. by Dr. C. H. Strong appeared in the *Girard Press*, June 1, 1933. Brief biographical sketches of Dr. Strong, J. H. McCoy, W. S. Hitch, W. C. Veatch, Dr. L. P. Adamson and Mr. and Mrs. W. J. Eldridge were features of the edition.

Russell Congregational Church history was reviewed by Mrs. Frances Dawson for a recent state church meeting and was published in the *Russell Record*, June 1, 1933.

The Lewis High School commencement address delivered by Dr. James C. Malin, May 24, 1933, ran serially in the *Lewis Press*, in its issues of June 1 to July 6, inclusive. Dr. Malin's subject was "The Evolution of a Rural Community—an Introduction to the History of Wayne Township, Edwards County."

Early day postmasters in Mitchell county were named by A. B. Adamson in the *Beloit Daily Call*, June 2, 1933.

A brief history of Iowa Point, important Kansas town during territorial days, was published in the *Kansas City (Mo.) Times*, June 7, 1933.

"Newspaper Files Reveal Interesting Story of Burlingame High School Graduates," was the title of a feature article by Mrs. W. G. Beale, appearing in *The Enterprise-Chronicle*, Burlingame, June 8, 1933. The first class was graduated in 1887.

"Early Wallace County, General Custer, and the Seventh Cavalry," from the reminiscences of Lewis C. Gandy, was the title of an article published in *The Western Times*, Sharon Springs, June 8, July 6 and 13, 1933.

"Local Man Bore Custer From Field at Little Big Horn," writes *The Tiller and Toiler*, Larned, June 8, 1933, in a feature story relating the experiences of Charles W. Guernsey, who visited the Custer battlefield the morning after the fight.

"Missouri River Really the Kaw From Kansas City to St. Louis," was the report of a Kansas City (Mo.) *Star* representative after interviewing U. S. army engineers. The story, which appeared June 9, 1933, stated that the Kaw is "the true river between Kansas City and the Mississippi," and that "the Missouri, from a point in North Dakota to Kansas City, probably is the 'newest' river in the United States."

A brief illustrated history of St. John's Military Academy, of Salina, was printed in the *Wichita Sunday Eagle*, June 11, 1933. The academy was founded in 1887, largely through the efforts of Bishop E. S. Thomas.

The sixtieth anniversary of the settlement of Sellens creek, near Russell, was observed June 14, 1933. A brief description of the caravan which left Kankakee, Ill., in three wagons sixty years ago, was published in the *Russell Record*, June 15, 1933.

A few of the pioneers settling in the vicinity of Geuda Springs were named by George M. Bigger in his reminiscences published in the *Geuda Springs News*, June 15, 1933.

The recent visit of J. J. Johnson to the *Beloit Gazette's* office led the *Gazette* to reminisce on its early history in the issue of June 21, 1933. Mr. Johnson with A. B. Chaffee founded the *Gazette* in 1872.

A short history of Ionia, oldest God-child of Ionia, Mich., was published in the *Ionia Booster*, June 23, 1933. The article was a reprint from the *Ionia (Mich.) Sentinel*.

A column history of the Walnut Christian Church appeared in the *Walnut Eagle*, June 23, 1933. The church was organized in 1882 by J. Hennesy.

"Recall 1893 Rain Experiment," was the title of a brief article discussing the simultaneous firing-off of gunpowder in May, 1893, in several southern Kansas cities in an effort to break the drouth, which was published in the *Wichita Sunday Eagle*, June 25, 1933. Rain came within a few hours, but meteorologists scoffed at the gunpowder theory. Similar attempts at rainmaking in Pawnee county were related by E. E. Frizell in *The Tiller and Toiler*, Larned, April 6.

To Rev. Isaac McCoy, early Baptist missionary, goes the credit of launching and making a success of the movement that resulted in the segregation of the Indians west of Missouri and Arkansas, according to Maj. William W. Harris, writing in the *Kansas City (Mo.) Star*, June 25, 1933. The movement resulted in the congressional "Act of May 26, 1830," establishing what at that time was believed to be the future, permanent abode of all North American Indians then residing within our national boundaries.

Burial grounds near Waldo were described by H. P. Tripp in the *Waldo Advocate*, June 26, 1933.

Kansas Historical Notes

A memorial tablet to Rev. Thomas Johnson, founder of the Methodist Shawnee mission, was unveiled April 16, 1933, in Thomas Johnson hall at the mission. Mrs. Edna Anderson, daughter of Rev. Johnson, gave the tablet, and Thomas Amory Lee, president of the Kansas State Historical Society, represented the state. The meeting was conducted by the Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society.

"The Relation of the Local Historical Society to the State Historical Society," was discussed by Kirke Mechem, secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society, at a meeting of the Wyandotte County Historical Society held at Kansas City, April 20, 1933. Grant W. Harrington, of Kansas City, another speaker, read a paper entitled "Before the Bridges Came," in which the evolution of river crossing in Wyandotte county was reviewed.

Dudley T. Horton has compiled and published a booklet entitled *A History of Hopewell School* (1932). Hopewell school is District No. 114, Plevna, in Reno county.

The seventy-fifth anniversary of Highland University was observed this year. Trustees were appointed and a charter was secured from the territorial legislature of 1857-1858. Chief White Cloud, a student of the Highland mission school from 1854 to 1857, was a featured speaker during special commencement festivities commemorating the event.

Pioneer History of Kansas, 365 pages with illustrations, was recently published by its author, Adolph Roenigk, of Lincoln. Much of the book is concerned with the settlements along the Smoky, Solomon, Saline and Republican rivers. The history was begun by John C. Baird in 1908, who collected data for the first hundred pages, but died before the work could be concluded. Mr. Roenigk, who had contributed to Mr. Baird's researches, continued and finished the book. W. K. Cone, Dr. N. C. Fancher, Theophilus Little, J. W. Hopkins, Guy W. Von Shriltz, D. B. Long, Luther R. Johnson, Martin Hendrickson, Hercules H. Price, Ferdinand Erhardt, Clarence Reckmeyer and Henry Benien were among the narrators.

The diary of Mark S. Davis, who made an overland journey from Wabash, Ind., to Missouri and Kansas in 1868, was published in the *Indiana Magazine of History* for March, 1933. Land claims were located in Cherokee county by members of the party.



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Quarterly



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NOTE.—Articles in the *Quarterly* appear in chronological order without regard to their importance.

SIWINOWE Kesibwi.

PALAKO WAHOSOTA NAKOTE KESIBO.—WISLIBI, 1841.

J. LYKINS EDITOR.

NOVEMBER, 1841.

BAPTIST MISSION PRESS

SIWINOWEAKWA Nekinate, Sakimeki pah pawibakeace kokesibowwi. Owano-ke neketashtolapa kwakwekeaphe kea-howasclapwipi nawakwa noke wiba-keata. Skiti ketalalatimolapwi howase li-sinimowa, chena nianwe laniwawewa. Eieiwekeati.

Hopakekilicewa Tapalamalikwa Niri-nawitowatolu.

Siwinwike sakimeki laniwewa palako peace masloke, hoanoke miti. Mosiwe tipapakeike peace laniwaweke. Hoipe-nekeke pilohe makokokeke ksika miti sikoniwile Tapalamawalece. Hoanoke milakhe Howase Eawekitake eahowawice litowacile. Skiti cieike wiekoni-ke mosi nakote weponniwi. Eawekitake piese keali netiwike cone wicloe namotake wicace mankwitoke. Cieike pwi-eiponikke comi eawekitake tipapakeike pipambake. Kekikikeake mawise hikiwalanikwa Tapalamalikwa chena wisse neabiwbake ketasetahawanani. Tapalamalikwa hewi: obwalani selanitiwawe wanakisecke kokwalikwisiwalanaweweke pweinakisecke, wahiskine hikeebake.

Skiti lalanimowita. Siwinwike wesekitowewa, chena manwelaniwawewene weh-minianiwi eawekitake. Paketikke palo-che wanitiweabakesewce.

Eieiwekeati.

OPAKEKILIWEWA LAPWIWELENE

Sakinobek, lipilsawa kwikwkeashi weikowawa; pieakwi hikwa kilwewa wiopaski weikowawa.

Hwesakot Tapalamalikwa mawake ozama macike chena wawasike. Tapala-

malikwa palowe hoco helipimihe wanita belece; pieakwi honinotiwihe camimito-zhakoce wabape laniwawecece.

Elane easelaniwaweece eahowasclapwi hakoce Tapalamalikwa wise howase nhl-walamakoe natalamakoe otalalami.

Hiwekitiwe elane pocclakho skota, che-na miti einapobo?

Hiinakote nkitawiloke eipamba, chena miti einapobo?

Ino eishi wabi neaniti milikwihe wace kilakoce wewile tilipelece, kokwanabi kice wawesihile miti eibibikeke.

Tiwe easeliwezi nahilwiki ocicilikomile, wahneilat wile.

Lapwiti kwabeni wiwasclapwile, obile pieakwi wahitaberi okwetemi, minicelapwile hokeale.

Sikelanuki pakelile, hewa nhlwiki ose-kealamile ocicilikomile.

Nieiswakiti kelike laniwawewa wake-tamibewe.

Kalalanke case kinnobota hipalobi eamace kuanoke miti hoimikiti.

Wanitabeti hocicewikiti otase hawa waki lapwiwelece mteokwicet setaha.

WECHATEWA.

Enawake Tapalamalikwa nakote mohe elanek hoshile, chena nakote nualo hkwale. Chena Tapalamalikwa onelile elanek nele hkwale; wehwewece. Ta palamalikwa miti natalatimiwile elanek weneskwat palece; mneone hkwati weneschice helanche. Tapalamalikwa hewi elane noke hkwawi wich himabike wahnakotewanwe weiwbe; wise bibi-keike mekwa. Waki makenhwahe nace-pah wepimbalece wewiweikibkielece otalalami; ksika miti ocicilikomeke

THE SHAWNEE SUN

The first newspaper published exclusively in an Indian language in the present boundaries of the United States.

The Shawnee Sun

The First Indian-language Periodical Published in the United States

DOUGLAS C. MCMURTRIE

AFTER Jotham Meeker had set up his press at the Shawanoe Baptist mission in 1834, one of the most interesting things he undertook to print was a small "newspaper" in the language of the Shawnee Indians. This *Shawnee Sun*, to name it by the translation of its Indian title, was the first periodical publication to be printed in what is now Kansas, and the first in all the land to be printed wholly in an Indian language.¹

In his journal, which is preserved in the valuable collections of the Kansas State Historical Society, Meeker recorded that he began "setting types on the 1st No. of the *Shawanoe Sun*" on February 18, 1835.² Composition continued on the two days following and was finished on the 21st, when the pages were made up and proofs taken. On the 23d the proof was read and the corrections made, and on the 24th the type was put in the press and printed. Thus we know exactly the date of the erection of this rather interesting typographic landmark.

This little paper began with monthly issues, the first being for March, 1835. Meeker's journal records the issues of April, May and June, after which there was a pause until October. Thereafter the issues were rather irregular until April, 1837, which is the last of which Meeker makes mention.³ In the summer of 1837, Meeker moved from the Shawanoe mission to his new mission for the Ottawa Indians, near the present city of Ottawa, Kan. The printing office at Shawanoe was then turned over to John G. Pratt, who was sent out from Massachusetts to continue the Shawanoe printing.

Pratt continued the *Shawnee Sun*, probably at irregular intervals. However, it was suspended entirely for a little over a year in 1839-1840, while Pratt was absent from Shawanoe on sick leave. It was resumed again by 1841 (Pratt returned to the mission in November, 1840), and the *Baptist Missionary Magazine*, organ of the Board of Foreign Missions, mentions its continued publication up to 1844.

1. Isaac McCoy, *History of Baptist Indian Missions* (Washington, New York, and Utica, 1840), p. 486, says: "This was the first newspaper ever published exclusively in an Indian language." The *Cherokee Phoenix*, begun at New Echota, Ga., in February, 1828, was partly in Cherokee and partly in English.

2. Douglas C. McMurtrie and Albert H. Allen, *Jotham Meeker, Pioneer Printer of Kansas* (Chicago, 1930), p. 59; and see, also, under "Siwinowe Kesibwi," on p. 140.

3. The Meeker journal records issues of the *Sun* (in addition to those mentioned) for December, 1835, January, February, July, August and November, 1836, January, February and April, 1837. In view of the care with which Meeker made a note of almost everything he did, it is hardly possible that there were also other issues not mentioned in the journal.

The editor of the *Shawnee Sun* throughout its life was Johnston Lykins, another of the Baptist missionaries at Shawanoe, whose special field of labor was with the Shawnees. Lykins, however, was absent on sick leave in 1836 and did not return to duty until May, 1837,⁴ and during this interval it would appear that Meeker was the editor as well as the printer of the little sheet. In fact, Meeker made numerous entries in his journal which show that he devoted considerable time to writing or translating articles for the *Sun*, either alone, or with the help of Joseph Deshane, an interpreter, or with an Indian named Blackfeather, who, on at least two occasions, is mentioned as a contributor to the paper. But Meeker was not only the editor and the printer—he was also the inventor of a method by which the sounds of the Shawnee language (and of several other Indian languages) might be represented by the letters of the English alphabet.

As a creator of orthographies for the languages of the natives, Meeker was diligent and ingenious. He simply took the letters for sounds that did not occur in the given Indian tongue and arbitrarily assigned to them sounds that needed to be expressed.⁵ Thus, for the Shawnee, he gave to *b* the sound of *th* in *thin*, and to *i* the sound of *a* in *far*. As printed, the Indian title of the *Shawnee Sun* read *Siwinowe Kesibwi*, which Isaac McCoy, in his account of the paper, transliterated *Shau-wau-nowe Kesauthwau*—an approximation to the sounds of the words. Crude as this system of “writing Indian” may seem, it was practical, as the Indians, even adults, learned to read by it, and even in some individual instances to write by it in their own language.

The *Shawnee Sun* “circulated” among the Indians at and near the mission settlement. On January 11, 1837, Meeker noted in his journal that he had “distributed 100 copies of the *Shawanoë Sun* among the Shawanoes.” Presumably, copies were sent to the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions, at Boston,⁶ and presumably copies were given to the local Indian agent for forwarding to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, at Washington. But the little paper must have been printed in a quite limited edition, possibly not more than one hundred and fifty or two hundred copies to an issue.

4. McCoy, *op. cit.*, p. 504.

5. For a more extended account of the Meeker orthographies, see McMurtrie and Allen, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-30, and McCoy, *op. cit.*, pp. 471-476.

6. By 1837 the Board of Foreign Missions had adopted a rule that at least one copy of everything printed at any of its missionary stations should be sent to the Board (*Baptist Missionary Magazine*, v. 21, 1841, pp. 208-209). But the Board seems to have made no provision that the material thus collected should be preserved.

It is easy to understand why copies of the *Shawnee Sun* have disappeared. Indians in the days of the Shawanoe mission did not preserve files of newspapers. If copies were sent to the Board of Foreign Missions or to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, no importance was attached to them; at least, no record of such copies can now be found. Meeker himself made up two partial files; an entry in his journal on December 12, 1836, reads "Examine all the old Nos. of the *Sun* and bind two volumes of it." By that date, the journal had recorded the printing of eleven issues of the paper. But these two files seem not to have survived the vicissitudes of flood and storm to which Meeker's few earthly possessions were subjected. We do not even know how many issues appeared. Meeker mentions fourteen up to April, 1837, the last which he printed, and in a memorandum book kept by Johnston Lykins⁷ there is mention of an issue in May, 1842. Of all the copies that were printed, one single, solitary copy is known to have survived, and even that copy is not yet securely rescued from oblivion.

The surviving copy of the *Shawnee Sun* is one of the issue for November, 1841. At the time of the publication of our book on Jotham Meeker, in the spring of 1930, Mr. Allen and I had tried in vain to locate this copy. A reproduction of the first page had been printed in the Kansas City (Kansas) *Sun* of Friday, February 18, 1898; the original had then just been presented to Mr. Emanuel F. Heisler by Charles Bluejacket, a Shawnee chief then living in the Indian territory. After that, the original vanished so far as available knowledge of it was concerned. The search was continued, with the invaluable assistance of Mr. Purd B. Wright, librarian of the public library of Kansas City, Mo., who finally found the long-sought copy in March, 1930. This was unfortunately too late for including a reproduction of it in the Meeker book, which was then printed and in the bindery. But as no reproduction of this elusive rarity has been published since thirty-five years ago, and as the newspaper reproduction of it in 1898 is practically inaccessible,⁸ it seems quite in order to present it again, in order that the record of this strange little paper may be preserved for at least another generation.

The original of the copy, dated November, 1841, is now in the possession of a member of the Heisler family, in Kansas City, Kan. It consists of but two pages (one leaf), but a divided word at the

7. Preserved in the collections of the Kansas State Historical Society.

8. The Kansas State Historical Society has two clippings of the newspaper reproduction, but they are yellowing and becoming frail with age.

end of the second page makes it seem likely that there were four pages in the paper as printed. The pages were numbered, the second page of the existing copy being page 70. If this issue originally consisted of four pages, it ran to page 72. If the pages were numbered consecutively from the beginning of publication in 1836, and if each issue consisted of four pages, the issue of November, 1841, would have been the eighteenth issue. There is no volume number or serial number on this issue.

The only English words in the two pages of the existing copy are in the combined date line and imprint, which reads: "J. Lykins, Editor. November, 1841. Baptist Mission Press." Not being familiar with the Shawnee language, I am unable to give any account of the subject matter of the four principal articles on the two pages, but my guess is that much of it consisted of didactic Baptist theology. The page measures about $6\frac{3}{4}$ by $10\frac{3}{4}$ inches, with the text in two $8\frac{1}{2}$ -inch columns containing 52 lines of pica type to the full column. The printer, whose name does not appear, was undoubtedly John G. Pratt.

Attached to the unique copy of the *Shawnee Sun* here described is a printed note which may be presented, by way of conclusion, because of its testimony to the difficulties under which the Baptist Mission Press was conducted. It reads: "In the year 1838 there were shipped from Boston via New Orleans to the Shawnee Baptist mission in Kansas (about five miles west of Westport, Mo.) several boxes of paper and printing material. These goods were addressed to Westport Landing, which had not yet appeared upon the maps, and as the forwarding agent at New Orleans did not know where Westport Landing was located, he sent the goods to Fort Gibson, on the Arkansas, in the Indian territory. The goods were returned to New Orleans, and then sent up the Mississippi and Missouri rivers, being more than a year on the way before Mr. Pratt received them. This certificate is printed upon a part of the paper then and there received. The paper is a coarse book paper, and was used in printing books in eight [?] different dialects, for the Indians, viz., the Otoe, Kaw, Potawatomie, Ottawa, Shawnee, Delaware and Miami languages. A newspaper was also printed, the *Sau-wa-noe Ke-saw-thwa*, 'the *Shawnee Sun*,' (the first paper ever printed in the territory . . . printed here from 1836 to 1842)." With this note is attached a certificate, dated in June, 1897, signed by John G. Pratt, to the effect that certificates of membership for the Wyandotte County Historical Society were printed on sheets from that shipment of paper made in 1838.

Ferries in Kansas

PART II—KANSAS RIVER—Continued

GEORGE A. ROOT

THE next ferry up river was at a point called "Bald Eagle," opposite present Lecompton and about two miles distant from Douglas. At this point William K. Simmons, an old frontiersman who had crossed the plains in 1852, returned and took up a claim and started a ferry. His location had been named "Bald Eagle" on account of a number of bald eagles which nested in the tall sycamores that grew on either side of the river at this point. He was the first settler in the vicinity and made a living by fishing and operating his ferry.¹⁴⁹ This was the second ferry in operation within the limits of present Douglas county.

Ely Moore, for many years a resident of Lecompton, in "The Story of Lecompton," describes this early ferry. Arriving in that vicinity in the early fifties and wishing to cross the river, he approached a wagon and made his wants known.

"The wagon boss pointed to a huge sycamore log some twenty feet long, five feet in diameter with an excavation in the center five feet in length, three feet wide and two feet deep, with a 4 x 6-inch scantling for a keel, remarking, 'Thar's the ferry and hyars the ferryman.' As I looked my doubts about crossing on that log, he answered my looks by saying: 'Don't feel skeery, mister, for she's as dry as a Missourian's throat and as safe as the American flag.'"

Simmons was a member of Lane's regiment in the Mexican War, and had two honorable wounds in that struggle. Mr. Moore pays him this tribute: "In many respects he was a remarkable man. Even in the babyhood days of this city [Lecompton] when water-and-milk was an expensive luxury and whiskey subject to call, he refrained from its use, and no man ever heard him utter a profane word. Poor Bill may be dead, but if he is, many a worse man is living."¹⁵⁰

Just how long Simmons operated his ferry at Bald Eagle has not been learned. However, it probably was not later than 1857. The following reference is from the *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Leavenworth, August 9, 1856. It was written by a member of the "twenty-seven hundred" who came over from Missouri to assist in wiping out Lawrence and is part of one of a series of articles describing his

149. Andreas, *History of Kansas*, p. 351.

150. *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 11, pp. 466, 467.

experiences on the expedition. In "Notes to and from the Siege of Lawrence," under date of May 18, 1856, this writer says:

"To-day we are to cross the Kaw river, and to get to Lecompton. An enormous flatboat, seemingly large enough for another Noah's Ark, receives us on board, bag and baggage. The baggage being packed on board upon our shoulders, we are further convinced, to use rather a stale phrase, that 'Jordan is a hard road to travel.' To get to the other side is now the difficulty. We all work our passage, hauling ourselves along by an old rope and making about half mile per hour. After keeping up this process until we are far above the capitol, we strike out, and at the imminent risk of several of our men, strike terra firma."

In 1857 Joseph Haddox laid out a town called Rising Sun, which was located close to the ferry landing on Simmons' claim. This was directly opposite Lecompton, the territorial capital. At the new town, in 1857, Jerome Kunkel¹⁵¹ established a ferry.¹⁵² He received a charter for his ferry in 1858 and also became a member of the town company the same year. Rising Sun grew into a lively little village and was the business point for the township for several years. Upon the building of the Union Pacific Railroad up the Kaw valley in 1865 and the establishment of Medina, a short distance away, its business was soon taken away by the new town. Decline was slow but steady, and by 1883 every vestige of Rising Sun had disappeared, and the site is now a cultivated field.¹⁵³

In 1861 a state road was established from Rising Sun to Grasshopper Falls, on the west side of Grasshopper (now Delaware) river. In 1863 this road was changed from a point where the road crossed what was known as Spring branch, thence in a northwesterly direction past the east line of Ephraim Bainter's land, thence northwesterly and north, running through the center of sections 24 and 25, T. 9, R. 17, to intersect the original survey at Tillotson's ford.¹⁵⁴

Lecompton was located opposite Simmons' claim and was platted in 1855, being named for Judge Samuel D. Lecompte, territorial chief justice and president of the town company. Other members of the Lecompton town company were: John A. Halderman, secretary; Daniel Woodson, territorial secretary and several times acting governor of the territory, who was treasurer; George W. Clarke, Chauncey B. Donaldson and William K. Simmons.¹⁵⁵ In 1855

151. The census of Jefferson county, Kentucky township, 1870, p. 12, lists Jerome Kunkel, 43, farmer, native of Pennsylvania, owner of real estate worth \$3,000, personal property, \$1,000; wife Christina, born Pennsylvania, and three children, 9, 7, and an infant, all born in Kansas.

152. *Private Laws, Kansas*, 1858, pp. 56, 57.

153. Andreas, *History of Kansas*, p. 521. Personal interview with J. A. Brown, of Lecompton, a resident of the town in 1857, and residing within the county most of the time since.

154. *Laws, Kansas*, 1863, p. 87.

155. Andreas, *History of Kansas*, p. 351.

William K. Simmons, Wesley Garrett and Evan Todhunter were granted a charter by the legislature to operate a ferry at the new town of Lecompton. The act granted exclusive privileges up and down the river for a mile each side of the landing, for a five year period, but was in no wise to affect the rights and privileges granted the Lecompton Bridge Company.¹⁵⁶ This company never built a bridge at Lecompton, but a bridge was built at this point by the county during the nineties.

By 1860 Lecompton was without ferry accommodations. That year Robert C. Bishop was authorized by the legislature to operate a ferry across the Kansas river and have exclusive rights of landing within the corporate limits of the city, and for one mile below the eastern limit of the city on the south bank of the river and one mile from and below the west bank of the Grasshopper river on the north bank of the Kansas river.¹⁵⁷ No further history of this ferry has been located.

Owen Baughman is said to have operated a ferry at Lecompton for a time shortly before the building of the bridge in the late 1890's.

J. A. Brown, of Lecompton, in an interview in May, 1932, said:

"Lecompton never had more than one ferry running at a time, from the time of my arrival there in 1857. Jerome Kunkel was operating it at that date. The next year his cousin, Charles Kunkel, was in charge. Jerome Kunkel had been a captain in the army. William McKinney operated the ferry for Kunkel for several years. A. K. Lowe and boys also had charge for awhile. The first ferry was a rope ferry. Later a wire cable was stretched across the river. A wheel ran on this cable, and the boat was so attached to the wheel that the current of the river propelled the boat from one side of the river to the other, with little or no effort on the part of the ferryman. The landing place on the north side of the river was at a point just below the present wagon bridge across the Kaw. On that side of the river, riprapping and other means had been employed to confine the river channel, and there was a network of sunken logs, brush, stone, etc., that limited the channel the ferryboat could operate in. When the ferryboat reached that obstruction it was made fast and the cargo discharged."

Kunkle's ferry operated until about 1876.

According to E. J. Hill, long a resident of Lecompton, William M. McKinney operated the Lecompton ferry from about 1868 to 1870. About 1870 a company built a pontoon bridge to take the place of the ferry. This pontoon was not a success, on account of the swift current of the river, and in less than a year was discontinued.

156. *General Statutes, Kansas, 1855*, pp. 780, 879.

157. *Private Laws, Kansas, 1860*, p. 267.

The late Albert R. Greene, a former resident of Lecompton, operated the ferry there for about a year during the early 1890's. The Greene home in Lecompton was about half a mile from the river. A wire was strung from the ferry to the house, and when a patron on the opposite side of the river wished to call the boat, the wire was pulled, ringing a bell at the other end and summoning the ferryman. Mr. Greene employed a man to run the ferry, who operated the boat during the day, but was averse to running it after dark, there being practically no business after dark. On several occasions, however, Mr. Greene was routed out of bed along about midnight to take the boat to the opposite side of the river to bring back some belated individual. This happened once or twice too often, so Mr. Greene retired from the ferrying business.¹⁵⁸

Lecompton, probably because it was made the territorial seat of government, was the starting point or terminus of more roads than any other town in Kansas of its size. Two were authorized by the legislature of 1855, one starting from a point above the town of Franklin, on the California road, via the (Horseshoe) lake and the shore of the Kansas river to Lecompton; the other started from Atchison, via Mount Pleasant and Hickory Point, to a point opposite Lecompton.¹⁵⁹ The legislature of 1857 was lavish authorizing no less than ten roads, as follows: One from Lecompton to St. Bernard, thence to the county seat of Franklin county, thence to Pierce in Anderson county, thence to Cofachique, Allen county.¹⁶⁰ Another ran from Wyandotte, by way of Secondine to Lecompton;¹⁶¹ another ran from Kickapoo to Lecompton;¹⁶² another ran from Lecompton to Roseport, Doniphan county;¹⁶³ another ran from Leavenworth to Lecompton, with a branch to Lawrence;¹⁶⁴ another from Atchison, via Mount Pleasant, to a point on the Kansas river opposite Lecompton;¹⁶⁵ another started from Lecompton, via Paola, Paris and Miami to Barnesville on the Little Osage to intersect the Fort Leavenworth-Fort Scott military road;¹⁶⁶ another ran from Atchison, via Wigglesworth's ford on Stranger creek, to Lecompton;¹⁶⁷ another ran from Prairie City to Lecompton,¹⁶⁸

158. Statement of Mrs. Lucy Greene (Henry F.) Mason.

159. *General Statutes*, Kansas, 1855, pp. 952, 953, 962.

160. *Laws*, Kansas, 1857, p. 172.

161. *Ibid.*, p. 176. 162. *Ibid.*, p. 178.

163. *Ibid.*, p. 181. 164. *Ibid.*, pp. 181, 182.

165. *Ibid.*, p. 182. 166. *Ibid.*, p. 183.

167. *Ibid.*, pp. 184, 185. 168. *Ibid.*, pp. 185, 186.

and another started from Lecompton, crossing the Kansas river, running west to Calhoun and there forking, the left hand branch running a west course and intersecting the military road from Leavenworth to Fort Riley on the west of Indianola, and the right hand fork running a northwest direction by way of Elk City to Richmond, the county seat of Nemaha county.¹⁶⁹

According to John McBee, of Topeka, who lived near Kaw City, a few miles north of Grantville, in the late fifties, the settlers in that vicinity traded at Lecompton, crossing the river on Kunkel's ferry. After the building of the Union Pacific up the Kaw valley and the starting of Medina, this trade went to Medina, which was some miles closer. McBee says a ferry was also operated at Grantville for a time during the sixties. This point is about 10 miles west of old Bald Eagle or Rising Sun, as the town opposite Lecompton was called.

Two attempts at securing a bridge for Lecompton were made during the year 1865. On January 11, that year, the Lecompton Bridge Company, composed of William Morrow, D. S. McIntosh, L. McArthur, F. F. Benner (?), William M. Nace, Wilson Shannon, Jr., and A. D. Graves (?), was granted a charter to build a bridge to connect Lecompton and Rising Sun. Capital stock of the company was placed at \$100,000, with shares at \$100 each. This charter was filed with the secretary of state on January 12, 1865.¹⁷⁰ Evidently nothing was done by this company, and on August 14, the same year, a new company, under the same name, was organized by L. McArthur, D. S. McIntosh, Allen Parish, A. W. Chenoweth, S. Weaver, William M. Nace and William Weaver. Capital stock of the new organization was reduced to \$60,000, shares being \$100 each. This charter was not filed with the secretary of state until February 27, 1866,¹⁷¹ and no bridge was built by the new company.

The next ferry site up the river was at Medina. On January 14, 1869, the county commissioners of Jefferson county issued a license to Jerome Kunkel and Wales Saunders, on payment of a \$10 fee.¹⁷²

This ferry, designated as Saunder's ferry, on the Kansas river, one-half mile southwest of Medina, is mentioned in connection with a road to this point established about July 7, 1869.¹⁷³

169. *Ibid.*, pp. 187, 188.

170. *Corporations*, v. 1, p. 18.

171. *Ibid.*, p. 70.

172. *Jefferson County, Commissioners' Minute Book, 1863-69*, p. 643.

173. *County Clerk, Jefferson county, Journal B*, p. 101.

In Book B, Proceedings Jefferson County Commissioners, pp. 176, 177, under date of December 6, 1869, is the following:

"Newman Ferry.—And now comes John Bouyer [?], Wales Saunders and others of Kentucky township and present their written petition for the establishment of a ferry across the Kansas river one and a half miles above Medina on the road from Newman to Big Springs which said petition is ordered filed and the prayer of the said petitioner after having been duly considered by the board and the board being fully satisfied thereof is granted, and it is ordered by the board that the license for said ferry issue to the said John Bouyer and Wales Saunders. And it is further ordered by the board that the said John Bouyer & Wales Saunders pay . . . \$10.00 for privilege . . . each year."

Ferry charges established by the board were: One two-horse team, 25 cents; one horse and buggy, 20 cents; one man and horse, 15 cents; one footman, 10 cents; cattle per head, 05 cents; sheep and hogs, per head, 03 cents.

The next ferry on the river was at Tecumseh, about five miles distant. In 1854 Thomas N. Stinson and J. K. Waysman established a ferry at that point on the section line between Ranges 16 and 17 East. Stinson had been a trader at Uniontown, near the western limit of present Shawnee county on the south side of the Kansas river, since 1848, and when the territory was opened for settlement had located a claim on the river about twenty miles below on which he laid out the townsite of Tecumseh and started a ferry. Stinson's house was located on an eminence overlooking Calhoun Bluffs to the north of the river. A good road was constructed to the ferry landing and the enterprise was considered an important one, the ferry being the principal crossing for the route from Leavenworth to the Sac and Fox and other southern agencies.¹⁷⁴ In 1855 Stinson was granted a twenty-year charter to maintain a ferry at the new town, the law providing that if the county tribunal failed to fix rates of ferriage the rates prevailing the previous year should remain in force until changed by the county.¹⁷⁵

The following advertisement of this ferry appeared in a Topeka paper, and ran for months, this being copied from the *Kansas Tribune*, Topeka, April 14, 1856:

"TECUMSEH FERRY—KANSAS RIVER

"The nearest and best route from Fort Leavenworth to Council Grove.

"This ferry is now open, and ready to cross teams, passengers and freight at any hour. The ferryboat is large, entirely new, and built for this ferry. The landings on both sides are excellent at all stages of water, and for swimming cattle across is the best and safest place on the river. Emigrants

174. Andreas, *History of Kansas*, p. 533.

175. *General Statutes*, Kansas, 1855, p. 776.

and traders passing on the route between Fort Leavenworth and Council Grove, will find this the shortest and easiest road; Tecumseh being on a direct air line from Fort Leavenworth to Council Grove. It is nine miles from the ferry to the intersection of the Great Military Road, on the north side of the river. Teams leave the Military Road at Rock creek crossing, and thence across the old Parkville crossing of Muddy creek. Distance from Rock creek crossing to Muddy creek crossing, 7 miles; thence to the ferry 2 miles. Tecumseh is on the direct road from Westport to California. Total distance from Leavenworth to Tecumseh, 50 miles; thence to Council Grove, 65 miles; excellent grazing near each landing place free of expense.

"Tecumseh, K. T., March 6, '55.

"T. N. STINSON,
"J. K. WAYSMAN."

Ferry charges in force at this crossing in 1856 were: One wagon, two horses, \$1; each additional span of horses or yoke of cattle, 25 cents; loose cattle or horses, per head, 10 cents; one horse and wagon, 75 cents; man and horse, 25 cents; foot passengers, 10 cents; sheep and hogs, 5 cents each.¹⁷⁶

James K. Waysman lived about two miles east of Tecumseh, settling there in May, 1854. He rented the ferry owned by T. N. Stinson and operated it. In 1856 the citizens of Tecumseh agreed among themselves that they wouldn't take any sides in the territorial troubles. Once when Mr. Waysman was absent from home, one Donaldson came and took his ferryboat as far as Lecompton. On his return Waysman followed down the river and found his boat still at Lecompton, and brought it home at his own expense. Sometime after Donaldson had taken the boat to Lecompton Mr. Stinson went to Waysman and reported that some men had come to him and asked if they might borrow the boat. Waysman told him they could not have it. These men then went to Waysman and asked to borrow it to take down stream, promising to protect him from the incursions of Free State men if he would do so. Waysman declined, telling them they could not have the boat until they put him out of the way, and further that he did not want their protection.¹⁷⁷

The *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Leavenworth, of August 4, 1855, had a good write-up of the new town and its ferry. Among other things it said:

". . . The channel runs on the south side of the bed, and the banks and bottom of the river, along here, are rock; consequently free from all danger of the bluffs ever washing off any. There are two good and easy slopes down to the river, besides an excellent road cut and graded down to the ferry

176. *Topeka State Journal*, December 14, 1901.

177. Statement of James K. Waysman, dated Topeka, February, 1883.—MS. in *Kansas State Historical Society*.

landing. The ferry is arranged with ropes and buoys, and is probably the best and most certain on the river. The ferry boat is large, new, and capable of crossing three teams and wagons at each trip. The steamboat landing is also a good one, easily approached and perfectly safe from sand bar obstructions."

In 1858 and 1859 Achilles M. Jordan operated the Stinson ferry, but whether as proprietor or for Stinson, we are unable to state. Jordan was a native of Indiana, born in 1824. He came to Kansas in 1855 and settled at Tecumseh. During the Civil War he was employed by the government to purchase live stock for the Union army. His death occurred at Fort Scott, October 9, 1864.¹⁷⁸ The census of 1860 lists him as a ferryman, 36 years of age, born, Indiana; wife, Celia, 27, born, Kentucky; two children, born, Kansas.¹⁷⁹

Just how long Stinson operated his ferry we have been unable to learn, for records of Shawnee county commissioners, prior to 1862, cannot be located in the office of the county clerk. However, in 1862 he signed as surety on a \$500 bond with Remi H. Lecompte,¹⁸⁰ who had secured a license for a ferry in that neighborhood.

Remi H. Lecompte's ferry, in all probability, succeeded Stinson's, and operated from that location. On July 7, 1862, he received a license to operate a ferry across the Kansas river with landing privileges on lot 8 of the Kaw half breed lands on the north side of the river, and on the road running from Topeka to Leavenworth. Thomas N. Stinson was surety on his \$500 bond required, which was accepted by the county, July 12, 1862.¹⁸¹

Aside from the following complimentary notice of this ferry from a Topeka paper, no mention other than those found in official records has been found:

"Lecompte's ferry over the Kansas river, four miles below Topeka, is in good running order, and is said by travelers to shorten the distance several miles. Mr. Lecompte is an accommodating, gentlemanly man, and we are glad to know that he is receiving a good share of the traveling custom."—*Topeka Weekly State Record*, December 17, 1862.

The next year Mr. Lecompte was granted a license for a ferry, the application having recited that the ferry was where the one formerly owned by Updegraff and Brown was established, and about one and one-half miles below the State Road ferry, owned

178. Information furnished by Vernon W. Wilson, Topeka, a relative.

179. Census, Shawnee county, 1860, pp. 65, 66.

180. Original bond in office of county clerk, Shawnee county, Kansas.

181. Ferry bonds, office Shawnee county clerk; Commissioners' Proceedings, Book A, p. 19.

and run by A. H. Lafon. His license was for one year, dating from October 1, 1863, and was granted without a tax.¹⁸²

In 1864 Lecompte had taken a partner in the ferry business, and the two were granted a license. Following is a copy of the bond they filed:

"Know all men by these presents: That we, L. McArthur, A. H. Case, E. L. Wheeler, Derrick Updegraff as sureties for Remi H. Lecompte and James V. Summers, do acknowledge ourselves to owe and be indebted to the state of Kansas, in the sum of five hundred dollars, upon the following conditions to wit:

"Whereas, Said Remi H. Lecompte and James V. Summers, are about to start and run a ferry across the Kansas river between Shawnee and Jefferson counties, at the place formerly known as the Updegraff ferry, and one and one-half miles below the State Road ferry, kept by Harvey Lafon.

"Now, If said Remi H. Lecompte and James V. Summers shall faithfully perform all duties required by law at such ferry, then this bond shall be void, else remain in full force . . .

"Given under our hands and seals this 29th day of August, A. D. 1864.

"U. S.	"L. McARTHUR	(Seal)
25¢	A. H. CASE	(Seal)
Rev.	DERRICK UPDEGRAFF	(Seal)
Stmp.	E. L. WHEELER	(Seal)
	D. S. MUNGER	(Seal)

"Approved August 29, 1864

"HIRAM McARTHUR, Co. Clerk"

By 1865 Tecumseh was probably without ferry accommodations. Early in the spring the following petition was presented to the Shawnee county officials:

"We, the undersigned petitioners of Tecumseh and vicinity, do pray the county commissioners of Shawnee county Kansas to grant license to Ellie Quiett and Hiram Chapman to have and to run a ferry across the Kansas river at Tecumseh.

"Tecumseh, April 3, 1865.

"Signers' names:

"B. A. Murphy	Ben Holze
J. H. Murphy	John N. Schmidt
Lewis Dearing	P. D. Davis
J. C. Copeland	G. B. McLee
Carl Casper	H. H. Frizell
V. Martin	Wm. M. Jordan" ¹⁸³
J. M. Reed	

182. Shawnee county, Commissioners' Proceedings, Book A, p. 77.

183. Original petition in office of county clerk, Shawnee county, Kansas.

This license was granted, and on May 18, following, Ellie Quiett¹⁸⁴ and Hiram Chapman, principals, and Wm. M. Jordan and Wesley Gregg, sureties, signed a bond for \$1,000 to run a ferry at the town of Tecumseh until the January, A. D., 1866, term of the board of county commissioners.¹⁸⁵

The next mention of this ferry is for the year 1871, at which time Susan Quiett¹⁸⁶ made application to the board of county commissioners of Jefferson county for a ferry license, which was granted by the board. A bond of \$100 was required and the license issued upon payment of the clerk's fees.¹⁸⁷ Shawnee county, however, required a bond of \$1,000, which was signed April 28, 1871, by Susan Quiett as principal and J. P. Campbell as surety, for the operation of this ferry for the year 1871, north of the town of Tecumseh, and granting privileges for one-half a mile up and same distance down from said point. Approved May 11, 1871, by P. I. Bonebrake, county clerk.¹⁸⁸

Ferry charges for the years 1872 and 1873 were identical and were: two horses and wagon, 35 cents; one horse and wagon or buggy, 25 cents; horse and rider, 15 cents; loose horses and cattle, 10 cents; sheep or hogs, 5 cents each.¹⁸⁹

Susan Quiett operated the ferry at least until the close of 1873, according to records in the Shawnee county clerk's office.¹⁹⁰ Afterwards, Tecumseh, apparently, was once more without ferry facilities. On April 12, 1876, H. E. Goodell and others, of Tecumseh, presented a petition to the county commissioners, asking that T. F. Quiett be allowed to maintain a ferry without paying the legal license fee. The petition was rejected.¹⁹¹

"Ed" Taylor, aged 73, of Ozawkie, Jefferson county, has stated that he crossed the Tecumseh ferry many times years ago when he brought vegetables to Topeka to sell. This was about the year 1885.¹⁹² This would indicate that this ferry had been operated more or less continuously for a period of over thirty years. Beer's *Atlas of Shawnee County*, published in 1873, marks the ferry.

184. Census, Jefferson county, 1870, p. 7, lists E. Quiett, male, 61; real estate, \$3,500; personal property, \$1,200; native of North Carolina.

185. Commissioners' Proceedings, Book A, p. 139; original bond in office county clerk, Shawnee county, Kansas.

186. Census, Jefferson county, 1870, p. 7, lists Susan Quiett as being 54 years of age; born, Tennessee; five children, between the ages of 23 and 11 years.

187. Jefferson county, Proceedings Board of County Commissioners, February 7, 1871, Book C, p. 227.

188. Original bond in office of county clerk, Shawnee county, Kansas.

189. County Commissioners' Proceedings, Book D, p. 55, 199.

190. County Commissioners' Minute Book, B-C, p. 363; original bonds in same office.

191. Commissioners' Proceedings, Book E, p. 26.

192. Interview by Norman Niccum, of Ozawkie, April 29, 1933.

The legislature which authorized the Tecumseh ferry also established several territorial roads, one from Iowa Point to Eujatah to run by way of Tecumseh, One Hundred and Ten, and Columbia; another from Atchison, by way of Kickapoo, Leavenworth and Hickory Point, to Tecumseh and on to the old Santa Fé road near 110 creek; another from Shawnee mission by way of William Donaldson's, near Mill creek, by Blue Jacket's ferry on the Wakarusa, Big Springs to Tecumseh; and another from Willow Springs, via Glendale, crossing Elk fork of Wakarusa, between claims of Henry W. Frick, and Allen Pearson to the Kansas river at a point above or at Tecumseh.¹⁹³ In 1866 a state road was established from Tecumseh, running south as near as practicable on the township line between ranges 16 and 17, and connecting with the state road leading to the Sac and Fox agency. William M. Jordan, Thomas Maguire and John Ridgeway were commissioners appointed to lay out and establish this road.¹⁹⁴

A charter for a bridge at Tecumseh was passed by the legislature of 1855 and approved August 30 that year, giving special privileges to the Kansas River Bridge Company. Apparently little was done until 1857, when the company began soliciting subscriptions for the construction of a bridge. Advertisements of the enterprise named E. Hoogland, of Tecumseh, as being a trustee of the company. On commencement of work it was thought practicable to have teams cross on a temporary bridge inside of sixty days. Early in July that year the corner stone was laid. An iron bridge had been contracted for at Cincinnati, and it was expected the new structure would be completed with little delay. A territorial paper commenting on the new enterprise said: "The Tecumseh bridge is expected to be completed by January 1, 1858. As it is the only bridge across the Kansas river, its stock must prove a profitable investment."¹⁹⁵ After completion of one pier work on the bridge was suspended. In 1862 another effort was made to revive the bridge project. The legislature granted a three-year extension of time beginning with May 1, 1862, for the completion of the bridge,¹⁹⁶ but it was never built.

Goodell's ferry,¹⁹⁷ about a mile upstream, was the next one. This

193. *General Statutes*, Kansas, 1855, pp. 945, 947, 954, 969.

194. *Laws*, Kansas, 1866, p. 224.

195. *General Statutes*, Kansas, 1855, p. 833; *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Leavenworth, March 28; September 26, October 3, 1857.

196. *General Laws*, Kansas, 1862, p. 116.

197. *Beers' Atlas of Shawnee County*, 1873, p. 54, shows a ferry at this point.

was probably the successor to the Topeka and Perryville Ferry Company, and was located at a point where the Goodell road reached the river—this being between S. 25 and 36, T. 11, R. 16. A license was granted to E. A. Goodell to operate a ferry at this point from March 4, 1872, to March 4, 1873, on the payment of \$10. Ferriage charges authorized by the county were: two horses and wagon, 25 cents; one horse and buggy, 25 cents; man and horse, 15 cents; footman, 10 cents; loose horses, mules and cattle, 10 cents each; hogs and sheep, 5 cents each.¹⁹⁸

The Topeka and Perryville Ferry Company had a crossing on the river less than one mile above Tecumseh. The company was chartered March 18, 1871, E. A. Goodell, William P. Douthitt, C. C. Howard, H. C. Beard and William H. Weymouth being the incorporators. The company was capitalized at \$2,000, with shares \$100 each. This ferry was located at a point where the section line between S. 25 and 36, in T. 11, R. 16, strikes the river in Shawnee county, landing in Jefferson county opposite. Special privileges were granted by the charter for one-half mile above and one-half mile below said point. This charter was filed with the secretary of state, March 20, 1871.¹⁹⁹ The landing on the Shawnee county side was on land owned by Goodell.

At a point two miles above Tecumseh, Derrick Updegraff was granted authority by the legislature of 1860 to maintain a ferry for a period of ten years, the act including special rights for one mile up and one mile down the river.²⁰⁰ This ferry was on S. 23, T. 11, R. 16, and is shown in Beers' *Atlas of Shawnee County*, 1873, p. 54. Updegraff was one of the early settlers, locating at Tecumseh in 1854.

Another ferry was started at the above location some years later. On February 28, 1870, a charter was issued to the Topeka and Grantville Ferry Company. Robert C. Love, John F. Center (Carter?), John W. Norton, Harrison M. Knapp and J. B. Whittaker were the incorporators. The principal office of the company had not been decided on at the time the charter was issued, but probably was at Topeka. The company was capitalized at \$2,500, with shares at \$500 each. The company proposed to operate a ferry over the Kansas river, the south landing to be in S. 23, T. 11, R. 16, in Shawnee county, and on the north side of the river in S. 24, T. 11, R. 16, in Jefferson county. Three directors were chosen for the

198. Shawnee county, Commissioners' Proceedings, Book D, p. 47.

199. Corporations, v. 3, p. 214.

200. *Laws, Kansas*, 1860, p. 273.

first year, including R. C. Love, John F. Carter and J. B. Whittaker.²⁰¹ Two years later another charter was granted to the above-named company, September 23, 1872. The new incorporators were A. W. Knowles, William P. Douthitt, C. O. Knowles, J. B. Whittaker and Michael Voorhis. The capital stock of the new organization was reduced to \$2,000, with shares \$100 each. The principal office of the company was at the ferry crossing, which was at the point where the state road from Leavenworth crossed the Kansas river.²⁰²

The above incorporators were Topeka and Shawnee county men and prominent in early business circles. Whittaker was a civil engineer and prepared an early plat of the city of Topeka.

The next ferry upstream was the State Road ferry, also known as Lafon's ferry, having been established in 1862 by Alexander Harvey Lafon,²⁰³ a resident of Jefferson county. This ferry crossed the Kansas river at about S. 23, 24, T. 11, R. 16E. The following, found among a packet of ferry bonds in the office of the Shawnee county clerk, appears to be the earliest record of this ferry:

"To the Honorable County Board of Shawnee county, Kansas.

"The undersigned your petitioner would respectfully represent to your Hon. body that the Leavenworth and Topeka road is now nearly ready for travel from Leavenworth to the north bank of the Kansas river and will be completed at an early date. That the said road crosses the said river at a point where there was not an established ferry. That your petitioner obtained a license from the county board of Jefferson at its April 1862 term to open a ferry at the said crossing, which ferry is now nearly ready for use, and as the river at the said point forms the boundary line between the countys of Shawnee and Jefferson it may be necessary for him to obtain a license from each of the said counties.

"He therefore asks your Honors to grant him a ferry license for the said point for the term of nine months from the issue thereof, and also as the ferry may not be profitable he asks that he may be exempt from paying the tax thereon until the amt. of crossing will justify.

"Respectfully submitted,

A. H. LAFON."

"July 7th, 1862."

A second application for a license, bearing no date, but which must have been for 1862, was presented to the county board, of which the following is a copy:

"To the Board of County Commissioners in and for Shawnee County.

"Whereas Harvey La Fawn [Lafon] of Jefferson county Kansas has obtained a license from said county of Jefferson to keep and maintain a ferry where the state road from Leavenworth to Topeka crosses the Kaw or Kansas river and

201. Corporations, v. 2, p. 295.

202. *Ibid.*, v. 4, p. 501.

203. Alexander Harvey Lafon was county surveyor of Jefferson county, 1868-1870.

whereas said Harvey LaFawn has a ferry in operation on the Kansas river where said road crosses therefore the said Harvey LaFawn now makes application to the Board of County Commissioners of Shawnee county Kansas for a license to run and maintain a ferry in Shawnee county where the said state road crosses the Kansas river for the space of one year.

"A. H. LAFON.

"Received since the establishment of said ferry in cash 35.15. in accounts 38.10."

Lafon was given a license the first year without the usual tax, but was required to give a \$1,000 bond, which was approved by the county. This ferry existed for several years and was known as the State Road ferry. Ferriage rates for 1864 were: Government freight wagon, \$1.25; 2 horses and wagon, 40 cents; 1 yoke oxen and wagon, 40 cents; 1 horse and buggy, 35 cents; 2 horses and buggy, 50 cents; 4 horse stage, 40 cents; 2 horse stage, 25 cents; man and horse, 25 cents; loose horses and cattle, each 10 cents; sheep and hogs, each 5 cents; footman, 10 cents; each extra team, 15 cents.²⁰⁴

Ferriage rates for 1865 showed a slight change, as shown by this schedule: Government and freight wagons, \$1.25; 2 horse wagon or buggy, 50 cents; 1 yoke of cattle and wagon, 50 cents; every extra span of horses or yoke of cattle, 25 cents; 1 horse and buggy, 35 cents; 4 horse stage, 37 cents; 2 horse stage, 25 cents; loose cattle and horses, each, and footman, 10 cents; sheep and hogs, each, 5 cents; for all crossing over and back the same day, half price; ministers and priests when going to appointments, half price.²⁰⁵

Lafon's ferry, licensed till the first Monday in January, 1866, apparently went out of business sometime in 1865, as no further mention of its operation has been located.

A. C. Hurd's ferry succeeded the above, and was located at the same place. He was born near Scipio, Alleghany county, N. Y., January 14, 1839. He came to Kansas in 1857, and for a few years worked in a grist mill at Indianola. In August, 1862, he enlisted in Company L, Fifth Kansas cavalry. After being mustered out of service he returned to Shawnee county and bought the ferry across the river on the Jefferson-Shawnee county line. He was connected with the ferry for the next seven years, making his home in Jefferson county and farming on the side in the meantime.²⁰⁶ Ferry charges for the year 1867 were as follows: "Two horses and wagon, 25 cents; for each additional team, 15 cents; for horseman, 15 cents;

204. Shawnee county, Commissioners' Records, Book A, pp. 83-84.

205. *Ibid.*, Book A, p. 139.

206. Chapman Bros., *Portrait and Biographical Album of Jackson, Jefferson and Pottawatomie counties*, pp. 769-771; *Corporations*, v. 2, p. 327.

freight wagon, \$1.25; one horse and bug, 20 cents; loose horses and cattle, per head, 10 cents; loose hogs and sheep, per head, 5 cents; footman, 10 cents. But no more than the above fees as filed in the foregoing," the commissioners cautioned in the records.²⁰⁷

In 1867 Jesse Enochs, a brother-in-law, appeared to have become a partner, and bonds were filed for the years 1867 and 1868, mentioning Fitzsimmons Hurd and A. C. Hurd as proprietors. License fees for these years were \$10 each.²⁰⁸

The Hurds took out a license for 1869, but evidently there was a change in proprietorship early that year, for A. C. Hurd and Jesse Enochs filed a bond as principals with Shawnee county. A \$500 bond for the year 1870 was filed on January 1, A. D. Craigue and E. P. Kellam being sureties.²⁰⁹ Their license this year was issued on April 7.²¹⁰

There was a reorganization of the business in the spring of 1870, and Hurd incorporated his ferry under the name of the Leavenworth and Topeka State Road Ferry Company. The charter was filed with the secretary of state April 5, 1870, naming A. C. Hurd, Jesse Enochs, Jacob R. Bowes, John Enochs and James E. Greer as incorporators. Capital stock was placed at \$2,000, with shares \$200 each. The ferry was to be located at a point known as Hurd's ferry, in S. 24, T. 11, R. 16E., in Tecumseh township, with the principal office of the company at the place where the ferry was located.²¹¹

On April 7, 1870, Hurd and Company applied to Jefferson county for their license, which cost \$10, and specified that ferriage rates were to remain the same as charged heretofore and fixed by the county board.²¹²

For some reason or other Mr. Hurd and Jesse Enochs, his brother-in-law, applied to the legislature of 1871 for right to operate a ferry across the Kansas river. This was House Bill No. 326, of that session. The bill was referred to the committee on corporations, which, after amending the measure, recommended its passage. It failed to pass, dying on the calendar.²¹³

The same year Hurd applied to Jefferson county for a license, and the county board ordered the county clerk to issue it.²¹⁴ The follow-

207. Jefferson county, Commissioners' Proceedings (first book), pp. 425, 426.

208. Shawnee county, Commissioners' Proceedings, Book A, p. 366; Book B-C, p. 211.

209. Original bonds in office of county clerk, Shawnee county.

210. Jefferson county, Commissioners' Proceedings, April 7, 1870, Book C, p. 82.

211. Corporations, v. 2, p. 327.

212. Jefferson county, Commissioners' Proceedings, April 7, 1870, Book C, p. 82.

213. *House Journal*, Kansas, 1871.

214. Jefferson county, Commissioners' Proceedings, July 3, 1871, Book C, p. 325.

ing year, 1872, Speer and Blanchard obtained a license to operate a ferry at this location, stating that their ferry was "where the Kansas river was crossed by the Leavenworth and Topeka state road, at the same point where Hurd and Enochs ran a ferry during the year 1871." Their bond was filed with the clerk of Shawnee county. Rates of ferriage were as follows: Two horses and wagon, 35 cents; one horse, and wagon, 25 cents; horse and rider, 15 cents; loose horses or cattle, 10 cents each; sheep or hogs, 5 cents each; footman, 10 cents.²¹⁵

The following order was issued by the Shawnee county commissioners in 1872: "Robert McCoy, ferry license at old Hurd ferry, on Leavenworth and Topeka state road, \$10, he to be allowed to charge the same rates of ferriage as was granted to Hurd and Blanchard. The order granting license to Speer and Blanchard is hereby revoked. Done November 8, 1872."²¹⁶

The next spring Jesse Enochs, of Kaw township, Jefferson county, obtained a ferry license dated April 8, 1873, for this same location, giving a \$1,000 bond. His ferriage rates were the same as prevailed during the year 1871.²¹⁷

Apparently the ferry business was abandoned at this point for several years, the next permit being granted by Shawnee county in 1878, to Enochs and Jackson. They filed a bond for \$400, which was approved August 6, 1878.²¹⁸ This probably was the last ferrying done at this location.

The next ferry above was at the old town of Calhoun, about one mile distant, the landing on the north side being on tract No. 7, Kaw half breed lands, and on the south being on S. 23, T. 11, R. 16. In 1857 James Kuykendall was authorized to maintain a ferry at this town, with special privileges for one mile up and one mile down, for a period of twenty years.²¹⁹ Kuykendall must have retired from the business within the next two years, as the ferry went into other hands. James Kuykendall was a pioneer in county business in old Calhoun county. He had held the office of sheriff of Platte county, Missouri, for four years, had been probate judge for a decade, and a public man generally. In Calhoun he was probate judge, chairman of the board of county commissioners, register of deeds, county clerk and prosecuting attorney.²²⁰

215. Original document in office of county clerk, Shawnee county.

216. Shawnee county, Commissioners' Proceedings, Book D, p. 130.

217. Jefferson county, Commissioners' Proceedings, Book D, p. 319.

218. Shawnee county, Commissioners' Proceedings, Book E, pp. 375, 376.

219. *Laws, Kansas*, 1857, pp. 161, 162.

220. Andreas, *History of Kansas*, p. 1339.

Kuykendall may have been looking forward to patronage for his ferry, for in 1855 he, together with James Wilson²²¹ and William Christison, were commissioned to lay out a road from Delaware on the Missouri river to Calhoun on the Kansas river. This road had two branches, one terminating at Topeka, on the south side of the river, the other continuing up the Kaw valley and intersecting the military road from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Riley, near the Soldier-creek crossing, at Indianola.²²² With all its advantages, the Calhoun ferry landing on the south side of the river terminated in an expanse of heavy river sand²²³ which must have been somewhat of a drawback.

Kuykendall retired from the ferry business probably late in 1858, for the Topeka *Tribune* of April 28, 1859, stated that there were several ferries in operation on the river to accommodate the travel to the gold mines, one being at Calhoun Bluffs, and operated by Robert Walker. The same issue contained the following "puff" of this ferry: "Calhoun Ferry—We publish an advertisement for the ferry. The proprietor, Mr. Walker, has fitted up a new boat and promises to cross teams, etc., with safety and despatch. He will do a good business as he understands the benefits arising from Printer's Ink."

The advertisement referred to above follows:

"CALHOUN FERRY

"ROBERT WALKER.

"The proprietor of the above named ferry takes this method to inform the traveling public, that having built a new, large class boat, and gone to great expense in grading down the landings, he is prepared to cross teams, droves and travelers, &c. with greatest safety and dispatch, and at the lowest customary rates.

"This ferry is situated on the shortest, best and most direct route from Leavenworth, via Topeka, Council Grove to Santa Fé or the Pike's Peak gold mines, and most of this travel is now crossing here. Persons teaming between Leavenworth and Topeka will find this route five miles nearer, with better road and accommodations than by way of Indianola, besides avoiding the Soldier creek ford.

"Calhoun, April 21st, 1859—42m3.

ROBERT WALKER."

The following year found Mr. Walker getting ready for travel. A local Topeka paper said: "Robert Walker gives notice that he has refitted his ferry at Calhoun, five miles east of Topeka, and that teamsters to the river will save time and travel by going to his ferry to cross. He has opened a house of entertainment, near

221. Wilson was an early sheriff of Calhoun county.

222. *General Statutes*, Kansas, 1855, pp. 962, 963.

223. Green, *Report Smoky Hill Expedition*, p. 8.

by, where he will rest the weary and feed the hungry. Try him. He will do as he agrees." ²²⁴

The following advertisement appeared at the same time:

"Calhoun Ferry—Robert Walker would remind the traveling public that he has refitted the above ferry in a most substantial manner, making it an expeditious and safe crossing. The road to Leavenworth by this ferry is shorter by several miles than any other, as well as better.

"I have also opened a house of entertainment on the north bank of the river, known as the Calhoun House, where belated travelers can find every accommodation and comfort which a Western hotel affords.

"Service prompt and charges moderate." ²²⁵

The Calhoun ferry location apparently was not a profitable one, and was probably abandoned by Mr. Walker after the season of 1862, as no further mention of it has been located other than this bond, filed that year:

"Know all men by these presents that we G. P. Clark as principal and Robert Walker as security are held and firmly bound unto the state of Kansas in the sum of One Thousand Dollars lawful money of the United States to be paid to the state of Kansas, for which payment well and truly to be made we hereby bind ourselves our heirs executors and administrators firmly by these presents. Sealed with our seals—dated the 10th day of May, A. D., 1862. The condition of the above obligation is such that whereas the county clerk, and clerk of the board of county commissioners of the county of Shawnee, in vacation has granted to the said G. P. Clark a license 'to keep a ferry on the Kansas river, at the crossing of the same near the town of Calhoun, in Calhoun [now Shawnee] county' and state of Kansas, until the end of the next term of said board of county commissioners. Now if the said G. P. Clark shall faithfully perform the duties required by law at such ferry then this obligation to be void, otherwise to be and remain in full force and virtue.

"G. P. CLARK, (Seal)

"ROBERT WALKER (Seal)"

[Endorsed on back]—"Approved this 10 day of May A. D., 1862—HIRAM McARTHUR County Clerk." ²²⁶

In 1861 Robert Walker evidently was seeking a new location for his ferry. That year he applied to the legislature for a charter for a ferry to be located at or close to the mouth of Soldier creek, over the Kansas river. This act granted special privileges for one mile up and one mile down the river; was vetoed by the governor, and was passed over his veto by both houses.²²⁷ This location is near the "three bridges" over Soldier creek, two of which are railroad bridges, and just on the outskirts of North Topeka.

224. *Kansas State Record*, Topeka, April 7, 1860.

225. *Ibid.*

226. Original bond in office of county clerk, Shawnee county.

227. *Private Laws*, Kansas, 1861, pp. 35, 36.

Following the granting of this charter, Walker made application for a ferry license, his bond having been signed by Daniel Handley:

"To the Hon. Board of County Commissioners of the County of Shawnee:

"The petition of Robert Walker a resident of the county of Shawnee and state of Kansas respectfully shows that the interests of the traveling public require that a ferry should be kept at or near the mouth of Soldier creek across the Kansas river and to the end that the public convenience may be subserved by the keeping of such ferry your petitioner prays your Honorable body to grant him a license to keep a ferry for one year at the place aforesaid or within one mile above or below the mouth of said Soldier creek.

"Topeka, July 23d, 1861.

ROBERT WALKER." 228

On the granting of his application, Walker posted the following rates of ferriage for the year beginning July 23, 1861: "Government and freight wagons, \$1.25; two-horse wagon or buggy, 50 cents; one yoke of cattle and wagon, 50 cents; every extra span of horses or yoke of cattle, 25 cents; one horse and buggy, 35 cents; four-horse stages, 37 cents; two-horse stages, 25 cents; man and horse, 25 cents; loose cattle and horses, each, 10 cents; sheep and hogs, each, 5 cents; footmen, 10 cents." 229

By 1862 the Walker ferry had passed into the control of Joseph Middaugh and Oren A. Curtis.

About the time the ferrying season of 1862 was approaching, the ferry proprietors of Topeka and vicinity of Soldier creek must have inspired the following petition which was presented to the county board:

"To The Honorable The Board of County Commissioners of Shawnee County.

"The undersigned respectfully petition your honorable board that the rates of ferriage for the coming year to be collected at the ferries across the Kansas river near the mouth of Soldier creek and at the city of Topeka may be fixed at the following rates to wit:

Government and Freight Wagons.....	\$1.25
Two Horse wagon or Buggy.....	.50
One Yoke of Cattle & Wagon.....	.50
Every extra span of horses or yoke of cattle.....	.25
One Horse and Buggy .....	.35
Four horse Stages .....	.37
Two Horse Stages .....	.25
Man & Horse .....	.25
Loose Cattle & Horses, each & footman.....	.10
Sheep and Hogs each .....	.05
Ministers and Priests when going to appointment.....	half price

"Your petitioners respectfully ask that this petition may receive at your hands a favorable consideration.

228. Original document in office of county clerk, Shawnee county.

229. *Ibid.*

"And your petitioners will ever pray &c.

"David Brockway	J. F. Cummings	A. L. Williams
C. C. Whiting	Geo. B. Holmes	M. G. Farnham
J. M. Hamilton	M. K. Smith	C. K. Gilchrist
W. S. Nichols	Joshua Knowles	W. B. Flanders
Jno. Martin	Justus Brockway	Jacob Smith
W. K. Elliott	John W. Farnsworth	J. H. Defouri
D. H. Horne	John Ritchie	C. H. Gibson
A. H. Case	Nate Swan	Paul R. Hubbard
John A. Ward	G. G. Gage	F. Billings
S. H. Fletcher	J. B. Whitaker	D. N. Buffum
T. Gullett	Geo. O. Wilmarth	F. Durbin [?]
John T. Morton	Geo. F. Boyd	John J. Boyd
W. R. Brown	Ross Burns	James A. Hunter
E. W. King	August Roberti	James Conwell
John T. Marrat	Morris Pickett	A. F. Neely
E. C. K. Garvey	James R. Parker	J. M. Kuykendall
H. M. Kitchen	J. F. Jenner	Geo. W. Anderson
J. A. Hickey	A. D. Craigue	E. G. Moon
C. G. Cleland	H. H. Wilcox	S. Hartman
W. McElheny	R. M. Lowe [?]	Nelson Young
W. Young	John Young	I. T. Vaughan
Charles Engstrom	Michael Green	Geo. Ludington
George Doane	Elijah Osterhout	S. E. Chure" ²³⁰
Wm. Boyd	Lorenz Pauly	

The petition must have been successful, for the following order was issued:

"It is hereby ordered by the board of county commissioners in and for Shawnee County and state of Kansas that J. Middaugh and O. A. Curtice are hereby granted a licence for a ferry at Topeka on the payment to the county clerk the sum of fifteen dollars and they are hereby authorized to collect the following charges for crossing:

Government freight wagon	\$1.25
Two hoss Wagon .....	.40—Buggy, .50
One yoke of oxen and wagon.....	.40—Each extra team, .15
One hoss Buggy .....	.35
Fore hoss Stage .....	.40
two hoss Stage .....	.25
man and hors.....	.25
Loose hosses and Cattle.....	.10
Sheep and hogs .....	.05
footman .....	.10

"And the same license for the lower ferry comonly known as Walker's ferry and also the same rates of ferrage for the said lower ferry for the space of one year and no longer.

[Endorsed on back]

"Approved Jan. 6, A.D. 1862, SAMUEL KOSIER,
Ch. Co. Bo." ²³¹

230. *Ibid.*

231. *Ibid.*

Little is known of the operation of this ferry, and aside from the following complaint and the record of licenses and bonds, nothing else has been located:

"County of Shawnee} "State of Kansas }	"To the Hon. board of County Commissioners of the above named county of Shawnee.
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"Your petitioners would respectfully ask of your Hon. Court that the proprietors and grantees of the ferry on the Topeka to Leavenworth road known as the Curtis & Middaugh ferry—crossing the Kaw river about 2½ miles below the city of Topeka be compelled to put the same in a fit and proper condition for travel.

"And would further state that the landings of said ferry are in an almost impassable condition—to the great detriment of travellers—teamsters & the public generally—and to the manifest injury of the interests of Shawnee co.—all of which we most respectfully submit.

"Oct. 5th '63.

"John Armstrong Stephen Battey J. N. Young Nate Swan Chris Haynes	Wm. Bivins S. P. Thompson James Fletcher J. C. Disney H. A. Gale	Edward Bradshaw A. B. Gordon James R. Palmer G. Billings W. [?] S. Nichols" ²³²
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Joseph Middaugh and O. A. Curtis operated this ferry up to 1864.²³³ Beginning with 1865, William Curtis and Mr. Middaugh became business associates in this ferry, applying for a license and filing a bond for \$1,000 for operating at this point.²³⁴

The next ferry up the river was located at the foot of Kansas avenue, Topeka. Just when it was located at this point has not been definitely ascertained, but it must have been close to the year 1860, which year O. A. Curtis, father of former Vice President Charles Curtis, was in charge. Mr. Curtis had previously been employed by the Papans to run their ferryboat. At this time there was a large island in the center of the river on a line with Kansas avenue. The ferry crossed just above this island. Later a pontoon bridge succeeded the ferry, being anchored to trees on this island.

About one-half mile west of Kansas avenue was the original location of the Papan ferry, variously stated to have been located at the foot of Western avenue, or at the foot of Polk or Tyler streets. However, there is evidence that some sort of a roadway ran to the river close to the foot of Tyler, just immediately below the present Rock Island Railway bridge, as the remains of an old corduroy road show (1933) at this point in at least three separate places. This old roadway was accidentally uncovered while excavat-

232. *Ibid.*

233. Shawnee county, Commissioners' Proceedings, Book A, pp. 49, 83.

234. Original bond in office of county clerk, Shawnee county.

ing for a large storm sewer which empties into the river at this point. The old road had been covered with silt to a depth of several feet in places, portions of it apparently having been destroyed by flood or having been removed by other agencies. The Papans came into present Soldier township in 1840, and in 1842 established a ferry, the south landing of which was within the boundaries of the city streets named above. At this time there was some travel between Fort Leavenworth and Mexico and the Southwest—soldiers, trappers, traders, surveyors, explorers, government officers and others—enough to justify them in starting a ferry. They built a log house on the river bank adjacent to their ferry and here they made their home. The first boats operated by these pioneers were primitive affairs, being fashioned from logs, hollowed out and known as “dug outs,” and propelled by long poles or oars.

One of the earliest mentions of this ferry is the following, written in May, 1843, by one of a party of emigrants on the way to Oregon:

“ . . . We came to the edge of the Caw river. The river was considerably swollen on account of recent rains. There were no boats and of course no bridges then, but a Frenchman in the neighborhood had three dugouts made of logs. These my father secured the next morning and with them made a platform, fastening the dugouts about four feet apart, and on this very primitive craft the wagons were one by one ferried across. The better part of two days was spent in crossing the river . . . We rested a day at the Caw river because the rains were so heavy, and about Friday we started on again. . . . There were one hundred and twenty-seven wagons in our company and something over four hundred and fifty souls.”²³⁵

Another with this expedition says: “We learn from Burnett, who kept a brief journal of the trip, that his division ‘on the 24th [May] reached the Walcalusia [Wakarusa] river,’ where he says: ‘We let our wagons down the steep banks by ropes.’ They reached the Kansas river on the 26th and finished crossing it five days later.”²³⁶

The year 1844 has gone down in history as the year of the big flood in Kansas. That year the Kaw river valley for weeks was a seething torrent. The river extended from bluff to bluff. Where North Topeka now stands flood waters twenty feet deep or more covered the land and swept the valley as far as eye could reach. United States army engineers gathering data during 1933 for the Kiro dam project have estimated that the flood of 1903 lacked eight feet of attaining the height during the flood of 1844.—Statement of V. R. Parkhurst, Topeka civil engineer, to the author,

235. E. H. Lennox, *Overland to Oregon*, pp. 17, 18, 21.

236. Wm. A. Mowry, *Marcus Whitman and the Early Days of Oregon*, p. 201.

August 29, 1933. During the height of the flood, Major Cummings, paymaster for the United States army, wishing to cross from the south to the north side of the river, was rowed by an Indian from a point about the corner of Topeka avenue and Second street, Topeka, to the bluffs a mile or more beyond Soldier creek. One of the Papans lived in a house just above the Kansas avenue bridge of to-day. This house withstood the flood until the waters came under the eaves, when it floated away. The river at this time cut a new channel, making an island of the land on which the house stood. During the flood their ferry outfit was swept away. The Papans returned to their old home in Kansas City, where they remained about two years, when they returned and reestablished their ferry.²³⁷

"The ferry was not always in one place. Year by year, as the river changed, it would move up or down; wherever the banks made the best landing they would move their boat, but always within a few rods of their homes. They served the travelers who were going north and south on their way west, and it was a good business, for they were usually in a hurry and were willing to pay good prices to cross the yellow torrent. In those days the river was larger than it is now and it was a hard and dangerous task to ford it any place. Their boat was a crude affair, made of hand-hewn logs, with a guide rope to keep it in place. The current helped it across, but most of the power was furnished by sweeps and poles in the hands of the ferrymen and passengers, who usually had to work, as well as pay their way across."²³⁸

Joseph H. Ware, in *The Emigrant's Guide to California*, published in 1849, says: "At the Kansas crossing, distance 100 miles, you will find a ferry owned by two Indians (French Kaws). The charge for crossing is one dollar for a wagon; horses or loose stock you can swim across. About ten miles above there is a mission station by the M. E. [Baptist?] Church where any blacksmith work can be done, which accidents have made necessary."

From 1847 to 1853 the Papans did a flourishing business, as the Orgeon and California travel was very heavy about this time. A log house built by them in 1848 was standing, northwest of North Topeka, during the middle 1870's.²³⁹ The Papans also operated a toll bridge across Shunganunga creek, about three-fourths of a mile east of the present Topeka Santa Fé depot. A large percentage of the overland California traffic crossed over their bridge and ferry.²⁴⁰

In 1853 Papan's ferry was operating about a mile below the Kaw Indian village of Fool Chief, which at that time was located in the Kaw valley, between the river and Soldier creek, on the S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ of

237. W. W. Cone, *Historical Sketch of Shawnee County, Kansas*, p. 7.

238. *Topeka State Journal*, August 29, 1929.

239. W. W. Cone, *Historical Sketch of Shawnee County, Kansas*, p. 7.

240. *Topeka State Journal*, December 3, 1893.

S. 16, T. 11, R. 15, a little over four miles west of the mouth of Soldier creek.²⁴¹

John E. Rastall, an old-time Kansan, crossed the Kaw on this ferry during 1856, and described the incident in the old *Kansas Magazine*, of Topeka, in its issue of January, 1873, as follows:

"The crossing of the Kaw (Kansas) river was infinitely quicker, safer and more pleasant than that of the Missouri. The foresight of the citizens had provided a long and strong wire cable which was stretched across, its south end being fastened near what is now the foot of Polk street, in Topeka. Attached to this wire was a flatboat, sufficiently large to carry a wagon and two yoke of oxen, and similar in build to the one before mentioned. By an ingenious contrivance, the boat, though without wheels, oars, or motive power within itself, was self propelling. Upon the cable were two wheels, or pulleys, through which were passed lines fastened to the boat. The line at the bow, connecting it with the wheel on the cable, was somewhat shorter than on the stern, so that the craft lay at an angle of forty-five degrees with the rapid current of the stream. This current striking the side diagonally, and passing around the stern, gave a forward motion to the boat, and the wheels upon the cable acting freely, we soon slipped across to our destination, Topeka—what there was of it."

Max Greene, in his *The Kansas Region*, published in the year 1856, describing ferries, had this to say of this early-day enterprise:

"Next is Pappan's ferry; with Pappan's house on the right, peeping cosily out from its environment of trees. On the other side, an open plain uplifts its garlands braided in the tall, rank grass that sways to the combing breeze. Here is the eastern limit of the Pottawatomies, one hundred and fifteen miles from the mouth of the river. Passing onward, broad wings of timber fold in on both sides; with the southern bluffs looming up a hundred feet. The Great Crossing is then reached, where there are three ferries. On the south bank is a Pottawatomie village, with stores, a Baptist Mission and school. In this field of labor, the agents of the church have been more successful than ordinary, and there are some children of the wild who have reason to bless their efforts."

Just how late the Papans operated their ferry has not been learned, but it must have been into the middle 1850's. They may have operated more than one ferry, as contemporary accounts mention them in widely separated places—several miles west of Topeka, and also on the Anthony Ward farm adjoining Topeka, at about the foot of Western avenue. This last location was a little over one and a half miles south of the Indianola crossing of Soldier creek on the Fort Leavenworth military road.²⁴²

Peter De Shattio, descendant of an old St. Louis family, who

241. Statement of Frederick Chouteau, in *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 1-2, p. 287; v. 8, p. 425. Statement of Fannie E. Cole, *ibid.*, v. 9, p. 573.

242. *Topeka State Journal*, December 3, 1893.

married Ann Davis, a free negro woman, at Uniontown, about 1848, moved to the vicinity of present Topeka and took a claim lying alongside the Kansas river. While living there De Shattio operated the Papan ferry for a year or more. He later relinquished his claim and took another to the southwest of the Topeka townsite, thinking the city would be built there.

In 1885 Messrs. Martin and Coville²⁴³ were owners and operators of the old ferry. On August 13, 1856, a wagon train of about 60 wagons, and followed by about 500 persons, arrived at the north landing and were brought across. This train had started from Milwaukee, Wis., on May 20, and continual accessions to it were made in the territory through which it passed, until it became a small-size army in itself.²⁴⁴ This was commonly known as "Lane's Army of the North." Ferry charges as fixed by the commissioners of Shawnee county for that year were: Two horses and one wagon, \$1; each additional span of horses or yoke of cattle, 25 cents; loose cattle or horses, per head, 10 cents; one horse and wagon, 75 cents; man and horse, 25 cents; foot passengers, 10 cents; sheep and hogs, per head, 5 cents.

By April, 1857, the ferry appears to have been in new hands. An item in the *Topeka Tribune*, of April 13, stated that "Messrs. Howard & Co. would start their ferry again for the season of 1857 near the place occupied last year."

P. I. Bonebrake, a resident of Shawnee county and for many years a resident of Topeka, crossed the ferry in June, 1859. He and his wife had arrived opposite Topeka, in what later became the town of Eugene (now North Topeka). It was then a forest, inhabited by French-Kaw half-breed Indians. The river was crossed by a rope ferry operated by the Papans. At this time Topeka had about 600 people. The town was not inviting. A steamboat had just passed up the river, laden with merchandise, and in going up had severed the cable on which the ferry operated. As a consequence he and Mrs. Bonebrake had to go into camp for three days to allow the proprietor to procure another cable from Leavenworth. In the meantime many teams and immigrants gathered in the bottom near the river—Pike's Peak government trains, Kaw Indians, dogs, etc., all waiting to be crossed.²⁴⁵

243. H. C. Coville located in Mission township in December, 1854, settling on the S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ S. 27, T. 11, R. 15. He was killed during the Price raid, in 1864.—Cone, *Historical Sketch of Shawnee County, Kansas*, p. 10.

244. *Kansas Tribune*, Topeka, August 18, 1856; *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 15, p. 592.

245. Condensed from a MS. in possession of Fred B. Bonebrake, Topeka.

There is some conflicting opinion as to the location of the Papan ferry landing on the south side of the river. Their house was built on the river bank in 1842 and it was swept away during the flood of 1844, leaving a large island in the river where the cabin stood. Beers' *Atlas of Shawnee County*, 1873, shows this island as extending from Jackson westward to near Polk street—nearly five city blocks in length. While some authorities give the Papan landing as far west as Western avenue, there is a possibility it was located at one time several blocks down stream. Former Vice President Curtis, whose father took over the old Papan ferry, has written the following regarding the location:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., September 16th, 1933.

"My Dear Root—I have your letter and was glad to hear from you. I remember the old ferry boat quite well. We lived on Harrison street just a block from the river and the landing on the North side was between Harrison street and Topeka avenue. For years after the old pontoon bridge was built the old ferry boat was on a little sand bar on the North side of the river. I do not know what year the boat was first established, but Harvey [Henry?] Worrall made a painting of the ferry boat, the Pappan ferry, as it appeared in 1854, entitled 'Where traffic between the East and the West crossed the Kaw river in pioneer days.' I would not be surprised if you found this painting in the Historical Society.

"After Grandfather Pappan gave up the ferry boat the charter or grant was taken over by my father and Joseph Middaugh, and I understand Father and Middaugh were operating the ferry boat when the pontoon bridge was built.

"Sorry I cannot give you more information.

"With kindest regards, I am,

"Very truly yours,

CHARLES CURTIS.

"George A. Root, Esq.,

"324 Lindenwood Avenue,

"Topeka, Kansas.

"P. S.—I think Mr. W., son and daughter still live in Topeka."

Horace Greeley, editor of the *New York Tribune*, was a distinguished visitor who crossed the ferry May 24, 1859, while on his way west. He arrived in Topeka that day, made a speech, and returned next morning to Indianola, to catch the stage running west.²⁴⁶

Eighteen hundred and sixty will be remembered as the year of the "drouth." According to the *Topeka Tribune* of May 5, "the river at this place is extremely low, and it is with some difficulty that the ferry boats make their regular trips." The same authority, in issue of September 1 following, stated: "The river at Topeka is

²⁴⁶ Greeley, *An Overland Journey*, pp. 52, 54, 55.

now extremely low—lower than it has been since the season of 1843, according to Mr. Papan.” At this time the ferry was operated from a point near the foot of Western avenue, about one-half mile west of Kansas avenue, Topeka.

A movement for a bridge at Topeka was started in 1856, and on February 14, 1857, a charter for a structure across the Kaw was obtained from the legislature. This was a pile bridge and opened for travel on May 1, 1858. It was a great help to traffic while it lasted, but its days were numbered. The month of July, 1858, was a damp one in territory drained by the Kaw, and a rise in the river said to be unequalled since the flood of 1844, followed. On the morning of July 17, following, just about two and one-half months after the opening of the bridge, it floated away, leaving four regiments of United States soldiers, with a large baggage train, bound for Fort Union, and several trains of Russell, Majors & Waddell, stranded at the river, waiting to cross.²⁴⁷

Apparently nothing was done about rebuilding or repairing the pile bridge built in 1858 until the following winter, when the officers of the bridge company made an attempt to get the bridge in working order. The *Topeka Tribune* in January, 1859, printed the following, which depicted the situation at that time:

“THE TOPEKA BRIDGE

“Efforts are now being made to have this crossing of the Kansas river completed in two months from the present time. Mr. Gordon, the president of the company, informed us that this could be done by building the bridge from the island to the opposite side of the river, and running a ferry on this side of the island until the whole length could be completed, which can be done in about four months, with the present efficient corps of workers. The timbers have been contracted for and men are busily engaged preparing them for use. But a few months and we can again cross the river at Topeka—on a bridge.”—*Topeka Tribune*, copied in *Kansas Press*, Wathena, January 29, 1859.

This bridge was located at the foot of Kansas avenue and was never rebuilt,²⁴⁸ so the old ferry, located on the island about one block west, again came into its own.

The *Topeka Tribune* of September 30, following, stated there was a good ferry at this place, but no bridge, but the rebuilding of one was discussed. A new bridge appears to have been started late in the fall. In the latter part of January, 1859, a local paper stated that work on the new bridge was progressing at a good rate, and that

247. Giles, *Thirty Years in Topeka*, pp. 88-94.

248. *Ibid.*, p. 96.

it was thought it would be completed in about four months. Meantime the ferries were worked feverishly. The Pike's Peak excitement was at its height and travel through Topeka was increasing daily. The *Topeka Tribune*, of April 7, 1859, stated that it was estimated a thousand persons passed through the city for the gold mines this date. A week later, it mentioned that "the ferries at this place are kept running constantly to enable traders to get to Leavenworth to obtain goods for the Pike's Peak trade."

Work was started on a pontoon bridge across the river at Topeka late in the fall of 1859, which was ready for service early in January, 1860.²⁴⁹

Oren A. Curtis had worked for Papans on their ferry as early as 1858, and the next year formed a partnership with S. L. Munger. The following application was filed with the Shawnee County Commissioners:

"To the Hon. The County Supervisors of Shawnee County

"The undersigned Salmon L. Munger a citizen of the county of Shawnee and O. A. Curtis a citizen of the county of Jackson, would respectfully petition your honorable body to grant them a license to keep and run a ferry across the Kaw river at the city of Topeka in said county of Shawnee for the term of one year, & your petitioners will every pray &c.

"August 1, 1859.

S. L. MUNGER & O. A. CURTIS."

This partnership, apparently, did not last very long, for the *Topeka Tribune* of December 17, following, stated that the ferry was again in the hands of Mr. Curtis. It was said to be in good order and that two boats were maintained.

The following advertisement appeared in the *Topeka Tribune* as early as January 14, 1860, and ran for several weeks:

"TOPEKA FERRY!

"This first class ferry across the Kansas river, is again in the hands of the subscriber, who is making quick trips with the greatest of safety. My boats are good, and hands experienced. This is certainly the best and most reliable ferry on the river.

O. A. CURTIS, Proprietor."

Later in 1860 Curtis formed a partnership with Joseph Middaugh and they secured a charter from the territorial legislature granting them authority to maintain a ferry for a period of five years. In case the river should be bridged before five years, the charter was to terminate when the bridge was built. No other ferry was to be established or set up within two miles of the city. The company was privileged to use steam, horse or flat boats as the wants of the

249. *Topeka Tribune*, November 5, 12, 1859; January, 1860.

public demanded.²⁵⁰ The *State Record* of February 4, 1860, said they had one boat running at that time.

The *Topeka Tribune*, of March 24, following, stated that "O. A. Curtis is now in charge of the Topeka ferry. It is on the route from Leavenworth to Topeka, Santa Fé and the gold mines." In the issue of May 5, following, the *Tribune* pays Mr. Curtis the compliment of saying that he "makes the best time of any ferryman upon the river. Two boats are kept in use. They can put a government train across in three hours' time." The same authority, in issue of September 1, printed this item: "Ferry—Topeka. Mr. Curtis informs us that he is bridging the river at this point, and if the dry weather continues during the fall, the entire river will be bridged excepting that part on which his ferry lies. The distance is very short now on which he runs a boat. Curtis knows how to run a ferry."

No record of their application for a license has been located, but the following bond was filed with the county clerk:

"Know all men by these presents that I, Owen [Oren] A. Curtice [Curtis], of Jackson, territory of Kansas, and Joseph Middaugh of Topeka, Shawnee county, in said territory, both as principals, and Milton C. Dickey and H. G. Young of said Topeka as sureties, are holden and stand firmly bound unto any person who may become entitled thereto, & in the sum which the said Curtice and Middaugh may become liable to pay according to the conditions of these presents as follows, to wit: Whereas the said Curtice and Middaugh have been authorized by act of the territorial legislature of the territory of Kansas for the year A. D. 1860, to wit, an act entitled an 'Act to establish a ferry at the city of Topeka' to establish and maintain a public ferry across the Kansas river at the city of Topeka, now if the said Curtice and Middaugh shall fully comply with and observe all the provisions of said act, then this obligation shall be void, otherwise to remain in full force and effect.

"Witness our hands and seals this 18th day of February A. D. 1860.

"Signed sealed and
Del'd in presence of
Ed P. Kellam
J. Fin Hill

"OREN A. CURTIS (Seal)
JOSEPH MIDDAGH (Seal)
MILTON C. DICKEY (Seal)
H. A. YOUNG (Seal)

"Territory of Kansas, Shawnee County, ss.

"We the undersigned members of the board of supervisors of the aforesaid county do hereby certify that the within bond signed by A. Curtice and Joseph Middaugh as principal and M. C. Dickey and H. G. Young as sureties is hereby approved and accepted. Witness our hands and seals the 20th day of Feby., 1860.

"Attest G. W. SAPP, Clerk
"By L. FARNSWORTH, Deputy

"A. H. HALE (Seal)
H. M. MOORE (Seal)
S. R. CANNIFF (Seal)
"By C. D. BUSBY."

No ferriage rates for 1860 have been located, but a printed schedule for the next year is reproduced:

R A T E S

OF

FERRIAGE

FOR THE YEAR 1861.

Government & Freight Wagons,	\$1,25
Two-horse Wagon or Buggy,	,50
One yoke of Cattle & Wagon,	,50
Every extra span of horses or yoke of cattle,	,25
One Horse & Buggy,	,35
Four-horse Stages,	,37
Two-horse Stages,	,25
Man & Horse,	,25
Loose Cattle & Horses, each,	,10
Sheep and Hogs,	5
Footmen,	,10

J. MIDDAUGH.
O. A. CURTIS.

H. C. Covell, Chairman Co. Board.

"STATE RECORD"

Fac-simile of handbill (reduced about one-half from the original) advertising the Curtis-Middaugh ferry at Topeka. O. A. Curtis was the father of former Vice President Charles Curtis.

Rates for the next year were practically the same, a reduction of ten cents for extra team being the only change in existing rates, but "ministers one-half price when going to appointments" being added.

Evidently some dissatisfaction regarding the bridge and ferry situation in Topeka developed that fall and winter. The *Tribune* of January 19, 1861, contained the following: "Ferry Meeting.—We are requested to state that a meeting will be held in Museum Hall, this evening, to take into consideration the state of the ferry across the Kansas river at this place. Citizens are requested to attend."

It would be interesting to know whether or not this called meeting was held, and just what action, if any, was taken. As the *Tribune* for the next several weeks contained no further mention of the matter, the meeting apparently was a "fizzle."

On February 23, following, the *Tribune* had another mention of the situation:

"A SHAME.—It is a shame upon our town that those persons who come through here, from southern Kansas, for these relief goods, have to give away one-fourth their load to pay the ferriage across the Kansas river; when it is a fact that there are several hundred dollars in the hands of committeemen and agents—belonging by rights to the county—living in our city, and which means could not be better appropriated than by paying the ferry here for those who have not the means. Some complain of Mr. Middaugh, the ferryman, because he will not take less than the regular fees. He should have a fair price for his labor, and the money sent here from the East should go to pay such bills.

"Since writing the above we understand that the Topeka relief committee have generously undertaken to pay the ferriage of all teams sent for relief. This is right. Now we know where a part of the money goes."

Middaugh and Curtis, in addition to operating the Topeka ferry, also ran the old Walker ferry, as has been stated. These they operated until 1864, their annual license for each costing \$15, in addition to a bond of \$1,000. Ferriage charges had been changed slightly by 1864; the cost of a horse and buggy ferried costing 30 cents, instead of 35 cents; a four-horse stage costing 60 cents, compared to 40 cents; a two-horse stage costing 30 cents instead of 25 cents, and footmen 15 cents instead of 10 cents.²⁵¹

On June 19, 1863, another effort was made to secure a bridge at Topeka, and O. A. Curtis was one among the eleven who secured a charter for the Shawnee Bridge Company.²⁵² This company accomplished nothing. On July 30, 1864, another company, known as the Topeka Bridge Company, received a charter from the state.²⁵³ This company met with no better success than its predecessor, and on January 5, 1865, it applied for a new charter,²⁵⁴ which was granted, and completed a pontoon bridge by October 18, following.

251. Shawnee county, Commissioners' Proceedings, Book A, p. 83.

252. Corporations, v. 1, p. 6. 253. *Ibid.*, p. 12. 254. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

"This bridge rested upon thirteen flat boats, each 15 x 25 feet, and placed about fifty feet apart. The boats were held in place by a wire cable stretched across the river. The pontoon occupied the same place where the bridge of 1858 stood."²⁵⁵

The Kaw river apparently continued in a normal condition for a number of years following the flood of 1858. The next mention of flood waters in the stream at Topeka was the following in the *State Record* of August 12, 1863: "The Kansas river has not been so high for a great while as during the past week. There must have been high raises on the Blue and Republican, as well as along the Kaw valley to have caused such a rise. The mail due here Saturday night did not get in till 2 p. m., Sunday, owing to ferrying on account of high water."

High waters in the Kaw river were a menace early in the year 1867. The river then was higher than at any time since 1858, when the pile bridge was swept away. The toll house, located on the island to the west of Kansas avenue, was in danger. About the eighth or ninth of February that section of the pontoon bridge to the south of the island was swept away by the waters, a few of the boats drifting as far as Lawrence, the remainder being caught and secured at Lecompton. Following this mishap the bridge company installed ferry boats which operated from the south shore to the end of the pontoon bridge on the island, these being operated by Capt. Daniel H. Horne and his assistant, Tim Felton. In the meantime Capt. O. A. Curtis again began operating his ferry boat from his location a few blocks above Kansas avenue.²⁵⁶ These boats made trips across the raging waters when but few people had the hardihood to undertake it. The bridge company had been doing a lucrative business up to this time, and they lost no time in repairing the damage, which was estimated at about \$5,000.²⁵⁷ The missing boats were eventually brought back and again put into service. In spite of this handicap in the matter of transportation, the hotels of the capital city did well.²⁵⁸ The *Topeka Leader* of March 14, 1867, printed the following, which summed up the local situation pretty accurately:

"The raging Kaw still continues master of the situation; apparently not content with the victory gained over our pontoons, he summoned the aid of the Northern King, and now carries on his ruffled bosom, huge masses of ice, by which last piece of strategy he has completely circumvented the wisecracs

255. Giles, *Thirty Years in Topeka*, p. 98.

256. *Topeka Tribune*, February 15, 22, March 1, 1867.

257. Giles, *Thirty Years in Topeka*, p. 98.

258. *Topeka Tribune*, March 15, 1867.

who control the skiffs and attend to the mails, leaving the poor Topekaites to realize the disadvantage under which they labor—cut off, as they are, from the outer world.

“Vive La Kaw.”

The inconvenience of being without the pontoon bridge prompted a correspondent of the *Tribune* to ask: “Will the boat of bridges never come back over the stormy water?”

Old residents of Topeka have said the pontoons would go out with about every freshet in the river. This appeared to be the case early in June, 1867, when a large excursion party arrived over the Kansas Pacific Railroad for a visit to the capital city. The visitors landed at Eugene (present North Topeka) on the 4th, but owing to a break in the bridge, only a few of the party braved the angry waters and crossed over to the city to spend the night.²⁵⁹

Operating the ferry or the bridge was not always a humdrum job. Once in a while something unexpected happened to break the monotony. The following, from the *Topeka Leader*, October 17, 1867, is an illustration:

“Seventy-five Indians in the calaboose, in North Topeka, on Monday last. They had been indulging in fire water pretty freely, and took charge of the pontoon, allowing no one to cross. They were away up high on the war path; one of them striking at the deputy marshal with a long knife, cut through his coat, grazing the flesh. Each one of these copper-colored gentlemen was provided with a pocket pistol, holding from a half-pint to a quart each.”

Early in March, 1866, those interested in the pontoon bridge organized a new company known as the Capital Bridge Company, composed of Dr. D. W. Stormont, Joshua Knowles, S. D. MacDonald, F. L. Crane, E. A. Goodell, William E. Bowker, Josiah M. Cole, and John G. Otis. The purpose of this organization was to build and operate bridges and ferries across the river at a point where the section line between S. 29 and 30, T. 11, R. 16, strikes the south bank of the Kansas river, or at any point on the river within two miles above or below that point. This company was capitalized at \$60,000, with shares at \$100 each. The charter was filed with the secretary of state, March 8, 1866.²⁶⁰ This company never built any bridge under this authority and may not have operated a ferry at that point.

In 1869 the bridge company began work on a permanent structure which was opened for traffic in the spring of 1870, after which the Topeka ferries went out of business.

259. *Topeka Leader*, June 13, 1867.

260. *Corporations*, v. 1, pp. 76, 77.

Topeka became an important road center after it had been chosen as the future state capital. Even before that it was an important location, being close to the old Oregon and California road on the south side of the river which crossed on Papan's and Smith's ferries, and being but a few miles from the old Fort Leavenworth to Fort Riley military road. Beginning with 1860, the legislature of that year laid out two roads that affected Topeka, one running from Leavenworth, crossing Big Stranger below the mouth of Fall creek, and on to Topeka²⁶¹; another ran from Atchison to Superior, in Osage county, via Valley Falls and Topeka.²⁶² Five established in 1861 ran from Topeka to Council Grove; from Topeka to the Nebraska line, in direction of Salem, by way of Holton, Eureka, Grenada and Capioma; from Topeka to Chelsea, via Auburn, Wilmington, Americus, Toledo and Cottonwood Falls; from Topeka to Minneola, via Twin Mound; and from Leavenworth to Topeka, by way of Oskaloosa.²⁶³ In 1862 one was laid out between Topeka and Lecompton.²⁶⁴ In 1863 the state road from Topeka to Council Grove was changed.²⁶⁵ Five were established in 1865, one running from Topeka to Centropolis and thence to Ottawa; one from Topeka, on the line between ranges 15 and 16, as near as practicable, to Henry Mitchell's farm on South Cedar creek, thence to Holton and Wathena; one from Topeka to the Sac and Fox agency; one from Topeka crossing the California road, as near as practicable to the farm known as the Shields farm, and on to Clinton, Douglas county; and one from the south side of Sixth avenue, west, in city of Topeka, via Wabaunsee county and connecting with the Topeka and Council Grove road.²⁶⁶ Others were established in 1866, one of which ran from Topeka to One Hundred and Ten; another from a point near the crossing of Buck creek, via the Union Pacific Railroad, in Jefferson county, at or near the line between the townships of Kentucky and Kaw, connecting with the state road running from the city of Leavenworth, via Oskaloosa, to Topeka; another from the north end of the bridge across the Kansas river at Topeka and intersecting the state road from Topeka to Leavenworth, at or near the place where said road crosses the Big Muddy. Oren A. Curtis, Joseph Middaugh and J. M. Kuykendall were commissioners appointed to establish this last named road.²⁶⁷ This was about the last of the early state roads that affected Topeka.

(To be Continued in February Quarterly.)

261. *Laws, Kansas, 1860*, pp. 592, 593.

262. *Ibid.*, pp. 584, 585.

263. *Ibid.*, 1861, pp. 247, 248.

264. *General Laws, Kansas, 1862*, pp. 798, 799.

265. *Laws, Kansas, 1863*, pp. 84, 85.

266. *Ibid.*, 1865, pp. 144-147.

267. *Ibid.*, 1866, pp. 224, 226.

The Vegetarian and Octagon Settlement Companies

RUSSELL HICKMAN

THE American frontier has always been a fertile field for experiment in social reform. From the time the "otherwise-minded" enrolled under the standard of Roger Williams in Rhode Island until the disappearance of the frontier toward the close of the nineteenth century, the vacant lands to the westward gave new hopes to those who wished to found a new society. Cheap land was a great boon to those unemployed or not financially prosperous in the East, while those who were merely discontented could always try a "new deal" in the West. In a period of incubation of varicolored social theories the frontier served both as a safety-valve for the East and as a convenient laboratory to put theory into actual practice, qualities which a more established and crystallized society would have lacked.¹

Vegetarianism dates back as far as the ancient religion of Hindustan, and was advocated by Plato, Plutarch and other writers of classical times. In Great Britain George Cheyne (1671-1743) was one of the earliest pioneers of the movement, publishing his *Essay on Regimen* in 1740. In 1811 appeared J. F. Newton's *Return to Nature, or Defense of Vegetable Regimen*, and in 1847 the Vegetarian Society was founded at Manchester. Eduard Baltzer (1818-1887) was an early German pioneer, forming a vegetarian society at Nordhausen in 1868. Sylvester Graham (1794-1851), Charles Lane and Amos Bronson Alcott (1799-1888) were leaders of the early movement in the United States. In 1889 the Vegetarian Federal Union was formed, an international federation of vegetarian organizations.²

Vegetarianism in the United States was one of the many changes proposed in the reform movement of the thirties. Numerous co-operative communities sprang up, inspired largely by a hatred of industrialism, and a determination to return to more simple modes of life.³ In the movement for reform of the American diet, opposing its over-emphasis on meat and heavy foods, Sylvester Graham was a leader. In 1830 he was named general agent of the Pennsylvania Temperance Society. He studied human physiology, diet, and

1. Arthur Meier Schlesinger, in his *New Viewpoints in American History* (New York, 1926), p. 215, appropriately quotes Lowell's essay on Thoreau, "Every possible form of intellectual and physical dyspepsia brought forth its gospel." Even bran had its prophets, and hooks and eyes their champions as a substitute for buttons.

2. *Encyclopedia Americana*, v. 27 (New York, Chicago, 1923), p. 720.

3. *Dictionary of American Biography*, v. I (New York, 1928), p. 139.

regimen during a period of lecturing, and in 1830-1831 delivered lectures on these subjects in Philadelphia and New York, and later up and down the Atlantic coast. Graham advocated the use of bread at least twelve hours old, baked from whole wheat unbolted and coarsely ground. He also proposed hard mattresses, open bedroom windows, cold shower baths, vegetables, fresh fruits, rough cereals, pure drinking water, and cheerfulness at meals. Graham believed that all meats are less wholesome for humans than fruits, grain and vegetables, that all condiments except salt should be avoided, and that tea and coffee, as well as alcohol, deserve to be shunned. Emerson dubbed him the "poet of bran bread and pumpkins."⁴ Yet despite all opposition, Graham flour appeared everywhere, and Graham boarding houses and restaurants sprang up. A few years later, the famous transcendentalist and educational reformer, Amos Bronson Alcott, proposed a coöperative vegetarian colony. Alcott was a reformer par excellence, and was constantly in attendance at reform meetings—anti-slavery, vegetarian, and temperance. During the winter of 1843-1844 Alcott, with the coöperation of Henry Wright, Charles Lane and his son William, worked out a plan for Fruitlands, a coöperative vegetarian community. Lane invested his entire savings in a tract near the village of Harvard, Mass., and in June, 1844, the party moved to this location.⁵ Their organization was based on strictly vegetarian principles—no flesh, fish, fowl, eggs, milk, cheese or butter. The experiment was so radical that even the labor of horses was dispensed with, and only the "aspiring" vegetables (those growing above ground) were eaten. Unfortunately the crops were carelessly planted, and at harvest time the men left to attend reform meetings. Mrs. Alcott and daughters salvaged what was possible, but by winter the Lanes and Alcotts were the sole remaining members of the community and were on the verge of starvation. In January of the next year the experiment was abandoned.⁶ In the later movement in this country Henry S. Clubb (1827-19—?) was a leader. Clubb gave his philosophy a wide currency in his later years, as president of the Vegetarian Society of America (late 19th and early 20th centuries). He regarded vegetarianism as based upon Scriptural authority; the early

4. *Ibid.*, v. 7 (New York, 1931), pp. 479-80. Also the *Philadelphia Bulletin*, quoted in *The Vegetarian and Our Fellow Creatures*, September, 1902. *The Graham Journal of Health and Longevity* appeared in the late thirties (David Campbell, editor), and in 1839 Graham published his most ambitious work, *Lectures on the Science of Human Life* (2 vols., 1858). Horace Greeley was a follower of Graham.

5. Lane wrote *A Brief Practical Essay on the Vegetable Diet* (1847).

6. *Dictionary of American Biography*, v. I, pp. 139-140. There is a very good account here of Alcott's many reform theories. Fruitlands never numbered over eleven individuals.

Christian church he believed to have been vegetarian, but considered it corrupted by Constantine.⁷ Clubb, in particular, favored suburban gardens and the colonization of vegetarians, as well as undenominational schools and colleges, "away from the contamination of flesh, alcohol, and social vices. . . ."⁸

The Vegetarian Kansas Emigration Company was projected by Henry S. Clubb in 1855, to establish a permanent home for vegetarians. It was hoped to bring together vegetarians of common interests and aims; otherwise they, "solitary and alone in their vegetarian practice, might sink into flesh-eating habits."⁹ The first meeting of the company was held in New York on May 16, 1855. The joint-stock principle was adopted, with the aim of thereby obtaining the advantages of civilization for the settlers, including agricultural implements and mills. Charles H. DeWolfe, of Philadelphia, gentleman, was made president. At the first meeting forty-seven signed an agreement to emigrate, and twenty-six more indicated that they would probably go, along with relatives and friends. Their individual capital varied, it was reported, from \$50 to \$10,000.¹⁰ Dr. John McLauren was sent to Kansas to make a favorable location for the colony, and appeared before the company in January, 1856, advocating an octagon settlement near Fort Scott, on the Neosho river. The organization of the company was then completed by the adoption of a constitution, the preamble of which provided:

"WHEREAS, The practice of vegetarian diet is best adapted to the development of the highest and noblest principles of human nature, and the use of the flesh of animals for food tends to the physical, moral, and intellectual injury of mankind, and it is desirable that those person who believe in the vegetarian principle should have every opportunity to live in accordance therewith, and should unite in the formation of a company for the permanent establishment, in some portion of this country, of a home where the slaughter of animals for food shall be prohibited, and where the principle of the vegetarian diet can be fairly and fully tested, so as to demonstrate its advantages, . . ."¹¹

7. *The Vegetarian Magazine*, November, 1897. Other leaders of the movement, near the turn of the century, include Dr. J. H. Kellogg, of Battle Creek, the elder La Follette, and Clarence Darrow of Chicago. The Seventh Day Adventists have espoused vegetarianism.

8. *Ibid.*, February, 1900, p. 12. Concerning colonization, see below.

9. Henry S. Clubb, in *Water-Cure Journal*, clipped in the *Lawrence Herald of Freedom*, April 28, 1855.

10. *Life Illustrated* of June 2, 1855. Quoted in *Herald of Freedom* of August 11. In September of that year it was reported that 4,000 shares had been sold. To encourage sales, the first payment was put as low as ten cents, and persons with no capital were advised they could pay for their shares with labor.

11. Frank W. Blackmar, *Kansas, A Cyclopedia of State History* (two vols., Chicago, 1912), v. 2, p. 842.

By establishing a permanent home for vegetarians, it was believed that a program of concerted action could be followed, with a system of direct healing, as well as permitting the practice of the vegetarian principle. Members were required to be of good moral character, not slaveholders, and applications had to be approved by the board of directors.

The officials of the company immediately levied an assessment of ten per cent (50 cents a share), to provide a fund with which to erect a saw mill and gristmill, purchase a stock of provisions, seed grain, tents, utensils, etc. Each member was called on to pay \$10 to this fund of the company, the headquarters of which were at No. 308 Broadway, New York.¹² Clubb announced that persons who became members before the end of the month (January, 1856) would be called founders, and would participate in the drawing of lots.¹³ The New York *Tribune* announced that the company then consisted of about fifty families, with capital stock aggregating about \$75,000. The shareholders were one-third practical farmers, and two-thirds mechanics and professional men—not a very promising proportion for life on the frontier.¹⁴

The Vegetarian Kansas Emigration Company was the first to adopt the Octagon plan of settlement, a scheme also formulated by Henry S. Clubb.¹⁵ Membership in the company was limited to vegetarians, and as a result their settlements would be of a restricted nature. No doubt the promoters received applications from many would-be settlers in Kansas who did not agree with this limitation, but who were otherwise in sympathy with the objects of the founders—opposition to slavery,¹⁶ and advocacy of a moral life. Thus it would appear that by founding several settlements, vegetarian and nonvegetarian, the chance of success of the colonies and of financial returns to the promoters would be considerably improved.

Whatever their motives, Clubb and his colleagues decided to organize a second company as a complement to the vegetarian or-

12. *Ibid.*, p. 843.

13. *Life Illustrated*, clipped in *Herald of Freedom*, January 19, 1856.

14. New York *Daily Tribune*, January 21, 1856. A pertinent criticism leveled at Eastern emigrants, including those of the New England Emigrant Aid Company, was their lack of preparation for frontier life, in contrast to those from the Middle West.

15. See below for a description of this plan.

16. There was a large emigration to Kansas from the free states in 1856, despite the period of "troubles," although the movement was far greater in 1857. A number of the groups which came in the spring of 1856 were semimilitary in character, some even being hired to fight for the cause of the South, others the North, as occasion might arise. The writer has found no reason for believing that the two companies here discussed were in this category.

ganization, to be known as the Octagon Settlement Company.¹⁷ This company was to avoid the vegetarian limitation, but otherwise was to greatly resemble its sister company. The Octagon company opened its books for subscriptions in February, 1856, and by the end of the month had enough members to start one octagon village of four miles square. It was hoped to form a city equal in size to that of the Vegetarian company, on the Neosho, opposite its predecessor.¹⁸ The officers of the vegetarian organization were also to serve in the Octagon company, Charles H. DeWolfe being named president, Dr. John McLauren, treasurer and pioneer in Kansas, and Henry S. Clubb, secretary. An agent was named for Great Britain (Robert T. Clubb), and another for New York City.¹⁹ The constitution of the company declared the following objects:

"1. To form a union of persons of strict temperance principles, who, in the admission of members, shall have a guaranty that they will be associated with good society, and that their children will be educated under the most favorable circumstances, and trained under good example.

"2. To commence a settlement in Kansas territory, for the pursuit of agriculture and such mechanic arts as may be advantageously introduced.

"3. To promote the enactment of good and righteous laws in that territory, to uphold freedom, and to oppose slavery and oppression in every form."²⁰

The promoters planned for their model community a "hydropathic establishment, an agricultural college, a scientific institute, a museum of curiosities and mechanic arts, and common schools."²¹ The "hydropathic establishment," or water-cure project, occupied a prominent place in the plans of the founders, several of whom belonged to the medical profession. Water-cure societies were then being established in many places; one was organized at Lawrence in March, 1855. They emphasized a "return to nature," with the avoidance of drugs and patent medicines then so much advertised. The constitution of the Lawrence society provided in its preamble, "that hydropathy, including the hygienic agencies of water, air, light, food, temperature, exercise, sleep, clothing, and the passions in their various modifications, comprises a whole and ample *Materia*

17. The Vegetarian and Octagon Settlement Companies have a history so closely connected, that it is at times difficult to distinguish between them. There are other examples of parallel and interlocking companies in the territorial period; the American Settlement Company and the New York Kansas League is a case in point.

18. Document, *The Octagon Settlement Company, Kansas* (N. Y., 1856), p. 3.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

20. Blackmar, *Kansas*, v. 2, p. 380.

21. Document, *The Octagon Settlement Company, Kansas*, p. 4. Each member agreed to abstain from intoxicating liquor. "Maine Law" men were prominent among the Eastern emigrants to Kansas territory.

Medica, capable of producing all the really remedial effects possible in all diseases . . . " 22

The octagon plan of settlement, adopted by both the Vegetarian and Octagon companies, was a unique feature of the projects. Each octagon-shaped settlement was to be of four square miles, or 2,560 acres. Upon this square a full-sized octagon was to be imposed, whose eight segments were each to be divided into two farms of 102 acres each. Each of the sixteen farms would front upon the central octagon of 208 acres, which was to be used for a common pasture or park, and to be held by the trustees for the equal benefit of the settlers. A communal life would be attained by placing each farm house facing the central octagon, at whose central point an octagon public building would be constructed, to serve as store, meeting-house, school, and church. Of the four miles originally taken up, the four corners still remaining outside the octagon settlement would be used for woodland or grassland. It was planned to make four of these octagon villages into a "city" of sixteen square miles, with a square of 584 acres in the center, to be devoted to an agricultural college and model farm.²³

The octagon plan of settlement aimed to give the western settler some of the advantages of the East, with the hope of avoiding the hated isolation of the frontier. Each settler would live in a village, enjoy the aid and protection of his comrades, and attain social and educational advantages not otherwise possible. The literature of the project stressed in particular the increase in property values which would result from this form of settlement. In the hope that the octagon village would become the center of a city, a detailed plan was worked out to subdivide the farms into lots; each was to be divided into eight squares, of twenty lots each, varying in size from the center.²⁴ Each purchaser of a share in the company would pay a dollar entrance fee, and an initial installment of ten cents upon the five-dollar share, and could take not less than twenty nor more than 240 shares.²⁵ He was entitled to as many city lots as he took shares. The company would pay \$1.25 an acre to the government for its land, and all that it received above this would be

22. Constitution of Lawrence Hydropathic Hygienic Society, *Herald of Freedom*, March 31, 1855. A water-cure building was to be constructed upon a conveniently situated hill in "Octagon City."

23. Document, *The Octagon Settlement Company, Kansas*, pp. 5, 6. The frontispiece has an elaborate illustration.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

25. Actual practice varied from the original plan, a fact which must be borne in mind in considering the later history of the colonies. The technique of townsites promotion on the Western frontier was an art in itself, open to all possessed of a "gift of gab" and a native shrewdness. Capital was not an initial necessity, as it would follow as a matter of course.

used for provisions, construction of streets, public schools, mills, and stores. Profits from the mills would be divided among the shareholders. The company would also obtain implements and teams for every shareholder, and issue scrip for the use of its settlers.²⁶

In emigrating to the Kansas frontier, the Vegetarian and Octagon Settlement Companies acted very much in unison. Doctor Mc-Lauren, sent out by the Vegetarian company in the fall of 1855, had already reported a favorable location on the Neosho. He now also acted as treasurer and pioneer of the Octagon company with headquarters at "Octagon City, via Fort Scott." A definite plan of emigration was worked out, the octagon plan of settlement necessitating the arrival of settlers in groups of sixteen, or multiples thereof. Each group was to have a leader and a definite time and place of departure, and a membership properly distributed among the various professions. Both DeWolfe and Clubb were to serve as heads of companies.²⁷ The Vegetarian (or Octagon) company was given rather wide publicity during the early months of 1856. Late in March of that year a pioneer group, composed of members of both companies, proceeded up the Missouri river, with two more such parties to follow in April.²⁸

On the first of May (1856) Clubb reported at length upon the progress of the colony. The site selected was on the western bank of the Neosho river, west of Fort Scott, and six miles south of the present site of Humboldt. A tract of thirty-two square miles had been obtained (eight octagons), including bottom land, prairie and timber. A building was then being erected as a store and company headquarters. From this eight avenues were then being laid out, according to the octagon plan. The eight octagons were then being surveyed. According to Clubb, the emigrants numbered nearly a hundred persons, with twenty head of oxen, five or six horses, and a grist mill. Vegetarian blacksmiths, farmers, and carpenters were on the grounds.²⁹ After the town of "Neosho City" was laid out,

26. Document, *The Octagon Settlement Company, Kansas*, p. 6. The plan of the New England Emigrant Aid Company was somewhat similar. They also hoped to plant centers of Eastern culture in the wilderness and to profit by a rise in the value of their land holdings, particularly town lots.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 10. A detailed list of emigrants for the first company is given, classified according to profession.

28. *Daily Missouri Democrat*, March 26, 1856. Clipped in "Webb Scrap Books" (Thomas H. Webb, compiler), v. 10, p. 185. This collection contains a vast number of newspaper clippings from all over the country, concerning the first years of Territorial Kansas, and is now in the library of the Kansas State Historical Society.

29. Correspondence of Clubb, *Herald of Freedom*, May 3, 1856. Announcements of new towns were frequent in the territorial papers, and were often highly laudatory, as a means of advertisement. As a matter of fact, lack of capital prevented the settlement from being established on the grand plan proposed.

it appears to have enjoyed a transitory boom. Lots bought early in May at premiums amounting to \$40 were sold a few days later at premiums amounting to \$197.50. Emigrants were then arriving from all directions; a majority came during April, May, and June.³⁰

The project thus brilliantly begun ended in complete failure. It appears certain that in order to gain settlers the promoters made rash promises which could not be fulfilled. There was but one plow in the whole establishment, although the officials had promised implements and teams for every shareholder (*i. e.*, settler). Their promise to construct a saw- and grist-mill also did not materialize. One writer blames the promoters for "gross mismanagement," if not something worse.³¹ The location of the colony was beset by mosquitoes, and chills and fever attacked the settlers.³² The "inexhaustible" springs dried up, and the crops that were planted were raided by neighboring Indians.³³ Bitter disappointment and much suffering resulted. As winter neared, all who could leave did so. There was a heavy mortality among the children and older people. By the following spring (1857) hardly a trace of the settlement remained, although the stream along which the companies located is still known as Vegetarian creek.³⁴

Among the factors leading to the failure of the colony, the "high-pressure salesmanship" tactics of the promoters appears to rank first. Too many promises of paternalistic aid were made to the settlers. The size of the farms (only 102 acres) may have discouraged the emigrants,³⁵ but most disappointing of all was the failure to construct mills, and other promised features. The membership numbered many Easterners, who were not prepared for life on the frontier, a significant fact accounting for the abandonment of the colony. The charges, made by many of the settlers, of the dishonesty of the promoters cannot be entirely proved. It appears,

30. Neosho City correspondence of May 12, of the *Daily Missouri Republican*, May 23, 1856. The St. Louis papers carried much news of the Kansas border. The above appears to be a typical "boom" notice.

31. L. Wallace Duncan, *History of Neosho and Wilson Counties, Kansas* (Fort Scott, 1902), pp. 37-38. Clubb appears to have abandoned the Kansas experiment precipitately. Yet, after leaving Kansas, he became acknowledged as the leader of vegetarianism in America. He was quite young at the time of the Kansas venture.

32. Mrs. Miriam D. Colt, *Went to Kansas*, (Watertown, 1862), p. 88. June 26th entry: "Several members of our company have suddenly been taken with the chills and fever."

33. Duncan, *op. cit.*, p. 38. The colony was located near the boundary of the New York Indian Reserve and the Osage reservation. Nominally it was not open for settlement. As far as law and order went, this was somewhat of a "no man's land" at this time. The immediate locality was not surveyed until 1857 and 1858. Claim troubles were frequent, and "jay-hawking" flourished.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 38. Andreas, in his *History of Kansas* (Chicago, 1883), comments on page 668 that four settlers remained permanently—Charles Baland, Z. J. Wizner, and Watson and S. J. Stewart. The same author has a brief biography of Samuel J. Stewart on page 675. He served in the Free-State legislature of 1857, and took an active part in the Civil War.

35. Andreas remarks (p. 668) that the two Stewarts were so dissatisfied with the arrangements that they located claims elsewhere.

however, that money was collected for the purpose of properly starting the colony, which was not so used.³⁶ Those who resorted to Clubb for help were disappointed, as he had no money to refund.³⁷

The later history of vegetarianism was more successful from the standpoint of colonization. In 1890 Henry S. Clubb, then president of the Vegetarian Society of America, became the editor of *Food, Home, and Garden*, which in 1900 was united with the *Vegetarian Magazine*, published by the Vegetarian company at Chicago.³⁸ Clubb was then very active in promoting vegetarian colonies throughout the country and made personal tours to locate favorable sites. The *Vegetarian Magazine* and its successor, *The Vegetarian and Our Fellow Creatures*, published many accounts of such colonies during the first quarter of the twentieth century. In 1920 the place of publication of this magazine itself was moved to one of these colonies, in Idaho.³⁹

36. Blackmar, *Kansas*, v. 2, p. 842.

37. August 11th entry, Colt, *Went to Kansas*, p. 128: "My husband has been anxious to see Mr. Clubb at his present abiding place, up on Stone creek . . . to see if he would refund any of the money that he put into his hands. . . . Mr. Clubb had no money to refund, but let us have some cornstarch, farina, a few dates, and a little pearled barley. . . . It is rumored that H. S. Clubb has resorted to his present abode, that he may make his way quietly out of the territory. We can take advantage of no law to regain our money paid to him for the company."

38. *The Vegetarian Magazine*, January, 1900, p. 12. Reverend Clubb was then also pastor of the Bible Christian Church, Philadelphia. Besides promoting the vegetarian faith, the Vegetarian company also sold various vegetarian products at that time: peanut butter, Kunghy (a substitute for coffee), Vegetarian soap, Ko Nut (a butter made from cocoanut oil), Graham flour, etc. Compare the Kellogg and other trade products of to-day. Vegetarianism thus became highly capitalized.

39. Information from various numbers of *The Vegetarian Magazine* and its successors. Vegetarianism in America was always closely allied with prohibition. Clubb was the author in 1856 of *The Maine Liquor Law* (New York, 1856), a history of prohibition and its leading advocate, Neal Dow. Clubb also wrote a serial "History of Vegetarianism," 1907. A likeness of Clubb appears in the frontispiece of the *Vegetarian Magazine* for February, 1900. The John Crerar Library of Chicago has an incomplete file of the *Vegetarian Magazine* and its successors. The Kansas State Historical Society has documents and other information illustrative of the Kansas venture.

The John Brown Pikes

FRANK HEYWOOD HODDER

THE most interesting of the John Brown relics are the pikes that he intended to put in the hands of slaves. A pike consisted of a two-edged blade, ten inches long, made from steel; a guard five inches wide, made of malleable iron, attached by a ferrule, also of malleable iron, to a handle six feet in length, made of ash. They were obtained from Charles Blair, of Collinsville, Conn. When the United States Senate appointed a committee, known from its chairman, Sen. James M. Mason of Virginia, as the Mason Committee, to investigate the Harper's Ferry Invasion, Blair was summoned to Washington and in his testimony gave a full account of the making of the pikes.¹ There is some account of the pikes in the biographies of Brown by Sanborn² and Villard³ and additional data are contained in the letters of Blair to Brown in the archives of the Kansas State Historical Society.

About the first of March, 1857, Brown spoke in Collinsville on the subject of conditions in Kansas. The next morning he exhibited in a local drug store some weapons that he had taken from Pate's band at Black Jack. In showing a dirk he remarked that, if mounted on a long handle, it would make a capital weapon with which the settlers of Kansas could defend themselves against sudden attack. It was Blair's recollection, three years after the event, that Brown then turned to him, knowing he was a blacksmith, and asked what it would cost to make five hundred or a thousand of them, and that he replied that he would make five hundred for a dollar and a quarter apiece, and a thousand for a dollar apiece. Sanborn represents that the remark was made to H. N. Rust, with whom Brown was negotiating for the repair of some pistols sent from Kansas, and that Rust later took up the matter with Blair. Some color is given to Sanborn's version of the incident by the fact that two of Brown's later communications to Blair were made through Rust.

Brown returned to Collinsville March 11 and arranged with Blair to make a dozen sample pikes and send them to him at Springfield, Mass. March 20 Blair wrote Brown that he would send the samples on the following day. The ferrules, he wrote, were made of sheet

1. *Senate Report*, No. 278, 36th Cong., 1st sess., pp. 121-129. Serial No. 1040. Cited hereafter as *Mason Report*.

2. F. B. Sanborn, *The Life and Letters of John Brown* (Boston, 1885), pp. 375-378.

3. Oswald Garrison Villard, *John Brown, A Biography Fifty Years After* (Boston, 1910), pp. 283-285, 400-401.

iron and were not satisfactory, but that it would cost more to make them of malleable iron; that he would meet Brown in Hartford the following week and settle upon the price. In a postscript Blair added that if Brown wanted more, he could put the samples in with the rest; if not, he could pay twelve dollars for them. Brown endorsed the letter as answered March 23, probably writing that he would come to Collinsville.

March 30 the contract for the pikes was signed at Collinsville. Blair testified before the Mason Committee that it was drawn by Brown, but the copy in the archives of the Kansas State Historical Society is in Blair's handwriting.⁴ Brown may have made a rough draft from which Blair made a copy. The contract provided that Blair would furnish one thousand "spears" at one dollar apiece. The spears were to be like the samples, except that the ferrules were to be of malleable iron instead of sheet iron, and attached to the handles by screws instead of being riveted, so that they could be shipped separately. Brown paid \$50 down and was to pay \$500 within ten days and the remaining \$450 within thirty days thereafter. The spears were to be finished by the first of July.

Brown paid the \$50 down and a total of \$350 within ten days, but April 2 wrote Blair that he had been unable to make the further payments required by the contract. Blair replied on the 15th that he had not taken any further measures than to ascertain where he could get the handles, ferrules, etc., and if Brown did not find it convenient to raise the money for the thousand he would make five hundred at the same rate. In his testimony before the Mason Committee Blair thought that he had already bought the steel for the blades and begun working on them, but from his contemporary letter that appears not to have been the case. April 16 Brown sent word through Rust that he hoped to have the money soon, and April 25 he sent Rust \$200 for Blair with the message that "he need not hurry out but five hundred of the articles" until he should hear from him again.⁵ Blair acknowledged receipt of the \$200 on the 27th and said that he could "take along 500 of the articles" if desired, but that he had ordered the handles for the whole number, and that it was more convenient to get all the guards, ferrules and screws at one time but that if it were not convenient for Brown to remit the balance of the money before the first of July it would be just as well if he would allow a corresponding length of time in which to complete the contract.

4. Contract printed in Sanborn, p. 377.

5. Letters to Rust in Sanborn, p. 376.

May 7 Blair wrote Brown that he must wait three weeks for the ferrules and some four weeks before the handles would be seasoned sufficiently to set the ferrules; that if the ferrules were put on before the timber was properly seasoned they would be likely to work loose; that the blades would be forged, tempered and ground, so that it would take little time to finish them when the lumber was right, and that he thought that they would be ready by the first of July, but not as soon as first talked of. He added that he intended to go to Iowa for a few weeks, but that the business would be attended to in his absence by his son. He closed the letter to Brown by "wishing him success in his enterprise," the only time he made any comment in his letters upon the use to which the pikes were to be put. To both letters Brown replied May 14 from Canastota to the effect that Blair need not hurry the first five hundred until the handles were properly seasoned or the remainder until he should hear from him again.

Blair did not receive this letter until his return from Iowa. August 27 he wrote Brown that he had commenced the whole number of articles, that he had all the handles well seasoned, the ferrules, guards, etc., but that not having heard anything further from him, had let them rest. "I did not know," he wrote, "but that things would take such a turn in Kansas that they would not be needed." He added that he did not blame Brown, as he well knew that "when a man is depending on the public for money he is very likely to be disappointed," and that he need not give himself any uneasiness about the affair, for if I go no further with them, "I shall lose nothing, or but little."⁶ September 11, and again February 10 and March 11, 1858, Brown wrote explaining his inability to make the payments called for by the contract. February 10, Blair had written Brown that he could not go on with the spears unless assured of his money; that he would let Brown have them if he could get them finished elsewhere, but that he would prefer to go on with them if some responsible parties would guarantee payment within three or four months.

Nothing more was done about the pikes for nearly fifteen months. June 3, 1859, Brown unexpectedly appeared in Collinsville and wanted the pikes finished. Blair protested that he regarded the contract as forfeited, that he was busy with other things and could not bother with them, and that as Kansas matters were settled they would now be of no use. Brown replied that they might be of some use, if they were finished up, that he could dispose of them in some

6. Printed in Sanborn, p. 378.

way, but, as they were, they were good for nothing. Blair finally agreed that if Brown would pay the balance due he would get someone to finish the "goods." The next morning Brown paid \$150, \$50 in bills and a check of Gerrit Smith's for \$100, and three days later sent a draft from Troy for the remaining \$300. Blair secured a man by the name of Hart to finish the pikes. The last of August he received letters from Chambersburg, Pa., signed "I. Smith & Sons,"⁷ instructing him to send the "freight" to them at that place in care of Oakes & Cauffman. At that time the railroads did no freight business themselves, but that business was done by forwarding companies owning private freight cars. Oakes & Cauffman was a forwarding company. The blades, guards and ferrules were packed in boxes and the handles were tied in bundles of twenty or twenty-five and marked "fork handles." Blair testified that 954 were sent, presumably in addition to the twelve samples originally made. He also testified that he did not know where Chambersburg was, but supposed that it was on the way to the West. A letter dated at Chambersburg, September 15, also signed "I. Smith & Sons," acknowledged their receipt. From Chambersburg they were transported in wagons to the Kennedy farm. Some of the pikes were taken to Harper's Ferry October 16, the night of the raid. The next morning all the material remaining at the farm was taken by Cook, Tidd and Owen Brown to a country school house three miles from Harper's Ferry on the Maryland side. When this was seized 483 pikes and 175 broken handles for pikes were found.⁸ The remaining pikes are supposed to have been distributed to slaves.

There is no means of ascertaining how many of the pikes have been preserved, but probably a considerable number are still in existence. There is one in the National Museum in Washington. There are two in the museum of the Kansas State Historical Society, one with the original handle and the other without a handle. They were purchased in 1881 from J. Shaw Gallaher, of Charles Town, West Va., for \$15 apiece, and were the first relics bought by the Society. There is one in the historical collections of the University of Kansas. It originally belonged to John S. Cunningham, a pay director in the navy.⁹ By him it was given in 1885 to George Alfred Townsend,

7. Printed "J. Smith & Sons" in the Mason Report. The "J" should be "I." Brown had assumed the name Isaac Smith.

8. Mason Report, pp. 51, 54-59. James Redpath, *The Public Life of Capt. John Brown* (Boston, 1860), p. 269. Redpath gives the number of broken handles as 150, but the inventory in the Mason Report gives 175.

9. John S. Cunningham was made purser in the navy in 1857, pay director in 1871, retired in 1883, and died in 1894. He wrote Townsend in 1885 that he witnessed the execution of John Brown, but the records of the Navy Department do not show that he was present in an official capacity.

a noted journalist of that day. At Townsend's death in 1914 his effects were sent to Boston for sale at auction, and this pike was among the articles purchased by Charles L. Cooney, a local antiquarian dealer, by whom it was presented to the University of Kansas in 1923. For the original handle a shorter one of oak had been substituted.

A relic is of very little value unless it has some significance. The pikes are important because the order for them is the first indication of Brown's intention to abandon the Kansas field and to revert to his earlier plan of starting a slave insurrection in the South. The civil war in Kansas in the summer of 1856 resulted in the victory of the Free State men and amply proved their ability to defend themselves. Governor Geary arrived in Kansas in the fall of 1856, suppressed the roving bands upon both sides, and established peace in the territory. Brown went east in January of 1857 ostensibly to raise funds for the defense of Kansas but really with other plans in mind. He planned to bring his band together in the fall of 1857 at Tabor, in southwestern Iowa, where he had stored two hundred Sharps rifles intended for Kansas, and he engaged an English adventurer by the name of Forbes to give the men military instruction. Toward the end of February, 1858, he communicated his plans to Gerrit Smith and F. B. Sanborn at Gerrit Smith's home in Peterboro, N. Y., possibly omitting mention of Harper's Ferry as the intended point of attack, and received from them their hearty approval.¹⁰ Soon afterward Brown and Forbes quarreled. Forbes went east and betrayed Brown's plans to Seward, Henry Wilson, Horace Greeley and others. May 24, Brown's backers—Gerrit Smith, Howe, Parker, Stearns, Higginson and Sanborn—met in Boston, decided that the execution of the attack must be postponed in view of Forbes' disclosures and sent Brown to Kansas to divert suspicion. It is scarcely possible that Brown, in spite of his professions, ever intended to send the pikes to Kansas. They were not suited to the kind of warfare waged in the territory, and pitchforks would have afforded equally good protection to the lonely women on the farms. On the other hand, they exactly suited his plan for a slave insurrection. They could be had in large quantities for little money, they required neither ammunition nor special skill in their use and would be effective in hand-to-hand combat. In view of their special importance in the development of Brown's plans, it is perhaps worth while to have told their story in detail.

10. Ralph Volney Harlow, "Gerrit Smith and the John Brown Raid," in *The American Historical Review* for October, 1932, v. 38, pp. 39-42.

Kansas History as Published in the State Press

The diary of William Robinson, union soldier and an Ottawa county pioneer, is being published serially in the *Tescott News*, starting with its issue of June 9, 1932. The diary is the property of a son, John Robinson, of Tescott.

Some of the interesting subjects discussed by W. F. McGinnis, Sr., in *The Butler County News*, El Dorado, during the past few months were: "Horse Thieves and How They Worked in the Sixties," March 3 and 10, 1933; "Some of Butler County's Old Time Officers," March 17; "How We Got Our Freight Before We Had a Railroad," April 7; "How We Got Our First Railroad," April 14; "A Real Buffalo Hunt in Kansas in 1871," April 21; "Opening of the Cherokee Strip, America's Greatest Horse Race," August 18; "This is the Forty-fourth Anniversary of Butler County's First and Last Kidnaping," September 8 to 29.

"Potter Memories," a column written by an early resident, is appearing from time to time in the *Potter Kansan*. The series started with the issue of May 18, 1933.

"The History of Solomon," by Harriet Woolley, ran serially in the *Solomon Tribune* from May 25 through the issue of June 15, 1933. The town company was platted in 1866 by Henry Whitley, John Williamson and Luther Hall.

The history of the Prairie Vale Missionary Union was briefly sketched in *The Western Star*, Coldwater, May 26, 1933.

A biographical sketch of the late Roy L. Bone, southern Kansas cowboy who became a banker, was published in the *Kansas City (Mo.) Star*, June 11, 1933.

Buffalo hunts in the 1870's were described recently by James Smith, a southern Kansas pioneer, for a Chandler (Okla.) newspaper. The story was condensed and reprinted in the *Howard Courant*, June 15, 1933.

A list of the pioneer settlers buried in Crown Hill cemetery, near Coldwater, was compiled for *The Western Star*, Coldwater, and was published in its issue of June 16, 1933.

St. Paul Lutheran Church of Clay Center celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of the dedication of its present church edifice, June 25, 1933. Histories of the organization were published in the Clay Center *Economist*, June 21, 1933, and the Clay Center *Times*, June 22.

George A. Linn, Mrs. B. T. Frost and Mrs. Sarah E. Dooty Strange, three pioneer Kansans, reminisced in the Neodesha *Register* recently. Mr. Linn was interviewed for the June 22, 1933, issue; Mrs. Frost wrote for the June 29 issue, and Mrs. Strange for the issue of August 3.

An excursion to Leavenworth by a narrow gauge railroad was briefly described by Mrs. Ella Fulton in the Winchester *Star*, June 30, 1933. A short history of Winchester was also included in this issue.

"A Few Reminiscences," a column conducted by H. V. Butcher, ran serially in *The Western Star*, Coldwater, during July and August, 1933.

"Strange Were the Happenings in Kansas When Polygamy Was the Fad," was the title of a story depicting the life of an old Indian chief Al-le-ga-wa-ho, which appeared in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Journal-Post*, July 2, 1933.

"Historic Sites, Scenery, Found Throughout State," by Hugh Amick, was the title of an article published in the "Vacation Number" of the Wichita *Sunday Eagle*, July 2, 1933.

Early-day Lawrence printers were named in a letter from W. J. Flintom, of San Diego, Cal., which was printed in the Lawrence *Daily Journal-World*, July 4, 1933. Mr. Flintom came to Kansas from Vermont in 1869.

A history of the site of the Scott county state park, which was given in an address to a recent bar association meeting in Scott City, by R. D. Armstrong, Scott City attorney, was published in the Dodge City *Daily Globe*, July 10, 1933.

Two letters recalling the visit of President R. B. Hayes to Neosho Falls in 1879 were printed in the Neosho Falls *Post*, July 13, 1933. Frank S. Denney and E. B. Moore were the contributors.

Former pastors and friends of the First Presbyterian Church of Clay Center contributed special historical articles to the Clay Center *Times*, July 13, 1933, recalling their connections with the

church. The occasion was the dedication of a new church building, July 16. The Presbyterians first organized in Clay Center April 1, 1871.

The sixty-first anniversary of the Wichita *Eagle* was observed July 16, 1933, with the issuance of a special illustrated historical edition.

Early Irish settlers near Solomon were discussed in an article printed in the *Salina Journal*, July 18, 1933. The story was based on historical sketches of a similar nature appearing in the *Salina Rustler*, April 13, 1895.

A jubilee commemorating the sixtieth anniversary of the organization of the Mission Covenant Church of Stotler was held July 16, 1933. A brief history of the church was published in *The Journal-Free Press*, Osage City, July 19, and in the *Topeka Daily Capital*, July 20.

Numerous fossil discoveries have been announced from northern and western Kansas in recent years. An area of about seventy square feet, containing over sixty tracks of four different species of prehistoric animals, was recently found on the George Hrabik farm near Sylvan Grove, according to the *Sylvan Grove News*, July 20, 1933. A Mr. Brandhorst and Dr. H. H. Lane, of Kansas University, are collaborating on the interpretation and description of these tracks.

A brief sketch of the John W. Harding family, as prepared by Mabel Harding, of San Diego, Calif., was printed in *The Western Star*, Coldwater, July 21, 1933. Miss Harding also contributed a column of reminiscences to the *Star* in the August 18 issue.

A column entitled "Territorial Days in Oskaloosa," by Francis Henry Roberts, started in the *Oskaloosa Independent*, July 27, 1933. Mr. Roberts' recollections in a former column, "Early Days in Oskaloosa," dated from the summer of 1862.

J. A. Comstock, early-day hotel clerk in Dodge City, wrote of his experiences in that frontier town in the *Dodge City Daily Globe*, July 28 and 29, 1933. Mr. Comstock, now of New York, came to Dodge City in 1881.

An address, "A Half Century of Kansas Journalism," by Gomer T. Davies, editor of the *Concordia Kansan*, was delivered at a meeting of the Kansas Editorial Association in Topeka, June 10,

1933, and was published in the Topeka *Pink Rag* in its issues of July 28 and August 4.

A brief biography of Col. S. S. Prouty, early Kansas newspaperman, was sketched in the Dodge City *Daily Globe*, August 1, 1933.

Some reminiscences of A. Canning, Kansas pioneer, were printed in the Salina *Journal*, August 2, 1933. Mr. Canning's family came to Kansas in 1859 and settled near Council Grove.

The killing of the last buffalo in Mitchell county was discussed by Alonzo Pruitt in the Glen Elder *Sentinel*, August 3, 1933.

"Who's Who in Lucas," a series of articles relating the history of the town's business concerns, is being published serially in the Lucas *Independent*, commencing with the issue of August 9, 1933.

The Cloud county Indian raid in 1868, in which Sarah White was kidnaped, was recalled by Victor Murdock in the Wichita (evening) *Eagle*, August 14, 1933. Mr. Murdock interviewed William Elvin White, a brother of the kidnaped girl, for the story.

Clifton High School's history was published in the Clifton *News* in its issues of August 17, 24, and 31, 1933. The first school building was erected prior to 1868, with George D. Seabury as the first teacher.

"Minutes Disclose that 'Good Old Days' in the Schools Were Anything But That," was the title of a brief presentation of the problems of School District No. 4, of which Concordia is a large part, in the 1870's. The article was printed in the Concordia *Blade-Empire*, August 23, 1933.

The final installment of T. P. Tucker's "Early Day Church History of Greeley County," was published in the Greeley County *Republican Tribune*, August 24, 1933. Other installments were announced in the August issue of the *Quarterly*.

"Looking Backward—a History of Cuba From Old Newspaper Files," compiled by Mr. and Mrs. L. Carpenter, appears from time to time in the Cuba *Tribune*. The series started with the issue of August 24, 1933.

The Anthony-Atwood battles were a spectacular part of Leavenworth county's early days, the Tonganoxie *Mirror* reported in its issue of August 24, 1933. An account of the Douglass-Anthony suit, in which John H. Atwood and D. R. Anthony, bitter political op-

ponents, were in the unique position of lawyer and client, was reprinted from the *Kansas City Star* of December 8, 1915.

"Frontier Surveying During an Indian War," by E. C. Rice, was the title of an article published in the *Wichita Sunday Eagle*, August 27, 1933. Mr. Rice accompanied J. B. Wilcox, of Muscotah, in the survey of some thirty townships on the Kansas-Colorado line.

Pioneers of Cherokee county having sixty years or more of residence in that county were named in the *Columbus Daily Advocate*, August 30, 1933. Mrs. Sallie Crane compiled the list.

"A Tribute to the Pioneer Mothers of Central Kansas," by Will Goodman, of Glendale, Calif., was published in *The County Capital*, St. John, August 31, 1933.

Mulvane's first train was described in a three-column illustrated story appearing in the old settlers' edition of the *Mulvane News*, August 31, 1933. The railroad line connected Wichita and Winfield, and the official opening excursion train went through Mulvane September 29, 1879.

"Early History of Mt. Ayr Friends Church," 1872-1933, by C. E. Williams, was published in the *Osborne County Farmer*, Osborne, August 31, 1933.

Special historical editions of the Olathe newspapers were issued August 31, 1933, announcing the program for the thirty-sixth annual reunion of Johnson county old settlers, held in Olathe, September 2. Biographies of Harry King, Sr., Mrs. Louisa Keys, Mrs. Blanche Jefferson, W. H. Harrison, and William Crandall; a history of De Soto; and accounts of early explorers, the grasshopper invasion, the organization of the county, Harmony school, and the Shawnee mission, were contained in the August 31 issue of *The Johnson County Democrat*. The following week both *The Democrat* and the Olathe *Mirror* printed notes on the meeting and lists of the old settlers who registered.

"Crossings and Fords—Blue Bridge Forerunners," an article by Byron E. Guise, portraying the evolution in river crossing at Marysville, was published in the *Marshall County News*, September 1, 1933. Marysville's first bridge was completed in 1864.

Reminiscences of early-day Kansas, by J. L. Garrett, were published in the *Bunkerhill Advertiser*, September 7, 1933.

"Early Wallace County, General Custer, and the Seventh Cavalry," from the reminiscences of Lewis C. Gandy, was continued in

The Western Times, Sharon Springs, September 7 and 21, 1933. Other installments were mentioned in the August issue of the *Quarterly*.

A story entitled "Cattle Money," by McKinley W. Kreigh, former overland stage mail carrier, of Syracuse, was published in the *Syracuse Journal*, September 8, 1933. The article was reprinted from the October *Blue Book Magazine*.

"Sockless" Jerry Simpson's visits to Dodge City in the 1890's were recalled by Heinie Schmidt in a feature article printed in the *Dodge City Daily Globe*, September 13, 1933.

Old settler editions of the *Marion Review* and *Record* appeared recently, announcing the annual old settlers' picnic for Marion. The *Review* of September 13, 1933, published articles entitled: "How Ed Miller Died"; "History of the Florence Catholic Church," by Mrs. E. H. Robison; "The Last Cheyenne Raid," by A. E. Case; "Some Early Day History," by Mrs. Will Rupp, and "Reminiscences," by R. C. Coble. The *Record*, on September 14, continued with "Jacob Linn Brought First Load of Pine Lumber to Marion Centre," by Mrs. L. E. Riggs; "Recounting Early Pioneers of the Oursler Neighborhood," by Mrs. Chas. Locklin; "There Were Plenty of Thrills for This Pioneer Marion Family," by Mrs. Frank Knode; "A Handshake That Was Friendly," by Al Nienstedt, and "There Was an Early Day Postoffice at Oursler Station," by Mrs. N. J. Oursler.

A history of the Anthony Methodist Episcopal Church, which celebrated its fiftieth anniversary September 17, 1933, was published in the *Anthony Republican*, September 14. The first M. E. church edifice built on the site of the present building was dedicated on December 23, 1882, by Elder Cline.

St. Peter's Evangelical Lutheran Church of Chepstow celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of its organization, September 17, 1933. A history of the church was printed in the *Barnes Chief*, September 14.

The *Leavenworth Chronicle* issued its annual "Fort Leavenworth Edition," September 14, 1933. Notes on the founding of the fort and the perils encountered by the early freighters, the founding of the General Service School by Gen. W. T. Sherman in 1881, and a roster of officers now attending the school, were features.

A log cabin which belonged to Henry McKenzie, who came to Kansas in 1854, was believed by the late Gen. W. H. Sears to be the oldest now in existence in Douglas county. A brief history of the

cabin was published in the Lawrence *Daily Journal-World*, September 14, 1933.

"Battle of Beecher Island Is Thrilling Story of Indian War," was a Goodland *Daily News* headline for a feature article printed in its issue of September 15, 1933. The story appeared on the anniversary of its fight, which is annually commemorated with appropriate ceremonies by the Beecher Island Memorial Association, on the battleground, now a Colorado state park.

The history of Atlanta, Rice county, was briefly reviewed in the Hutchinson *Herald*, September 15, 1933. The site of this one-time county seat of Rice county is now a cornfield, the *Herald* reports.

"Dodge's First Dentist Was a Pistoleer," a two-column biography of Dr. John H. Holliday, was printed in the Dodge City *Daily Globe*, September 15, 1933. The story, which was written by Dr. Frank A. Dunn, was a reprint from *Oral Hygiene*.

The lynching of Frank Jones in Wellington, September 14, 1884, was recalled in the reminiscences of E. B. Roser appearing in the Wellington *Daily News*, September 16, 1933.

The fortieth anniversary of the opening of the Cherokee outlet led several Kansas pioneers to reminisce in their local newspapers on their adventures in 1893. W. H. Nelson, Asa Dean and Joe Harper were among those interviewed by the Arkansas City *Daily Traveler* in its issue of September 16, 1933. The Caldwell *Daily Messenger* of the same date devoted a column story to the run. An illustrated feature story, "Fighting For a Claim in the Old Cherokee Strip," by F. M. Gillett, was published in the Wichita *Sunday Eagle*, September 17, and notes on the run by Victor Murdock appeared in the Wichita (evening) *Eagle*, September 18.

Burlingame was named in honor of Anson Burlingame, an American, who was the first Chinese minister to the United States, the Topeka *Daily Capital* recalled in its issue of September 17, 1933. Burlingame was formerly known as Council City.

Cooking recipes used by Sara Robinson, wife of Charles Robinson, Kansas' first governor, were discussed by Sue Carmody Jones in an article printed in the Kansas City *Star*, September 20, 1933.

An account of the founding of Fowler, contained in a letter from Perry J. Wilden, of San Diego, Cal., was published in the Fowler *News*, September 21, 1933.

Mrs. Grace Bedell Billings, the woman who as a girl asked Abraham Lincoln to wear whiskers, now lives at Delphos, the Hays *Daily News* reported in its issue of September 21, 1933. Mrs. Kathryn O'Loughlin McCarthy, who related the story to the *News*, has copies of the letters written by Mrs. Billings and Lincoln.

A history of the Bethlehem Lutheran church and school, of Sylvan Grove, was published in the Sylvan Grove *News*, September 21, 1933. The first religious service was held February 9, 1879.

Five Kansas officials were impeached during the first seventy years of statehood, according to an Associated Press dispatch written by Calvin Manon and released to its member newspapers September 22, 1933.

St. Mark's Lutheran Church, of Atchison, celebrated its sixty-fifth birthday anniversary, September 24, 1933. A history of the organization was published in the Atchison *Daily Globe*, September 22.

"How Two Eminent Kansans Were Elected to U. S. Senate," by the late Gen. W. H. Sears, of Lawrence, was the title of an article printed in the Topeka *Daily Capital*, September 24, 1933, concerning the elections of John J. Ingalls and William A. Harris.

"Random Recollections of Other Days," by D. D. Leahy, published in the Wichita *Sunday Eagle*, September 24, 1933, related incidents in the lives of the late A. C. Jordan, former sergeant at arms of the House of Representatives, and Mrs. Jerry Simpson.

A twenty-page special illustrated historical edition of the Coffeyville *Daily Journal* was issued September 25, 1933, announcing the pioneer celebration to be held in Coffeyville, September 27. A detailed account of the history of the city from the organization of the town company by Col. John A. Coffey and others in August, 1869, to the present day; a brief history of Montgomery county, and biographies of Daniel Wells, Capt. D. S. Elliott, Harry Lang, Billie Breit, Jules Gillet, Chas. T. Carpenter, Hazzard W. Sear, Sr., and Owen T. Romig, Montgomery county pioneers, were features of the edition.

Early Wilson county history was reviewed by Judge J. T. Cooper before the Neodesha Rotary club, September 26, 1933. A summary of the speech, together with a letter written by Gov. Samuel J.

Crawford in 1902 concerning Wilson county events, were published in the *Neodesha Register*, September 28.

Gove county history was reviewed at an old settlers' meeting held in Grainfield, September 20, 1933. The early history of Buffalo Park and the organization of the Smoky Hill Cattle Pool were discussed in a write-up of the meeting printed in the *Gove City Republican-Gazette*, September 28.

The twenty-fifth anniversary of the organization of the present Jetmore United Presbyterian Church was observed September 24, 1933. The *Jetmore Republican* of September 28 published a three-column history of the church.

Spring Branch District School's history was sketched by Mrs. Bessie Buchele in the *Cedar Vale Messenger*, September 29, 1933. The first school house was built in 1876.

The reminiscences of Mrs. John Durfee, a member of the Syracuse, N. Y., colony which settled in Kansas in March, 1873, were published recently in the *Syracuse (N. Y.) Times* and were republished in the *Syracuse (Kan.) Journal*, September 29, 1933.

"Southern Negroes Once Sought 'Mecca' in Kansas," an illustrated feature article on the colored settlements in Graham county, was printed in the *Wichita Beacon*, October 1, 1933.

A brief history of the Christian Church in Kansas was sketched in the *Arkansas City Daily Traveler*, October 2, 1933. Mt. Pleasant church in Atchison county was the first Christian church in the present boundaries of the state. It was organized in 1855.

The First Baptist church of Atchison celebrated its seventy-fifth anniversary, October 4 to 8, 1933. A three-column history of the church from April 24, 1858, the date of the first sermon preached by a Baptist minister in Atchison, to the present day, was published in the *Atchison Daily Globe*, October 3, 1933.

A history of the Topeka branch of the Women's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, from its organization in 1883 until the present time, was printed and distributed at the fiftieth anniversary celebration of the organization held in Topeka, October 5 to 8, 1933. Mrs. George W. Isham, of Evanston, Ill., was the author.

Kansas Historical Notes

Kansas newspaper personalities, past and present, have been a weekly broadcast feature of radio station KSAC, Manhattan, for several months. Dr. C. E. Rogers, professor and head of the department of journalism of Kansas State College, prepared and delivered the series.

At a meeting of the McPherson County Historical Society, July 10, 1933, the following officers were elected for the ensuing year: J. A. Spillman, of Roxbury, president; Alfred Bergin, Lindsborg, first vice president; Warren Knaus, McPherson, second vice president; Edna Nyquist, McPherson, secretary and treasurer; P. P. Wedel, C. E. Lindell, J. J. Yoder, Carl Lindholm, Emil O. Deere and Mrs. F. J. Ehman, members of the board of directors.

White Rock community historical articles, written by Ella Morlan Warren and published in the Belleville *Telescope* during the past year, were recently collected and republished as a 45-page booklet entitled *White Rock Sketches*.

At an old settlers' picnic conducted by the Kiowa County Historical Society August 18, 1933, the following officers were elected for the coming year: J. A. Sherer, president, Mullinville; W. A. Woodard, first vice president, Haviland; W. L. Fleener, Sr., second vice president, Greensburg; B. Frank McQuey, third vice president, Belvidere; Mrs. Benjamin O. Weaver, secretary, Mullinville, and Mrs. Charles T. Johnson, treasurer, Greensburg.

The memorial monument and tablet honoring Frederick Brown, who was killed August 30, 1856, in the battle of Osawatomie, were unveiled at the place of his death August 30, 1933. The tablet was a bequest of Mrs. Charles S. Adair.

A monument dedicated to pioneer women was unveiled at the Mt. Hope cemetery, Ellis, September 10, 1933. The memorial was a gift of the Pioneer Woman's Association of Ellis.

The nineteenth annual reunion of the surviving members of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Kansas Volunteer cavalry was held in Topeka September 13, 1933. Officers of the organization are: Frank M. Stahl, Burlingame, president; F. C. Munson, Savannah, Mo., first vice president; H. L. Burgess, Olathe, second vice president, and Mrs. Ella D. Shaul, Topeka, secretary-treasurer.

Dedication services were held at the Vermillion river crossing near Barrett, September 24, 1933, for an Oregon-trail marker erected by the Arthur Barrett chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution. R. M. Montgomery, Marysville, made the dedicatory address.

Plans for enlarging and improving the Pike-Pawnee Indian village site into a national park were presented to representatives of the federal government at ceremonies held in the park September 29, 1933. Speakers of state and national note participated in the varied program commemorating the lowering of the Spanish flag and the raising of the United States flag by Lieut. Zebulon Montgomery Pike in 1806.

A Sherman County Historical Association was organized recently with the election of Jesse L. Teeters as president, and Dillman W. Blackburn, as secretary-treasurer.

Numerous community picnics and old settlers' reunions have been held in various parts of the state in recent months. Newspapers in some of these localities issued special historical editions in conjunction with these meetings which warranted mention elsewhere in these notes. Limited space, however, does not permit separate entries for the majority; a list of communities sponsoring meetings, and the dates, are appended for reference: Hazelton, June 2; Wichita, June 3; Kinsley, June 8, 9; Manhattan, July 1; Green, July 27-29; Baldwin, August 3; Arcadia, August 3-5; Dighton, August 5; Topeka, August 5, September 11; Halstead, August 9, 10; Lebanon, August 10-12; Jewell City, August 11, 12; Bunkerhill, August 14-16; Leoti, August 15; Haskell-Finney counties, August 16, 17; Clyde, August 17; Deerfield, August 17; Nickerson, August 17, 18; Brookwood Park, Decatur county, August 18; Belvidere, August 18; Mantey, August 19; Ottawa, August 20; Geuda Springs, August 20; McPherson, August 23; Dispatch, August 23; Bucklin, August 25; Sparks, August 25, 26; Oskaloosa, August 25, 26; Wabunsee, August 27; Holton, August 30; Benedict, August 30, 31; White Rock, August 31; Mulvane, August 31; Meade, August 31; Howard, August 31; Columbus, September 1; Macksville, September 1; Ford, September 1; Olathe, September 2; Uniontown, September 2; Drury, September 4; Hanover, September 6, 7; Ashland, September 7; Cherokee, September 7-9; Marion, September 14; Lawrence, September 14; Enterprise, September 14; Stockton, Sep-

tember 14; Pratt, September 14; Oakley, September 15; Ohio township, Saline county, September 17; Grainfield, September 20; Cherryvale, September 21; Fontana, September 21; Cimarron, September 23; Fall River, September 23; Norway, September 24; Dodge City, September 27; Smith Center, September 27; Coffeyville, September 27; Potwin, September 28; Sedan, October 7, and Weir, October 7.

Errata to Volume II

Page 18, line 19, read "In 1888."

Page 22, line 19, Cantonment Leavenworth was established in 1827.

Page 30, line 24, read "Col. E. W. Wyncoop."

Page 52, fifth line from bottom of the page, read "Charles Coulter."

Page 107, paragraph 2: Mr. Whitelaw Saunders of Lawrence, who viewed the hotel registers through the courtesy of Mr. Ames, reports that none of the signatures noted in this paragraph were authentic.

Page 110, line 2, read "March, 1933."

Page 182, lines 1 and 2, read "Richard Read."

Page 219, line numbered 123, read "April 17, 1932."

Page 252, line 22: The Wyandotte National Ferry was in operation as early as November, 1843.—*See* testimony of Charles B. Garrett before Judge Samuel D. Lecompte of the First U. S. District Court, Lecompton, in 1857, MS. in Archives division, Kansas State Historical Society.

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